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MULTILAYERED IDENTITY: THE DIALECTICAL RELATIONSHIP OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, POLITICAL IDENTITY, AND CIVILIZED SELF IN THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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Abstract

The article analyzes the dialectical relationship between social consciousness, political identity and civilized self in the context of the formation of the new world order. The study used Hegel's dialectic, Gramsci's theory of hegemony, Castells' concept of the network society, and Bourdieu's social field theory as methodological frameworks. It is shown that today's global changes reshape social consciousness not only at the intersection of traditional ideological factors, but also at the intersection of civilizational awareness, national identity, and global information flows. Political identity is a phenomenon that is not rigid and permanent, but arises from a constant dialectical movement of social practice, cultural memory, and discourses of power. The civilized self, while being a product of historical sedimentations, is also the object of modern normative struggles. On the example of Uzbekistan, the features of the reconstruction of post-Soviet identity are revealed. The result suggests that rather than Huntington's "clash of civilizations" model, current processes have the character of "dialogue and competition of civilizations" and have a complex dialectic character rather than a distinctly biased conflict.

Keywords: Social consciousness, political identity, civilized self, dialectics, new world order, global transformation, post-Soviet identity, Uzbekistan, hegemony, normative struggle, multipolar world.

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Introduction

In the form of a single, concise article (without sections) in the second decade of the 21st century, the global order is being radically reshaped: the decline of the relative hegemony of the United States, the growth of China, the revisionist policy of Russia, the rise of the Global South, and the restructuring of all spheres of life by digital technologies determine the parameters of the new world order. These changes are not only changing the military-political and economic balance, but are also fundamentally reshaping the collective consciousness of humanity, national identities and civilizational self. Social consciousness — a set of knowledge, imaginations and values about society's own history, current state and future — is facing new challenges in today's globalization: the reawakening of national and civilized selves, along with the power of standardization through global information flows and media, is reinforcing its local aspects. In this context, Hegel's dialectic, Marx's analysis, Gramsci's idea of hegemony, Castells' notion of the network society, and Bourdieu's social field analysis serve as an important methodological basis for understanding social consciousness.

Political identity is the subject's perception of himself as who he is politically: which nation, which state, which value system, and which civilized tradition he sees as representative. This concept has been interpreted in different theoretical spaces, from Anderson's concept of "fictional communities" to Huntington's model of the clash of civilizations. Many approaches, however, show identity in an overly static way, failing to adequately reflect its dynamic, discursive and practical aspects. Poststructuralist and information society analyses — Foucault, Hall, Castells, etc. — reveal identity as a phenomenon formed through discursive construction, communicative practices: it is divided into legitimation, resistance, and project identities, while in the digital space new forms and mechanisms of mobilization emerge.

The concept of the civilized self caused great controversy in international relations. While Huntington presented civilizations as a key identity on the

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international stage, his ideas have faced postcolonial, constructivist, and empirical critiques: the inherent diversity within civilizations, historical constructs, and the possibility of redevelopment by political actors complicate this notion. It is therefore desirable to see the civilized self not as a rigid determinant, but as a phenomenon that changes in the process of constant dialogue and normative struggle.

The relations of these three are of a dialectical character: the civilized self (thesis) is a relatively stable foundation formed by long historical processes, language, religion, and cultural memory; and political identity (antithesis) is a dynamic force that mobilizes and reinterprets this foundation for political purposes; and social consciousness (synthesis) arises as a result of this dialectical process and forms the collective self-consciousness of society. However, social consciousness is also not independent — it subsequently influences civilized self and political identity, with the result that the dialectical spiral continues.

The global information environment and the networked society have pushed social consciousness beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, but at the same time it is increasing the contradiction between glocalization — global standardization and the possibility of deeper expression of local identities. While digital platforms are often a tool for mass hyperculture, they are also becoming a platform for the preservation of local languages and traditions. The conflict between freedom of information and manipulation, the emergence of new forms of control through algorithms and disinformation tools, constitutes the technological incarnation of Gramsci's hegemony in the 21st century.

The relationship between political identity and civilized selfhood also does not fall within determinism: in history, in the case of Kemal Ataturk, political attempts have emerged to adapt the basis of civilization to Western models, but as a result of this process, the civilization elements have not completely disappeared; On the contrary, they have become a source of new cultural and political conflict. On the other hand, Confucian, Islamic, or other civilized

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traditions have a strong influence on the formation of political identity, but their expression and political outcomes will depend on the context. In Bourdije's terminology, these relationships take place through space, capital (cultural, symbolic, social), and positions.

In the new world order, identity configurations are distinguished by several features. First, identity multilayering: modern individuals and communities simultaneously bring together national, religious, post-Soviet, and global civic identities; these internal conflicts occur more within the subject than Huntington describes. Second, identity is an object of normative struggle, and states and political forces construct and reinterpret it for strategic purposes. Third, the boundaries of "us" and "them" blur through transnational migration, diasporas, and digital communities, creating phenomena of translocality and multiple belongings. Fourth, the construction of retroactive identity, i.e., the reinvention of the past, is becoming a key tool of political projects. Fifth, the weaponization of identity (propaganda, cultural imperialism, and identity strategies) is widely used in geopolitical competition.

This dialectical process is clearly manifested in the example of Uzbekistan. The country's identity is divided into three layers — Islam and the cultural heritage of Central Asia; Cultural and ideological sedimentation of the Soviet period; The era of independence and the new national identity were formed. The Soviet period, paradoxically, brought the national element and language into the political arena, giving rise to the formation of a new national consciousness. After 1991, Uzbekistan, in the process of independence, embarked on the process of building a new identity, reckoning with the previous identity models, but not completely rejecting them. The discourse "New Uzbekistan" after 2016 has taken this process to a new level: the idea of the "Third Renaissance" put forward by the President serves to unite the Uzbek civilization heritage, national pride and modernization goals; At the same time, the dialectic of regional leadership, pluralism, and secularism-religion is also finding its expression. While promoting the cultural

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heritage of Islam, the state maintains a cautious stance towards political Islam — which represents the internal balance of identity.

The quest towards dialectical synthesis sees social consciousness in a spiral of thesis-antithesis-synthesis: the foundation of civilization is processed by political identity, and social consciousness is formed as a result; This consciousness, in turn, will be the impetus for subsequent political and civilizational movements. Three dialectical peaks stand out in the New World Order: the politicization of identity (the transformation of identity themes into political force), the civilizational awakening (the drawing of political power from historical heritage), and the identity crisis (imbalance and disorientation). These peaks shape the political expression of identity and have a significant impact on international relations.

In conclusion, the relationship between social consciousness, political identity, and civilized self cannot be explained by any unified determinism: they are within a dialectical process that continuously shapes, reconstructs, and transforms each other. The role and interaction of these three phenomena in the new world order becomes even more important, as the global information environment, the weaponization of identity, and inter-civilizational competition accelerate and complicate dialectical processes. The civilized self should not be seen as a static foundation, but as an object of constant reconstruction involving political actors, the media and civil society. On the other hand, the discourse of Uzbekistan "New Uzbekistan" as a synthesis of a unique identity combining retroactive and prospective elements is an interesting scientific object not only for the national experience, but also for other post-Soviet and developing countries. For a deeper understanding of the new world order, it is necessary to emphasize that the theory of international relations needs an integrative framework that combines materialistic and idealistic approaches, taking into account the dialectical relations of social consciousness and civilized self.