

Political Attitude and Personality in a Democratic Society

Dr. Marijana Markovik¹

Abstract

Achieving democracy is the main goal and long term dedication of all Western Balkan countries, especially in the context of the efforts to achieve EU membership. Democratization is a long-term process for these countries, where transition was connected to war (as was the transition of former Yugoslav republics). Transition is a period between two political systems. The transition away from socialism in former Yugoslavia began with nationalism and traditionalism. Thus, the transformation of political attitudes (which means the transformation of political culture) is essential to establishing a democratic society. Establishing democratic institutions in those countries is just a beginning. As researchers and theoreticians have noted, democracy cannot be sustained in a society without transforming the political attitudes and political culture of citizens. The political culture of citizens should contain elements of a participative culture such as having a sense of responsibility for society and becoming concerned about human rights and human development. Research conducted in the Republic of Macedonia shows that socialism is still the dominant political ideology among students. Almost 80% of students have socialist political beliefs (Markovik, 2008). Another research study among students shows the internalizing of political attitudes depends on certain personality traits (Markovik, 2009). These findings show that personality can be shaped, and that certain personality profiles correspond with democratic identity. For example, this research (Markovik, 2009) shows that neuroticism influences introjections of traditional attitudes about family, education and freedom of speech. Openness to experiences and extroversion influence attraction to democratic attitudes about family, education, and freedom of speech. These findings show that personality can be shaped through education and most importantly, through real life lessons about good practices of democratic credo.

Personality, Politics, Culture and Society

Society is a complex system of relationships. Its existence depends on successfully coordinating the needs and behaviors of each individual with the majority's needs, and with adopted models of socially desirable behavior. However, the abstraction and then generalization of the needs are essential conditions for sustainable living in the community. The creation of a collective awareness is essential to achieving an optimum level of shared needs to live in a community. The process of social

¹ Dr. Markovik is a researcher at the Institute for Sociological, Political, and Judicial Research in Skopje, Macedonia.

harmonization entails adjusting individual thoughts, emotions, and behaviors to rules that can be either informally accepted or formalized as an established political system. Each society has its own way of arranging established relationships between individuals. The end result of the decision-making process among members of society is public policy. Although the concept of public policy generally refers to governance, it can also be studied in terms of interpersonal relationships. The adjustment of individual awareness with the collective awareness is achieved in formal and informal ways. The formal way refers to a system of ideas and models that are officially established whereas the informal way refers to the acceptance of behaviors and thoughts that are not established as the formal way of interpersonal relations. Culture is an informal way of shaping collective awareness. Besides culture, religion, science, morality, and ideology also shape and structure individual awareness.

Culture is the collective awareness that embodies the entire historical achievement of human kind. By changing the world around it, humanity changes itself. A person is at the same time an individual and a social being. A person's dominant needs are his or her own personal wishes and interests, but the primal drive for affiliation forces him or her to obey the interests of the community where he or she resides. Individuals expose themselves to constant attractions and rejections, which can cause frustration and conflict. Because of the need to overcome contradictions, persons adjust their individual needs to collective needs. With one part, a person belongs to the wider human kind and with another one, she or he belongs to the community, and one part of him is distinctively unique to that person. That unique aspect which makes human beings distinguishable from one another is personality. Each individual enters social life with a particular biological capacity, and has only certain drives. Through the process of social life, each person gains the knowledge and skills to find a way to satisfy his or her needs without being punished by society. This process is known as socialization. During socialization, human beings shape their own personalities. Social scientists emphasize that the biological base of personality can be shaped under the influence of social factors that express themselves as mutual practical activities, social relations and processes of communications.

It is considered that each domain in cultural life appears on two levels: first, on the social level and second, on the psychological level. It first appears as interpsychical category and then as intrapsychical category. The basic product of the cultural impact on personality is qualified as the social genesis of a higher level of behavior such as political behavior. Nevertheless, the process of shaping political behavior is reversible. Personality is reactive, and not pro-active. Human personality does not passively accept influences from the outside world. On contrary, personality has an active influence on the construction of relationships in society. In fact, who creates society if it is not humans themselves? Thus, political culture as a special segment of a society's general culture is a complex phenomena, but the agents of constructing culture are humans themselves. Usually, researches in political science, which intends to measure the social and political behavior of citizens, excludes the concept of personality as a factor of influence. Nonetheless, it is very important to highlight that the personality of *ordinary citizens* can have an influence on the political culture on the national level.

Here we have a few questions that appear from the previous text: which society is authentic to humans as biological and social beings? Is it a society that respects human rights or is it a society that limits the freedom of expression?

The phenomena of political culture

To understand one segment of this complex concept, it is essential to explain the basic and general element of human communication. This element is the symbol. In the process of communication, people use symbols, and symbols are a reflection of their reality. Symbols contain an amount of knowledge that is achieved as a result of their experiences with that object. Over time, symbols take on meanings of mutually shared knowledge, and then they become a basic tool for communication. According to Parsons (Eckstein, 1996), culture appears when human beings use symbols as mediators in communicating with one another (Vujić, 1999).

Although very different definitions exist about what culture is, the majority of scientists agree that culture is a collective phenomenon that cannot be reduced to one person. When we reduce culture to an idiosyncratic level, it disappears. When a person is in harmony with his or her environment –when he or she is one with nature- then, there is no need for culture as a social phenomenon. However, because

human beings are naturally social beings, culture is essential. Through symbols and messages embedded in culture, individuals learn which patterns of behavior can lead to satisfying their drives in a socially acceptable manner. Cultural symbols are passed on from one generation to another. Culture is not a phenomenon innate to us; it is a system of beliefs, attitudes, and values that we learn during the course of life. One segment of culture is political culture. Political culture explains the diversity of societies. Political culture is a part of society's general culture that encompasses attitudes, beliefs, values, symbols, and patterns of behavior.

Popular conception defines political culture as the framework of attitudes, values and habits that refer to government and politics. These facets of political culture develop over time and are interconnected with the political life in a country or region. A more specific conception refers to the following aspects: interrelationships between government and citizens, citizens' rights and duties, obligations and duties of government, and limitations on government authority (Galic, 2001).

Political culture is a subjective psychological phenomenon that appears in the process of interaction between individuals and the political system. Almond and Verba (1989) give criteria that show the nature of political culture in a particular country. Their study and their theoretical concept about political culture are based on Harold Lasswell's psychoanalytic theory (Ascher & Ascher, 2005). Lasswell tried to specify the personality character or traits of a "democrat". His list of "democratic" traits included: 1) open ego (warm and inclusive attitude toward other human beings, 2) capacity for sharing values with others, 3) a multi-valued rather than a single-valued orientation, 5) relative freedom from anxiety (Ascher & Ascher, 2005). Lasswell's democratic qualities are not specifically political attitudes and feelings, and they may actually be encountered in great frequency in societies that are not democratic in structure. As Lasswell noted, political behavior and political attitudes stem from personality structure. Adhering to the principle of using a scientifically unbiased definition of political culture, Almond and Verba (1989) noticed that they use the concept of "culture" as a psychological orientation toward social objects. They also noticed that when they speak about the political culture of a society they think about *the internalizing of the political system* that is branched into cognition, feelings and behavior. According to these authors, it is expected of democratically

oriented citizens to be active, involved in politics, to show behavior that is lead by a conscious mind and not by emotion, to be well informed, and to make clear decision (Almond & Verba, 1989). A nation's political culture is a dominant distribution of patterns toward political objects. This orientation includes: 1) cognitive orientation 2) affective orientation, and 3) evaluative orientation - judgment and opinion about political objects (Almond & Verba, 1989).

It is important to notice that Almond and Verba (1989) give a definition about political culture that enables researchers to propose and empirically test hypothesis. The idea of exploring the phenomenon of political culture come from the fact that individuals who live in a particular political system and society share mutual ideas, attitudes, values, and several other attributes.

Democratic political culture

Contemporary dilemmas and challenges arise from the relationship between the traditional political culture and the democratic political culture. Traditional values that are typical for traditional political cultures constitute a nation's cultural heritage. These values pertain to family, religion, nation, and public institutions. Traditional attitudes are based on one dominant moral system. However, the fact is that a multicultural and multi religious society cannot peacefully exist if it is based on single dominant moral system. A suitable political culture for a diverse society is that which is fragmented and pluralistic. The reason for the appearance of this type of political culture can be found in the emergence of new needs among contemporary human beings (Mircev & Hristova, 2008).

According to Maslow's (Fulgosi, 1987) theory of hierarchy of needs, after satisfying basic instincts, the needs of a higher order are actualized. Modern human being has a need to take a creative role in society. But changes in society always go together with changes in economy and politics. These changes reflect changes in personality. Better economic and political conditions increase individualism. Persons become independent from their families and they use their freedom to express themselves. Nonetheless, the need for mutual exchange continues to exist.

Modern democratic cultures give individuals free and open space for communication. A participative political culture is an open space for independent political knowledge and experience, which is indispensable for individual initiatives.

It is also a road to positive changes in society because individual freedom depends on such crucial changes like the emancipation of population. Reconstruction in society leads to individual responsibility, adaptation to a new political and economic system, and a recognition of their new role in the new system.

Establishing a democratic culture entails developing several personality dimensions that were repressed in the previous political system. Among others, these dimensions are reflective thinking, critical thinking, creative thinking, and self-confidence which is very much connected with cooperation and sharing (Schuetz, 1996).

Political Culture in Yugoslavia and Former Yugoslav Republics

Political culture in former Yugoslavia was complex, fragmented, and with significant differences in nationalities, religions, languages, and other traditional mores. From a historical dimension, the Yugoslavian idea sought to maintain a balance between competing political and ideological differences instead of achieving economic progress (Matić 1993).

Galic (2001) pointed out that the main problem facing all post communist countries is a lack of citizen initiatives which are crucial for developing a democratic society. Civil society highly appreciates human rights, pluralism, tolerance, and ability for democratic governance. Communist governance leads to the degradation of civil society values. The political cultures of East European countries contain strong elements of paternalism, religious values, conservative political roles, and authoritarianism. According to Almond and Verba's theory (1989), the aforementioned conditions in post-communist countries lead to the formation of parochial and subject cultures. Galic (2001) emphasizes that it is easier to implement democracy in Central European countries than in Western Balkans countries. The reason is Western Balkans' nostalgia toward the previous socialist economic and political system, a nostalgia that is a result of the chaotic privatizations of publicly owned enterprises.

Nationalism escalated in Yugoslavia during the last decade of the 20th century. This nationalism leads to cruel wars in Yugoslavia. The appearance of

nationalist sentiments interferes with the process of individualization among citizens, and the result of this is the absence of responsibility for one's existence.

Some research regarding the socio-cultural aspect of transition in Croatia show the existence of a low level of political culture and a high level of political apathy. Citizens feel that they are excluded from the process of political decision-making (according to Galic, 2001). Research findings confirm the existence of authoritarianism, traditionalism, paternalism, low level of political participation, a weak citizen culture, and weak economic capital. Other research on Serbia, another constituent republic of former Yugoslavia, shows that the dominant political culture there is the same as the one in Croatia (Trebjesanin, 2002).

Political Culture in Macedonia

Great enthusiasm for political change, acceptance of new values and openness toward democratic processes characterized the first years of independence in Macedonia in the early 1990s. In the early 1990s, ethnic conflicts were taking place in other parts of the region, such as in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia. The "nation" was perhaps not internalized as an identity by all ethnic groups (it mostly refers to Albanian ethnic community) to the same extent, but was at least considered an instrument for acceptance in the wider European community. There is in Macedonia an appearance of certain xenophobia, political apathy, new forms of nationalism and an irrational escape into a revived or created political mythology. Some possible factors influence the content of political culture in Macedonia. Those factors are: a) carrying out the political transition while struggling to gain national recognition abroad; b) interethnic tensions within the country; c) intra-ethnic competition in nationalism; d) constant suspicions and awareness of various conspiracies against Macedonia, that culminated in NATO's rejection to accept Macedonia in its alliance; e) created confusion about historical identities by introducing new historical mythology as a basic political instrument; f) new criteria for dividing the population, based on their historical heritage (Mircev and Hristova, 2008).

Research (Simoska, 2001) conducted in 1998, which included 1600 respondents, showed significant presence of authoritarian values, existence of prejudices among all ethnic groups; and attitudes that narrow the quarantined "freedom of speech and thought" that makes it difficult for the media and journalist

to practice their “control function”. The overall conclusion is that political culture in Macedonia is heterogeneous. It is gradually becoming a participatory culture. Political culture in Macedonia has a fragmented structure and a presence of most heterogeneous values that are mainly a result of the social, economical and political posttraumatic experiences

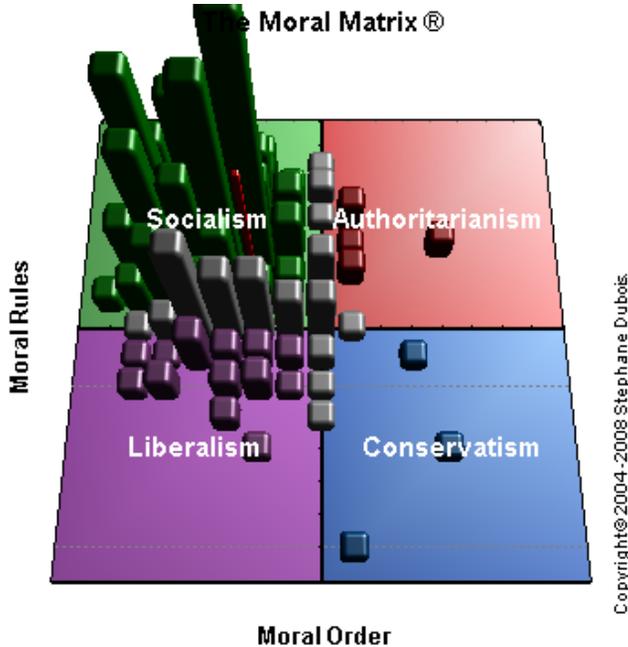
It becomes obvious that the quality and nature of political culture depends on a society’s historical background, extant political situation and socio-economical circumstances. Citizens cannot become open-minded if their reality is full of aggression (armed or psychological). If there is no appreciation for civil efforts, there is no space for civil society. The process of transformation from an authoritarian to a participative political culture model depends on mainly two dimensions: personality as an integrated unit and society as a complex system of interpersonal relations (Simoska, 2001).

Political Ideology of Students in Macedonia

An appropriate sample of 210 respondents was used to identify the political ideology among students (Markovic, 2008). The political ideology was measured by using the Morality-Based Political test (Dubois, 2004). This test represents different aspects of political ideology, which is described with two dimensions: nonconformance-conformance and interdependence-independence, creating four quadrants, or four Political Systems. All the respondents were social science students aged 20 to 27, 144 of them of them were women and 66 men. In this research, the political ideology is classified pursuant to the two-dimensional model that is determined by the two dimensions: “moral rules” and “moral order”. These two dimensions determine the two-dimensional model named “moral matrix”. The classification of the ideologies pursuant to the aforementioned model is done by assigning the Morality-Based Political test, designed by Simon Dubois (2004).

According to this classification, political ideologies are divided into liberalism, socialism, conservatism, and authoritarianism. The distribution of these political ideologies is presented in the following picture.

Figure 1. Morality-based political test distribution among students in the Republic of Macedonia



Source: www.moral-politics.com

The dominant political ideology among students is *socialism* (71,43%), followed by *liberalism* (8,52%), *authoritarianism* (2,75%), and *conservatism* (0,82%) while 16,48% of respondents straddled systems. Thus, the most preferred political system is *socialism*, with its variation *moderate socialism*. The dominant political ideology is *social democracy*.

These results show that the attitudes cannot be changed immediately following the transition from one political system to another. The process of changing political culture is going slow and depends on objective political and historical factors, and subjective factors such as an individual's personal experiences.

The social explanation of this research results come from the characteristics of the transition process in the Republic of Macedonia. The Republic of Macedonia became a sovereign and independent country on November 8, 1991. Before independence, it was a Socialist Republic as part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, "the

Republic of Macedonia is constituted as a sovereign, independent, civil and democratic state”- Constitution of Republic of Macedonia, 1991(http://www.uni-graz.at/opv1www_ustav_makedonija_mak.pdf).The state underwent a transition from one political system to another. One system of ideas has been terminated, whereas the formation of the other system of ideas is still in progress. This transition from one political system to another raises important questions about the kind of society the people of Macedonia want to create, how they will fulfill their collective desires for an ideal society, and the moral rules and principles they employ to judge the actions of others.

Another research conducted in 2009 (Markovik) on students sought to find the regularity between personality traits and attitudes toward agencies of socialization. Attitudes toward agencies of socialization are a very important aspect of understanding the construction and introjections of attitudes toward political life. For example, if a person has positive attitudes toward traditional family roles (e.g. parent-child relationship or husband and wife) then there will be an expectation that family, as a basic unit of society, has to promote asymmetric relations. The situation is the same regarding attitudes toward education. It means that our attitudes toward agents of socialization contain expectations about the “products” which will be distributed to society. When we take into consideration the attitudes of the adults then it becomes clear that their attitudes are the result of the influence of all socialization agents, their personal experiences, and political and historical circumstances.

According to McCrae and Costa’s (1992) personality theory, five basic dimensions, which are biologically given, interact with external influences including culture, in shaping the skills, habits, tastes, and values which construct the characteristic adaptation of the individual (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004). McCrae and Costa’s Five-Factor Theory is unique because it asserts that traits have only biological basis. All personality tests are based on statements which correspondent with the expression of behaviors. As the personality theory clearly explains, psychologists study personality based on expressed behaviors. Further, personality is shaped a certain way because of contacts between individuals and their

environment. The quality of contacts depends on culture, personal experiences, and influences by socialization agents.

Specific groups that carry out socialization are called agents of socialization. Our society relies on four major agents of socialization: family, media, school, and peers (Rot, 1983). Agents of socialization can be compared to insurance agents who represent and act on behalf of a business organization. Likewise, agents of socialization represent society and act on its behalf. Although socialization can occur outside of the realms of these agents, society relies on them to do most of the socialization. Unlike an insurance agent, there is nothing "official" about agents of socialization in a democratic society because no government agency licenses or certifies them as such. However, this is not always true in societies where totalitarian regimes rule. Totalitarian regimes may attempt to establish official agents of socialization to promote their political agenda. Thus, regardless of whether agents of socialization function in democratic, totalitarian, or other political and economic system, each agent plays a role in molding personality.

Individuals learn and practice specific patterns of political culture and are taught political values through the process of political socialization. For example, at young age, individuals learn to pledge allegiance to the flag, sing the national anthem, and obey authority figures. It is families, friends, teachers, and the media that influence these and many other behaviors and values.

Research by Roberts and Helson (1997) show that changes in culture can cause changes in personality. Their study shows that the increase of individualism in American culture influences personality development. Women who were followed from 1958 to 1989 showed an increase on the individualism index over time. This study demonstrates that changes in culture can reflect on changes on personality characteristics.

An individual that has a combination of self-discipline, flexibility, openness and a democratic approach to family, work, and professional organizations is likely to have the same personality characteristics regarding public affairs, religious institutions, and so on. Despite the possibility that displacement mechanisms are at play in some individuals, we would expect that, for the general population,

democratic predispositions in proximate interpersonal relations will be positively correlated with such predispositions in public affairs.

The question is - are there connections between personality, political attitudes, and political behavior? Whether we think of people as people or as political actors, it is certain that people differ from one another in countless meaningful ways. Some are liberal, others are conservative, some are well informed, and some are not. These differences matter because they have an effect in terms of what we think and how we behave not only politically but also in other aspects throughout the course of our lives.

Until recently, the neglect of personality as an important component of analyzing political behavior was understandable because psychological research on personality failed to produce concise taxonomies applicable to the study of politics. Nevertheless, this situation has been changed since the appearance of the Five-Factor Model of personality. This theory gives taxonomy of personality traits that can be used in future political science research.

Research, intended to explore the connection between traits and attitudes, was conducted among students in few universities in the Republic of Macedonia (Markovik, 2009). More specifically, the goal of this research was to explore the nature of connections between personality traits and attitudes about agents of socialization (family, peers, school, and the media). To this purpose, the following instruments have been used: NEO-PI-R (NEO Personality Inventory - Revised), the Traditional Family Ideology scale (TFI) developed by Levinson and Huffman in 1955 (Shaw and Wright, 1967), Educational scale developed by Kerlinger and Kaya in 1959 (Shaw and Wright, 1967).

The TFI scale is a multidimensional scale which intends to measure attitudes toward 1) parent-child relationships, 2) husband and wife roles and relationships, 3) general male-female relationships and concepts of masculinity and femininity, and 4) general male-female relationships (Shaw and Wright, 1967). The total score of this scale is a measure of democratic attitudes toward family relations. This scale measures one aspect of a larger pattern of autocratic ideology or democratic ideology.

The Education scale measures two dimensions: progressivism and traditionalism. Traditional education refers to long-established customs found in

schools that society has traditionally deemed appropriate. Traditional teacher-centered methods focus on learning and memorization. The main goal of traditional education is to transmit to next generations those skills, facts and standards that are important to sustain established values. The traditional curriculum design does not reflect new realities and it often does not provide students with opportunities to develop critical thinking and problem solving skills. The traditional curriculum design does not include opportunities to build different kinds of collaborative skills. Progressive education is a term used to describe ideas and practices that aim to make schools effective agencies of democratic society. Democracy means active participation by all citizens in social, political and economic decisions that affect our lives now and in the future. The education of engaged citizens, according to this perspective involves two essential elements: 1) respect for diversity, 2) development of critical and socially engaged intelligence (Shaw and Wright, 1967).

Two mentioned scales are measures for democratic and traditional attitudes. As it was mentioned before, the main goal of this research was to find the interconnection between personality traits and political attitudes.

To measure the personality traits NEO-PI-R (NEO Personality Inventory – Revised), personality inventory was used. This inventory is based on the Five-Factor Model that consists of five personality dimensions: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism (McCrae & Costa, 1992). The five factors and their constituent traits can be summarized as follows: openness, appreciation of art, emotion, adventure, unusual ideas, imagination, curiosity and variety of experiences. Conscientiousness is the tendency to show self-discipline, act dutifully, aim for achievement, display planned rather than spontaneous behavior, extraversion, energy, positive emotions, and seek stimulation and the company of others (McCrae & Costa, 1992). Agreeableness is the tendency to be compassionate and cooperative rather than suspicious and antagonistic toward others (McCrae & Costa, 1992). Neuroticism is the tendency to experience unpleasant emotions easily such as anger, anxiety, depression or vulnerability, which is sometimes called emotional instability (McCrae & Costa, 1992).

As the result of statistical data analysis (regression analysis and Pearson's coefficient of correlation) illustrate, it is obvious that some attitudes depend on some personality traits. Emotional instability influences the acceptance of attitudes that

correspond with traditional ideology. Traditional ideology is usually identified as asymmetrical and traditional relations between husband and wife, parents and children, and teachers and students.

The second finding was that two personal dimensions of the Five-Factor Model influence the acceptance of attitudes that are part of the democratic ideology. Those two factors are *openness* and *extroversion*. According to this research, the first conclusion is that the dominant ideology is still socialism, and that the process of changing personal political ideology is slow. Shifts in political ideology depend on circumstances and take more than a few generations, particularly in a society where that ideology was the dominant one for decades. The second conclusion is that personality does have an influence on achieving political attitudes. Some personality dimensions influence the internalizing of some attitudes and the reflection of their opposite values. This finding is particularly important in light of processes to establish democracy in countries that aspire to join the European Union. Establishing civic society, as Almond and Verba (1989) noted, is not a completely new modern culture because it means combining democracy and tradition, where democracy has a dominant presence. McCrae and Costa (1992) in their Five-Factor Model of personality show that traits are biologically determined which means that they do not depend on culture, but other factors influence personality. Culture shapes personality, and political culture shapes the political part of personality. In both cases, agents of socialization act as messengers and instruments.

The following tables illustrate that political behavior can be predicted according to the interrelation among personality traits and political attitudes.

Table 1. Emotional insecurity and political behavior

Personality traits	Attitudes	Behavior in everyday life	Political behavior
		Child should obey their parents	Obedying the authorities
N Neuroticism	Traditional attitudes	Wife should obey her husband	Establishing hierarchical institutions
		Student should obey teachers	Absence of citizens' initiative

Emotional insecurity (high scores on neuroticism) influenced by asymmetric relations in family can cause similar political behavior but it is not obligatory. The

influence of family as an agent of political socialization can be changed by the influence of other agents of socialization such as school, mass media, and religion.

The table below shows that the two personality dimensions, openness and extroversion, influences democratic attitudes.

Table 2. Personality traits and democratic attitudes

Personality traits	Attitudes	Behavior in everyday life	Political behavior
Openness		Parents should take into consideration children's opinions	Respect for differences
Extroversion	Democratic attitudes	Husband and wife are equal in marriage	Tolerance
		Progressive education	Citizens' initiative

Openness to new ideas and extroversion (positive approach) influences the internalizing of democratic attitudes (democratic family attitudes and attitudes toward progressive education). Having the experience of participating in the decision-making process in primary institutions (e.g. family and school) can lead to acquiring an appreciation for diversity, tolerance, free expression of ideas, and citizens' initiative. These experiences are crucial to establishing a democratic society.

The last aspect of this discussion is about the purpose of identifying personality traits on the wider social circumstances. It is a fact that personality traits are biologically determined, but as Costa and McCrae (1992) note, personality can be shaped by society's culture, political culture, national history, personal life experiences, and other factors. Therefore, a society that has a democratic system can give citizens the opportunity to express traits that are necessary for sustaining democracy. As a study by Bourke (2001) showed, when students receive a progressive type of education, their dominant traits are openness and extroversion. It is very important to stress that what we create in our milieu will affect our own personalities. That is why citizens have to experience the effects of their own participation in the decision- making process.

The process of establishing a democratic society is very complex and involves subjective and objective factors. It is essential that citizens have experiences where democracy works and society should have citizens who are aware, critical, open-minded, tolerant, and prepared to take responsibility for their own decisions. It is

education that can shape these personality dimensions. Political behavior can be explained and understood only if we make personality a focus when conducting scientific research.

References:

Almond, Gabriel A., and Verba, Sidney. *The Civic Culture: Political attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, Inc, 1989. Print

Ascher, William and Ascher, Barbara K., *Revitalizing Political psychology. Legacy of Harold D. Lasswell*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 2005. Print

Bourke, Robert. "Personality traits of pupils at independent schools in England." *Research in Education* 66 (2001): 1-8

Dubois, Stephane. "The moral politic test." Web. Introduced in Sept. 2004 and still active <<http://www.moralpolitics.com/xpolitics.aspx?menu=Home>>

Eckstein, Harry. Culture as a Foundation concept for the Social Sciences. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 1996, str. 471-497

Hofstede, Geert and McCrae, Robert R., "Personality and Culture revised; Linking traits and dimensions of culture." *Sage. Cross-Cultural Research*, 38, 2004 .Web. 13 Jan. 2009. <<http://ccr.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/38/1/52>>

Galić, Branka. "Politička kultura "novih demokracija." Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet (UDK:321.7(4-11)), 2001. Print.

Markovik, Marijana. "Political ideologies and moral reasoning among university students in Republic of Macedonia" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISPP 31st Annual Scientific Meeting, Sciences Po, Paris, France, Jul 09, 2008

Markovik, Marijana. "The influence of personality socialization in building political culture among students in Republic of Macedonia." Skopje: Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, 2010 (PhD thesis)

Milan, Matic. *Enciklopedija političke culture*, Beograd: Savremena administracija, Političkoloski rečnik, 1993. Print.

McCrae, R. R & Costa, P. T., Jr., *NEO PI-R professional manual*. Odessa, FL: Psychological Assessment Resources, Inc, 1992. Print

Mircev, Dimitar and Hristova, Lidija. "Modernata politologija. Temelite na proučuvanje na političkiot život." Skopje: Univerzitet FON and Kultura, 2008. Print

Roberts, Brent W. and Helson, Ravenna. "Changes in Culture, Changes in Personality: The Influence of individualism in a Longitudinal Study of Women" *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 1997, Vol, 72, No. 3, 641-651

Rot, Nikola. *Osnovi socijalne psihologije*. Beograd: Zavod za udzbenike i nastavna sredstva, 1983. Print.

Trebesjanin, Zarko. "Psiholoski otpori demokratskoj tranziciji." February, 12, 2009
<<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/psyc/staff/ronald-fischer-files/Scencesfull.pdf>

Shaw, Marvin E. & Wright, Jack M., *Scales for measurement of attitudes*, New York: McGraw-Hill.1967. Print.

Simovska, Emilija Babunski, Klime and Gaber Natasa. *Politicka kultura na graganite vo Republika Makedonija* Skopje: Institut za socioloski i politicko pravni istrazuvanja. 2001. Print.

Vujcić, Vladimir. "Politička kultura i politička struktura: odnop političke culture, structure i demokracije (II dio)." *Politička misao*, XXXVI (1999): 144-157. Print.