

Psychology of Nationalism And Religion in the Example of the Serbian Orthodox Church During the 80s and after of the XX Century

Maja Kaninska

Ph.D Religious Studies, Faculty of Theology, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Abstract

This paper will show the psychological construction of nationalism, which is a widespread phenomenon in societies around the world with internal social, economic and political radical changes. Religion also has an ideological structure as nationalism, and for that exists a fundamental explanation. Religion is an exclusive pattern because of its eternity, which is omnipresent and because of its constituent elements (religious beliefs and feelings, rituals and symbols, as well as the fifth element - clergy) that psychologically fulfill human spiritual needs. Influenced by historical events and many social changes that people have experienced, religion has very often taken it upon itself to maintain some visions that have always been of special significance to man. After the process of secularization, religion was marginalized and reduced to its elementary activity (in Christianity, baptism, marriage, burial). However, its ideological postulates remained in the function of the new secular environment and manifested themselves with recognizable religious characteristics, which is given in the paper through a theoretical psychological approach.

Keywords: Psychology, nationalism, religion, prejudices, stereotypes, Serbian Orthodox Church

Introduction

The relationship between personality and culture, and with it the national character, have a common starting point that culture is a homogeneous social phenomenon. Cultural homogeneity is also formed as a consequence of civil social stressful events, and as a consequence of social conflicts, civil wars and then mass migrations of the population. On the other hand, the heterogeneity of the cultural expression of a society can be seen, in addition to the main cultural characteristics, in different religious affiliations, and this is often related to the ethno-national affiliation of a nation. However, the homogeneity of peoples also constitutes the influence or role of religion, especially in shaping the cultural challenge. Often, faith to a high degree determines the views, customs, system of values, goals, habits, diet, daily rituals

of citizens, as well as the attitude towards those with whom they share the same faith. But it also determines the attitude towards those of other faiths.¹

Consideration of the relationship between personality and culture should include observation of the relationship between the individual and his behavior. This relationship is important, because it expresses personality behavior. The behavioral aspect also has a national character and this particular behavior may be common to most members of a particular nation. Although the behavior is mostly determined by the situation, it is specific to each individual and shows a certain degree of permanence that is conditioned by the personality of the individual. That is why both the personality and the national character carry in themselves largely stable forms of reactions to different circumstances, with the fact that the individual reacts individually, while in the case of the national character the reaction is a collective one – a national one. Therefore, it can be said that the types of behavior that would be common to most members of one culture, could be an expression of national character.

Cultural homogeneities and social identity

The field of psychology of nationalism has been developing for decades. The very nature of nationalism is very clearly recognized in the cognitive theories of psychology that developed within the psychology of religion. Tajfel developed a theory of social identity whose starting point is the identification, or identification of the individual within the system of social categories. The psychological dimensions of nationalism can be interpreted in the close relationship between the language, culture, history and social context of a particular nation, on the one hand, and the universal psychological processes that are part of man, part of the individual, on the other. Primarily, the elements of nationalism manifest themselves as a peculiarity of the group's behavior, that is, as a group mentality, in the sense of a national feature, and it is, in fact a matter of ethno-nationalist character. This can be seen in the behavior of the group (not the individual), in the expression of certain feelings and in the way of thinking. All these features show that the consciousness of an individual belongs to a certain social category. The category in this case can be religion, nationality and ethnicity.

Also, the notion of an individual's social identity is the image he has of himself and of belonging to a certain group, as well as the subjective feeling of belonging to a group.² That is why it is important to look at the attitude towards intragroup and outgroup connections, because an individual has a positive vision towards the intragroup relationship, and at the same time a cautious, hostile one towards outgroup connections. This out-group hostile relationship is the first condition for the internal bonding of the group. On the other hand, when outgroups strengthen in a positive sense, intra-groups regularly weaken. This interpersonal process is seen in the emergence of national chauvinism. He represents attachment to his people and is reflected as animosity towards other people. Of course, in this context it is interesting to mention the comparison from 1973 by the Yugoslav sociologist D. Supek: "Chauvinism is a kind of "fan mentality", where attachment to one's own group automatically causes aggression

¹ Dušan Kecmanović, *Nacionalni karakter: Razm(j)ere zloupotrebe*, Beograd, Nova srpska politička misao, 2005, 21

² Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 50

towards another foreign group!" ().³ That is why Supek explains that this mechanism of group determinations of anthropoid hordes comes to the fore as a form of chauvinism, but also as a distinct form of primitive or degraded social behavior ().⁴

Psychologically speaking, nationalism in its broadest explanation is the feeling of identifying an individual with a group that speaks the same language, has its own history, culture, territory, etc. Through a process based on the idea of togetherness, psychological processes take place that are shaped and transformed through the personal experience of an individual or a group. They also show in a cultural context that nationalism identifies thoughts, feelings, and actions because these three actions are the basis of our attachment to a particular group.⁵

The complexity of nationalism is reflected in the development and influence on the subjective feelings of the individual towards the ethno-national group and the adoption of needs that are often in conflict with the needs of the individual, but which he or the group accepts. Examples are the need to attack and the need for protection and defense. The feeling of need for protection and defense is focused on defending against 'others' and that is why this feeling awakens a kind of aggression towards 'others'. Connecting with people is a relationship that ethno-nationalists insist on, and that connection is built on the basis of the experience that compatriots are brothers and sisters. This relationship is easily realized in societies that are in an uncertain economic and political situation and which are under pressure from sanctions. Thus closed, these systems remain turned to their inner reality, actuality. At the same time, nationalist ideology obliges them to distance themselves from 'others' who are enemies. In such a state, the social crisis easily opens the possibility that dissatisfaction to seek authority that will have a solution and "refuge". In this case, the citizens of Yugoslavia turned to new values that had been marginalized until then, and were offered the church and religion at the time of radical social change. That is, in the social strata, the classes that radically changed the old socio-political values, this turn to the church and religion gained a certain political intensity and tension.

Also, from the perspective of observing a smaller scope, the need for obedience is recognized. Nationalism is evident by the low threshold of tolerance towards 'others'. Intolerance is based on their attitude towards the nationality of 'others' of different origins. Nationalists obediently listen to the so-called "Voice of ethno-national interpreters" who are of national interest. !!! Taking responsibility for the fate of one's people, and at the same time releasing oneself from responsibility for one's actions and act, has proven to be the rule in such conditions of society, claims Kecmanović. On the other hand, the discrepancy and disproportion in the emotional discourse of nationalists is reflected in the need for personal glorification and the need to get out of one's own insignificance. The social condition that gives space to the development of nationalism enables a way out of its own insignificance and gives itself the possibility of personal respect and "significance".⁶ Hence, what makes nationalism adaptable in all social

³ Rudi Supek, *Društvene predrasude : socijalno-psihološka razmatranja*, Beograd: Radnička štampa, 1973, 104

⁴ Ibid, 104

⁵ Joshua Searle-White, *The psychology of nationalism*, New York: Pelgrave, 2001, 4

⁶ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 84

conditions is the fact that in ethno-nationalist ideology both the group and the individual find something for themselves.

Attitudes and beliefs, prejudices

Social psychology confirms that nationalism is actually a set of attitudes and beliefs about members of other ethno-national communities. Attitude consists of three elements: cognitive, emotional and conative. Each of these three attitudes, according to Ehrlich's division, consists of several qualities: comprehensiveness, intensity, assessment, and individual importance. Comprehensiveness is a general belief or general attitude about a person regardless of the circumstances, the situation in which he is. The intensity of the cognitive attitude includes the degree of acceptance-agreement and rejection-disagreement with a certain statement. All beliefs and attitudes can be shown on intensity scales. Zero intensity shows that a person does not have an attitude. The assessment that a person makes can also be presented on the evolutionary continuum: from good to bad, from desirable to undesirable. On this scale, however, there is a neutral position, it does not contain an estimate. An individual attitude is cognitively organized, if it is composed of differentiated beliefs that are comprehensive, intense, value-determined and important for the specificity of the individual (Ehrlich, 1973: 7). Trusting an individual can be of greater or lesser importance and in that sense the following is observed: partial - peripheral - central position of the attitude. The closer the attitude is to the central position, the more important it is for the individual. This means that it is difficult to influence such an attitude in order to change the belief.⁷

When a pre-existing attitude is so strong and inflexible that it seriously distorts perception and judgment, one has prejudice.⁸ The meaning of the word 'prejudice' and its meaning is: lat. pre-, -judicium in the basic sense is 'previous judgments'. The word referred to the trial in Rome that preceded the trial, serving as a way of determining the social status of potential litigations (Encyclopaedia Parthenesis, 271).⁹

Prejudice, based on its wider diffusion in one group, is defined as an emotional and rigid relationship to another group. These attitudes can only exist in the mind of a person who has prejudices, which means that this person categorizes another group. According to this reference, prejudices are attitudes, however, not all attitudes are prejudices. Prejudice is imposed by certain information, useful for emphasizing and expiration, thus blinding other information and facts. This causes all members within one group to be viewed as similar. "New experiences fit into the old categories by choosing only those that are in line with prejudice or stereotype. Prejudice attitudes, due to this emotional quality, are relatively stable and persistent

⁷ Ibid, 102

⁸ George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*, New York: Springer Science+Business Media LLC, 1985, 21

⁹https://books.google.si/books?id=tKNzPZ2Q9YsC&pg=PA271&lpg=PA271&dq=lat.+pre+judicium+in+dictionary&source=bl&ots=2jE2Nt38ph&sig=ACfU3U1zDPv7bnyXV9GYbtNJV-VJ209xyw&hl=sr-Latn&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjewI7Hi_fqAhWSC-wKHcNEAxMQ6AEwEHOECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q=lat.%20pre%20judicium%20in%20dictionary&f=false 2.9.2020

(...). They are, after all, anchored in life experiences that are subject to drastic reorganization".¹⁰ Prejudices also include erroneous prejudices, which are categorical opinions, that is, systematic misinterpretation of facts. That is, prejudices are wrong assessments of members, for example a group of people, and these wrong assessments are defended by someone.¹¹ Therefore, the structure of any social prejudice refers to extreme social groups, ethnocentrism, tempocentrism, sociocentrism, etc.

In addition to attitudes, the acute means of looking at things and people from the angle of nationalism is prejudice about people of other nationalities, which implies a repulsive, hostile attitude towards one person or a larger number of people just because they belong to a another, certain ethno-national group. It is believed that the very fact of belonging to another ethno-national group makes them undesirable, bad traits, worthy of condemnation and contempt (103). Prejudice is therefore a type of attitude that does not derive from the experience of one party in relation to the object of prejudice, however, this inexperience is the reason why prejudice can hardly be changed (103). Simpson and Yinger believe that prejudice can express both positive and negative attitudes towards the subject of prejudice, positive attitudes towards compatriots, and negative attitudes towards members of other nationalities. The conative dimension of prejudice implies social distance, but for us it is much more important to interpret it in terms of stereotypes (Kec, Psihop, 107). Based on this division, Kecmanović gives the basic causes of stereotypes.

1. Stereotypes satisfy a person's mental laziness. It is easier to believe that all people in one group have the same characteristics;
2. The tendency to notice more easily, what is in accordance with the existing attitude - belief, than what is contrary to it;
3. In some community, the actions of a minority group are easier to notice because it is easier to notice everything that is in the minority;
4. Self-fulfilling stereotypes;
5. Exaggeration of differences between two groups, if these groups are marked with special names, if they are labeled. If a group of people is given a special name, the differences between "them" and "us" become much greater than they are objectively;
6. Due to the so-called halo effect, if someone has a bad trait (and who doesn't !?), we conclude that other traits can't be better;
7. People can be included in the circle of those who spread prejudice. If someone takes a stereotype for granted and then tries to find an explanation, even a justification for these bad qualities, then he spreads and strengthens the stereotype.¹²

¹⁰ George E. Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination*, New York: Springer Science+Business Media LLC, 1985, 21

¹¹ Ibid, 21

¹² Dušan Kecmanović, *Psihopolitika mržnje*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1999, 108

As noted, in a cultural context, nationalism identifies thoughts, feelings, and actions, including stereotypes which shape our perception, affect our memory and adopt new information. The tendency to better remember information about groups, if this is confirmed by our already established beliefs about these groups, is also shown by the research of opinions that have this tendency. Examples of this stereotyping were demonstrated in a Searle-White study when participants were given descriptions of groups of men with some basic individual traits. One group was described as 'friendly', the other group as 'intellectual'. In addition to the description of the group's behavior, there was a set of descriptions of some individuals. After a certain time distance, the participants were tested again in order to see which of the mentioned descriptions of the group and the description of the individual remained in their memory. Both groups remembered the already adopted descriptions of the group about the second group. This research showed that data on individuals who do not fit into a given group stereotype are not remembered by test participants.¹³

The identification of intergroup behavior develops on the already established basis of the differences made. In terms of explaining intergroup relations, in order to answer questions about what a group is, what group identification is, how intergroup behaviors are recognized and distinguished from other examples of social behavior, Tajfel uses the concept of group identification in the context of the nation. A group or nation can encompass a range between one of three components: the cognitive component in the sense that someone belongs to a group; evaluative component in the sense that the notion of group and group affiliation can have positive and negative connotations. And finally, the emotional component in the sense that both the cognitive and evaluative aspect of a group or member can be accompanied by emotions directed towards one's own and towards another group in certain relationships.¹⁴ Consensus on "who's who", as we see in Tyfel, is in many cases shared as a categorization by a certain group of another group that is being perceived as different.¹⁵ However, such a consensus, if directed from the opposite direction (from other groups), may determine the formation of different types of criteria for internal membership the categorize group.¹⁶

The psychological tendency called the "contrast effect" is an appropriate and significant effect for nationalism based on the very important role of attitudes in perceiving the image of others. A group study based on intercultural relations on ethnocentrism with two main groups of participants (in-group, outgroup) had one attitude that seemed universal - in-group is more reliable and moral than out-group. The research of attitudes of participants confirmed that the expected attitude existed among them and that other groups were unreliable and immoral for them, different. The attitude of group members towards the statements of members of other groups represents extreme attitudes about them, which leads to less respect for the other group, which in turn strengthens the effect of contrast. In fact, the contrast effect has the potential to transform a concept that can increase conflict. Therefore, this effect is both destructive and

¹³ Joshua Searle-White, *The Psychology of Nationalism*, New York Pelgrave, 2001, 14

¹⁴ Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (England) 1981, 230

¹⁵ Ibid, 232

¹⁶ Ibid, 232

self-sustaining.¹⁷ We can recognize him in many media reports, where the repetition of phrases, expressions and phrases in the function of defining harmful traits determines the imposed opinion about "others".

The search for meaning and the chosen people

Of course, man finds the meaning of existence in many hidden corners of his mind and his desires. It is in human nature to search for the meaning of one's own life, and that has been provided by religion in previous centuries. It offered much earlier an explanation of the much younger secular meaning of the supernatural ... That is why religion has an answer to the question of the meaning of human life, suffering, illness, pain, death. With the removal of religion, in order to spread secularism, the belief in salvation and paradise was lost. With the loss of faith in infinite salvation, a worldly way of having the meaning of human life had to be found.

The germinal of nationalist feelings reveals a new source of meaning in human existence. In the 1970s, Minogue saw the popularity of nationalism in that it offered a sense of existence and provided an escape from triviality: "people who live in turbulent times, implicitly or explicitly, ask the question: what is happening to us? The nationalist answer is unequivocal: the nation is reborn, it fights against the enemy and for its own independence".¹⁸ Minogue believes that this nationalist explanation does not provide the full truth and possibly often having nothing to do with the truth, but to the nationalist ideology this is of little significance.. "The nationalist struggle is noble, it makes human suffering dignified, and it shows man the path of hope to follow."¹⁹ In this quote, which refers to sacrifice, that is, suffering, dignity and the path to the goal, one can recognize the basic religious spiritual guidelines that make up religious life.

The similarity between religion and nationalism is in the abstract experience, and that refers to belief and feeling. Belief refers to the peculiarity that only what is believed in, is true. Belief is a key approach, both for those who are religious and those who are nationalists, because that constitutes their view of the world. It is a view of the world in which the main belief among the religious is that God is the one who rules life and the world. Among nationalists, it is based on the belief that their national group has exemplary and exceptional and much better characteristics compared to other nationalities.²⁰ It can be noticed that the most important emphasis is their belief, and what is empirically provable is not the sphere of their interest.

After the death of Josip Broz Tito (1980), nationalists soon started to feel and then notice the changes in Yugoslav society. Thus, a group of then younger theologians, during the 80's, appeared in public, demanding a greater presence of the church and its way out of confinement. The Serbian Orthodox Church, together with spiritual activists, reactivated abandoned symbols and soon became a refuge for a certain percentage of nationally oriented intelligentsia. From the very beginning, she insisted on the cult of national values and religious historical figures,

¹⁷ Dawes, Singer, Lemons, *An experimental analysis of the contrast effect and its implications for intergroup communication and the indirect assessment of attitude*, Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 281

¹⁸ Kenneth Minogue, *Nationalism*, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1970, 32

¹⁹ Ibid, 32

²⁰ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 108

on national history, traditional customs and traditional values. This rehabilitation of the past has affected nationalism and ethnocentrism in the former Yugoslavia. In this period, the emphasis on national identity and culture only confirmed homogenization, but also self-affirmation in relation to other national and religious affiliations. Perhaps a crucial influence in Yugoslav society in the late 1980s and early 1990s was the widespread sense of victimization. The role of the victim was associated with events from the past, especially when it comes to the period of World War II, in Yugoslavia, which was transformed into trauma by reactivating the past. During the entire social change, in the spirit of national awakening, an obligation and responsibility towards the church was imposed on the basis of the belief that the Serbian Orthodox Church lived and lives surrounded by enemies. This gave meaning to her uniqueness, exceptionality and the experience of a sense of belonging as part of her exceptionality

With the growth of the popularity and authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the media and in social life, the concept of saint-savahood, the construction of the Serbian experience of Orthodox Christianity, as an example of conceptual, thought practice, developed. Saint-savahood was becoming an important element in the formation of a new Serbian national identity. Rapidly, the discourse of saint-savahood is understood as the only Serbian practice in the world of Orthodox Christianity, independent of the individual. During the 1980s, the discourse of saint-savahood gained much more momentum outside the boundaries of theological study and entered almost everyday media use.

By blaming, or accusing a certain minority or national group that is not their own, it helps people by giving them a sense of meaning. This process is recognized in the social and national structures in Yugoslavia in the process of economic changes that began in the mid-1980s. This "search for meaning" that Kecmanović explains, refers to both religion and (ethno) nationalism. "People spend a good part of their lives searching for its meaning. Mostly unsuccessful. That is why they are very grateful when someone or something offers them an explanation, deciphers the meaning of their existence".²¹ That is why Frankl defines the human condition in the sense that instinct no longer tells him what to do, nor does tradition tell him what to do, he either wants to do what others do (conformism) or does what others want him to do (totalitarianism).²²

The search for meaning entails another feeling, the 'longing for immortality'. This 'longing' is known in religion as the pursuit of deserved immortality after this earthly life, naturally, in paradise. With the loss of significance of religious understanding of immortality, man, searching for his need, found a solution for his immortal meaning. Namely, it is incomparably easier to live if we know, more precisely, if we believe that our life almost has no end.²³ However, there are a few people who will attain immortality by leaving behind such a legacy of achievements to humanity. That is why the solutions were opened within the social communities whose members believe in the immortality, that is, the eternity of their ethnic community. The pillars of this experience are the cultural and biological connection that connects generations from the past with the present, and in fact achieves this immortality of members of the ethnic community. Therein lies the answer to the need to insist on nurturing

²¹ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 109

²² Viktor Frankl, *Zašto se niste ubili: traženje smisla življenja*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1994, 94

²³ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 110

the memory and celebrating ancestors, their graves and defending against "foreign desecration" because it is about identifying with ancestors. The basic function of this nationalist model is seen in the fact that the more a person helps his ethnic community, the more it remains culturally pure from the influence of other ethno-national groups, and he will be remembered more in the collective memory his in ethno-national community.²⁴

The meaning of immortality which is offered by nationalism with the idea that by the fact that someone is a member of a national community that is in itself exceptional, and thus immortal, that member shares that immortality.²⁵ When talking about a religious environment or a religious community, these constituent elements of the vision of ultimate meaning, immortality, sacrifice and martyrdom, were religiously developed and still function today. That is why the inseparable part of this sense is the moral justification for martyrdom and violence. Unconditional sacrifice for the faith is martyrdom. Martyrs gain special respect for their faith. "Behind every saint stands martyrdom, sacrifice for the good of the church and the good of the faithful".²⁶ This shows the ability of nationalism to satisfy a general longing for immortality, which also Anthony Smith observes, specifically referring to how nationalism differs from other ideologies, about to mortals — primarily in what generations will think of them, not through the divine judgment of the afterlife. Life gives a sense of immortality and in that distinguishes nationalism from other ideologies and belief systems of the modern world.²⁷

Religious leaders on all sides have provided excruciating details about the suffering of their own people, while paying relatively little attention to the harms inflicted by their own national group, offering instead general condemnations of human rights violations by all sides and sometimes even categorical denials of well-documented atrocities.²⁸

The longing for immortality offers the development of an idea through one of the most popular topics, which is an integral part of the monotheistic perception of the self and God; the concept of the "chosen people". Anthony Smith dealt with this notion and in his rich opus he implies that the idea of a chosen people has a religious connotation, but in modern times this religious perspective of the old religious ideal has become universalized through specific doctrines of nationalism (1996).²⁹ One should add the view of Manzzo who believes that this merging of the older religious ideals of election with the historical doctrines of (ethnic) nationalism has significantly increased the number of conflicts. The longest and fiercest among (ethno) national communities are those conflicts that combine cultural purification and sanctification of the elect of a certain conflicting group.³⁰ The use of the notions of selectivity and exceptionality, and comparisons with biblical motives, has always been used successfully to justify political actions in the process of change:

²⁴ Dušan Kecmanović, *Psihopolitika mržnje*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1999, 130

²⁵ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 111

²⁶ Ibid, 113

²⁷ Anthony D. Smith, *Nations and nationalism in a global era*. Polity Press Cambridge, 1995: 158-159

²⁸ Gerard F. Powers, *Religion, Conflict and Prospect for Peace in Bosnia, Croatia and Yugoslavia*, in: *Religion and the War in Bosnia*, ed. P. Mojzes, Atlanta, 1998, No. 3, 242

²⁹ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 121

³⁰ Ibid, 122

As an example we give a quote from the bishop Atanasije Jevtic in the interview *Poslednja pobeda biće Crkva* (The final victory shall be the Church):

The covenant is ours, so our faith is our commitment: to follow Christ, to follow him wherever he goes (as seen by the Apostle John in the Apocalypse of 144,000 pure, dressed in white robes, also being a symbolic number 12 times 12, and 12, meaning one large majority, one fullness, they follow the Lamb of God wherever he goes...). So, the Serbian people chose that covenant and that is what we also call the Holy Testament and the Kosovo vow, the Orthodox Testament, the New Testament: simply experienced by Serbs, in Serbian territory, in Serbian being, in Serbian history, in Serbian mentality.³¹

We can see the same examples when it comes to national interests and, for their sake, human sacrifices. The victims become national heroes and are passed on as examples and role models to their descendants. We also have in the world of religion selected people who proclaim themselves saints because of their exceptional deeds.

That's how we came to the so-called the 'us and them' relationship. This division is visible in both religious and nationalist groups. Although either communities or institutions integrate people into themselves, on the other hand, they separate them from others. Religious discourse insists on division, on 'those who are of our faith' and 'those who are not of our faith'. The tension of such relations, awakened in certain historical situations, often escalates to antagonism and hostility (119). Nationalist discourse has a developed relationship of division into 'us' and 'the others'. As Manzzo simply explains, "nationalism could not exist without the concepts of twins: national and extraneous (tuđe)."³²

Once more is the Serbian people on the cross in Kosovo and Metohija as well as in Dalmatia, Krajina, Slavonia, Banija, Lika, Kordun, Srem, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its people are used to carrying the cross, as it was meant to be carried by them. At this hour, I pray that God will let us to carry the cross as dignified as ever before... Every Orthodox Serb was crucified here, along with its also crucified people from Kosovo to Jadovno, furthermore from Krajina to Borovo. May God let this crucifixion lead us into resurrection - not only of us, but also the resurrection of those who, allegedly in the name of Christ, rose against the three-fingered cross.³³

Collective, integration, identity

An integrative tendency is a process that an individual who has a tendency to integrate into the whole goes through, that is, has a need of belonging to the whole. Integrative tendency is a

³¹ Atanasije Jevtić, *Poslednja pobeda biće Crkva*, Beograd: Dveri srpske, časopis za nacionalnu kulturu i društvena pitanja, No. 3-4, 2003, 15

³² Kathryn A. Manzo, *Creating Boundaries. The Politics of Race and Nation*. Lynne Rienner, Boulder, London, 1996, 3

³³ Atanasije Jevtić, *Velikomučenički Jasenovac posle Jasenovca*, Beograd-Valjevo: Hrišćanska misao - Svečanik, 1995

process that shows a person's need to go beyond his personal egotism and identify with some individual greatness.³⁴

The integrative tendency is the identification with some individual greatness and thus, disappearing in it. In the nationalist conception of the human self, it is recognized in the opposite attitude towards human self-affirmation. This is because it is also a person's tendency to confirm himself individually, to confirm his abilities and peculiarities.³⁵ The question is, is there a place for individual self-assertion? The answer is necessary because of an individual's internal decision towards responsibility between personal need for self-affirmation and integration. While the integrative tendency is almost a possibility without limits, it cannot be argued for self-affirmation. And therefore, "the greater the individual's renunciation of personal identity, the stronger the drowning in the holon, the better." One of the main reasons is the difference in responsibility. Integrated tendencies drown individual responsibility in a collective that is the sole bearer of responsibility. Individuals who identify with some supra-individual whole renounce their uniqueness, but all responsibility as well. They decide to defend the holon on behalf of their own rights.³⁶

In fact, that collective identity represents a community that is different from other communities. He is the denominator for all parallel functional structures in social movements. Kecmanović gave an explanation of 'collective identity' in the chapter Religion and Nationalism (Rational and Irrational ...).³⁷ He actually explains how religion and nationalism provide people with a collective identity. Religious identity is certainly older than the collective or national one, and throughout history it has been confirmed as effective and as the most important collective identity of people. Recent history, however, shows the dominance of the national identity of a particular nation, which implies affiliation. In addition to the collective identity, another important characteristic is the exclusive character of the affiliation that both religion and nationalism have. Exclusivity lies in belonging to one religion and excludes belonging to another religion. This kind of exclusivity, when it comes to beliefs and emotional representations is very apparent and visible. Only in the case of observing affiliation from an ecumenical point of view does concession have tolerance in relation to national affiliations in the territorial and political framework.

"Religious nationalism is based on religious ideology and implies the identity of religious and national identity. Religious nationalism is almost as a rule ethnic (nationalism). Secular nationalism implies the connection of people in a certain territory with common laws and political processes (...). Secular nationalism is most often non-ethnic, which means territorial-political nationalism.³⁸

Moral behavior, according to Mark Juergensmeyer, has the function of providing moral frameworks of behavior to be adhered to and respected.³⁹ Religion determines the rules of good

³⁴ Dušan Kecmanović, *Psihopolitika mržnje*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1999, 76

³⁵ Ibid, 76

³⁶ Ibid, 77

³⁷ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 105-126

³⁸ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 124

³⁹ Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War. Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1993, 15-16

behavior for believers, thoughts that are good and pleasing to God, in order to follow the path of salvation within the community and communion. According to the nationalist unwritten rule, the criteria of good behavior are only for the benefit of the national collective. Otherwise, if someone in any way damages and weakens the national collective, its reputation, suffers moral condemnation. "Society retaliates with punishment for any excessive, aggressive expression of propensity for self-affirmation; it simply removes such an individual."⁴⁰ In the religious context, such an example is classified as a heretic, such individuals are excommunicated and nowadays verbally attacked by other orthodox christians. "Disobedience" or disagreement with the authority of "one's" national collective is defined as treason. Such an individual is a national traitor. An example of that is the Serbian historian Milorad Tomanić, who in 2001 published the book: „SPC u ratu i ratovi u njoj“ (transl. *Serbian Church in War and Wars within It*). Because of this book, he was excommunicated from the Serbian Orthodox Church.⁴¹ That is why identity is both individual and social, and for that reason national identity is at the same time a part of the individual and his experience. His experience connects him with specific causes that are important for understanding nationalism. This togetherness confirms that national groups are bound by predictable attitudes and thought patterns.⁴²

Epistemological closedness is a term used by Ignatieff⁴³ to name - the belief of nationalists that no one understands them. In the epistemological focus of logical deduction, Bouschard gives examples of closed epistemological questions. This idea has been applied to the psychological backbone of epistemological closure, which is compatible with the question of rational, justified and reasonable, epistemologically closed reasoning. The first question shows a fully usable function, while the second question leads to the same idea by introducing additional layers of interpretation of justification, rationality, and reason in epistemological closure:

1. S believes in untruth (P) only because he wants (P) to be true. What S wants to be true is almost never true. However, is S convinced that untruth (P) is epistemologically justified, rational and reasonable?
2. S believes in untruth (P) only because she heard it from someone who has always lied and S truly believes that her source always lies. However, is S sure that untruth (P) is justified, rational, reasonable?

Based on their (co) knowledge, they are trapped by their history and national specifics that are known only to them, but no one from outside can penetrate them.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Arthur Koestler, *The Ghost in the Machine*. Hutchinson of London, London, Melbourne, Sidney, Auckland.1976, 246

⁴¹ To see: Milorad Tomanić, *SPC u ratu i ratovi u njoj*, Medijska knjižara Krug, Beograd, 2001

⁴² Charles, Côte-Bouchard, *Epistemological closed questions: A reply to Greco*, New Jersey: Department of Philosophy, 2017, 108

⁴³ Michael Ignatieff, *Nationalism and Toleration*, in R. Caplan and J. Feffer, (eds.) *Europe's New Nationalism*. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1996

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 220

The psychological approach of observation confirms that nationalists are obsessed with the uniqueness of their national group and believe that no one in the world is close to them.⁴⁵

Subjectivity and the disproportion of experience become conspicuous when nationalist feelings and ideas take over dominance in attitudes. Then the national groups subjectively experience the status of their existence and uniqueness and relationship as others see it all, of course, incompletely, vaguely because they do not understand. Kecmanović's interpretation focuses only on the so-called ethnic times when this perspective is extremely dominant. He singles out two basic experiences:

1. They do not understand us because they do not want to understand us, they do not make enough effort to understand what distinguishes us from others.
2. Others do not understand us because others are not able to understand us. It is not enough for them to know our culture, history, customs, to get to know our inclinations and aversions, but it is necessary for them to get under the skin of our national soul, which is essentially impossible. What makes us unique in the spiritual-mental sense is simply not possible to the those, who are not of our kind.⁴⁶

The instrumentalization of religion and nationalism is carried out by using both religion and nationalism for purposes without good intentions. The instrumentalization of religion and nationalism is also used in international conflicts. In the case of religion, it can be drawn into conflict if its institutions are used to mobilize the population in the name of political goals.⁴⁷ This status could be seen "growing" in Yugoslavia. The church gained importance both in the cultural area and in the national peculiarity, on the example of the Serbian people, also for its homogenization and identification in relation to other national and confessional members. These conditions favored the revitalization of religion, at the same time nationalistic and any other kind of instrumentalization of the church.⁴⁸ Perhaps as an additional observation, Hobsbawm belonged to the Marxist tradition of thought, however his term "invention of tradition," took on an almost iconic meaning.⁴⁹

Conclusion

The psychology of nationalism is a field of psychology that has practical and empirically clearly demonstrated processes. Religious nationalism as well as secular nationalism are found on a common subject, and that is the subjective status of the identity of the community. Juergensmeyer also devoted himself to these relations, arguing that the line of separation between secular nationalism and religion was very thin and had always been thin (Juerg, 1993,

⁴⁵ Dušan Kecmanović, *Psihopolitika mržnje*, Beograd: Prosveta, 1999, 131

⁴⁶ https://www.b92.net/info/vesti/pregled_stampe.php?yyyy=2003&mm=05&dd=26&nav_id=109539 4.9.2020

⁴⁷ Dušan Kecmanović, *Racionalno i iracionalno u nacionalizmu*, Beograd: XX vek, 2004, 123

⁴⁸ Radmila Radić, Milan Vukomanović, *Religion and Democracy in Serbia since 1989: The Case of the Serbian Orthodox Church*, (edit) Sabrina P. Ramet, *Religion and Politics in Post-Socialist Central and Southeastern Europe*

Challenges since 1989, UK, USA: Palgrave Studies in Religion, Politics, and Policy, 2014: 181

⁴⁹ To see: Eric J. Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger (eds) (1983), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

16). The explanation for the rise of religious nationalism in different parts of the world is due to "the loss of faith in secular institutions that have not fulfilled the promise of political freedoms, social justice, and economic prosperity." This is especially true of non-Western countries as an integral part of foreign ideology, which needs to be fought against. Juergensmeyer also notes that religious nationalism, as an alternative to the secular, is based on the promise of a future that cannot be a failure.

As early as 1960, Hayes suggested that ethno-nationalism could emerge in modern circumstances as a substitute or as a political continuation of religion simply because they had much in common. "Nationalism, like any religion, brings into play not only the will, but also the intellect, imagination and emotions. The intellect constructs a speculative theology or mythology of nationalism. Imagination has built an unseen world around the eternal past and never-ending future of our own nation. Emotions foster joy and excitement when thinking about a national god who is only good and who protects us all."⁵⁰

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⁵⁰ Karlton J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism: A Religion*, Macmillan, New York, 1960:164-165

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