



Analysis of the Role of Identity in Iran's Nuclear Policy

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Abstract

In this study, has analyzed the influence of cultural-identical factors on the nuclear policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran's governments from the Perspective of Constructivism. In this regard provides a qualitative and quantitative investigation on Iran's national security policy in the nuclear program within the constructivist theory framework and its central categories of 'identity', 'identification'. Findings show that during the presidency of Mohammad Khatami, due to the "view and mentality" of Iranian officials towards "themselves" and "the other side", the cultural-identity output of "expediency" has had a higher impact on Iran's nuclear policy. At that time, despite the Iranian government's interactive approach, the United States and European countries refused to accept a minimal nuclear program for Iran. During the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, considering the "view" and "mentality" as well as the experience of the previous period, the cultural-identity output of "justice" and "anti-oppression" had a higher impact on Iran's nuclear policy. During that period, due to distrust of Western countries especially the United States and their lack of interaction and adoption of a confrontational approach by the Iranian government, the burden of disputes had increased between the two sides. During Hassan Rouhani's presidency, the cultural-identity output of "interactionism" has had a greater impact on Iran's nuclear policy. During this period, due to the interactive approach of the Iranian government and the adjustment of the demands of the United States and European countries, a nuclear agreement -"JCPOA"- formed.

Keywords: *Iran's National Security Policy; Nuclear Program; Identity*

1. Introduction

In the first decades of the third millennium, the concept of national security has entered a new phase. The growth of globalization together with factors such as changes in technology and revolution of information as well as change in global power system has evolved the concept of national security. In addition to the previously mentioned factors, raise in nation understands, security has shifted its hardware meaning to a software meaning. Parallel to these objective and subjective reforms, scientists and thinkers have has evolved their perspectives and theories in theoretical and experimental domains. However, many security-related schools of thought especially two main schools of Realism and Liberalism and their main branches like Constructive Realism and Neoliberal institutionalism have been incapable of explaining many national and international security policies. These two theories, with an emphasis on structural effects on national policies (Structural Realism) and considering national interests of governments as exogenous by themselves (Neoliberalism), don not have the power of anticipating the political units' (Governments) national interests (Katzenstein, 2011: 24). This problem appears in a more prominent way for an analysis of Islamic republic of Iran's national security analysis. As for explaining the Islamic

republic of Iran's national security policies in different domains and especially in nuclear program with considering hypotheses of systemic theory as a default (Neoliberalism or Neorealism), many of scholars are either incapable of appointing country's national security policies, or in many cases, they consider it as contrary to the national interest (pre-assumed).

The problem with all of the different types of Liberalistic and Realistic viewpoints in explaining the national security policy of countries such as Islamic republic of Iran especially in the case of nuclear program, is that, firstly, these views assume the government's position in the case of international structure only considering their physical power. Secondly, these viewpoints consider the equal effect of institutional limitations on the governments' interests as absolute and unquestionable and as a result, view governments with definite interests as rational role players and emphasize the selection of these role players in the framework of structures and international organization by distinguishing intellectual implements of these role players and marginalizing the meaning-identity (cultural – social) related facts and norms. However, research on interests and national security policies of a country such as the Islamic republic of Iran especially in the case of nuclear program requires a different type of theoretical approach.

Therefore, in this study, due to the identity-oriented approach of the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, nuclear policy and the evolution of the nuclear case have analyzed in the framework of the theory of constructivism. This study has considered the concepts of 'identity', 'identification' using the constructivist theory and has tried to understand the Islamic republic of Iran national security policy. Then, with the achieved understanding, interpretation and analysis of the nuclear program of Islamic republic of Iran has done. To this end, the effectiveness of the identity outcomes of the Islamic republic of Iran national security policy has interpreted in the nuclear program. for the analysis of field data, the SPSS software was used in which Friedman test was adopted to specify the degree of effectiveness of each concept. Therefore, in order to strengthen the findings of the study experts' ideas were used. For this reason, It has been tried to select experts who are familiar with the topic of this study. To this end, after a full analysis of the academic resume and CV of the experts in this field and with the help of snowball sampling, a number of 120 people with expertise and fame related to the topic of this study selected as the participants of this study.

As for the difficulty of access to a good number of experts, familiar with the topic of this study, snowball sampling was utilized, and from 120 people familiar with the topic of this study were identified and from these people, 91 accepted to participate in this study.

2. Theoretical Framework

Constructivist Theory and Identity

Constructivist theory is one of the theories that give a particular attention to investigate the importance of non-materialist structures and the role of identity in creating national interest and foreign policy of countries. This theory rejects hypothesis of mind, neorealism, and neoliberalism, and emphasizes the construction of mind, identity, role-players' interest and mutual act and creation of broker and structure (Riss, 2000: 1 – 39). Constructivists' concern about 'the developmental role of intellectual factors' puts them against Materialism dominating the main stream in international relations and at the same time, it distinguishes them from the post constructivists due to accepting the importance of material reality (Heydari Zadshali, 2013: 18).

Among improvement theories, the theory by Alexander Wendt has a special place (Abolhassan Shirazi & Nikoo, 2015: 17). The most important work of Wendt is the book 'social theory of international policy'. In this book the writer has tried to find a moderate way between the main stream of international relations and postmodern constructivists and critical theoritions to establish a modernist constructivism

(Atai & Mansouri Moghadam, 2013: 139). Constructivists like the followers of English schools of thought, and unlike the neorealism theory which considers the structure of the international system as distribution of tangible powers, considers international system as a society built up from social actors interacting with one another; and their interaction is based on rules and norms shaped in an inter-intellectual way (Kubálková, 2001). Therefore, according to their meaning based approach, what is important in the structure of international system and internal society are the norms and rules and generally non-material or meaning based factors (Rasooli Sani Abadi, 2012: 181).

Constructivists believe that international structure is not fore-given but it is emerged from a permanent dialectic of structures and role players (brokers) which act on the basis of their intellectual meanings and not necessarily expressive mindfulness. According to social constructivism, materialistic sources find meaning only in larger social structures. These organizations include inter-intellectual knowledge and processes that reproduce the structures (William, 2009: 69).

Constructivism has entered culture and identity into political literature in a comprehensive way. According to constructivism, culture plays a preeminent role in the formation of politics and governments behavior; Anarchy is what governments understand, and our mentality and view of the world and the identity we have, plays a substantial role in our self-understanding of power and national interest of ours and others. Security, goals and national interests rise from the understanding of the nations from themselves and others. They are social, inter-intellectual, and constructed (Katzenstein, 2011: 7). Identity and governments' interests are created by norms, interactions and cultures, and this 'process' specifies the subject of interactions and relations between the governments. The relations between them are based on the meaning they consider for one another (Sajadpour & Ijtihadi, 2010: 33). Identity is linked to three categories of location (geography), space (network and social relations) and time (history), and is affected by the characteristics and developments of these three categories (Mossalanejad, 2012: 139). Constructivists, investigate approaches in which identities and interests of actors in a process of permanent social communication with other players are produced, reproduced, and sometimes changed (Abolhasan Shirazi & Nikoo, 2015: 17). From a constructivist perspective, identities reduce the uncertainty by providing meaning (Aghahosseini & Mahdian & Bayat, 2015: 65). For this reason, constructivism pays great attention to culture-norm identity of internal and international environment (political-social). The way they give structure to the interest in a harmonious way in the whole global system is talked about under the ideology of constructivism (Sajadpour and Ijtihadi, 2011: 33).

Constructivism as a norms approach places its emphasis on the ways in which interests are changed. Since the norms are created in a social context, it evolves and changes harmonious to changes in social interactions. Understanding of this development and normative evaluation and the identity shaped from it and the changing interests that it creates are the main interests of constructivists theory. Therefore, according to constructivism, pure intellect is not dominating relations between countries and their behavior; inner and international borders are not separate from each other the way the main stream shows them to be; evolution in national identities happens in interaction between internal and international (structure and broker) environment. Culture, identity, norms, and national and international values play a significant role in forming politics and behavior of role players in the world. (Katzenstein, 2011: 8).

Constructivists are of the opinion that since political leaders live in a social environment and are affected by norms and society values, they present these norms and values in political decisions. In constructivist analysis of foreign politics, intellectual models are transformed into determining factors of foreign politics. Politics and realities of international relations are created in an inter-intellectual way. Also, constructivists believe that leaders' decisions are affected by norms and values of the society and are not based in vacuum (Bayat & Dehghani Firouzabadi, 2015: 4). That how a political actor reacts against a strategic environment is unclear but this kind of reaction depends, to some extent, on how actors conceive of the world (Katzenstein, 1998: 17). In the constructivist school of thought, governments are not economical actors who behave and decide based on the logic of the result, but are social actors who

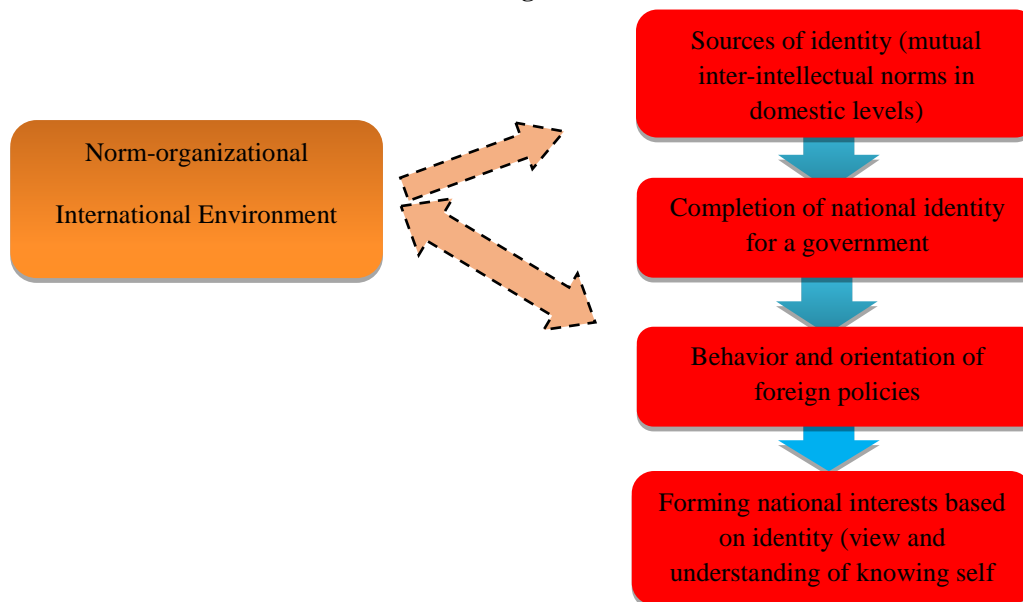
act according to logic of suitability (suitable to their own identity). Therefore, for understanding their foreign politics in international system, one should pay attention to the inter-intellectual sources forming their identity, sources that can affect governments identity formation in both national and international levels and makes them act in a particular way (Rasooli Sani Abadi, 2012: 85).

The central and pivotal point of constructivism is ontology. This goes so far that many believe that constructivists have basically shifted their point of discussion in the domain of international relations from epistemology (the main stream in modernism) to ontology (Heydari Zadshali, 2013: 18). Constructivism, in regard with ontology, supports idealism to materialism, and from 'subjectivism' to 'objectivism'. From this view constructivism does not believe in the existence of a world independent of human mind (realism). From an epistemological perspective also, this view does not accept the possibility of reaching the objective, innate, and fore-given truth (Mottaki & Kazemi, 2007: 210). The constructivist theory, due to its triple rules of ontology, is very beneficial in specifying foreign behavior of countries. These triple statements that shape the main core of specifying social and materialistic environment of foreign politics and help us in forming the interests and similarities and differences of foreign policies of countries are:

To sum up constructivist view in international relations one can say that the truth (reality) of the system is not fore-given but is completed in a reciprocal communication between the role players. Traits and characteristics of this social situation is manifested in these interactions. Role players in their reciprocal interactions, act based on their identity, ideas, and intellectual imaginations and in the end, in one mutual imagination they create the reality. (Motaghi & Kazemi, 2007: 210).

Based on constructivist theory, identity and interests of countries are in connection with each other and countries define their interests based on their identities. So, their national role will be clear in this direction. Identities show who the role players are and what interest they have. Identity is the center of understanding for the governments behavior. Identities, with a particular understanding of 'self' against 'others' define special interests for themselves and these interests form the politics and behavior of the role players. This This understanding and perception of 'self' or 'other' helps them recognize one another as enemy, rival, or friend (Saei & Alikhani, 2013: 106).

Figure 1: The effect of norm-identity domestic sources on forming interest and behavior of foreign policies and its relation to norm-organization international environment



Source: Researchers

3. Discussion and Findings

3.1. Islamic Republic of Iran's National Security Policy in the Nuclear Program

To explain Islamic republic of Iran's national security policy in the nuclear program, at first, the question comes to mind that which of the identity, safety, economical cases was the main factor for the initiation and pursuit of Islamic republic of Iran's nuclear program for reaching and completing the technology of the cycle of nuclear energy at all levels?

According to the results, the main factor in starting and pursuing Iran's nuclear program has been investigated in a field investigation and it was revealed that this initiating and pursuing factor of Islamic republic of Iran until reaching the knowledge and advanced nuclear technology has been recognized as a symbol of capability and independence of Islamic republic of Iran in acquiring sciences and superior technology for increasing the prestige and upgrading the identity position of Islamic republic of Iran in the world of Islam and international system (table 2).

Table 2: Iran's policy in the initiation and pursuit of its nuclear program based on the degree of effectiveness in identity, economic, and security categories

ROW	degree of effectiveness of categories of identity, economic, and security in initiating and pursuing Islamic republic of Iran nuclear program	Freidman test(Percentage of Average of Effectiveness)
1	Iran's reaching of nuclear electronic and industrial development and acquiring economical interest	32/08 %
2	Achieving Defensive Deterrence	25/55 %
3	Iran's access to advanced nuclear science and technology as a symbol of the capability and independence of Iran in acquiring superior science and technology to enhance the dignity and promote the Iranian identity in the Islamic world and in the international system	42/37 %

Source: Research Findings

The truth is that the nature of Islamic Republic of Iran's identity has inevitably affected the national security policy of this country in nuclear program. Considering this crucial issue, it should be stated that the current Iranian identity enjoys a complex structure. That is the primary basis of Iranian cultural-identity such as geography (land, race, language, position, ...), myth and historical happenings and also rules and religious beliefs in the passage of time through the layers of culture-identity (ancient Iran, Islamic-shiat, modernized, Islamic revolution) has been reproduced.

In fact, Islamic republic of Iran's foreign policy is the direct outcome of dialectics, layers of Iranian, Islamic, and modern identity, and elements of Islamic revolution discourse. Under the influence of mundane structures and norms of international system, and comprehensive, ideological, and passing identity of Islamic revolution, this identity context produces national and intra-national interest, and claimed and practicable foreign policy. Based on this, Islamic republic of Iran foreign policy is the product of a dynamic communication of mundane and meaning structures which have been formed in the context of an identity Supra discourse called Islamic revolution discourse and is a reproduction of Iranian identity-cultural outcomes.

The effectiveness of the Iranian-Islamic factors of identity-culture in the nuclear program on the way of achieving nuclear knowledge and technology as well as the completion of the nuclear energy cycle at all levels, has been a symbol of power and independence in acquiring cutting-edge technology or an increase of prestige and also upgrading the identity position of Islamic republic of Iran in the Islam world and international system. Iranians' ultimate goal is to achieve honorable development in the shadows of religion and preserving identity, and attempts for reaching the highest levels of civilization and renewing the magnificent and honorable ancient civilizations.

The supporters of nuclear program in Iran are effected by identity outcomes of idealistic and self-confidence and Iranian supremacy seeking emphasize that having an advanced nuclear program brings pride and prestige for Iranians and can raise up Iran's position in the international system. The Iranian identity outcomes of independence-seeking and anti-domionism had also been considered to be important for the pursuit of nuclear program. From this view, self-sufficiency in producing the nuclear energy on the basis of 'NAFY SABIL' as an absolute and stable rule from the Islamic republic of Iran system has been an issue of inquiry and examination for different governments in different times (Rostami & Ghoalmi, 2015: 163). All in all, it can be said that Islamic republic of Iran is pursuing the move towards nuclear knowledge for the following reasons:

1. Concerning domestic dimension, although the previous regime started the nuclear program in Iran and their development in the program, if ruled the country for 10 more years, was more than the 4 decades of Islamic republic age, according to Iran's officials the nuclear program and the technology related to it in the Pahlavi period was completely based on imports and Iranians did not have special share in this knowledge. Therefore, the only thing that could distinguish Islamic republic of Iran system from the previous regime which was under question for being dependent to outside of the borders was the 'independence' in different areas including nuclear knowledge and technology. For this reason, internalizing the nuclear knowledge and giving access of this knowledge to the Iranian scientists was so much more important than a regular industrial development for the Islamic republic of Iran.
2. Considering the foreign dimension, Islamic republic of Iran was in spiritual contrasts with foreign powers specially the western countries in regards with identity issues. This scientific-technological lagging and independence on countries which are regarded as inferior by Islamic republic of Iran concerning values and identity, is in contrast with the; Idealistic patriotism, 'independence' identity of Iran to foreign powers.

3.2. Iran's National Security Policy in Nuclear Program in Khatami's Government

Internalizing Iran's nuclear program initiated in the presidency of Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani, and it achieved its results in the presidency of Mr. Sayed Mohammad Khatami. More importantly, Iran's nuclear program achieved an international face in this period, and the challenges of nuclear program revealed from this period. This was a crucial period in which not only Iran's nuclear program achieved outstanding developments, but also entered the international domain, and it was proposed under the title of nuclear document in the international agency of atomic energy. Furthermore, it became as an instrument for implementing pressure on Iran from America and other Western countries (Jafari & Janbaz, 2016: 107).

America and three European countries in 2003, after having a comprehensive knowledge and reaching an 'unreturnable' knowledge of their own nuclear activities, have started an intense advertisement wave against Iran's nuclear program as well as asking Iran to cooperate with international agency of atomic energy.

At that point, the American and European stance on Iran and its nuclear program was negative. First, the Western countries saw Iran as their ‘Another self’, and consequently did not agree on Iran's progress in nuclear knowledge and technology. On the other hand, some cases in Iran's nuclear program added to their ‘pessimism’ against the program, which caused a heavy atmosphere in the international arena against Iran. The government, therefore, needed to take the best policy considering the development and progress of the nascent nuclear program, in contrast to pessimisms and international pressure formed against Iran.

Numerous studies and field evaluation revealed that during President Mohammed Khatami's government, various factors, including economic, as well as defensive and security considerations on national security policy of Islamic Republic of Iran had an impact on the nuclear case. However, the main factor affecting the national security policy in this case based on identity factors and macro-strategy (approach) of Islamic republic of Iran system. In fact, the initiation and pursue of Iran's nuclear program in that era was well in line with Iran's access to advanced nuclear science and technology as a symbol of the ability and independence of Iranians. Hence, it increased their prestige and identity status in the Islamic world and the international system.

The role of identity in Iran's nuclear file during Khatami's government

ROW	Islamic Republic of Iran's national security policy approach concerning the nuclear program in Sayed Mohammad Khatami's government	Freidman Test The average of effectiveness
1	Industrial development and economic gain	37/09 %
2	Achieving defense deterrence	22/29 %
3	Iran's prestige and identity in the Islamic world and in the international system (Identity factor)	40/62 %

Source: Research Findings

In that period, according to the situation and the ‘understanding’ and ‘look’ that had been formed toward Iran and its nuclear program, among the identity products of Iranians, the outcomes of ‘compatibility and the Iranian interaction’ and ‘pragmatism’, were among the effective identity factors which were more influential than other identity outputs concerning the views of the statement toward the Iran's situation and the conditions of international environment.

The effect of identity factors mentioned on national security policy of Islamic republic of Iran in the period of Sayed Mohammad Khatami can be seen in the adoption of approaches including: 1- Tension elision 2 - Dialogue of Civilizations 3 – building trust and 4 – Discourse multilateralism in the nuclear program (Dehghani firouzabadi & Attai, 2014: 103). In that period, the nuclear policy of the Islamic republic of Iran was based on the principles of dialogue and inter-intellectual meanings to eliminate misconceptions and pessimisms and attract public confidence. Thus, the dialogue and cooperation with international institutions and organizations, especially the international atomic energy agency, was followed and tried to build confidence and transparency, the country's main way to achieve peaceful nuclear technology without tension with other countries in the world (Tabatabaei & Toupch, 2015: 120).

But the collaborations and Iranian interactions aimed at eliminating misunderstandings and establishing trust on the other side did not help resolve the issue and only made it conditioned to the passage of time and did not lead to an appropriate result in practice because of too much demands of America and the European countries (jafari & Janbaz, 2016: 109).

3.3. Iran's National Security in Nuclear Program in Ahmadinejad's Government

In Mahmoud Ahmadinejad presidency period, Islamic republic of Iran's nuclear program was expanded in many different fields, and at the same time with these technical advancements, the United States and Western countries imposed the most severe sanctions against Iran while reporting Iran's nuclear document to the UN Security Council. They also issued numerous resolutions against Iran.

According to the results of the research, the most important reason for starting and pursuing the nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of Iran during Ahmadinejad presidency had been identity factors. (Table 5).

Table 5: The role of identity in Iran's nuclear file during Ahmadinejad's government

ROW	The cause of the pursuit and development of the nuclear program of Islamic republic of Iran in all domains, during the presidency of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad	Freidman Test The average of effectiveness
1	Industrial development and economic gain	33/55 %
2	Achieving defense deterrence	25/43 %
3	Iran's prestige and identity in the Islamic world and in the international system (Identity factor)	41/02 %

Source: Research Findings

In that period, 'idealization', 'justice seeking', 'iniquity fight 'and stranger fight', 'confidence and 'Iranian supremacy seeking', 'religious spirit and struggle of the good and the bad,' and 'Stability and resistance' are among the identity factors that have the greatest impact on Ahmadinejad's nuclear policy. Other identity factors such as 'Iranian compatibility and interaction 'and' Pragmatism' are found to be of less effectiveness on Ahmadinejad's nuclear policy.

Ahmadinejad's government, influenced by identity-revolutionary outcomes, self-confidence and idealization of Iranian identity, 'justice seeking and stranger fight, 'religious spirit and the fight of good and evil', the norm 'stability and resistance', and the lack of trust to the government of domination, tried to continue country's nuclear program and overcome its upcoming issues. The right-wing government of Ahmadinejad had always tried to act as a revolutionary government in the context of international relations. Concerning nuclear energy, despite being issued by resolutions from the UN, sanctions and even threats to war, he never withdrew from their position toward nuclear program, but by ignoring these resolutions and their consequences, developed the nuclear program in all fields at high speed. In this regard, it can be said that, the nuclear advancements could be a symbol of economic development as well as advancement inside the borders and justice seeking and the Infidelity fight outside borders for the political right-wing. Therefore, the nuclear program and took a certain prominence over the period of Ahmadinejad (Dehghani Firouzabadi & Attai 2014: 103) and Ahmadinejad played a pivotal role in the discussion of the nuclear program in both inside and outside borders. In the domestic dimension, given the discussion of all levels of society and the emphasis on the slogan 'Nuclear Power is Our Right,' he was able to introduce the country's nuclear advancements as a symbol of pride for Iranians, and hence the Iranian generation considered having the nuclear energy as their rights. Outside the borders, Ahmadinejad and the politicians in line with his policies marked the and emphasized noncooperation of the western countries in regards with Iran's nuclear program and urged the need to gain access to peaceful nuclear technology, as soon as possible and without pressure (Tabatabaei & Toupchi, 2015: 120).

In line with his 'justice seeking' and active approach to the nuclear program, Ahmadinejad's government tried make progress and go forward instead of retreating from his stance in the nuclear program. Insisting on their rightful claims regarding the nuclear rights, they highlighted the violations of great powers and characterized them as cruel, intruding countries who are trampling on Iran's nuclear rights (As cited in Mahdian 2017).

The government of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad came to important understandings about an identity which resulted in creating a special type of identity about the 'individuality' of western countries, especially the USA. This understanding came from disloyalty of the Western parties in carrying out their promises and commitments, and the lack of adequate nuclear rights and two years of voluntary suspension of all enrichment - related activities (Mahdian 2017:186). This identity arose from the behavior of the western countries, became an attribute of legitimacy for many behaviors of the right-wing government in the nuclear program. Therefore, in Ahmadinejad 's government, with regard to the understanding and mentality of self - other (Iran and Europe) on the international arena, it concluded that Western countries were seeking to have Iran's this type of look and conclusion enabled the right-wing governments to adopt an imitation policy against the west during Ahmadinejad government (Dehghani Firouzabadi, 2012: 521). The stability and resistance output represented boldly in Ahmadinejad 's government not only made them halt nuclear program despite the seriousness of American threats in 2006 to suspend all Iran' s nuclear activities, but also to develop it in all the qualitative and quantitative contexts.

In this way, Ahmadinejad's government, influenced by identity outcomes of justice seeking lack of trust, iniquity fight, an Iranian self-confidence acted against the front side (as other) on the nuclear issue. Ahmadinejad shaped a type of attacking diplomacy in foreign policies by reviewing and refining nuclear diplomacy based on unlimited cooperation with agency, preserving the fuel cycle and not suspending it, and existing the nuclear program from political streams. The reflection of this action considered to be as 'preventing opposition' toward the western countries. Therefore the approach taken by the Iranian government during Ahmadinejad's time gave rise to the interaction between Iran and the West, and brought Europe and the United States closer together to imposing sanctions and intensifying pressure against Iran's nuclear program. Thus, they were able to bring Iran under Chapter 7 of the UN Security Council Charter and impose the most severe sanctions on Iran and its nuclear program.

3.4. Iran's National Security Policy in Nuclear Program in Rouhani's Government

At the beginning of the Hasan Rouhani's presidency Iran's nuclear program had changed considerably.

In the technical dimension, Iran had achieved considerable progress in its nuclear program, and except the Arak reactor - which had not yet reached its operational stage in spite of the dramatic developments –

In the technical dimension, Iran had achieved considerable progress in its nuclear program, and except the Arak reactor - which had not yet reached its operational stage in spite of the dramatic developments – developed the rest of the fields at the top level of its nuclear program.

At the same time with technological advancements in Iran, the political, economic and security space in the international arena had worsened for Iran. (Nourbakhsh et al., 2015: 112). Hence, in those circumstances, the type of "look" and "perception" of the Rouhani government towards the "identity" of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the "nature" of its nuclear program, as well as the "environment of the international system" were different.

The results of the study showed that the pursuit of the nuclear program of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the government of Hassan Rouhani, it has been in order to maintain Iran's capabilities in various fields of nuclear science and technology as a symbol of capabilities and independence of Iranians to

maintain national pride and prestige. Therefore, in that period, the category of identity have had a higher impact than other categories.

Table 7: The position of identity in Iran's nuclear file during Rouhani's government

ROW	Reason for pursuing Iran's nuclear program under Presidency of Hassan Rouhani	Freidman Test The average of effectiveness
1	Industrial development and economic gain	39/51 %
2	Achieving defense deterrence	19/32 %
3	Iran's prestige and identity in the Islamic world and in the international system (Identity factor)	41/17 %

Source: Research Findings

The reason that all Iranian governments during Khatami, Ahmadinejad and Rouhani's office insisted on preserving the country's nuclear program under any circumstances is that the Iranians, looking at their 'identity,' have introduced this way without any return. From the perspective of ontological security, affected by their identity, Iranians consider possessing and preserving the nuclear fuel cycle as a source of honor, for them, and leaving it aside is considered a kind of scandal and humiliation. Therefore, despite the many sanctions, there has been no change of attitude in the Iranian governments and their leadership. (Nourbakhsh, et al, 2015: 114).

In Rouhani's government, the identity implications of 'Iranian interaction and adaptation' and 'pragmatism' are among the cultural-identity factors that have had the greatest impact on Iranian nuclear policy. It can be said that, during the Rouhani period, the foreign political elites and thinkers of the eleventh government, with a gentle explanation of Islamic republic of Iran's Revolutionary-Islamic identity, have defined identity roles of this system a little more different.

From their point of view, the Islamic republic of Iran as a glory seeking, anti-dominant, and anti-oppression government cannot afford to accept the nuclear inequality in the international system, but they can still have interaction with the outside world in the way of achieving their nuclear rights with the help of trust factor (Rasooli Sani Abadi & Mir Hosseini, 2015: 246). In the Eleventh Government, the Moderation approach adjusted its arguments based on the people's desire to maintain nuclear gains [as a national honorable achievement] and reduce economic problems and pressures. Hence, Rouhani's emphasis on the centrifugal rotation and people's lives, interacting with the world, lifting sanctions, abiding by red lines and heroic mediation in the nuclear issue, were in more harmony and conformity to people's desire and mentality than other approaches (Dehghani Firouzabadi & Attai, 2014: 117).

In line with this public outlook, the development of a modest and interactive approach to the nuclear issue in Rouhani's government led to its simultaneous attention to realism and idealism in the nuclear issue. The Eleventh Government sought to strike a balance between ideals such as preserving national pride and dignity, and realities such as the need to dismantle and reduce international pressure. This approach stemmed from the meaning-identity system of Rouhani. He has defined "moderation" as "Realistic Idealism" (Dehghani Firouzabadi, 2014 : 9) and considers the use of it in foreign policy as an effective policy of interaction with the world rather than being a sign of surrender and opposition. Rouhani believed that Islamic republic of Iran with special conditions, is passing and facing the international system and a period in which new international system has not yet been established. Therefore, it would be dangerous if Islamic republic of Iran's power is not estimated and measured meticulously (Golbaf, 2013: 36).

On the other hand, the formation of a global consensus against Iran's nuclear program and the issuance of numerous Security Council resolutions against it, as well as the political isolation, intensification of sanctions together with Islamic republic of Iran's current economic situation, led to a more harmonic view among different opposing groups to think of putting forward resolutions for nuclear program as their first priorities. For this reason, some foreign politics theorists consider these situations as desirable conditions in advancing foreign policies in Rouhani's government (As cited in Mahdian, 2017).

Increasing international pressure on the Islamic Republic, at the same time as the emergence of a person who saw foreign policy as a field of compromise interaction and had experience of compromise with the West on the nuclear issue, provided a fertile ground for change in Iran's foreign policy to interact with the other parties (Niakoui & Zamani, 2016: 206).

Therefore, after Rouhani was appointed as the president of Islamic republic of Iran in August 2013, with an understanding of the conditions of the international environment and being affected by identity outcomes of expediency, compatibility, and Iranian interaction, he prioritized effective interaction with the international society based on his foreign policy as well as resolving the nuclear issue through negotiation. Rouhani's policy on the Iranian nuclear issue was an attempt to exit Iran's case from the Security Council along with completing its nuclear technology in the country and identifying it in the international arena (Niakoui & Zamani, 2016: 206).

In this period, significant quantitative and qualitative improvements in Iran's nuclear program had a significant impact on the views of Iranian officials and the other political sides. Rouhani, who, at the start of Iran's 2003 nuclear case had accepted to suspend all nuclear activities for a period of trust, in 2013 - given his view of Iran's political, security and technical, "The enrichment halt period has passed," he said with confidence and confidence. "We are in a special situation now. There are many ways to build trust." "The nuclear issue has a negotiated solution only and nothing else," he said. Neither threat is effective nor the sanctions. 'He added, 'The rights of the Iranian nation are the most important of all rights' (Speech, 14/03/1392).

Therefore, during the presidency of Rouhani, Iran, taking a look at itself and its counterpart, took an interactive approach to resolving the nuclear issue and, in the light of such approach to reach an agreement, he changed the negotiation team, and as a result some of his preferences. In contrast, Western countries, and especially the United States— after observing of Iranian resistance to their nuclear rights and the widespread quantitative and qualitative developments of Iran's nuclear program, moderated their ideas. therefore, their view of Iran's nuclear program over time changed from demanding a complete suspension of Iran's nuclear program with extreme sanctions and threats to war, toward moderating Iran's nuclear program with lifting the sanctions on this country. (Nourbakhsh, et al, 2015: 117).

Hence, after several lengthy and intensive negotiations (from October 2013 to July 2015), with moderating both sides' approach, comprehensive nuclear agreement was reached in Vienna among Iran, European Union and the P5 + 1 (including China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Germany). This agreement is called 'joint action plan' or 'JCPOA'. Although JCPOA restricted Iran's enrichment until 2025, but (According to Security Council Resolution 2231) Iran's peaceful nuclear fuel cycle was recognized in the international system and Iran was recognized as a country with nuclear knowledge and technology (Beheshtipour, 2016: 3).

Conclusion

This research is aimed at analyzing Iran's national security policy in the nuclear program. In this regard, the national security policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the nuclear program has evaluated and analyzed in the framework of constructivist theory in terms of 'identity'. Hence, it is important to ask

which of the following is the key factor in initiating and pursuing the Iranian nuclear program to achieving and completing the technology of nuclear fuel cycle at all levels by the Iranian system: 1- Identity, 2 -security and 3-economic? It was revealed that the main factor in initiating and pursuing Islamic republic of Iran's nuclear program until reaching and completing its fullest technology of nuclear energy cycle at all levels, is this country's dignified identity based on which the country's access to knowledge of advanced nuclear technology is regarded as a symbol of abilities and independence of Islamic republic of Iran system in acquiring sciences and superior technology and results in increasing Iran's prestige and identity rank in the world of Islam and international system. According to this approach, abandoning the nuclear program under international pressure is damaging to national pride and a form of jealousy that does not conform to the dignified Iranian identity.

On the external side, Iran's identity has substantial conflicts with major powers, especially Western countries, and its scientific and technological backwardness and dependence on countries that Iran considers itself to be superior to in case of value and identity, is in contrast to some extent, with identity, idealistic patriotism, and independence to foreign powers. In view of this, Iran has begun following its activities in pursuit of the civilian nuclear program in various fields of conversion, reprocessing and enrichment of nuclear fuel in accordance with its legal rights under the NPT.

Meanwhile, the US and other Western countries, which backed Iran's nuclear program prior to the Islamic Revolution, had a 'negative mentality' to Iran as its ideological 'other' and changed their position and used any way possible to prevent Iran's nuclear enrichment.

Iran's security policy in the governments of Khatami, Ahmadinejad and Rouhani can also be analyzed and investigated within the framework of constructivist theory by looking at Iranian cultural-identity outcomes and the international normative-cultural environment.

According to the findings of this study, 'identity' in the Islamic Republic of Iran's national security policy has played a role as a fundamental (not the only actor) in the nuclear program, and the category of 'identification' instead of the two concepts of systemic classic power and security seeking (realism) and wealth seeking (liberalism) has had more originality and effectiveness. Therefore, it can be argued that the Iranians will execute JCPOA as long as their national pride and dignity are not questioned. Economic and military security is of secondary importance despite their high significance to the national interest and security. Therefore, damaging any part of Iran's achievements to JCPOA (on the front side) that the Iranians consider to be the result of their resistance to world powers would be such that Iran's continued loss of national pride and dignity would be harmed, will face Iran's reaction. Therefore, the step by step (gradual) reduction of Iran's JCPOA obligations can also be assessed in this regard.

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