EXPANDING THE AREA OF SECURITY AND IDENTITY INTERACTION

Asst. Prof. Mehmet Ali YÜKSEL (Ph.D.) ⬩ iD

ABSTRACT

In international relations, it is possible to observe trends toward linking security with identity in every era. After the Cold War, this relationship manifested itself in two distinct dimensions: the influence of identity in interstate relations and the understanding of societal security focused on protecting societal identity. However, public diplomacy and soft power policies emerging in state practices have added a new dimension to the security-identity interaction. This study examines the relationship between security and identity at both the societal and state levels within the framework of the Copenhagen School and Constructivism. The aim is to understand the interplay of security and identity by seeking answers to the questions, "How can identity be secured, securitized, and used as a security tool?". The study aims to contribute to the literature by revealing the interaction between security and identity at different levels and dimensions.

Key Words: Copenhagen School, Constructivism, Security, Securitization, Identity.

JEL Codes: F50, F51, F52.

1. INTRODUCTION

The concept of International Relations, by its subject matter, encompasses the period following the emergence of nation-states. However, due to the situation it characterizes, its scope extends to much earlier periods. It also addresses the interrelationships of empires, various types of monarchies, principalities, and state-like political units existing outside of these before nation-states. Because the essence of security concepts stems from the subconscious human drive to maintain existence, they have existed in every era of human existence. Similarly, the concept of identity has existed somewhere within the axis of self and other long before conceptualization. Therefore, it is possible to observe tendencies to associate the concept of security with identity, to a greater or lesser extent, in each era. These tendencies have also varied across time and geography, within the framework of the distinction between "self and other" or "we and others" and the concepts of "sovereignty" and "existential continuity". In pre-agricultural hunting eras, the hunting of "other" tribes in hunting grounds adopted by primitive tribes created an existential problem, and even the resulting fights and conflicts reflect a kind of interaction between security and identity. In periods like Ancient Egypt, where sovereignty was based on divinity

⬩ Manisa Celal Bayar University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Manisa / Türkiye, E-mail: mehmetali.yuksel@cbu.edu.tr

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and blood, wars and marriages waged to preserve lineage are examples of the relationship between security and identity. In Islam, societies are viewed as two superordinate identities—Muslim and non-Muslim—and the Crusades, which hold a significant place in Christian history, motivated by jihad, are the result of a security and identity interaction formed around religion. The Cold War of the 20th century lasted approximately 45 years, driven by an understanding of security shaped by ideological identities. Following the Cold War, the Copenhagen School and Constructivism introduced approaches that broadened and deepened the impact of the relationship between identity and security.

As political, military, and economic hardships in the post-Cold War world have escalated, so too has the degree of protectionism and aggression in state behaviour. This study was designed with the hypothesis that states' identity-based policies will intensify accordingly. Social identities play a role in either mass inaction or mobilization. The use of identities plays a significant role in securing social support. Therefore, identity-based security policies are increasingly becoming a focus of governments and are reflected in their policies. In this context, examining the interaction between security and identity is crucial.

Fundamental texts on the relationship between security and identity are based on the concept of societal security conceptualized by Barry Buzan (1991). Buzan, Waever, and Wild (1998) jointly elaborated on societal security, its components, and its processes, establishing the theoretical framework for the concept. In parallel with this process, studies published by Wendt (1992, 1995) examined the impact of societal identity on shaping state behaviour. This framework posits that a state perceives actors it classifies as "others" based on its own identity definition as potential threats while disregarding states it believes share similar identity characteristics. With the introduction of securitization theory, defined by Weaver (1995) as the mechanism by which an issue becomes a security issue, societal security has the potential to permeate every field. Following the conceptualization and theorization of these authors, various authors have used societal security and securitization in numerous studies to examine case studies by focusing on a specific issue or to explain cooperation and conflicts shaped by identity in international politics. Beyond these types of studies, studies addressing the relationship between identity and security theoretically remain limited. Our study, which will also contribute to the literature, is innovative in its broader theoretical perspective of examining the interaction between security and identity.

The first part of the study examines the theoretical framework of the interaction between security and identity, drawing on the perspectives of the Copenhagen School and Constructivism. The Copenhagen School examines social identity, its preservation, and the foundation of political practices through its approaches to community security and securitization. Constructivism, on the other hand, has offered insights into the impact of identity perceptions on state behaviour. These two theories are considered together and synthesized in this study, providing a more explanatory and comprehensive theoretical framework for the interaction between security and identity. The second part examines the

phenomenon of identity and its elements. Focusing on the elements that shape identity at the individual level, the relationship between the individual, society, and the state is examined through these elements. The third part explores the interaction between security and identity, analysing the place and function of identity in security-based policies. It is concluded that the community security approach, which emerged from the work of the Copenhagen School, has expanded through a securitization strategy and a constructivist perspective, encompassing the individual, group, society, state, and system levels. Therefore, identity-based security policies will gain prominence in the future.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF SECURITY AND IDENTITY INTERACTION

The concept of security has been a significant factor in international relations for many years. Because the drive to protect and maintain one's existence is a primary innate subconscious drive for humankind, actions with a security perspective date back to the very beginning of human history. With the emergence of state-like political entities, communities, societies, nations, and interstate relations have become increasingly influential in one way or another. This influence, in the period leading up to the formation of modern nation-states and the end of the Cold War, was realized through the perception of threat directed from state to state, focusing solely on military threats. The scope of this period's understanding of security, which is considered the classical understanding of security, began to shift due to the international political environment that emerged after the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, states' perceptions and understandings on any given issue were shaped by the dominant forces of the bipolar system. With the end of the Cold War, a need arose for new approaches to explain or shape interstate relations. Studies conducted at the Peace Research Institute of the University of Copenhagen, known as the Copenhagen School, began to develop new approaches to meet this need. The current understanding of security emerged from these studies. In this context, modern approaches to explaining the interaction between security and identity are a product of this. Barry Buzan, a member of the Copenhagen School, expanded the classical understanding of security into five areas: political security, military security, economic security, societal security, and environmental security, and the interaction between security and identity began to be addressed within international relations theories.

Community security, one of Buzan's five sectors, has become a new approach that examines the interaction between identity and security, forming the core of the security field, also known as identity security. Community security addresses collective structures and their connection to identities (Waever, 2008: 153). According to Barry Buzan, who introduced the community security approach, this concept reflects the ability of societies to reassert traditional patterns of language, culture, customs, religion, and national values under acceptable conditions for their continuity (Buzan, 1991: 432). Within this framework, community security refers to the preservation of a society's values, characteristics, and perceptions. When a society perceives a development or potential situation as a threat to its values and existence, a threat to community security emerges (Waever, 2008: 153). In this vein, the understanding

of community security, based on subjective perception, has become more complex with the emergence of the concept of securitization. The securitization approach, introduced by Ole Waever in 1995, has evolved into a theory that expands the scope and significance of the interaction between security and identity, with contributions from other scholars of the Copenhagen School (Baysal & Lüleci, 2015: 35). Securitization theory describes the situation where "an actor uses the rhetoric of threats to vital values to establish security issues as security issues, thereby gaining the ability to do things they would not do for personal gain to ensure security" (Waever, 1995: 55). Securitization is a strategy implemented through four fundamental elements: existential threat, target object, measures, and state administrators (or elites) (Buzan, Weaver, & Wilde, 1998: 21). An existential threat refers to the existence of a situation that is claimed to seriously threaten the existence, identity, or fundamental values of a particular community or state. The target object refers to the entities (society, state, national interests, etc.) that are subject to the threat in question and need to be protected. Measures encompass the extraordinary policies and actions proposed to eliminate the threat. State administrators (or elites) play the role of actors who construct, legitimize, and implement the securitization discourse. The interaction of these four elements enables an issue to be defined as a security problem on the political agenda and excluded from ordinary policy processes. In this respect, securitization offers an important analytical tool for understanding how states shape security discourse in their domestic and foreign policies. The theory's fundamental claim is that security issues are based on discursive constructions built around these four elements rather than objective realities. According to the securitization approach, any issue outside the realm of political concern can first be placed in the political arena and then in the security arena. Any non-political issue that the state or decision-makers are not interested in is first made a part of politics through speech and act, and with the politicization of the issue, the opportunity for decision-makers to shape the issue arises, and with the problem being presented as an existential threat, the necessity of giving priority to the issue arises, and thus, a perception emerges in which urgent and exceptional measures are legitimized outside of political processes (Buzan et al., 1998: 23-24).

Constructivism offers a significant paradigm within contemporary international relations theories, developing an approach centred on the constructed nature of social reality. This theoretical perspective argues that social life, relationships, and structures are not objective and immutable phenomena; on the contrary, they are continually constructed based on the knowledge, beliefs, and collective meaning-making processes shared by social actors. Key proponents of the constructivist approach emphasize that the concept of identity is not natural or fixed, but rather is the dynamic product of social interactions, historical processes, and discursive practices (Wendt, 1992: 391-392). Within this theoretical framework, the formation and transformation of social identities emerges as a complex process shaped by the combination of historical narratives, educational systems, and political discourses (Anderson, 1983: 5-7). The phenomenon of constructed identity emerges as a dialectical synthesis of subjective perceptions and the knowledge systems adopted by individuals and collective structures, and this

directly impacts the nature of relations between states. Constructivist theorists argue that the perception of security in international relations is shaped by these identity-building mechanisms. According to them, the formation of environments of trust or distrust in the international system, the development of conflict or cooperation dynamics, and the attitudes of states toward each other are largely determined by mutual identity perceptions (Sandıklı and Emeklier, 2012: 40). The constructivist perspective offers important analytical tools for understanding how states establish the distinction between "self" and "other". Within this framework, it is observed that a state perceives actors it includes in the "other" category, based on its own identity definition, as potential threats, while it does not view states it believes share similar identity characteristics as threats. As evidence for this view, constructivists argue that "the five nuclear weapons possessed by North Korea are seen as a much greater threat to the United States than the 5,000 nuclear weapons possessed by the United Kingdom" (Wendt, 1995: 73). Another example in this context is the immigration policies of European countries. After 2010, mass migration movements emerged because of coups, civil wars, and conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East. These waves of migration, generally directed towards European countries, also triggered increased security concerns in the target countries for various reasons. However, the mass migration to Europe that began with Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 generated much lower levels of security concerns. European countries did not perceive the over 6 million Ukrainian refugees as a threat and quickly accepted them into their countries. Similarly, this constructivist perspective can explain why Turkey never perceived Azerbaijan as a threat, or why the US felt no threat from Canada's attitudes and behaviour. This theoretical approach demonstrates that international relations cannot be explained solely by the balance of material power, and that identities, norms, and social construction processes are at least as decisive as military and economic factors. In this respect, constructivism goes beyond traditional realist and liberal paradigms and offers a more holistic framework for understanding international politics.

In contemporary international relations studies, it is necessary to consider the interaction between security and identity not as a simple factor, but as a fundamental dynamic that determines the structure of the system. When the social construction processes emphasized by the constructivist perspective are combined with the discursive analysis methods offered by securitization theory, the identity-based motivations behind state security policies can be more clearly understood. This synthesis, resulting from the combination of the concept of societal security with securitization theory and constructivist identity analysis, offers a broader perspective for understanding the interaction of security and identity in international relations.

3. THE PHENOMENON OF IDENTITY AND ITS ELEMENTS

3.1. Identity in a Conceptual Framework

In social sciences literature, the concept of identity, known as "identité" in French, derives from the Latin word "identitas". The Latin roots of the concept, "ide" and "idem", demonstrate that the concept of identity is shaped by two principles. The root "ide", meaning ideas and thoughts, expresses the values and opinions associated with the person being characterized. In this respect, it reflects that the concept of identity is shaped by the subject. The Latin root "idem", meaning same, was used to distinguish similar from different (Kohn and Roth, 2012: 1). In this respect, it is possible to argue that identity is shaped along an axis with similarities at one end and dissimilarities/others/others at the other. The Turkish root of the concept of identity is "kim". When the word "kim" associated with recognition and definition, is asked as a question, responses such as "male", "married", "academician", "from Manisa", "Turk", and "Muslim" demonstrate how the addressee expresses himself or herself in different areas and at different levels. Within this framework, the concept of identity, in its simplest and broadest sense, reflects a sense of self or a set of values.

Despite its deep-rooted history, the concept of identity only became more widely discussed in the 20th century as a result of modernity (Aşkın, 2007: 211). The concept of identity has undergone significant changes depending on who defines it, the social conditions within which it is defined, and the place, time, and circumstances under which it is defined. There is still no agreed-upon definition of the concept (Sarı Ertem, 2012: 192). The lack of a clear definition stems from its subjective nature (Buckingham, 2008: 1-24). Although the boundaries of definition are vague, two fundamental dynamics have shaped the presented understandings of identity. The first is the consideration of identity solely through material elements, while the second is the consideration of constructed values in addition to material elements (Sarup, 1996: 14). In this context, while some thinkers focused only on observable material characteristics in their identity definitions, some included moral qualities in these definitions, and some highlighted meaning (Türkkan, 2011: 7).

John Locke viewed identity as the state of an entity remaining the same over time and associated this with consciousness. In this context, Locke's understanding of identity refers to a state of perception, remembrance, and awareness as the fundamental and unchanging characteristics of how people think, explain and develop themselves (Öztürk, 2007: 5). From an identity perspective, Locke examined the individual under two headings: human and person. He argued that human identity, which he explained as a biological entity through bodily continuity, transforms into personal identity through memory and consciousness (Locke, 1894: 439-469). Immanuel Kant discussed the concept of identity in detail in his works, Critique of Pure Reason (1781) and Critique of Practical Reason (1785). Kant argued that definitions based solely on abstract thinking activities and concrete continuity would be insufficient to explain the concept of identity and argued that identity has a transcendental (transcendent subject) dimension (Kant, 1929: 137). In this context, according to Kant, identity is formed through the formation

of material entities and thoughts based on a priori (prior, mental, independent of experience) inferences (Kant, 1929: 137). Kant, who viewed will and reason as lawmakers in connection with the transcendental self, defined the subject itself as a moral being in these a priori inferences and thus included morality in his understanding of identity (Kant, 2002: 58). As can be understood from the views of Locke and Kant, the first definitions of the concept of identity were philosophical analyses, while analyses conducted in recent history have been more situational. According to Charles Taylor, identity, meaning who we are and where we come from, is a phenomenon that gives meaning to our tastes, desires, beliefs, and hopes (Taylor, 1994: 33-34). According to Alexander Wendt (1995: 224), identity formation is the self-definition shaped by an interaction process between the "self" and the "other" through what is perceived as the "other." Another definition of identity is as a subheading of a multidimensional framework that symbolizes individuals' lifestyles, including beliefs, attitudes, and value judgments, reflecting their position and status within their cultural and social environments (Yıldız, 2007: 3). Another definition also defines identity as the sum of values that define our stance in life, such as our desires, dreams, self-image, lifestyle, and collective affiliations, as well as more speculative qualities such as occupation, income, age, gender, honesty, courage, talent, and intellectual power (Bostancı, 2003: 6-7).

While it is preferable to use one of these different definitions to explain the concept of identity, it is also possible to draw a comprehensive identity framework and express identity in the most general sense as the totality of qualities that contain the innate or preferred characteristics of a person, group or society, reflect their desires and wishes, explain their affiliation and enable them to be recognized.

3.2.   Identity and Its Elements at the Individual-Level

Identity is a multidimensional concept that constitutes one of the most fundamental questions in a person's existential quest and expresses how an individual positions themselves. Shaped at the intersection of numerous psychological, sociological, cultural, and historical elements, this phenomenon holds significant significance at both the individual and collective levels. In the identity formation process, consciously revealed elements and those revealed by the unconscious are simultaneously influential. This complex structure manifests itself across a wide spectrum, from the individual's psychological state to emotional reactions, from their intellectual processes to their observational experiences (Erikson, 1968: 5). Numerous factors play varying degrees of roles in identity formation. It is possible to evaluate many factors within this scope, such as the historical period and geographical location in which an individual was born, family structure and dynamics, ethnicity, native language and other languages spoken, experiences during childhood and adolescence, formal or informal education received, the religious belief systems and teachings of the society in which they live, daily life practices and routines, the cultural fabric and value judgments of the society, the means and methods of communication used, the social policies implemented by the state, and efforts to shape society (Deaux, 1993: 4). Each of these factors leads to the formation of a mosaic of identity at the individual level and

is reflected in different patterns at the societal level. Grasping the dynamics of societal security requires understanding what is secured and what threatens (Williams, 1998: 435). This is possible by understanding the elements that constitute identity within the individual order. While each of these elements that constitute identity is important in its own right, some have more decisive and lasting effects than others. In this context, basic factors such as ethnicity, language, religion, place, history and culture come to the fore in identity formation.

Ethnicity is a fundamental factor that expresses an individual's biological and cultural origins. Shaped by blood ties, this element is a characteristic determined beyond an individual's control and cannot be changed throughout life. Therefore, it is considered one of the first and most fundamental determinants of identity formation. Ethnicity profoundly influences not only an individual's physical characteristics but also their language preferences, historical affiliation, and cultural orientations. For example, an individual belonging to a particular ethnic group inherits the historical experiences and collective memory of that group. This directly influences how an individual positions themselves and perceives their place within society. Consequently, ethnicity plays a critical role in determining an individual's social status and network of relationships.

Language plays a central role in both the formation and expression of identity (Hall, 1997: 1-11). Language is a fundamental tool that shapes a person's thought system, enables them to express their emotions, and transmits their cultural values. It emerges as the most important element that strengthens social ties and builds a bridge between the past and the future. Through language, traditions, customs, shared values, and collective memory inherited from our ancestors are passed on to new generations (Mora, 2008: 5). Furthermore, language is more than just a means of communication; it also shapes how an individual perceives and interprets the world. For example, the lack of exact equivalents for concepts in a particular language in other languages leads speakers of that language to evaluate the world differently. Therefore, an individual's native language and the languages they learn in addition to it play a crucial role in identity formation.

Throughout human history, religion has profoundly influenced not only spiritual life but also social structure and cultural norms. Religious beliefs and their institutional structures play a decisive role in a wide range of areas, from the most fundamental social unit, the family, to legal systems, political structures, artistic understanding, and economic relations (Aşkın, 2007: 217). The teachings, forms of worship, and social norms of different religions shape individuals' distinction between "us" and "others". For example, an individual who belongs to a particular religious group may internalize the values of that group while developing a different perception of other groups. This demonstrates the importance of religious affiliation in an individual's identity formation. Furthermore, religious rituals and celebrations are among the important elements that reinforce an individual's social identity.

The concept of place represents a context encompassing both geography and the urban environment. The geography an individual inhabits, with its inherent limitations and constraints, impacts their lives and consequently, the conditions that shape their identity. While changing geographical conditions is difficult or impossible, urban place are designed. Urban place not only place the public identity and self of a city but also shape the identity and personality of individuals and reflect the identity of society (Güleç Solak, 2017: 14-15). These places encompass the designs of the buildings where individuals live, work and play, the general architecture of their city, and the structures and designs they see as they walk down the street. The element of place both revives an individual's historical memory, creates an aesthetic perception that shapes their preferences and tastes, and reflects their cultural values. Therefore, there is a significant connection between place and an individual's sense of identity. Place influences the individual and the individual influences place, mutually contributing to each other's identity.

History is the element that establishes the holistic connection between past, present, and future necessary for the formation of an identity. Unlike nature, history is a process of action that encompasses not only event processes but also thought processes (Çiftçi, 2007: 102). Therefore, it has a characteristic that shapes individuals' thoughts. It also serves to sharpen the perception of the "other," which plays a significant role in identity formation. Individuals compare their own role or that of their group within the historical process with that of other individuals and groups, and as a result, their sense of belonging to their identity increases or decreases. Therefore, history plays a significant role in identity formation.

Culture is a structural set that includes traditions, beliefs, values, cults, behaviours, habits and many similar elements that belong to each society and are passed down from generation to generation through learning (Kekevi and Kılıçoğlu, 2012: 1184). Since their existence, it directs human behaviour, making them similar to some and different from others. For this reason, there is a strong connection between identity and culture. The perception of similarities and unity that forms between people on the basis of culture provides the tool of cohesion called "identity" (Akça, 2005: 9). The eating and drinking habits, musical patterns and sport types that we encounter in daily life are also sub-headings of culture. Eating and drinking patterns, which are a product of social culture, are one of the important factors that are shaped under the influence of physical and geographical conditions and reflect the identity of a society (Berkay-Karaca and Karacaoğlu, 2016: 562). The fact that music is a universal language means that the identity codes in music do not have a regional variability; Music, like other cultural elements, varies across regions (Mustan Dönmez, 2011: 157). Therefore, music, in interaction with the unique characteristics of the region, is a contextual continuation of culture and an indicator of identity.

In addition to these elements that shape identity, technological advances have also made the media an increasingly influential factor in identity formation. While its influence is acknowledged today, it is impossible to ignore its increasing impact on individuals during childhood and adolescence. Individuals' mindsets and behavioural patterns are shaped through traditional media (television, radio, newspapers,

magazines) and new media platforms (social networks, digital content). In a society where individuals are heavily influenced by media, culture is shaped by media influence, and media is the most common determinant of socially accepted values (Mora, 2008: 5). Especially during the globalization process, local cultures are transformed by media influence, and hybrid identities are emerging. Media functions as a powerful tool that reproduces cultural values, directs social norms, and controls individuals' perceptions (Mora, 2008: 6). Therefore, it is possible to say that the direct and indirect effects of media on individuals' identity perceptions are quite strong today.

Identity, formed through the interaction of all these elements, emerges as a dynamic and multilayered phenomenon. While harmony and consistency among these elements ensure a stable individual's sense of identity, contradictions and variability can lead to a more fluid and transitional identity. In today's global world, with increasing intercultural interactions and accelerating technological advancements, individual identities are in a constant state of transformation. This is reflected in the shaping of social identity perception.

3.3.   Identity and Its Elements at the Community Level

Social identity is a multidimensional concept in the social sciences literature that refers to the complex relationships an individual establishes with the social structure they live in. This phenomenon comprehensively describes the psychological and emotional attachment an individual develops to the historically established value system, normative structures, collective thought patterns, artistic and aesthetic productions, linguistic codes, religious beliefs and practices, traditions and customs, institutional structures, and all other sociocultural elements of the society they belong to (Özdemir, 2011: 108). Social identity emerges as a dynamic process encompassing an individual's perception of themselves as part of a social group and the behavioural implications of this perception.

When we examine the ontological foundations of the concept of society, we see that for a society to exist, its individuals must integrate around a common identity and internalize this identity (Öztürk, 2007: 11). This integration process creates a mutual and dialectical interaction between social structure and individual identity. This interaction, similar to the homeostatic balance in a biological organism, expresses a constant state of harmony and restructuring. The social system, like a living organism, exhibits a dynamic structure that constantly reproduces and transforms itself. In this context, while individuals actively participate in social life through the characteristics of their identities, the social structure itself profoundly influences and shapes the identity formation processes of individuals. During the socialization process, individuals begin to be shaped by the elements of national identity, religious value system, political ideologies, economic production relations, and cultural codes of their society. In other words, the social structure positions the individual as a bearer and reproducer of their own value judgments. Material and spiritual means of production, such as educational mechanisms, cultural transmission processes, and political institutions existing in society, pave the way for the development

of individuals with specific identity characteristics (Aşkın, 2007: 216). This situation can also be considered a reflection of the power relations and power mechanisms between the social structure and the individual.

The scientific foundations of social identity were provided a systematic framework by Social Identity Theory, developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner, who have conducted significant studies in the field of social psychology. According to this theory, individuals tend to make various social categorizations out of a need to make sense of the social world and position themselves (Mael & Ashforth, 1989, p. 20). During this categorization process, individuals define themselves within numerous social groups, such as ethnicity, religious affiliation, gender roles, occupational status, socioeconomic class, and so on. This categorization mechanism inevitably leads to intergroup differentiation and, through these differences, the formation of a distinction between "us" and "other". This cognitive and emotional conflict that emerges between groups ultimately forms the basis for the construction of a higher-level social identity.

3.4.   The Interaction of Individual, Society and State in Identity Formation

The mechanism of social identity formation fundamentally operates through individuals positioning themselves within broader and more inclusive social categories. In this process, most of the elements that shape individual identity (such as ethnicity, language, religion, and culture) also constitute the fundamental building blocks of social identity. Shared historical experiences, collective memory, myths, and symbols, in particular, are among the strongest binding elements of social identity. In this context, religious belief systems, linguistic associations, a shared sense of the past, and cultural practices constitute the core structure of social identity. Modern nation-states possess the power to shape and direct their citizens' sense of identity through various institutional mechanisms. Through tools such as education policies, official ideologies, cultural policies, media regulations, and legal frameworks, states can directly influence individuals' identity formation processes.

States seeking to ensure public security can develop practices that increase historical awareness among individuals and societies, thereby strengthening the sense of individual and social belonging. For example, in education, art, fashion, sports, commerce, the media, streets, and daily life— that is, in every aspect of life—they can create words that can be used instead of foreign words and encourage the use of the native language. Urban architecture can be specifically planned, focusing on religious-themed structures such as public buildings, places of worship, and cemeteries, especially educational and service buildings, and in this context, can instill a historical and national spirit in individuals and societies. They can intervene in activities such as television, newspapers, magazines, and social media that belittle national cultural values or promote the adoption of foreign cultural values. They can encourage the production of publications that foster national consciousness. They can highlight those that embody

local and national elements in daily activities, from clothing and nutrition to sports and art, thus preserving society's lifestyle in the short term and culture in the long term.

Examples of such policies can be multiplied. These examples demonstrate that states, through identity-based policies, can shape social identity by limiting individuals' areas of identity expression while simultaneously highlighting certain identity elements. In this context, the guiding and regulatory role of the state in the construction of social identities is an undeniable reality.

4. SECURITY AND IDENTITY INTERACTION

The interaction between security and identity fundamentally occurs through the dynamics that shape identity at both the individual and societal levels. However, the dominant actor in this interaction is not the individual or society, but the state. States protect or exploit identity at the individual or societal level by directing this interaction through various actions. In this context, three distinct relationships emerge when examining the interaction between security and identity. The first is identity security, which focuses on the security of the elements that constitute identity against the presence of a real-objective threat. The second is identity securitization, which focuses on achieving political goals through the presence of a threat shaped by discursive-subjective concerns. The third is the use of identity as a security tool.

4.1. Identity Security

Identity security, in its most comprehensive sense, is defined as "the defense of an identity against a perceived threat or danger, or, more broadly, the defense or self-defense of a community against a perceived threat to its identity" (Tüysüzoğlu, 2015: 201). Crucial in this regard is determining whether perceived threats are being used as securitization tools and distinguishing between perceived threats being real or constructed for specific purposes (Özkural Köroğlu and Yüksel Çendek, 2015: 197). Ensuring identity security is possible by ensuring the security of its constituent elements. In other words, identity security can be established through inductive methods. In this regard, there are three main threat areas that should be focused on: demographic structure, horizontal competition, and vertical competition (Buzan et al., 1998: 121). Threats to these areas affect the structure of society, its culture, language, beliefs, values, and sense of belonging to its state.

The first of the three main threats to identity security, "demographic Structure" is the subject of identity security. A society's demographics are not only the foundation of its identity but also its survival. A change in population structure will lead to identity conflicts in the short term and the erosion or even loss of social identity in the medium and long term. A society may comprise numerous ethnically or religiously diverse groups that constitute that society. In this context, when we examine societies, we generally encounter three different situations in the population balance. The first is when one group within a society constitutes 70%, 80%, or more of the population and, as a result, is a determining factor

in the social and political structure. The second is when there is no significant numerical difference between groups and the society defines itself through a collective identity. The third is when one group, despite constituting a significant proportion of the population, remains under the influence of a smaller group. The shaping of a society's identity also takes place according to these circumstances. There is an existing population balance and a corresponding perception of social identity. The asymmetrical proliferation of one of these groups, resulting in an abnormal increase in its share of the population, is considered an "internal factor". This disruption of the existing balance among the groups constituting a society will lead to the numerically and proportionally increasing group prioritizing itself and asserting certain demands that will alter its existing sense of identity. Even if such a demand is not expressed, a de facto shift in the perception of social identity will occur because a shift will occur under the influence of ethnic, religious, linguistic, or cultural elements that influence the identity formation of that society (Buzan, 1991: 447). The disruption of the demographic structure within a society due to sudden mass migrations stemming from a regional problem or systematic migrations, even from distant locations, that cause internal accumulation is considered an "external factor". The mass migration not only creates a new demographic balance but also influences the existing social identity through the emergence of new languages, religions, cultures, and lifestyles. The greater the difference between the characteristics of the migrating group and the characteristics of the migrant group, the greater the deterioration. Therefore, migration is seen as a threat to social identity (Kim, 2008: 6).

The second main threat to identity security, horizontal competition, refers to the change that people may experience first in their lifestyles and then in their self-definition due to being influenced by actors with dominant cultural and linguistic influence on a regional or global level. A threat to identity security arises when one society falls under the gravitational pull of another and begins to internalize and use the cultural characteristics, lifestyle, and language of that society. Individuals compare themselves with other individuals or the group they belong to with other groups. As a result, if they conclude that they or the group they belong to is better than the other group, their social identity and sense of belonging are strengthened (Hogg and McGarty, 1990: 3). In other words, our belief in ourselves through the other is strengthened, and our commitment to our society increases. When the opposite is the case, the individual's commitment to their identity decreases, and their identity may even be abandoned. To give an example of this; It's impossible to expect an Asian community—one that constantly eats fast food, listens to rap music, follows NBA games, organizes baseball tournaments, celebrates Halloween or Christmas, and has English/French names for most of the shops and stores on its streets—to think like an Asian community. That community hasn't been able to secure its identity and has been influenced by the identity of another community.

The final major threat to identity security is the element of "vertical competition." Vertical competition characterizes the shift in people's self-definition resulting from an integration project or the strengthening of a regional/separatist movement. In such cases, both the degeneration resulting from

individuals and groups beginning to separate from their social identity and the disillusionment or loss of motivation within the rest of society regarding the state-society bond pose a threat to identity security. We can see an example of this situation within the framework of the integration project in the EU integration process. It is observed that some segments of the EU member states have begun to disregard the identity of their nation or state and to define themselves as European citizens, as Europeans. In this situation, over time, these segments are likely to embrace the values promoted by the EU over their own national history and values (Breakwell, 2004, pp. 38-39). While this situation allows for the melting pot of different identities and the establishment of a common identity in the long run, it will also damage the identity perception of many societies. An example of identity security emerging within the context of the strengthening of a regional/separatist movement can be seen in post-Saddam Iraq. The emergence of an ethnically based regional government in northern Iraq, its attempts to declare independence, and the steps taken to establish its infrastructure began to erode social identity. As the division between groups in the country, driven by nationalism directed at one another, deepens, it is possible to argue that the core of "Iraqi identity" is gradually diminishing among other groups or individuals outside the scope of the regional/separatist movement. Both the EU integration process and the examples of regional governments in Iraq illustrate the challenges vertical competition can pose to identity security.

4.2. Securitization of Identity

Identity securitization refers to the creation of a perception, through speech acts, that there is a significant threat to social identity in situations where there is no real threat to demographics, horizontal competition, and vertical competition, which we have described as the key areas in the context of identity security, or where the threat is so limited that it can be ignored. In this respect, securitization is a type of perception management strategy.

The phenomenon of identity provides an effective basis for social groups to mobilize for collective action (Ağır, 2015: 119). A society prioritizes its support for protecting whichever element of its identity it feels most threatened (Maalouf, 2000: 18). Therefore, social identity is one of the primary areas that can be used to achieve political goals. Situations that can be subject to such use manifest themselves in two distinct environments: domestic policy and foreign policy. The domestic policy environment here refers to the power struggle between legitimate political organizations with the potential to come to power within a state and illegitimate bureaucratic organizations. The perception of a threat to the nation, state, and country to which a society feels a sense of belonging can provoke collective action. Therefore, in democratic societies, political parties frequently criticize each other based on social identity, attempting to increase public support in order to come to power. Another actor in the securitization trend in the domestic political environment is illegitimate bureaucratic organizations. The securitization of identity is one of the primary areas used by juntas seeking to gain power within the military, or by organized structures within the bureaucracy seeking greater influence

in decision-making processes, to achieve their political goals. It is possible to observe various activities undertaken within the context of identity securitization during the development of coups in a country.

The foreign policy environment, on the state level, represents the power struggle between states. In this environment, the securitization of identity, which primarily aims to achieve the interests sought by governments, is a process that unfolds in two distinct dimensions. The first encompasses processes conducted in areas beyond state borders to gain advantage over other states. An example of this is frequently observed in Iranian foreign policy. By securitizing Shia identity, the most important element of Iranian social identity, Iran has built numerous militia structures in various countries of the Middle East and, through the Shia Crescent strategy it has developed with these structures, has waged a power struggle against its rivals or enemies in the region. The second dimension of identity securitization is a process conducted by states within their own societies to secure public support for policies they must implement to achieve their desired interests. An example of this was frequently observed during the Cold War, within the context of the US's policies against the USSR.

4.3.   Using Identity as a Security Tool

While at first glance like the securitization of identity, this situation is completely different in both its objective and implementation. The aim of securitization is to create a perception of threat to identity. The use of identity as a security tool does not pose a threat to identity; the aim is to eliminate hostility by changing the policies and even regimes of the target state by imposing its own values on its society. As argued by constructivist theory, states defined by a state based on its own identity are perceived as potential threats, while states with similar identity characteristics are not. If a state can disseminate and impose its values within the target country's society (and therefore its political elite) through elements that shape its social identity, such as culture, religion, history, and lifestyle, that state ceases to be a threat. Thus, security threats are pre-emptively eliminated while diplomatic and strategic advantage is achieved. The use of identity as a security tool operates through this very process.

The use of identity as a security tool means that a state, in the process of ensuring its security against another state it perceives as a potential rival, threat, or risk factor, utilizes elements that constitute its social identity to influence the target state's society (and therefore its pressure groups, bureaucracy, and administrators). In this strategy, the goal is to change the policies of the individual, society, and then state in the relevant country. In this context, policies defined as public diplomacy and soft power in international relations, in addition to their scope, also appear as strategies that encompass the use of identity as a security element (Ross, 2010: 81). This strategy refers to a process that requires manipulating social and cultural ties as part of a state's security policies. A state can minimize the risks posed by a state it perceives as a rival by leveraging shared values, historical ties, and cultural affinities with its own society, or by fostering empathy through lifestyle and future visions. To illustrate this with a sad example, a Cuban society that is fond of fast food, a fan of English music, a baseball and NBA

fan, has decorated its homes in an American-style manner, uses fewer words from its native language in its daily conversations, and has no historical affiliation will not pose a threat to the United States, but will embrace and support its policies and discourse.

Using identity as a security tool can neutralize enemy states in the medium to long term and bring non-enemy states closer together. In some cases, it can even aim to achieve regime change in target countries (Gilboa, 2006: 721). In this context, using identity as a security tool functions as a tool that can alter the balance of power by changing policies, governments, or regimes in enemy countries and facilitating the formation of new alliances in the international system.

5. CONCLUSION

The relationship between security and identity in international relations has evolved throughout history, evolving through a shifting understanding of the basis and source of sovereignty. In today's understanding of sovereignty, which places the will of the people as the foundation and source of power, this relationship can be said to exist as the security of social identity, or in other words, societal security. It is understood that ethnicity, language, religion, place, culture, history, and similar elements that influence identity formation at the individual level also influence identity formation at the societal level. While individuals influence societal identity through their identities, societal identity in turn influences individual identity, thus creating a phenomenon of identity that is constantly being restructured (constructed). This study demonstrates that the societal security approach, which emerged from the work of the Copenhagen School, has developed from a constructivist perspective and interacts with the understanding of security across a broad spectrum encompassing the individual, group, society, state, and system levels. This interaction is understood to be shaped by the axis of identity security, identity securitization, and the use of identity as a security tool.

Threats to identity security and practices related to ensuring identity security occur in the areas of demographic structure, horizontal competition, and vertical competition. In this context, states that perceive threats to public security are likely to implement policies aimed at protecting and developing sub-factors that influence identity formation, such as language, religion, lifestyle, and historical awareness, to ensure identity security. This will manifest itself in an increased emphasis on local identity and nationalism in various areas, such as population, migration, refugees, education, media, language, history, and values. Furthermore, the likelihood that policies pursued by a state seeking to strengthen its position in the international system or its region will be perceived as a threat to the identity security of other states suggests that identity security will play an even more critical role in the future.

Practices aimed at securitizing identity are implemented within the framework of power-seeking and power-maximizing. There is no doubt that the ever-present competition in domestic politics will continue in the future. Epidemics, economic crises, conflicts, and wars experienced since the early 2000s have increased the perception of threat in interstate relations. This increased perception of threat paves

the way for a policy environment in which states will focus on power maximization rather than engaging with international organizations or international law to address their security concerns in the coming years. Therefore, strategies aimed at securitizing identity are likely to gain prominence in states' political visions.

States planning to use identity as a security tool aim to both ensure domestic stability and expand their foreign policy influence. In this context, they will tend to increase public diplomacy activities, particularly directed at the societies of neighbouring countries with which they have historical ties. States facing such a strategy and viewing it as a potential threat will pursue policies that securitize identity and strengthen their own social ties. In today's international system, where globalization is deepening, soft power is gaining prominence, and public diplomacy is intensifying, the use of identity as a security tool will become an increasingly common strategy. Therefore, it is safe to say that identity-based security policies will be one of the most important agenda items in international relations in the coming years.

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