POLITICAL CULTURE: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Article Info

Abstract

Political culture is a complex concept, containing many different understandings and research methods from many different perspectives. Studies of political culture have emerged since World War II, and scholars continue to discuss this concept in the context of many inconsistent views in the academic world because of the interdisciplinary nature of this concept. Based on research results on the definitions, functions, and relations of political culture with organizational culture and management culture; by secondary qualitative data analysis method; this article concludes that the most similar point between the definitions of "political culture" is the recognition of the relationship between political culture and the state, with society with nation-state and class, the recognition that the inner meaning of political culture always includes dynamic elements as well as static elements, and acknowledges that the subject of political culture can be studied at all three levels of the individual, institution (organization), and community (state, nation).

1. Introduction

The rise of political culture research largely stems from the need to practice politics. During and after World War II, with the expansion of US forces globally, the US was forced to know more about countries and regions from the perspective of comparative research, especially political development trends. In that situation, focusing only on the empty study of traditional politics in a political system is not enough, and there gradually arises a practical need to analyze and predict the political development and political behavior of one's own country's citizens by learning and studying political culture in other countries. Especially before and after World War II, research on political culture in Japan has provided useful references for the United States and other Western countries in making policies towards Japan to some extent. Although political culture as a concept was not proposed until after World War II and only since then has it made significant contributions to political theory, in reality, human interest in and studying the phenomena of political culture has been a long-standing tradition and practice. For example, Aristotle's work on promoting political stability or reform is an example of this aspect. In this sense, then, the Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought defines "political culture" as "a fairly new term for an old concept."

2. Methodology

The project has collected and synthesized works in fields related to political culture, reflecting content related to political culture and topics directly related to political culture on the endogenous database

system of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University-HCM, open science and technology publication database of the Ministry of Science and Technology of Vietnam, Google Scholars and Elsevier systems to identify groups of issues that appear repeatedly in research works on political culture, including: definitions, functions, elements, relationship with culture, organizational culture, social management culture, and research theories.

3. Results and Discussion

Theme 1: Elements in definitions of political culture

It is generally accepted that the first person to use the concept of political culture in the modern sense was the American politician Gabriel Almond. Almond and Powell (1956) defined political culture as the set of personal positions and tendencies of participants in a subjective system that serve as a basis for political action and make political action meaningful. Those personal orientations include cognitive orientation (intuitive understanding of political objects and ideas or scientificized political thinking about those political objects and ideas), emotional orientation (a feeling about relationships with political objects), evaluative orientation (an opinion about political objects based on a standard value system) (Dinh Van Mau, 1997, p.216). According to Gabriel Almond (1956), every political system is a dynamic system, we must use actions to judge the political system, we cannot rely only on law and morality. In short, examining the political system must be through observing what they are doing, how they are doing it, and what they are affected by. Since then, he advocated changing the focus of political research from focusing on studying macro political mechanisms to focusing on studying the political behavior of individuals and groups, analyzing what is the motivation for their political actions. Almond (1956) calls the type of orientation that defines a political system rooted in it political culture. According to him, political culture is a political psychological orientation based entirely on the subjective psychological perspective of individuals, different from macro concepts such as national character or form of social consciousness. It can be said that Almond (1956) has made a breakthrough to escape the deadlock in explaining related political trends, when old concepts such as political values, political attitudes, forms of social consciousness, cultural characteristics are not always clearly defined. Almond gives two explanations about political culture: first, political culture is not completely unified with the socio-political system but often goes beyond the limits of the political system; Second, although political culture has a relationship with culture in general, it is also different from them. This explanation is very important because if political culture is considered identical with the socio-political system, it will become a form of social consciousness of the ruling class, from which the research scope of political culture will become narrow and less meaningful (Van Hai, 2001).

In Civic Culture, written in 1963, Almond continued to use this concept. Almond reiterates that: political culture is "a set of political attitudes, beliefs, and feelings of a nation prevalent in a particular period. It was formed as a process of history, as well as the social, economic and political activities of the nation today. The type of attitudes formed by people's past experiences have a significant constraining effect on future political behavior. Political culture influences the behavior of political actors, specifically their political demands and their responses to the law." According to Lucian Pye (1965), Gabriel Almond (1963)'s definition was too focused on factors that insignificantly affect the operation of the political system. Therefore, Lucian Pye (1965) redefined: "Political culture is the set of attitudes, beliefs and emotions that puts the political process in order and makes it meaningful, as well as basic premises and rules for a political system to control behavior within the system". However, in general, both Gabriel Almond and Lucian Pye see political culture as a system of political awareness, political emotions and political beliefs. However, in general, both Gabriel Almond and Lucian Pye see political culture as a system of political awareness, political emotions and political beliefs. Lucian Pye only focuses more on subjective factors that not only exist objectively and systematically in the political system, but also reflect the spiritual traditions of society, the political emotions of the people, the typical way of operation of the political system, thereby ensuring that the political system operates in a certain trend.

Almond and Powell proposed a structure of political culture consisting of three elements: Political cultural orientations, Central content of political culture, and Relationships in the system of these elements. In particular, political cultural orientations are also considered from three levels: emotional orientation, cognitive orientation, and evaluation orientation. The focus content is considered from all three levels: Political Cultural Process, Political Cultural System, and Political Cultural Policy. The relationships in this system of factors are considered similar between factors. Accordingly, within a community of people, beliefs, attitudes, feelings, and evaluations toward foreign policies, economic policies, and other issues such as taxes, public transportation, and racism are not only related to each other but also help predict assessments with other issues. Among different human groups, attitudes, beliefs, feelings and appraisals are also interconnected. At the level of the political cultural system, people's attitudes toward the nation-state community and political institutions are expressed through three factors: national identity, government legitimacy and effectiveness of government operations. Among them, the most important factor is the legitimacy of the government. If the legitimacy of the government is low, it means that the citizens of that country are just afraid but do not feel a specific reason to obey the government's policies and laws. On the contrary, if the legitimacy of the government is high, it means that the citizens of that country voluntarily comply with the government's policies and laws (Nguyen Xuan Te, 2002).

Meanwhile, from the perspective of political psychology, Jack Plano said: "Political culture is the accumulation of behavioral patterns related to government and politics from learning and social communication in each society. In general, political culture includes psychological elements of political behavior, such as beliefs, emotions, evaluative intentions, etc. We all know that political culture is not only the result of the historical experience of an entire society but also the result of the process of socialized personal experience of each individual." (Hu Jie, 1986). From the perspective of symbolic anthropology, Lowell Dittmer believes that "political culture is a system of political symbols".

In China, almost all authors Wang Huiyan (2004), Xu Datong (1997), Wang Huning (1987) believe that political ideology is an important element that needs to be included in political culture and that political culture not only contains latent psychological existence but also includes clear rational expression: "As a type of subjective consciousness field, political culture includes the attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and values of a society toward political activities; Specifically, it includes each aspect of political consciousness, national spirit, national political psychology, political ideology, political ideals, political ethics, etc.". Wang Huiyan (2004) pointed out that "Political culture is a multi-level political perception influenced by many factors and formed through a long-term accumulation process. Political culture is historical, ethnic, and class-based. Political culture is the synthetic product of human political rational knowledge and political emotions." In the classic work Dictionary of Political Culture of the Federal Republic of Germany by Greiffenhagen published in 2002, political culture is understood as the pattern of distribution of the orientations of members of a community towards political objects. Meanwhile, according to the Comparative Study of the Governing Methods of Modern Political Parties by Wang Cheng Jiang and Kang Yi published in 2002, political culture is the total composition of beliefs based on personal experience, symbols and value systems; that whole determines the subjective circumstances of political behavior.

Meanwhile, Chinese Scholar Yu Keping said that "Political culture is the model of people's political orientation. As a model of political orientation, political culture includes five basic components, which are people's political cognitive orientation, political attitude orientation, political belief orientation, political emotional orientation and political value orientation. Political knowledge is the people's intelligence and knowledge about politics; Political attitudes are the personality and mentality that people reflect about political issues, such as their political attitudes towards political participation, whether this is positive or negative; political beliefs represent whether or not they are loyal to a political cause; Political emotions represent a psychological dependency or reaction against a political goal; Political value is the judgment and evaluation of a political goal. These five aspects of political awareness, political attitudes, political beliefs, political emotions and political values are closely related to each other, have a way of relating to certain rules, and combine organically in one nation, one state, one class of people" (Yu Keping, 2000).

According to Thomas Meyer (2007), "Political culture is the totality of values, opinions, habits, and voluntary political actions that have a key influence on the operation of all socio-political institutions" (Thomas Meyer, 2007). Those values, opinions, habits, and political actions must belong to members of the community, existing as members of society. These must also be common values, opinions, habits, and actions, linking legal and spiritual ethics. According to the Passau school of political science, "political culture is a collection of important values, knowledge, concepts and opinions of people in society, and forms of behavior revealed through activities of political participation, are the explicit or tacit rules of the political process, the everyday foundations of the political system, and the collection of all that belongs to cultural practices of existing society" (Werner Patzelt, 1992). According to the Berkely school, "political culture is the knowledge, values, and expressed emotions that the people of a community bring to a process in which legitimate values, knowledge, and emotions will be located" (Pham Hong Tung, 2008). Thus, the Berkely school points out three component parts of political culture: political knowledge, important values related to power, and emotional expressions of people participating in political activities. In particular, those values and emotional expressions must be authentic, that is, normative, and must necessarily be based on judgments about the objects affected or targeted in the political system. According to the Encyclopedia of Politics, "Political culture is historical experience, community memory, customs and habits of an individual or social group, and trends that influence the behavior of that individual or social group in political activities" (Nguyen Xuan Te, 1998, p.278). Thus, both Gabriel Almond, Thomas Meyer, the Passau school of politics, the Berkely school and the Encyclopedia of Politics all point out the subjective dimensions of the political process as knowledge, experience, memory, concepts, opinions, habits, customs, traditions, trends, orientations, actions, behaviors. These are the most basic factors that need special attention when studying the political culture of an individual or social group. What is special is that the definition of the Encyclopedia of Politics points out two levels of political culture: individual and social group. This special article recognizes the individual aspect of political culture, recognizes the role and position of individuals in leadership positions, holding power based on personal prestige, in political activities and the political system. These key individuals are the most representative members of the trends and orientations of the social group.

According to the tendency to view the concept of political culture as identical with human-related elements in the political system (Christian Welzel, 2007, p. 299), "Political culture is a system of institutions, values, discourses, behaviors, and beliefs about power" (Toh Goda, 2008, p. 11), or "political culture is the product of historical accumulation in the political system with all the life histories of all members of that political system" (David Sills, 1968, p. 218), it can also be said, "political culture is the aspect of culture in a class society that represents knowledge and creative capacity in Political activities are based on political awareness, political relationships and institutions that realize the interests of the class in accordance with historical development" (Nguyen Thi Kieu Giang, 2015, p. 17). Also in the tendency to understand political culture as identical with subjective elements related to people in the political system, but in a way that emphasizes rationality in the activities, thoughts, and behaviors of subjects participating in political activities, "Political culture is an aspect of culture, expressing knowledge, creative capacity, qualities and forms in political activities based on a deep awareness of real political relationships and progressive political institutions established by people to realize the basic political interests of the class or the people in accordance with the the development of history" (Pham Ngoc Quang, 1995, p. 19), can also be "the aggregate quality of knowledge and experience in political activities; The feelings and beliefs of each individual form civic political consciousness, motivating them to take positive political actions in accordance with the political ideals of society; is the need and habit of participating voluntarily and proactively in social and political activities, becoming a value of citizens, contributing to guiding them in the fight for the common interests of society" (Department of Political Science, 1999, pp. 115-116). From the approach that views politics as a field of activities associated with relationships between classes, peoples, and different social groups, the core of which is the issue of gaining, keeping, and exercising state power, The regulation of forms, tasks, and content of state activities and participation in state affairs are considered the most important things in politics. The Russian political

school, which is represented by scholar E.A. Dodin, gives the definition: "Political culture is the process of political socialization, ultimately the process of universalizing certain political values and rules." and "the process of socialization to some extent leads to the birth of social institutions, values and behavioral standards appropriate to the development process" (Ho Chi Minh Academy, Institute of Political Science, 1999, pp.64-65).

In the classic work Dictionary of Political Culture of the Federal Republic of Germany by Greiffenhagen published in 2002, political culture is understood as the pattern of distribution of the orientations of members of a community towards political objects. Meanwhile, according to the Comparative Study of the Governing Methods of Modern Political Parties by Wang Cheng Jiang and Kang Yi published in 2002, political culture is the total composition of beliefs based on personal experience, symbols and value systems; That whole determines the subjective circumstances of political behavior. Thus, most viewpoints emphasize static elements such as political ideology and political ethics of dominant political subjects in history, while some scholars have added elements that are constantly moving in political culture as political behavior, political attitudes and political beliefs of each individual or community.

In Vietnam, authors of the Ho Chi Minh Academy, Institute of Political Science view political culture as including awareness, attitudes, behavior and values. Meanwhile, authors Nguyen Van Vinh and Nguyen Hoai Van consider the political cultural structure to include cultural foundation, political knowledge, ideology, ideals, beliefs, political consciousness, political capacity, methods of political activities and political values (Phan Xuan Son & Chu Thi Huyen, 2016, p.40). The structure of political culture can also determine people's different value orientations on the worldview level (political concepts form the political worldview of individuals), value level (attitudes towards specific forms of political authority as well as towards specific political opponents and coalitions), individual level (level of awareness of dominant status of citizens and state power agencies). In particular, the political cultural sub-structure of the ruling class has important implications for political life, especially in the period of socio-political transition, because the political culture of the ruling class is both representative of the country's main political trend and a source of the power of every political process (Nguyen Le Ngan Giang, 2015, p.43).

Theme 2: Foundations of political culture

Most ancient political thought trends in the world consider political culture to be a system with two bases of formation. For example, Confucius considered the two bases for forming the political culture of a gentleman to be morality and status. Aristotle and Plato considered it the basis of personal morality and the basis of state organization. The Soviet school believes that political culture is formed from ethnic identity and religious identity. Montesquieu considered the characteristics of political culture to depend on national history and personal morality. Only Vietnamese political researchers consider political culture as a system of three sources: political knowledge, political experience, and personal behavioral habits in political activities. Whether considering political culture as a system of two bases or three origins, most researchers around the world show that the bases of formation (personal morality, national psychology, ethnic identity, experience in political activities, behavioral habits in political activities) are all related to spiritual culture, are all spiritual, subjective factors, depending on both the individual and the community. They have not realized that the deep roots that form factors such as ethnic identity or national psychology lie in the economic conditions of the ethnic group and the traditional residential environment of that ethnic group or nation. Recent works by Vietnamese researchers such as Hoang Van Viet (2006, 2009), Tran Thi May (2014), Nguyen Dinh Ngoc Van (2014), Lu Vi An (2021) have added factors of natural environmental conditions and traditional ethnic livelihoods when analyzing political culture of India, Japan, China, Singapore.

Theme 3: Functions of political culture

Political culture is a part of spiritual culture, so it also carries the functions of culture in general. Because they emphasize that political culture is the culture of the leaders holding state political power, medieval researchers only see one purpose, which is also the function of political culture, which is

Governing the people - governing the country, ensuring the people's comprehensive welfare and the independent and self-reliant existence of the state. According to Aristotle, the mission of the state and the ruling class is not only to ensure that everyone lives normally but also to make people live fully, happily, and to ensure social justice. "The purpose of the state is the welfare of life, the state itself is the interaction between nations and populations to achieve a perfect and independent existence." Aristotle also believed that the form of the state could become distorted, or corrupt. According to him, a monarchy with one ruler will turn into a dictatorship, an aristocracy with a small group of rulers will turn into an oligarchy, only an organized society ruled by many people will become a democracy, or literally were ruled by civilians (Nguyen Huu Vui, 1998, p.207). Meanwhile, the true subjective nature of political culture is that every human individual with full qualities, abilities, and qualifications can participate in political life, so political culture is gradually recognized with many other functions. In the West, Karl Marx and Engels considered it a function of protecting the interests of the ruling class and realizing national interests, while Krasnov (1987), Dittmer (1977), Rosenbaum (1975), Shapiro (1989), Saran (1973) add the function of determining the tendency, form, and evolution of political life. Lucian Pye believes that "Political culture is a system of beliefs formed in the practice of political participation" (Nguyen Huu Dong, 2016). These are shared, universally accepted beliefs. Therefore, the main central function of political culture is orientation, including orientation of the structure of the state apparatus, orientation of political awareness, orientation of political activities, orientation of how laws, media, and political systems operate. (Nguyen Huu Dong, 2016). Hoang Van Viet (2006, 2009), Tran Thi May (2014), and Nguyen Dinh Ngoc Van (2014) have added four basic functions of political culture: the function of orienting proactive and self-conscious political consciousness according to the interests of the nation, orienting political awareness, supporting the ruling class, expressing the nature of the state, ensuring interaction between subjects - institutions of power based on the use of terms, symbols, stereotypes, means of information and communication.

Theme 3: Trends in the development of political culture research theories

In the West, Plato (428 - 328 BC) and Aristotle (384 - 322 BC) were the first to view politics as both a science and an art. Although their socio-political philosophies were limited by the contemporary historical period, they still contained a rational core in their conception of politics. Plato in his work The Republic argued that all traditional political regimes such as democracy, monarchy, or oligarchy are corrupt and corrupt, and the state should be run by The rulers are well-educated elites. The elites are people trained from youth and selected based on their special ability to observe social overview. Aristotle in his work Politics believes that humans are essentially political animals, ethics and politics are always closely linked together and a truly ethical life is only possible for people who directly participate in politics. Aristotle and Plato both saw that the correct form of the state could turn into a distorted form of state, with corrupt institutions. According to him, a monarchy with one ruler will become a dictatorship, an aristocracy with a small group of rulers will become an oligarchy, only an organized society ruled by many people has just turned into a democratic regime, or literally, rule by the common people.

Durkheim (1984) argued that societies are held together by the 'social facts' of culture, not just objectively rational responses to 'natural facts' or 'material facts', and that societies invent different, creatively socially constructed identities and beliefs. Durkheim (1984) placed the concept of culture at the center of sociology, as well as anthropology (Mauss, 1954). Max Weber attempted to synthesize the emphasis on ideas and culture with greater attention to the material context. He argued that ideas often "determine the traces which actions are motivated by the motivation of interests" (Max Weber, 1958, p.280). Max Weber argued that it was Protestant religious ideas that indirectly led to the rise of capitalism (Weber, 1992). For Weber, ideas and culture profoundly determined what people considered their "preferences." The focus on the impact of ideas, norms, and culture was first built into political science primarily through Talcott Parsons in the 1950s and 1960s. According to Tacott Parsons' theory of social action, social action arises from the oriented activities of social subjects (these orientations are chosen by social subjects based on certain norms and values). Those orientations interact and lead to a social equilibrium that depends on the pattern variables that lead to

the system's dynamics. Applying functional-systems theory, Talcott Parsons defines society as a series of actions that define a system of groups. Groups are more specific and therefore easier to change than society as a whole.

His students developed the first distinctive political literature about 'political culture'. The most famous example is Civic Culture (Almond & Verba, 1963), which uses surveys to assess how well attitudes and values in different countries sustain democracy. However, after a short golden age, the Parsons school was no longer popular. Critics point out that the "political culture" approach is often tautological (Barry, 1970). Whatever they value politically, or whatever they express in their political actions, is described as their 'political culture'. Scholars argue that political culture explains their values and actions. As part of a reaction to the perceived failures of destructuralist theory in international relations in failing to predict the end of the Cold War, a movement arose called 'constructivism'. Also from the perspective of constructivism, according to Dao Ngoc Tuan (2015), political culture is the belief system and ideology of the people that determines how a country views itself, is aware of its own national interests, and offer specific policies. At the same time, because political culture has experiential roots far back in the people's history, it is difficult to change and does not follow any general guidelines. For example, American political culture both emphasizes democratic values of individual freedom and extreme power. In addition, individual political leaders may share the cultural values of the minority community, which are not the same as the common cultural value system of the vast majority of the entire American people. Therefore, no one is sure whether or not the US will intervene in the internal affairs of the same territory at different times.

To overcome the limitation of Tacott Parsons (1937, 1951) in not being able to explain the processes of political conflict and political instability, David Easton (1965) defined politics as the division of values by will, The political system is the totality of interactions in society through which values are divided subjectively and willfully so that recognition of that division is mandatory for the majority of members of society.

For Clifford James Geertz (1973), behaviors, institutions and social structures are not culture but are only phenomena constituting culture, and culture is an important factor to explain the behavior and political activities of the community. Among them, the most important is the consensus of the community in the shape of social order, legitimacy, and legitimacy of social power. Therefore, besides rational choice and institutional structure-function, the impact of cultural values and beliefs on the political system is also very important (Rogowski, 1993).

Drawing on cultural theories in sociology, Alexander Wendt argues that the seemingly "anarchic" structure of international politics is not the result of a natural, material system; instead, 'anarchy is due to constructed states and norms and identities (Wendt, 1992, 1998; Onuf, 1989). Scholars of comparative politics have argued that they cannot understand changes in domestic policies and institutions without tracing the origins of ideas (Hall, 1989; Sikkink, 1991; Berman, 1998). Political scientists have also discovered a large sociological literature on 'sociological institutionalism', a form of constructivism (Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Finnemore, 1996; Katzenstein, 1996; Swedberg & Granovetter, 2001).

In the Orient, Confucius was one of the first political thinkers to address political culture from the perspective of moral philosophy. The basic content of Confucius's doctrine is that a gentleman has the necessary standards of conduct in politics. Confucius's beliefs are closely linked to morality and personal ethics. He believes that only honest gentlemen who follow the Tao are considered cultured to rule, and have stable social status. Confucius's political ethics theory demonstrates political culture through the main contents of categories such as benevolence, propriety, righteousness, and magnanimity, all of which contain humanistic values and profound contemporary meanings, associated with China and Oriental countries (Aloun Bounximay, 2013, pp.12-13). Although Lao Tzu did not mention the concept of political culture, when he discussed politics and political activities, he expressed his views on the content of politics and political culture. Lao Tzu's motto "rule by no means" actually represents a new concept of political culture, expressed in the way of governing the

country according to the requirements of the behavioral standards of the ruler at the level of political culture (Aloun Bounximay, 2013, pp. 12-13). In Japan, while Takeshi Ishida (1996) only views political culture as values formed in political activities, Koichi Kishimoto (1997) views political culture as characteristics formed in the political process under the influence of natural geographical, historical and socio-cultural conditions. Otsuka Katsura (2008) approaches Japanese political culture from the perspective of cultural awareness, ideology, outlook on life, religion and behavior in politics. In Vietnam, political culture can not only be understood as the art of doing politics (Dang Xuan Ky, Vu Khieu, Pham Ngoc Anh, Bui Dinh Phong), but also can be understood as cultural values created in political activities (Nguyen Dang Dung) but can also be understood as the organizational and social management culture in a certain community within a political system (Pham Ngoc Quang, Phan Xuan Son, Hoang Van Viet). From the perspective of political philosophy, Trinh Doan Chinh & Dinh Ngoc Thach (2003) argue that the state has behavioral standards, rules, symbols and other cultural elements that play an important role in the entire process of political activities. The political and cultural environment helps people reveal the nature and motives of political actions. Political culture is the overall concept of a political community about rules, norms, and political symbols for appropriate behavior. Therefore, the structure of political culture includes political traditions, political behavioral norms, political behavioral orientations, political ideology, and political relationships between political subjects capable of perceiving and acting according to political laws. Just as culture shapes and governs behavioral standards in everyday life, political culture also shapes and governs behavioral standards in political life, enriching political institutions, ensuring unity, their universality and interconnectedness. Political culture also always contains multifaceted political relationships, ethnic aspects, and mutual interactions. Therefore, there is no political culture standing outside the ever-moving political life.

Finally, since the 1950s, the United States also began to develop behaviorist research that approaches the political system from the behaviors, motivations, identities and attitudes of subjects participating in the political process (Meynaud, 1959, p. 113). In particular, the study of political identity by the Berkeley school and Lane continued the work of Theodor Adorno focusing on the main subject of authoritarianism. Through research on trends, attitudes, behaviors, and motivations of voters in the US presidential election, Lane partly explained the authoritarian identity of the Republican Party in America. Also in the political psychology research school, Nathan Leites (1948), Henry Diks and Margaret Mead studied the origins of motivation and identity of dictatorial behavior in Germany and Japan. Lucian Pye (1962) is also a continuation of the study of national character - the determining factors underlying the behaviors and attitudes that affect politics, expressed through political activities.

Theme 4: The relationship of political culture with culture, organizational culture and management culture

Political culture is distinguished from organizational culture by its political nature. An organizational culture that lacks political character cannot become a political culture with the purpose of gaining and keeping power. In addition, political culture of an organization is composed of the political culture of each individual. But to create unity between the political culture of individuals in the organization, the organizational culture must be solidarity, coordination, unity in goals, ideals and in political action. Therefore, to maintain and develop organizational culture, it is necessary to implement and maintain political principles in the sense of political cultural value standards. Organizational culture consists of two parts: the intangible and the tangible, which include the beliefs and values recognized and practiced by the majority of members in the organization. And so, any individual has both the values that define personal qualities and a part, an aspect, an element in the organizational culture. Regardless of the subject level, political culture contains a system of value standards formed through political activities, used by subjects in the process of political activities. Individual political culture does not exist independently but will exist within a specific community, region or country. From there, personal political culture will contribute to forming organizational political culture. Organizational political culture and individual political culture are dialectically related to each other. Personal political culture will determine organizational political culture, through individual leaders, outstanding individuals or

great leaders. However, organizational political culture will influence individual political culture. Through that, it contributes to orienting personal political culture along a specific path. According to the criterion of reversibility, organizational political culture is divided into consensus and conflict. And if considered according to the level of awareness, political culture is divided into two types: the political culture of the elites - leaders and the political culture of the masses - the people.

Social management is an objective human activity, requiring appropriate and effective means. Social management culture is the totality of activities created by humans to maintain stable social order and social development. Therefore, social management culture represents the capacity, qualities, abilities, and qualifications of the social management subject. Political culture is distinguished from social management culture by its political nature. Social management culture can be valuable, human in nature, historical in nature, national in nature, and can also be class in nature but not political in nature. Social management culture does not necessarily exist in a society with a political system, so it cannot be a political culture. Class can exist before politics and still exist after politics appears. Therefore, social management culture can continue to exist in parallel after the emergence of official, mainstream political culture. Organizational culture is distinguished from class-based social management culture. Social management culture is class-based, while organizational culture is not necessarily class-based. Social management culture is distinguished from political culture by its political nature. Political culture is politics, social management culture is not politics. Although highly conservative, social management culture continues to change to adapt to society, continuing to contribute to maintaining social stability and social development. Therefore, political culture is symbiotic with social management culture to ensure the stability and development of a society with a state and class. The higher the level of cultural symbiosis, the greater the effectiveness and sustainability of political culture and social management culture.

4. Conclusion

In general, the concept of political culture can be approached interdisciplinary from the perspectives of cultural studies, political sciences, political philosophy, political sociology, and political anthropology. Theoretically, the concept of political culture can be illuminated under behaviorism, structural functionalism, and constructivism. Theories and approaches all show that the connotation of political culture includes the entire system of values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors of people (at all three levels of individual, institutions, nation-state) that create and manifested in the process of political activities. Each theory and approach adds a different aspect that focuses the researcher's attention on the concept of political culture. However, the most comprehensive and important is the interdisciplinary approach and systematic method. Only when fully applying the perspectives of philosophy, politics, and social cultural anthropology, along with an interdisciplinary approach and systematic method, can researchers comprehensively and objectively explore the value system, the rules related to political culture, the real subject of political culture, and the impact of the values created and expressed by these political subjects on the movement and development of the entire socio-political system.

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