

POLITICAL CULTURE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE AGE OF GLOBALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes political culture and national identity in the context of globalization processes. In this sense our paper is divided in four parts. In the first part the authors analyze the role of political culture in modern society. The second part deals with national identity as one of the most important collective identities. In the third, the authors analyze the process of globalization in the way that we can understand all of its complexity. And in the end, the authors are trying to explain the influence of the globalization process on the political culture and national identity as well.

Key words: political culture, national identity, globalization, democracy, neoliberalism, politics.

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Introduction

The modern society represents a complex of various social systems characterized by different economic, technological and social development, and also by a different level in the quality of life: from the industrial and post-industrial societies, over the post-socialist societies in transition, to the developing, peripheral and dependent societies.

Modern democratic system should be a product of the civic political culture and the (post)industrial society. Accepting the view of David Held, the main question is how the modern world was able to experience democratic integration and consolidation given the fact that on one hand a high degree of interconnectedness, dependency and major changes (in the field of culture, politics, technology, economics, communication, infrastructure and information technology) was achieved; and on the other an unequal system of distribution of social power and hierarchically structured society was divided into the rich and the poor societies (David Held, 1995: 124-125).

Because of this, civic culture, that originally and essentially should represent a form of mixed political culture which is based on balanced mixture of individualism, egalitarianism and hierarchy. These kinds of mixtures should and must have different intensities and shapes in different political systems in which the civic political culture has the ability to balance between political powers and its sensitivity and responsibility to the competent public opinion. For the ancient peoples politics was important for the development of virtues and building the character, however in the period of the civic society creation a new concept of politics with a new political practice was created. This new age type of view regarding politics was established by Thomas More (More 1977) and Niccolò Machiavelli (Makijaveli 2003). According to them the politics is reduced to a bare technology of governing and the acquisition of political power in which the acquisition itself and the keeping of power are primarily political objectives.

Traditional values and collectivism are in opposition to the political position of a citizen as an autonomous individual, and also to the demands for freedom of individuals as the main purpose of a democratic order. The transition of developing countries is characterized by the conflict of two value systems: the civic and the traditional. While the formal institutional organizations are based on democratic values, the practices of governance (political style) and public political discourse of political power are characterized by traditional values and the lack of democracy. This is one of the key contradictions of transition of these societies. The main basis of these

contradictions is the dominant political culture which isn't corresponding to the fundamental democratic values and the demands of the political system democratic functioning.

However, it looks like that the effects of demystification of the world still take the precedence over the effect of its linking to the relations of empathy and solidarity, which contain a deeper sense of community in planetary terms.

The influences of scientific and technological progress and especially the ones of the third scientific and technological revolution had a very important role in creation of a universal interdependence of societies in the modern era. In this sense the world in many ways became a unique social system. This paper represents one of the many attempts which were made in defining the direction and the description of this kind of the system through the prism of its political culture and the national identity values in the age of globalization.

Importance of political culture for the stability and development of political system

Political culture represents a set of political attitudes of a society's individual members in a certain country that express values primarily related to the state power. Therefore, we can conclude that the political culture is the cultural and political orientation of the citizens towards politics, perception of political legitimacy and the tradition of political practice. The political culture of the state or of one part of the population of that state can have different shapes. If for example the majority of the population wants a democratic political order then their political culture can be perceived as "democratic" and it has several different forms. Radically and a long-term differentiation of the political culture from the state political system can cause serious problems about legitimacy of that state and thus lead to its destabilization. The political culture itself represents a dominant way of thinking about politics and the style of citizens' political behavior in some society as well as a set of values, beliefs and attitudes about political objects, political subjects and political processes in their society.³

³ Political objects are: state institutions (parliament, government, political parties, politicians, administration, courts; political subject is a citizen as an individual.

When we speak about political culture of a society we actually imagine the political system which is adopted in recognition, feelings and estimations of its population. This relation between political objects and orientations towards them represents the relation between the objective (real, social) and the subjective (psychological) in the politics. Political culture, as a set of social values, beliefs and attitudes about the political system and the way it functions, defines political behavior and political relations among social groups and individuals. That's how we distinguish subjective side of the political culture (values, beliefs and attitudes)⁴ from the objective side of the political culture (political behavior and social action of groups and individuals). This subjective relation towards the political objects is very important for the development of political culture. It is not about what is really happening in politics, it is about what people believe that is happening.

Because of this, the political culture represents and explains the subjective side of politics. Therefore, the political culture as a set of subjective orientations towards politics significantly determines how will individuals act and how they will behave in relation to the political system, political processes and the definition of individual roles in such political system. A similar definition of political culture could be found in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*: "the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behavior in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and operating norms of a polity. Political culture is thus the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics.

A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of the system and thus it is rooted equally in public events and private experience." (*International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* 1968: 218)

The political culture of a society is the result of a common political history and life experience of each individual citizen – a member of that society. Historical heritage includes historical development of a society, as well as political, economic and social determinants of this development, and social norms and traditions. It essentially determines the type and content of the political culture, as well as the forms of political

⁴ Social values, beliefs and attitudes are the basic elements of the political culture. Beliefs and attitudes are based on values, and they are formed under the influence of the socialization process, historical heritage (social, cultural, political and one of values), political processes and activities of political parties, individual, social and political interests.

socialization which is very important for adoption of the political culture. Political heritage can be either authoritarian or democratic; culturally – traditional or modern, socially developed or undeveloped; and when we mention the value orientation it is – individualism or collectivism.

Also, the political culture of a society can affect stability and development of the political system, but also it can affect its stagnation and instability. Political culture in the terms of a political system represents an autonomous factor of a political development, and a special cultural characteristic which has relative autonomy towards the economic development of the society and as such it plays an important role in the development of the quality of life and the stability of the system, especially of the democratic system.

The story of democracy certainly requires an explanation of the three types of political culture: parochial, subject and participatory (G. Almond and S. Verba 1963: 79). Parochial type is characterized with the absence or underdevelopment of orientations towards political objects. This type is a typical for the undeveloped societies in which all political, economic and religious roles are often intertwined, and in which individuals don't expect changes from the political system. An individual is drawn into a collectivistic and traditional forms of sociability (tribe, genus, family), and he does not perceive society as a whole with scattered social structures. He doesn't have a specific relation with the political power and the political system, and he doesn't experience itself as a social actor.

Subject type is characterized by the existence of orientations towards the political object, but mainly towards the effects of the system in which an individual is subjected and aware of the special government authority to which he is affectively oriented (he, like it or not, evaluates it as legitimate or illegitimate), but despite of possible disagreements there is no public opposition. There is a certain degree of political competence but the relation to the system is highly passive. There is also an absence of clearly shaped attitudes and citizens' orientations towards the part of the system where decisions are made and towards itself as an active participant in political processes.

Participatory type of the political culture represents developed orientations towards all political objects. In this type there is a developed relation to the effects of the system, to the part of the system where decisions are made, and to the actors in the political processes.

An individual has a clearly expressed orientation towards political structures and political processes (society is perceived as a complex system in which there are

different levels and different social roles, especially the political system and the role of political power). An individual also attaches to itself an active role within the political community (active participation within divided social structures and different political systems among many other political and social actors). Because of this participatory form of the political culture is the foundation of civic political culture.

Political culture of a society is not only consisted by the political views of its members, but it is also an expression of adopted values of that society. In this sense, political culture represents the dominant way of thinking about politics and the political behavior of citizens. Political culture is very important for the improvement of quality and quantity of citizens' political participation. Citizens must have active roles within their societies. In this context, participative political culture must be the basis of civic political culture.

Eternal search for the national identity

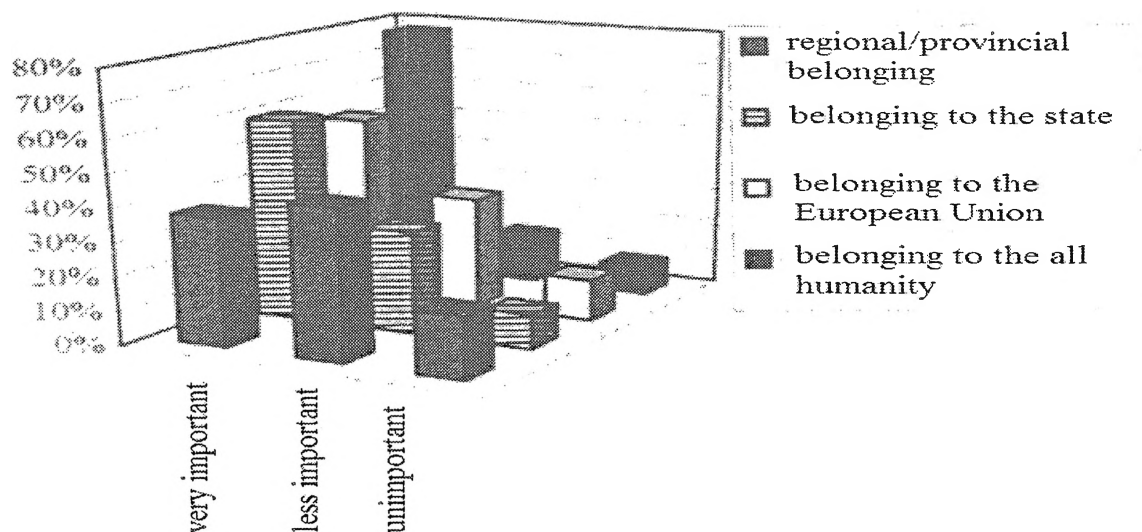
Civic political culture in modern societies is certainly characterized by the return to the national values and the national identity. National identity through history became one of the most important social frameworks and one of the most important collective identities, and its strength has not weakened until today (Stojadinović 2/2011).

At the end of the 20th century nation-states began to change. The broader forms of integration began to strengthen. They require identification with larger social groups than the nation and they lead to the formation of supranational forms of identification such as for example the European identity and the identification with all humanity (Stojadinović 1/2011).

According to the Figure 1 we can see in the Balkans the importance of the regional/provincial belonging, belonging to the state, belonging to the European Union and belonging to the all humanity.

Figure 1:

The importance in the Balkans of regional/provincial belonging, belonging to the state, belonging to the European Union, and belonging to the all humanity



Source: Božilović Nikola, 2007, *Kultura i identiteti na Balkanu*, Niš, Filozofski fakultet u Nišu, pp. 89.

The most desirable one is identification with all humanity, on the second place is belonging to the state, on the third place is belonging to the European Union, and on the fourth place is regional belonging. Therefore in the first place is identification with all humanity, while the differences between the others are insignificant. The fact that the global identity is in the first place certainly is encouraging, but at the same time we should always bear in mind the necessity for preserving our own identity. But what is the situation when it comes to the global level (Table 1 and 2)?

Table 1:

I see myself as a world citizen

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative valid percent
Strongly agree	19629	23.7	23.7	30.1	30.1
Agree	31190	37.6	61.2	47.8	77.9
Disagree	10767	13.0	74.2	16.5	94.4
Strongly disagree	3630	4.4	78.6	5.6	100.0
Don't know	3333	4.0	82.6	-	-
No answer	667	0.8	83.4	-	-
Not applicable	17	-	83.4	-	-
Not asked in survey	13759	16.6	100.0	-	-
Total	82992	100	-	-	100.0

Selected countries/samples: Andorra [2005], Argentina [2006], Australia [2005], Brazil [2006], Bulgaria [2006], Burkina Faso [2007], Canada [2006], Colombia [2005], Cyprus [2006], Chile [2006], China [2007], Egypt [2008], Ethiopia [2007], Finland [2005], France [2006], Georgia [2008], Germany [2006], Ghana [2007], Great Britain [2006], Guatemala [2004], Hong Kong, China [2005], India [2006], Indonesia [2006], Iraq [2006], Iran [2005], Italy [2005], Japan [2005], Jordan [2007], Malaysia [2006], Mali [2007], Mexico [2005], Moldova [2006], Morocco [2007], Netherlands [2006], New Zealand [2004], Norway [2007], Peru [2006], Poland [2005], Romania [2005], Russian Federation [2006], Rwanda [2007], Serbia [2006], Slovenia [2005], South Africa [2007], South Korea [2005], Spain [2007], Sweden [2006], Switzerland [2007], Taiwan [2006], Thailand [2007], Trinidad and Tobago [2006], Turkey [2007], Ukraine [2006], United States [2006], Uruguay [2006], Viet Nam [2006], Zambia [2007]

Source: World Values Survey: <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSAalyzeQuestion.jsp>

Table 2:
I see myself as citizen of the [country] nation

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent	Valid percent	Cumulative valid percent
Strongly agree	37193	44.8	44.8	54.9	54.9
Agree	27682	33.4	78.2	40.8	95.7
Disagree	2304	2.8	80.9	3.4	99.1
Strongly disagree	587	0.7	81.7	0.9	100.
Don't know	1072	1.3	82.9	-	-
No answer	383	0.5	83.4	-	-
Not applicable	11	-	83.4	-	-
Not asked in survey	13759	16.6	100.0	-	-
Total	82992	100.0	-		

Selected countries/samples: Andorra [2005], Argentina [2006], Australia [2005], Brazil [2006], Bulgaria [2006], Burkina Faso [2007], Canada [2006], Colombia [2005], Cyprus [2006], Chile [2006], China [2007], Egypt [2008], Ethiopia [2007], Finland [2005], France [2006], Georgia [2008], Germany [2006], Ghana [2007], Great Britain [2006], Guatemala [2004], Hong Kong, China [2005], India [2006], Indonesia [2006], Iraq [2006], Iran [2005], Italy [2005], Japan [2005], Jordan [2007], Malaysia [2006], Mali [2007], Mexico [2005], Moldova [2006], Morocco [2007], Netherlands [2006], New Zealand [2004], Norway [2007], Peru [2006], Poland [2005], Romania [2005], Russian Federation [2006], Rwanda [2007], Serbia [2006], Slovenia [2005], South Africa [2007], South Korea [2005], Spain [2007], Sweden [2006], Switzerland [2007], Taiwan [2006], Thailand [2007], Trinidad and Tobago [2006], Turkey [2007], Ukraine [2006], United States [2006], Uruguay [2006], Viet Nam [2006], Zambia [2007]

Source: World Values Survey: <http://www.wvsevsvdb.com/wvs/WVSAalyzeQuestion.jsp>

According to the data in these tables we can make a conclusion that the national identity still has a significant role in the modern society. The strength of broader forms of supranational identification is indisputable. However a lot of people still highly value their national belonging (78.2% of respondents completely agree or agree with the attitude that they see themselves as the members of their nation; and 61.3% of respondents completely agree or agree with the attitude that they see themselves as citizens of the world). Modern society is characterized by numerous changes that are radically altering the world around us:

globalization, transition, social conflicts, technological development, individualization, etc. Deep contradictions within the modern world have led to the fact that an individual often feels that his identity is threatened. Anthony Giddens (Giddens 2006: 345) believes that the dismantling of traditional society caused the loss of the psychological support and the sense of security that led to loneliness and alienation in the modern world.

This was the reason of recreating the necessity of searching for identity, the necessity of an individual to find his essence. In such circumstances national identity became a solution to the problems by providing a firm foothold within the dizzying changes of modernity. In this sense we here consider reasonable to explain the influence of the globalization processes on the political culture and the identity, and especially on the national identity in the modern world.

We should point out that we understand that there are some differences between countries with different levels of development and different regions, but these differences will not be analyzed here because this kind of analysis requires one broader research.

The Janus face of globalization

Globalization is one of the most complex social processes that require multidisciplinary approach for its understanding. The definition of Anthony Giddens illustrates how difficult it is to theoretically explain the globalization process. He defines the globalization as “a complex and dialectical relation between local, regional and larger systems that are radically changing the architecture of the modern world in such a way that we really do not know where these transformations lead to” (Mitrović 2003: 208). It should be noted that globalization itself is neither a negative nor a positive process. However it can be “instrumentalized by the monopoly powers in the modern world, and misused in neo-imperial purpose of domination and subjugation of the people that is against humanity” (Mitrović 2003: 212).

Globalization is certainly one of the megatrends that have marked the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. Globalization is a very complex process which is characterized by many contradictions. It has a Janus face: the emancipatory and the enslaving one. On the one hand globalization leads to the development of a new division of labor and increasing of connections between all parts of the world. On the other hand globalization at the same time “due to residues of class determinism and antagonistic systems of distribution

of social power divides world system on – the developed world center (North) and underdeveloped South (periphery and semi-periphery), between which there are many inequalities and contradictions” (Mitrović 2003: 393).

This “bad” side of globalization seems to be prevailing when we look at the global world. That side of globalization increasingly marginalizes the interest of developing countries (Mitrović 2003: 394). In this sense Ljubiša Mitrović suggests that researchers rightly point out that globalization scenario is characterized by many contradictions because: it produces very different effects for the center and the periphery; developed countries are the subject and undeveloped countries are the object of globalization; there are a large number of hungry and undernourished people in underdeveloped countries and a small number of wealthy people in developed countries; it is causing chaotic and contradictory processes of deregulation and centralization; it liberalizes the financial market and preaches openness of economies of underdeveloped countries, and maintains a significant protectionism and other constrains in underdeveloped countries; it is leading to national and transnational conflicts of interest; it breaks down the barriers of national markets and it is creating international monopolies; etc. (Mitrović 2003: 394).

The complexity of the globalization process determined its fate when it comes to its theoretical determination. The fact that this process has affected all dimensions of the modern society caused that globalization became an area of many scholars’ interest of different scientific disciplines, which leads only to farther complication of its definition. According to Held we can distinguish the following approaches in understanding the globalization process (Held et al. 1999: 65-87):

1. Hyper-globalizers – Globalization for them is a historical inevitability that leads to the creation of global markets, economics, politics, civic society, etc. It is a process that is indifferent to national borders which is producing a new global order. They underline that the power of national governments is declining and that it will eventually disappear.
2. Skeptics – They have an opposite standpoint to the hyper-globalizers. According to them globalization is a myth that does not exist in reality. Modern world is characterized by the regionalization process which is in direct opposition to the globalization process. They also have the opposite view of the position of national governments in modern world in relation to hiper-globalizers. National governments will not disappear, but their power will be growing in future. They will continue to be key players and the driving force of the development in the modern society.

3. The transformationalist – They take more of a middle position. Globalization is real, complex and contradictory process to them.

4.

The definition of globalization is not a simple process. There is not a single definition of globalization; instead there are numerous definitions of globalization. But despite this diversity it is possible to identify seven different uses of this term (Mitrović and Matic 2007: 38-39): globalization as internationalization represents the intensification of interstate interactions and interdependency of societies; globalization as transnationalization is the development of transnational and international relations and structures; globalization as deterritorialization means that the geographical distance is losing its significance in world politics; globalization as desovereignization represents decreasing of economic, political and cultural independency and sovereignty of states; globalization as deregulation and liberalization means the weakening of the controls over markets; globalization as universalization is the spreading of certain values around the world; and finally, globalization as westernization or Americanization refers to the dominance of the West and particularly the United States of America in world politics.

For Noam Chomsky there is no doubt that neo-imperial concept of globalization is present on the world scene. "Humanitarian interventions", "just war", "the struggle for democracy", "preventive war", "protection of human rights", "fight against terrorism", these and many other terms for Noam Chomsky are only the means that great powers like the United States of America are using to cover their own goals and neo-imperialist pretensions, and to "manufacturing consent" (Herman and Chomsky 2002; Čomski 1999).

The neoliberal model of globalization as a form of society organization achieved a complete failure on a global scale. Emanuel Todd at the beginning of his study *After the Empire* underlines that we were used to look at the United States as a solution, but they are beginning to be more and more a problem for the world. "Guarantor of political freedom and economic order during the last half century are now increasingly becoming a factor of international instability that is trying to maintain uncertainty and conflicts wherever and whenever they can (Todd 2006:37)". For American capitalism it is reasonable to say that it represents "super capitalism" or even better "turbo capitalism". We can say that globalization today is in the phase of global financial capitalism. The concentration of its actors is on the financial market and because of

that the U.S. economy became "the economy of crisis". The main bases of the U.S. economy are weapon factories and the money printing.

Noam Chomsky underlines that the United States use WTO, World Bank and IMF for making extra profit and exploiting of other countries in the form of various loans and grants. This is one fragile economy that will collapse in the near future. American foreign policy uses more and more force instead of diplomacy, which indicates that it faces uncertainty and many contradictions that are destroying their system. The United States faced in 2011 the possibility of bankruptcy which was avoided in the last moment. That could be unsavory result of one of the biggest recessions that hit the world, but also the creation of another one. The United States had a deadline until August 2nd 2011 to reach an agreement on raising their debt limit so they can continue to repay their credits. This was what at the end finally happened despite a lot of disagreements between the Democratic and the Republican Party so the United States could be relieved as well as the other countries which were afraid that this bankruptcy will be catastrophic on a global scale.

More recently, in sociology, the term globalization is accompanied with the term glocalization. This term was created by joining the terms globalization and localization, and indicates sociological concept of integration and interaction of global and local with unique outcomes in different geographic areas. The term globalization in sociology was introduced by Ronald Robertson. In an effort to explain the mutual existence of global and local, he suggested the idea of integration of the global and local. In this sense, referring to the relation between the global and the local, he points out the mixture of the global and the local in various geographical areas, from which the process of globalization comes out (Robertson, 2001: 465-466). Globalization is universal process which Robertson explains as "mixture of universal with particular and the particular with universal" (Robertson, 1992: 100).

The concept of globalization in the business life originated from the micro-marketing, more precisely from the advertisement of goods and services in various local environments and markets (Robertson, 1995: 28, in: M. D. Chukalevska, 2012: 568-572). It is a known strategy of the capitalistic system in which there is an increased adjustment of the global markets to the local markets and cultures or "global localization" in the opinion of Robertson (Robertson, 1992:173; M. D. Chukalevska, 2012:568-572).

Ronald Robertson (Robertson, 1992), Habibul Khondker (Khondker, 2004), Victor Roudometof (Roudometof, 2005), agree that one of the aspects of the modern processes of globalization is the cultural mixture of individuals in the global area. In the

past, the process of cultural mixture was explained through diffusion, acculturation. Today, there are several other terms used for it, such as globalization, global localization, local globalization, heterogenization, hybridization and creolization (M. D. Chukalevska, 2012:568).

The influence of globalization on political culture and national identity

Taking this into account as well as other analyses we can conclude that the impact of the globalization process on the national identity and political culture is quite significant at the beginning of 21st century. Many theorists believed in the past that the end of the 20th century would be the time when national identity (we treat national identity as one of the key factors that influence political culture) will start losing its strength and that it would eventually disappear facing the emergency of the new forms of identifications. Max Weber, for example, believes that the primordial phenomena like ethnicity and nationalism faced with modernization, industrialization and individualization would fade in time (Weber 1976). However, things didn't proceed in this way and the national identity, as already mentioned, still continues to exist as one of the most important collective identities, and it is difficult to predict the moment when its power will start wakening.

But why is this happening? Guillaume Monserrat gives us one possible answer to such a question. According to him globalization leads to loosing of continuity which caused the disappearance of the common past and the shared memories that are essential elements of the identity. The nation in such conditions becomes a solution to this problem, and national mobilization is caused by several factors: modernization leads to diffusion and crisis of identity that creates confusion for which national identity pattern offers a solution; breaking the ties with primary groups in modern society creates feelings of loneliness and desolation because of the relations disappearing between individuals and the society, and the national identity pattern reestablished these connections; vulnerability and the need to protect group mentality; confusion because of plurality of vales in which national identity offers the certainty of relying on the glorious past (Golubović 1999: 83; Monserrat 1996: 56).

However, Joseph Zajda believes that the relation between the process of globalization and the national identity is not that simple and that such a relation is characterized by numerous paradoxes (Zajda 2009: 8-9). On one hand, process of globalization is characterized by standardization of the way of life through information technology and the

mass media. This can lead to forced equalization which further leads to the elimination of all forms of diversities. We should also point out the imposition of so-called universal standards and the development patterns by the great powers which are justified with better economic efficiency and democratic development.

The fear of such a model was quite nicely illustrated by Ernesto Sabato: "In contrast to that, in the state when numerous people are roaming on the streets of major cities without anyone calling their name or knowing where they are going, an individual loses the thread of his life. An individual no longer lives with the people of his village, with his neighbors, or with his God, and he is painfully lost in the multitude of people whose values he doesn't know and whose history he barely shares. In the state when numerousness of cultures caused relative values and globalization destroying the world around us by using all its power to impose at the same time arrogant uniformity, a human being is losing a sense of value and a sense of himself without knowing in who or in what to believe.

It is tragic that the world is losing the originality of the people who inhabit it and the richness of their differences with a hellish desire to clone a human in a way to make him a subject. Globalization is making the mankind submissive; it doesn't seek to link cultures, but to impose to all the individuals a single, unique model which will allow them to remain within the world system. Massification desolated the world around us in such scale that it is difficult to discover originality at individuals, and at the same time the identical process exists between the nations; this is what the so-called globalization really represents (Vučinić 2004: 13; Sabato 2004: 36)." This is the model of globalization that should be avoided by any cause.

On the other hand, globalization can lead to diversification and spreading of cooperation between members of different nations. Jürgen Habermas (Habermas 1973: 78) underlines that globalization is a process and not the final state, and he also points out the intensifying of transnational relations, communication and exchanges. "The network has become a key word and it doesn't matter that we are talking about transport routes of goods and people, capital and cash, electronic transfer and processing of information, or circulation between human beings, technology and nature" (Štrbac 2007: 42).

Anthony Smith underlines that the growth of cosmopolitanism doesn't bring itself to the decline of nationalism, and that's why the rise of regional cultural areas has no less influence on national identity. According to him "human beings are identified with the collectivity in many ways, and the extent and intensity of that identification will vary depending on the time and the place. Nothing can stop individuals from simultaneously

identifying themselves with Flanders, Belgium and Europe and to manifest each of these loyalties in the proper context, as well as nothing can stop them to feel themselves as Yoruba, Nigerians and Africans in concentric circles of loyalty and belonging. In fact such a thing usual and largely represents the thing which can be expected in a world of multiple connections and identities (Smit 2010: 270-271).” The fact that citizens are very proud on their nationality indicates that cosmopolitanism have not led to the weakening of nationalism.

At the end, we will underline that the national identity has a very important role in the society which is not easily realized with any other type of collective identity. Here we should mention the growing tendency of looking at the process of European integrations as the process which will end with the situation where we will have to make a choice between preserving of our own national identity and the EU integrations. We are not questioning the necessity of integrations, however we point out that it has to be done in subtle way so the preservation of one’s own identity is not being questioned. We shouldn’t dismiss our own culture and our own tradition yet we shouldn’t be closed down to other cultures. The understanding of the culture as a closed unit could lead to its extinction. It is only necessary to find the right measure between the process of a culture choice and the cultural resistance yet to accept the matters which could benefit us also in regards with the preservation of our own spirituality.

Therefore, in addition to the critics of the power of judgment we emphasize that the critical world creates a critical public that is a social pioneer of changes and an active participant of all social, political and economic events. And if we belong to that group of people, we are aware that the changes are necessary. In a cultural, social, political and economic sphere of matters, but mostly in the sphere of the individual awakening and understanding oneself through the identity that can and should make us more worthy.

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ПОЛИТИЧКАТА КУЛТУРА И НАЦИОНАЛЕН ИДЕНТИТЕТ ВО ЕРАТА НА ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИЈА

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АПСТРАКТ

Овој документ ги анализира политичката култура и национален идентитет во контекст на процесите на глобализација. Во оваа смисла нашиот труд е поделен во четири дела. Во првиот дел се анализира улогата на политичката култура во современото општество. Вториот дел се занимава со националниот идентитет, како еден од најважните колективни идентитети. Во третиот, се дава анализа на процесот на глобализација на начин на кој сите можеме да ја разбереме нејзината комплексност. И на крајот, авторите се обидуваат да го објаснат влијанието на процесот на глобализацијата врз политичката култура и национален идентитет.

Клучни зборови: политичка култура, национален идентитет, глобализација, демократија, неолиберализам, политика.