

The Main Reasons for the Revival of Islam in Independent Kazakhstan

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Abstract: In the modern world history, we notice such phenomena as; globalization, digitalization, value pluralism, mass migration, terrorism, post-secularity, etc., which characterize the current nature of human civilization. Recently, among these trends, the phenomenon of the "revival of Islam" has emerged. Therefore, the systematic discussion relating to the phenomenon of Islam in the socio-cultural processes of the society has prevalent in religious studies. This topic has gained considerable attention by Kazakh researchers have also paid attention to this topic. The society of Kazakhstan has closely related to Islam in aspects of culture, history, personality, and morality. Since the collapse of the United Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR), Kazakhstan has gradually been becoming one of the fastest growing countries in Central Asia, focusing on modernization processes. Even though it follows secular nature of constitution, it has not only allowed the reentrance of traditional religious presence, but scholars have also noticed features of religious revival. Purpose of the article analyze the main factors that activated the mass- revival of Islam within the Kazakh society after the country's independence. Leading methods – conceptual analysis, structural analysis, and comparative analysis. Thanks to a systematic generalization of domestic and foreign researchers' views, as well as sociological data, it became possible to form common knowledge about the causes of the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan.

Keywords: Islam, religion in Kazakhstan, religious identity, pluralism.

INTRODUCTION

Human civilization is always in the process of sociocultural, political, legal and spiritual change. These changes often occur due to competition between countries, global and local crises, and social interests. After the collapse of United Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR) and independence of Kazakhstan, Islam is gradually influencing the spiritual and cultural life of today's Kazakh society again. The legacy of Islam has been deeply-rooted in spirituality and morality of Kazakhstan's society (Haji Derbisali 2008). It is clearly expressed in the history, traditions and customs of the native people. It is important to note that for many centuries, Islam has been the main source of value orientation and the ethical regulator of social relations that address the cultural development of people.

In Kazakhstan history, there are some differences in the context of the relationship between the government and Islam, as well as the spread of Islamic schools. Mostly in history of Kazakhstan, political authorities were not dependent on religious authorities (Lenz-

Raymann 2014). The political system of the Kazakh Khanate was the legacy of a nomadic civilization. In the life of the Kazakh people, the spiritual, moral, ideological aspects of Islam were popular. In the conditions of a nomadic lifestyle, the Hanafi school of Islam has gained popularity among the Kazakh people. In addition to this, an important place was given to Sufism also. These trends of Islam are well combined with the tradition of the native people. In the medieval history of Kazakhstan, it is difficult to reveal facts relating to the religious fanaticism and fundamentalism. Naturally, Kazakh people have spiritual favor for Islam and it was not perceived within the narrow meaning of words and requirements.

Despite the many centuries-old relationship of Kazakhstan with Islamic civilization, the status of religion in history of the twentieth century has begun to appear in different circumstances. The presence of Kazakhstan as part of the USSR activated the country's passage through the stages of collectivization, industrialization, Marxist enlightenment, and strong influence of secular culture. These events have strongly influenced the socio-cultural transformation of Kazakh society (Saktaganova 2017). Generally in recent history, these circumstances can be

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interpreted as the prevalence of secular culture in Kazakhstan, over traditional culture. The religious landscape of Kazakhstan continued to change until its independence. After the formation of sovereign Kazakhstan, the activity of religious life began to manifest itself. The priority of Islam and its growth in Kazakh society was specifically noticeable. Therefore, in modern religious discussions, this phenomenon has great importance and it is described as the “revival of Islam” (Satershinov 2014).

“Revival of Islam” is a multi-valued concept that derives from various theories. The “revival of Islam” is currently being discussed by both the Western and the Muslim scholars. The current Western researchers largely explain this concept considering the ideas about the clash of civilizations (Huntington 2003), counter-secularization (Berger 1999), post-secular society and multicultural dialogue (Habermas 2006, Turner 2012). This concept has gained considerable attention by the Western researchers after September 11 attacks in the United States. Following this concept, the main focus of researchers is to find the main reasons for the revival of religiosity in secular society, its relationship with secular culture and the issues of interreligious dialogue. In the Islamic scientific and theological world, the “revival of Islam” is recognized as a special phenomenon, which, contrary to the earlier predictions of secularization theories, started to develop throughout the Muslim world (Hefner 2014). Therefore, R. Aslan (2005); T. Ramadan (2009); B.S. Turner and Z.A. Berna (2011); Y. Hamza (2016) and hundreds of Islamic scholars around the globe have considered the “revival of Islam” as the central object of scientific research.

Several European scholars explain that the turning point of the revival of Islam was the revolution in Iran, which had a strong influence on the politicization of Islam. The main reasons for the revival of Islam are related to the long period of colonial oppression by Western countries. This situation greatly strengthened Arab nationalism. However, Arab nationalism did not live up to the expectations of society. Therefore, religion began to enter politics. Religion again started to undertake the role of a national self-defense mechanism – wars rewarded in the name of God (Ayubi 2003, Wright 2007). A.A. Atik (2013) argues that the revival of Islam historically springs from the dual trends of the Islamic Renaissance: reformist and conservative (fundamentalist). “Within the framework of the first, there is a return to the original model of Muslim society, which was the basis of a rich Muslim

culture and civilization. Sharia is regarded as a universal system that should be interpreted and adapted to modern life through *ijtihad* (the study of fact in fact). Supporters of the second also demand a return to the roots of Islam, but reject any interpretation of Sharia, which, in their opinion, should be applied in the literal sense over all spheres of society”.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The issues of revival of Islam in Kazakhstan were studied at three levels: the post-Soviet space; Central Asian region; territory of Kazakhstan. Researchers during the study covered many aspects of revival of Islam. In the Islamic world, we see various movements associated with the revival of Islam, including Islamic liberalism, neo-Sufism, neo-fundamentalism, etc., (Lapidus 2014). Simultaneously, various concepts of revival of Islam are presented in science; however, it is difficult to explain all of concepts within the framework of this article. Therefore, we focus to present a brief overview of the concepts of revival of Islam.

It is evident that the Internet is becoming the home of Islam, which links Muslims all around the world. The first approach involves, revival of Islam is understood as “a growing Islamic identity” or “interethnic Islamic ideology” (Lapidus 1997). K. Gilles (2002) recognizes revival of Islam as the growth of religiosity and the expansion of Islamic culture. A vivid manifestation of the revival of Islam is the pilgrimage to Mecca (Hajj). According to statistics, the number of pilgrims increases every year. B.S. Turner (2007) claims the revival of Islam as the “globalization of Islam”. In another explanation, this is defined as an increase in the number of Muslims throughout the world, the existence of many Islamic Diasporas, and the activity of Islamic political movements. E. Sinanovic (2012) quotes revival of Islam as follows: “revival of Islam is a developmental program, encompassing political, economic, and social arenas. Its goal is to provide a developmental alternative for the Muslim world, one that is significantly different from the dominant liberal democratic paradigm and its socialist-communist counterparts”.

Many Muslim scholars consider the revival of Islam as the improvement of Islamic countries through reform. According to O. Baker (2014), reforms are inevitable. Reforms will allow the religious community to move to new perspectives. Followers of this direction believe that the reforms do not require a change in the primary sources or basic principles of religion

(Ramadan 2009). However, B. Ghoshal (2010) argues that approaches must be careful and Arabization is not the revival we intended to highlight. M. Khalil (2018) reports, that there are two approaches to the meaning of the Reform. Fundamentalists present religious reform as a return to the “pure dogma”, “free from innovations,” which was in the time of the Prophet. We can see many thinkers who support this direction. Among them are the widely spread ideas of Mustafa Shukri about a return to the “ideal past” (Beinin 2005), the assertion of Hassan al-Bann about the inseparability of politics and religion (Bagdadi 1998), Al-Maudidi’s thoughts about the sovereignty of Allah (Maudidi 1980), etc.

The second approach involves defining reform as a way of implementing innovation, updating and modernizing society. M.G. Fedotova (2017) wrote prominent founders of the ideas of Islamic modernism were Kemal Atatürk “on Turkish Islam”, M. Taha “on left Islam”, U. Al-Qardawi “on Euro-Islam”, Ali abd al-Rizak “on the separability of state and religion,” R. Masmudi “about democracy as the key to opening the gates of *ajihad*” etc. Generally, we notice two-dubious reform ideas. As Z. Sardar, J. Serra, and J. Scott (2019) stated: “efforts to reform Islam have a long history and we can differentiate a number of distinctive trends over the last hundred years”. Today we can see various ideas about the revival of Islam. For example, F.A. Alatas (2007) believes: “the revival of Islam in the context of two versions of the Protestant Islam notion, that is, the characterization of contemporary Muslim revival as Protestant-like, and the call for a Protestant-type reformation in the Muslim world”.

We also see statements by scholars, who associate the revival of Islam with certain phenomena. For example, A.A. Khan (2017) argued that Islam and the Muslim people may not be theoretically interconnected, but from a realistic point of view they are dependent on each other. A.A. Khan (2017) insists that the independence and self-determination of Muslim peoples should be attributed to the first stage of the revival of Islam. The next stage of the revival of Islam is the increasing role of traditional and orthodox religious scholars also called – “*Ulama*” –, belonging to various schools of thought, actively pursuing the mission of serving Islam. Thus, he saw the revival of Islam as a political strengthening of Muslim communities. D. Potocnik and K. Plemenitas (2018) identify the main two reasons for the revival of Islam: the identity crisis associated with fundamental social changes affected by modernization; and resistance against the politics of

secularism. In other words, the revival of Islam is associated with the struggle for the protection of culture and freedom from the foreign policies of Western countries. L.E. Grinin (2019) systematizes next reasons for the revival of Islam: “firstly, features of Islam as a religion; secondly, the emergence of an ideological vacuum as a result of the decline of Arab nationalism, as well as leftist and liberal ideologies; thirdly, socio-demographic reasons; fourthly, a special form of modernization and the result of the struggle between different trends; fifthly, oil wealth”.

Revival of Islam A. Elbasani (2015) focused on the Balkan countries. However, her research is relevant to Kazakhstan. She looks at the problems of the securitization of Islam, through which she describes the revival of Islam. W.-M. Dobraslawka (2011) compared Islam to secularization and modernization processes. Accordingly, he considered revival of Islam in relation to modernization and secularization. M. Murtazin (2018) indicates a number of reasons for the revival of Islam, but the main problem is that he presents theses without any justification. K. Mohammad (2005) provides explanations the relationship between globalization and the revival of Islam in the post-Soviet space. He reveals the main analysis on the political significance of revival of Islam.

In addition to the post-Soviet space, much attention was paid to the revival of Islam in Central Asia. M. Xiangyun (2018) focused on the influence of revival of Islam in Central Asian states on security in China’s Xinjiang. He identified two main factors that influenced the revival of Islam in Central Asia, but he did not disclose these factors in detail, limiting himself to a general description. I. Zvyagelskaya (2012) also highlights a number of factors that have influenced the revival of Islam. However, in her research, the main problem is that there is practically no information about Kazakhstan and little empirical information about the revival of Islam. S. Akiner (2000) pays attention to the development of Islam in the 90s. She points to the revival of the three categories of Islam. Adeeb Kh. (2014) analyzes the resurgence of Islam from the post-Soviet regime. He claims the revival of internally diverse Islam in Central Asia. The same opinion is produced by K. Lenz-Raymann (2014). She describes the facts of the heterogeneous manifestation of Islam.

The issues of the revival of Islam in the scale of Kazakhstan are studied in the work of Z.G. Jalilov (2019). He pays great attention to areas of state-confessional relations. Along with this, Z.G. Jalilov

studies the social and ethno-traditional aspects of revival of Islam. B.A. Malik (2019) considers the institutionalization of the public revival of Islam via religious, economic, political institutions indicators. The key issue of his study is to compare the revival of Islam with the concept of modern scholars about the privatization of religion. In this case, he highlights the public role of Islam. A.A. Mustafaeva (2013), like other authors, describes the influence of state-confessional relations, legal provisions on the revival of Islam. M.Y. Omelicheva (2011) drew attention to the state policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan on the secularization of Islam. As part of the study, she described the general trend of revival of Islam. Basically, she interpreted the development in the country of the traditional form of Islam. In other words, she noticed the local contextualization of Islam. A. Sultangalieva (2012) considers the weaknesses of state policy to ensure the immunity of society from destructive religious organizations. During the study, she explains the revival of religious pluralism, in particular Islamic pluralism. D. Vilkovsky (2014) studied the foreign influence on the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. E. Burova (2014) pays attention to issues of religious conversion and national identity. Within the framework of this direction, it is exploring the revival of Islam segment. Therefore, we realize that through a one-sided analysis we cannot come across to the nature of the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. Most likely, the revival of Islam should be represented in the form of an organic system, which manifests itself in a number of aspects of society, such as political and legal, socio-cultural and spiritual.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

During the period of independence of Kazakhstan, there has been a continuous increase in the religiosity of society. Positive dynamics are noticeable in several aspects. Following indicators can show this dynamics. After Kazakhstan gained independence for 29 years, the number of religious organizations has increased to 5 times. In 1991 there were 671 religious organizations (Jalilov 2019). Currently, in the country there are 3.796 religious organizations (Ministry Information and Social Development... 2020). There is an increase in the number of places of worship by 1989 in Kazakhstan; initially, there were 50 mosques, 60 churches and parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church (Mustafaeva 2013). In 2017, 3.464 religious buildings were registered (Decree of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan... 2017), in 2020 the number increased to 3.585 religious buildings, of which 2.678 were

mosques, 301 Orthodox and 108 were Catholic churches, 406 showed Protestant churches 57 – prayer houses of Jehovah's Witnesses, 24 – prayer houses of the New Apostolic Church, 6 – synagogues, 2 – prayer houses of Bahai, 2 – prayer houses of Krishna Consciousness Society, 1 – Buddhist temple (Ministry Information and Social Development... 2020).

According to the data of A. Malakshinova (2018) "In 2018, compared with 2017, the number of publications on a religious topic increased by 45 %. Over the 9 months of 2018 alone, 4.595 materials were published, of which 764 in the republican print media, 480 in the regional, 304 in the television, and 3.047 in internet resources". In 2001, there were 29 printed publications on religious subjects (Freimut 2002), whereas in 2012, there were 38 printed publications (Analysis of the religious situation... 2012). In Kazakh families, the religious mechanisms of moral values increased. According to a sociological analysis, the following indicators were identified when asked about secularity or religiosity of the family; 30.3% respondents represents secular, 21.3% show secular-religious, and 46.8% show the religious families (Shaukenova *et al.* 2016). According to the results of a sociological analysis of the society of Kazakhstan in 2011, the level of trust of Kazakhstan society to other faiths is as follows; full-confidence (5.3%), some confidence (40.9%), not very confident (35.8%), and not fully trusting (18%). These statistics show that confidence in other faiths seems to be slightly lower as compared to other ethnic groups. The level of trust in other ethnic groups is revealed as follows– full confidence (6.9%), some confidence (46.6%), not very confident (30.5%), and not fully confidence (12.9%).

The above data show the positive dynamics of the activity of religious organizations, the growth of the status of religion and the level of religiosity of society. In many ways, we explain the fact that a large proportion of the indicators relate to Islam. According to the 2009 census, 70 % population considered themselves as Muslims (Results of the national census... 2011). Focusing on these circumstances, we see that Islam is increasing its importance in social life. Nevertheless, we do not have enough knowledge about the logic of the development of Islam, which is one of the main issues for religious studies. Based on these findings, we posit the following research question: "what special reasons allow Islam to dominate the process of religious revival?" This study used the following methods – conceptual analysis, structural analysis, and comparative analysis. To

achieve the main goal of the study the following points are considered: to focus on the scientific statements regarding the analysis of the main reasons for the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. To systematize scientific statements into three main aspects—such as political and legal, sociocultural, and spiritual.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Political and Legal Conditions for the Revival of Islam in Kazakhstan

Concerning political and legal aspects, the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan is mainly associated with the political transformation of the state. It is specifically related to the transition to a democratic system of the country's social structure. Consequently, this was accompanied by a change of atheistic attitudes towards secular principles. Nowadays, the modern domestic researchers have initiated the research related to the revival of Islam specifically considering the external or internal political and legal influences. According to researchers, the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan's domestic conditions was primarily due to legal conditions. O. Shakhnovskaya (2013) stated that the law "On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations" of the Republic of Kazakhstan was adopted in the year 1992. This legislation ruling the activities of religious organizations has been referred to as – very liberal. The country has to adopt the new law, because the religious associations have increased from initially 60 to more than 4.500 by the year 2011. The openness of this law is expressed in a specific legal provision. According to the statement of O. Shakhnovskaya (2013), the regulation of missionary activities is still not effectively applied in Kazakhstan. It is precisely related to the lack of clear rules on the distribution of religious goods, the licensing of religious educational institutions, as well as the lack of clear criteria for legal entities entitled to engage in religious practice.

The Act of "Freedom to Worship and Having Religious Associations" (1992), established a liberal opportunity for the creation of religious organizations and their development within the legal framework. As O. Shakhnovskaya (2013) described: "in the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan "on Freedom to Worship and Religious Associations" (1992): "a local religious association is an association formed on the initiative of at least ten adult citizens" (clause 1, article 9). Consequently, she compared with Austria, where 300 people are required for registration, whereas 200

people in Kyrgyzstan, etc. Thus, she added that, this law is liberal. D. Vilkovsky (2014) also criticized this law; she argued that both the ministry and many Kazakh experts generally agreed upon the imperfection of this statement of the law. The liberality of this law especially regarding the registration of religious associations indicates its inadequacy to the current state of religion in society. Furthermore, the liberalism of this law was also pointed out by E. Burova (2013), she explained that liberal legislation on religion have contributed to the strengthening of non-traditional beliefs for the culture of Kazakh society. Z.G. Jalilov (2016) believes that the revitalization of religiosity among the Muslim population has been significant after the mid-90s, which activated the religious movements. This was caused by numerous factors such as, elimination of strict control by the state over the activities of religious associations, and deterioration of social and economic situation, etc. If we analyze the statement of Z.G. Jalilov (2016), we can see that the revival of Islam depends primarily on the liberality of the legal norms of Kazakhstan. Moreover, he highlighted the necessity of paying attention to the voices of various critics on explicit liberality of the 1992's law on "Freedom of Worship and Religious Associations".

External factors also have shown considerable influence on the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. D. Vilkovsky (2014) comments on Polyakov that just after the collapse of the USSR, various foreign Islamic centers of the Middle East began to try to bind the Muslim states of Russia and Central Asia on political, economic and infrastructure to the Islamic world. "Their aim was to show interest in the integration under the slogan of Islamic solidarity. As a result, these regions were influenced by a new wave of Islamic missionary. The Islamic foundations and charitable organizations of the Arab world streamed uncontrollably into these countries". D. Vilkovsky (2014) stated that the influences of Arab-Islamic countries appeared in various aspects such as; economic, charity, educational, and infrastructural. For example, in the economic context, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development financed 40 million USD to improve the environment in the Aral Sea region. Additionally, Saudi Arabia allocated four grants to Kazakhstan amounting to 40 million USD for the construction of various facilities. Moreover, as D. Vilkovsky (2014) pointed out, the master plan for the development of the new capital of Kazakhstan was worked out jointly with a Saudi company, which invested 12 million USD. Kazakhstan

also received a grant from Oman amounting to 10 million USD and a similar amount was also granted by Kuwait. Qatar has funded 20 million USD for the construction of a mosque and Islamic center. 15 million USD were allocated by the United Arab Emirates for the construction of the Palace for the President of Kazakhstan. During 1998 to 2006, Islamic Development Bank (IDB) financed about 77 million USD for infrastructure projects.

Considering the educational aspect, the external influence on the development of Islam was provided by the opening of foreign educational institutions in Kazakhstan, as well as the training of domestic citizens abroad. As D. Vilkovsky (2014) noted: "Only in the late 1980's and early 1990's, the process of contracting on the exchange of students and teachers between universities of Kazakhstan has started. 60 Kazakh students were able to complete one-year studies at the secular university of Moulay Ismail. On the basis of the agreement between Kazakhstan and Egypt in 1992, more than 300 Kazakh students were given the opportunity to study at renowned universities in Egypt. On the basis of fruitful regional cooperation, the Egyptian University of Islamic Culture "Nur-Mubarak" was opened in Almaty in 2001. At the expense of the Beit al-Babtin Foundation, dozens of Kazakh students received religious education at Al-Azhar University".

D. Vilkovsky (2014) continued that especially the Turkish influence was significantly felt in Kazakhstan. Joint Kazakh-Turkish universities (University of Suleiman Demirel, Kazakh-Turkey named after Khozh Ahmet Yassaoui) are actively operating. She further added that the city of Shymkent is the most accessible city for Islamic education. It is notable that private educational institutions appeared in Shymkent including Kazakh-Arab University, and the South Kazakhstan Humanitarian Academy. The number of students at the Kazakh-Arab University was 431 in the year 1994, which was later increased to 3.400 students in 2002. The system of foreign Muslim education has also developed not only at the level of higher education, but also in the form of secondary education. From 1996 to 2005 in Almaty, a college named "Taiba" of religious orientation has established. During these years there were also many foreign Muslim boarding houses, where domestic youth lived and received religious education.

It is worth mentioning that in the development of Islam, it is important to improve the infrastructure of the clergy (i.e. the construction of mosques and religious

teaching centers). Arab-Islamic countries provided large amount of charity for the construction of mosques. Almost all of large – and medium-sized mosques in Kazakhstan were built using foreign funds. For example, the World Islamic Charity Organization (WIBO) built more than 60 mosques, including the main mosque "Nur-Astana". Simultaneously, more than 20 medium – and small-sized mosques were built using the funds received from the Committee of Muslims of Asia (CMA). Abu Dhabi charity (Al-Heiriyah) assisted in the construction of more than 30 mosques. In the area of humanitarian support, Muslim countries assisted in the construction of 16 schools, 17 health centers, dozens of drinking water systems, and two orphanages in Almaty and Shymkent during 1997-2000. The Red Crescent Organization funded two orphanages in the suburbs of Almaty. These funds also took care of more than 100 children from poor families. A. Sultangalieva (2012) also remarked that the relations with the Muslim countries including Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran after the formation of independent Central Asian states played a significant role in the post-Soviet "Islamic upswing". The comprehensive support of foreign Muslim countries began to affect the development of Islam, which was inconsistent with the local understanding of Islam and therefore, it became a lever for the spread of Islamic fundamentalism.

Along with these factors, S. Akiner (2000), M. Xiangyun (2018), Adeeb Kh. (2014) note state support for the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. For example, S. Akiner announces the emergence of State-sponsored Islam in the Central Asian Regions. S. Akiner (2000) writes the following on this subject: "despite the fact that religion and the state were separable in the 1990s, Islam rose to the level of state ideology in the region. This trend occurred because, if not an ideological vacuum is filled, then there will be anarchy". A similar view has been reported by Adeeb Kh. (2014). In accordance with his opinion, a significant influence on the revival of Islam was exerted by the current political authorities of the states that pursued a double strategy. Adeeb Kh. (2014) writes the following about this: "The new regimes have been wary of the power of Islam, which they tend to view expansively. They have tried a dual strategy of attempting to co-opt Islam while controlling it". Regarding state support for the revival of Islam, regarding state support for the revival of Islam, M. Xiangyun (2018) refers to the warm speeches of N. Nazarabaev (the first President of Kazakhstan) on Islam. Nevertheless, these speeches are difficult to consider as state support for the revival of Islam. Thus,

the most favorable opportunities for the development of Islam in the country were created in the political and legal aspects. Simultaneously, this idea is also shared with all other religions in Kazakhstan.

Socio-Cultural Conditions for Revival of Islam in Kazakhstan

Together with the political and legal conditions, sociocultural conditions have had a great influence on the Islamic revival. Based on an analysis of the religious life of the local population, many researchers argued that people tend to perceive religion more as a cultural identity and part of a national tradition than adherence to religious consciousness (Mustafina 2013). Currently, many Kazakhs recognize the importance of religion by simply paying tribute to tradition: "it must be", "it is accepted", "the customs of our ancestors" and "our national traditions" (Akiner 2000). During the late Soviet period and subsequent decades, the Islam of Central Asia became part of their "cultural heritage", as a symbol of ethno-cultural revival and a new national statehood. It has not been and still is not a development strategy, as this is in other parts of the "Islamic world". But rather, it is a way to adapt and survive in dramatically changing economic, social and cultural circumstances (Sultangalieva 2012). In this case, I. Zvyagelskaya (2008) believes that in a country with a predominantly Muslim population, state support inevitably leads to the strengthening of Islam. The process of revival of Islam in the post-Soviet space was part of an emerging national identity.

S. Edelbay (2012) expressed an opinion similar to the previous author. She argued that the increased interest of citizens in religion began to be perceived as part of the ethno-cultural and self-identification process in a general and more complex manifestation; which can be expressed in a return to religious sources of ethnicity, a revival of ethnic identity, as well as culture and traditions. It was far from the majority of the population to seek the truth in the depths of religion. Most people have never been prone to fanatical faith; this is clearly expressed in interfaith tolerance and solidarity. This has a positive effect on interfaith tolerance and solidarity. As confirmation of this trend, A. Sultangalieva (2012) referred to the statistics that 64 % of the Muslims do not perform five-time daily prayers and only 18 % attend Friday prayers. Supporting the idea of previous authors, S. Isabaeva (2017) noted that many citizens of Kazakhstan have shown an increasing interest in Islam. And this is due to various aspects including cultural, social, political

and economic. Moreover, it is unnecessary to fear the increase in the number of religious individuals who perceive rites and practitioners, etc. It is a natural process of people returning to their spiritual origins, in which Islam remains as an important element.

In this dialogue, it is important to take into account the opinion of Z.G. Jalilov (2019), who believed that many of the ongoing processes in the field of religion could be explained by a "return to religious traditions". He attributed the situation to the loss of trust in the justice of public order and to the decline of the prestige of class struggle. Furthermore, he continued to describe that in those years, as is known, many people realized the failure of power systems and social justice, they started to receive moral and spiritual support from religious traditions. Therefore, people desired to increase the importance of their ethnicity and religiosity. Z.G. Jalilov (2006) claimed this process as "mass re-traditionalization". Religious traditions have become a protection, in a sense, through which people have retreated, when they understand that the systems of power and social justice is not viable.

By analyzing the above stated authors, it is evident that in the post-Soviet period, a tendency in society to revive, the spiritual and cultural heritage and the process of national self-identification developed among society. The movement of rethinking history and the popularization of national traditions gave an effect to the development of Islam, where religious values were clearly expressed through the lens of ethno-cultural values. This phenomenon can be interpreted as a manifestation of traditional Islam. Islam has deep-rooted in the traditions of the people; therefore, this religion has become an element of national identity. Moreover, Islam has become a link of indigenous identity. M.Y. Omelicheva (2011) stated the person's motivation, which encouraged interest in religion forms and desired to achieve religious status. This has become significant in the form of identities. However, in the socio-cultural sphere of the independent Kazakhstan, the development of Islam was greatly affected by the increase of inter-state migration and the modernization of means of information and communication.

Distribution of digital Islamic content materials on the internet of Kazakhstan began to develop in the year 2006. According to the Statistics Committee of Kazakhstan, the use of internet in Kazakhstan had increased sharply from about 1 % in 2006 to 53 % in 2013. In 2016, the rate of internet users among

individuals between the ages of 6 to 74 has increased to 76.8 %. According to the TNS (Taylor Nelson Sofres) study, the age group of 15 to 24 years is characterized by almost 100 % penetration into the internet zone, followed by 91 % in the age group of 25 to 44 years (Overview: state policy of the republic of Kazakhstan... 2019). Referring to the above statistics, we can recognize that the internet has become one of the important sources of Islamic propaganda among young people, as indicated in the information of the "Center for the study of problems in religion" (Karashulakov 2014). "Department for religious affairs of the Almaty region" explained that in 2013 more than 2.1 thousand internet resources with religious content were identified in the country, and in 2015 it is increased to more than 3 thousand (Research and Analytical Center for Religious Affairs 2015). These statistics can be compared with other statistics related to the religious situation among young people. The data of sociological studies showed that in 2003 the proportion of young people who called themselves "religious people" was 38.7 %, however in 2013 it was 73.9 % almost doubled. Thus, in 10 years, it is clear that with the increased usage of the internet in the country, the percentage of religious activity among young people has almost doubled (The formation of immunity... 2019). These data are confirmed by the fact that according to the results of studies conducted in 2019, 58.2 % of the population received information about religious issues from internet. (Ministry Information and Social Development... 2020).

In addition to the prevalence of online media, we can also realize a certain migration impact. According to the results of a study by "Association of Sociologists and Political Scientists of Kazakhstan", the substitutive nature of external migration is visible. K.V. Grigoriev (2008) pointed out that substitution is carried out with the emigration of Slavic and European ethnic groups and the immigration of Eastern and Asian ethnic groups. The outflow of the Russian-speaking population was consisting of the amount of the inflow of the Kazakh-speaking population (Ashimbaev 2004). A.N. Alekseenko (2004) stated that external migration made serious changes to the ethno-demographic structure of the Kazakh society. It has increased the number of Kazakh-speaking Kazakhs and representatives of Central Asian ethnic groups, compensating for the loss of the Russian-speaking population. The immigrants bring ethno-cultural models of Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, XUAR of China and other countries of Central Asia into the lifestyle of

Kazakhstanis, contributing to the re-traditionalization of public relations. Thus, in the demography of Kazakhstani society, the number of practitioners of Islam has been increasing due to the processes of immigration of Central Asian ethnic groups.

Another important factor to add is the consideration of Islam as a social institution. In the early 90s, the people of Kazakhstan met with a socio-economic, spiritual and moral crisis. The spiritual and material situation of the people severely deteriorated. At this time, Kazakh society significantly felt the social support from religion (Kamrava 2020). According to E. Burova (2014), religion helped susceptible groups to solve those social problems that society and the state cannot solve, to help in moral support, to receive material assistance, and to overcome from extreme hopelessness. In short, in socio-cultural conditions, four main factors have primarily influenced the revival of Islam including: socio-cultural conditions; revival of the traditions of the people of Kazakhstan for national identity; development of information technology (internet usage); Muslim immigration processes; and the provision by religion of social support.

Conditions for the Revival of Islam in Spiritual Sphere of Kazakh Society

In the spiritual sphere of society, the Islamic revival is associated with the emergence of a certain ideological vacuum in the post-Soviet period (Evkochev 2008, Lenz-Raymann 2014, Murtazin 2018). This vacuum was created from the collapse of the communist ideology. New transformations in the political, economic, cultural life of society, openness to globalization processes, free access to information within the internet space, and social insecurity, contributed to the development of the Islamic values and ideas. But these values and ideas were presented in various manifestations. According to A. Sultangaliev (2012) modern Kazakhstan, like other post-Soviet countries that were once closed to the outside world, subsequently became a consumer of various Islamic ideas and trends. The noted inner Islamic differentiation is based on different interpretations of religious doctrine, the uniqueness of following rituals, and attitudes toward the surrounding reality. This suggests that Islamic pluralism has developed in the consciousness of society.

Adeeb Kh. (2014) on this occasion notes the following: "Many people, Communist Party members included and rediscovered religion in its various forms.

Some returned to traditional forms of ritual, whereas others experimented with denominations new to the area". K. Lenz-Raymann (2014) observes this fact as a heterogeneous manifestation of Islam. The revival of Islam in Central Asia is not a one-dimensional phenomenon, and is presented by various participants who are involved in this process. In this regard, K. Lenz-Raymann (2014) states the following: "The contemporary disputes among state and non-state actors in Central Asia have a lot to do with "traditional Islam" and "foreign influences" on Islam. "The conflicts take place between folk Islam and Sufis, conservative Hanafites, fundamentalist Salafis (also called Wahhabites, but this term is not correct in this context, as I show), and other reformist movements". A. Sultangalieva (2012) identified the following trends among them; traditional Islam, official Islam, and radical Islam. K. Mohammad (2005), the Islamic Renaissance has created a new field for ideological battles.

A similar opinion is expressed by a number of authors. Among them, A. Elbasani (2015) states the fact that there is a competition between national Islam and international Islam. Revival of Islam is described as the activity of disparate Islamic movements, practices that depend on the choice of believers. She explains the transition of Islam from ethno-national, collectively controlled patterns to the local space, namely, to self-determination and self-expression of personal faith. W.M. Dobraslawka (2011) spoke about various, competing Islamic Renaissance trends, which is not associated only with the homogeneous development of fundamentalism. In general, revival of Islam is carried out in the social environment by various religious practices, groups, movements. Among them, there are groups positively related to modernization and secularization. Thus, in connection with the disappearance of the ideological framework of the Soviet Union and the formation of a global information space, ideological pluralism began to spread among the country's society. This situation has led to a heterogeneous manifestation of Islamic rebirth.

CONCLUSIONS

In the context of the analysis of religious discourse, this article was intended to organize researched statements concerning the main reasons for the extensive revival of Islam within the Kazakh society. Thus, we conducted at three levels a brief review of the revival of Islam studies in Kazakhstan. Basically, every author interprets revival of Islam. However, they focus

more on the description of the revival of Islam process in various contexts than on its causes. Together with this, we see little empirical evidence about the causes of the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. In general, we noticed that no one carried out a systematic analysis of the causes of the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan. Generally, conceptual analysis represents the revival of Islam as a multifaceted phenomenon.

This study specifically focused on the revival of Islam considering the three main factors including; political and legal, sociocultural, and ideological. By analyzing the comparative statements on these key aspects, it can be concluded that the mass revival of Islam in independent Kazakhstan was the result of complex factors. Furthermore, it was influenced by major social transformations based on political, legal, sociocultural and ideological changes. Simultaneously, it is worth mentioning here that the main factors that influenced the revival of Islam in Kazakhstan do not differ significantly from those factors that activated other religions (e.g., Eastern Orthodoxy and Catholicism etc.) in their return into public domains in general. Furthermore, we established that the predominant increase in the number of Muslims is associated with the ethnic component of the society in which Islam is historically embedded.

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