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ЧЫҢАЛУУ МЕНЕН САЯСИЙ СУБМАДАНИЯТТЫН ГАРМОНИЯСЫНЫН ОРТОСУНДАГЫ ЦИКЛДИК ТЕОРИЯ

ТЕОРИЯ ЦИКЛИЧНОСТИ МЕЖДУ НАПРЯЖЕННОСТЬЮ И ГАРМОНИЕЙ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЙ СУБКУЛЬТУРЫ

THE CYCLE THEORY BETWEEN THE TENSION AND HARMONY OF POLITICAL SUBCULTURE

Кыскача мүнөздөмө: Салыштырмалуу ӛз алдынча система катары саясий маданияттын ӛнүгүшү саясий субмаданияттардын ортосундагы чыр-чатактын жана гармониянын алмашып туруучу циклинде кӛрүнӛт, б.а. конфликт гармониядан келип чыгып, жаңы гармонияга эрийт, ал эми гармония конфликттердин жарашуусу болуп саналат жана пайда болот. жаңы конфликттерге. .Бул тегерек процесс ӛндүргүч күчтӛрдүн тең салмаксыз ӛнүгүшүнүн, коомдук түзүлүштүн дифференциациясынын жана саясий системалардын жӛнгӛ салынышынын жана ӛз ара аракетинин натыйжасы болуп саналат, мында кыймылдаткыч күч болуп экономикалык ӛнүгүү, алып жүрүүчүлӛр социалдык бирдиктер, ал эми модели саясий система болуп саналат.

Аннотация: Как относительно самостоятельная система, развитие политической культуры проявляется в чередовании цикла конфликта и гармонии между политическими субкультурами, то есть конфликт возникает из гармонии и растворяется в новой гармонии, тогда как гармония есть примирение конфликтов и порождает новые конфликты. .Этот круговой процесс является результатом несбалансированного развития производительных сил, дифференциации социальной структуры и отладки и взаимодействия политических систем, в которых движущей силой является экономическое развитие, носителями – социальные единицы, а моделью – политическая система.

Abstract: As a relatively independent system, the development of political culture is manifested in the alternating cycle of conflict and harmony between political subcultures, that is, conflict originates from harmony and is dissolved in new harmony, while harmony is the reconciliation of conflicts and breeds new conflicts.This circular process is the result of unbalanced development of productive forces, social structure differentiation and political system debugging and interaction, in which economic development is the driving force, social units are the carrier and political system is the model.

With the gradual separation of economy, politics and culture as independent systems[1], a clear hierarchical structure appears in each system, and so does the political and cultural system. In the political and cultural system, due to the existence of many sub-cultures, political culture is not monolithic[2], but "mixed and heterogeneous"[3]. It can be said that there is no single and consistent political culture in any society[4]. This is because, in the stage of rapid development of productive forces, the sharp differentiation of social structure and political structure will lead to "the sharp differentiation of political and cultural structure as other subsystems in the political system, which is manifested in the coexistence, conflict and integration of various subcultures"[5]. In the political and cultural system, various political subcultures show the coexistence of conflict and harmony, and it is this rising cycle that promotes the development of the whole political and cultural system.

I. Political culture and political subculture

Since Almond first put forward the concept of "political culture"[6] in 1956, the academic circles have not formed a highly unified understanding of this concept, but they basically agree with Almond's point of view. That is, "Political culture is defined as a unique pattern of cognition, emotion and evaluation of political subjects (government agencies, officials, party organizations, policy decisions, etc.) in a country 's population"[7]. "It is a set of political attitudes, beliefs and feelings popular with a nation in a specific period of time"[8]. Pye believes that political culture is an indispensable and universally held belief and emotion, which forms a' specific orientation pattern' and makes the political process present an order and a certain form"[9]. In contrast, both Almond and Pye believe that political culture is a subjective product, but Pye highlights the function of political culture. At present, it is generally recognized that political culture is the subjective product of political people's inner world, and it is a flexible paradigm formed by psychological accumulation and reflection of cognition, emotion and evaluation of various elements of the political system under the influence of various factors such as their national geographical environment, blood relationship, cultural temperament and religious belief. Of course, there are different understandings about this definition. Some scholars think that political culture should include political thoughts[10], and some scholars also bring political system[11] and political behavior[12] into the category of political culture, which makes the extension of this definition expand continuously. However, some scholars use the thinking of "ockham's razor" to simplify political culture into "political culture is political psychology"[13] and "it is the attitude of a country or a nation towards politics"[14]. Although scholars' views are slightly different, their understanding of political culture as the internalization of political system and the subjective product of political subjects is basically the same.

Sub-Culture refers to the sum total of political psychology, political attitude, political value and political belief in a political system that is in a secondary position and corresponds to the dominant political culture on a certain social and economic basis[15]. Almond thinks: "A subculture refers to a group of people in a political system, whose political orientation is obviously different from that of most people or at least different from the dominant political orientation"[16]. That is, political subculture is a political and cultural analogue with poor cognitive development[17]. It can be seen that subculture is "a sub-group culture in the mainstream culture"[18]. The author thinks that political subculture is the sum total of different social units' attitudes towards the political system that are different from the mainstream value orientation.This definition is obviously vague, in which the carrier of political subculture-social unit includes: social groups (interest groups, local groups, classes, strata, regions, etc.), Ethnic group (family, race, nation, etc.)[19], Cultural groups (languages, religions, associations, etc.) and different "roles"at the level of political elites[20]. The political system involves specific institutions, the undertakers of roles, and the implementation of specific public policies or decisions. Attitude covers identification, indifference, approval, support and opposition.Although the carrier, object and product of political subculture are clearly defined, the definition of political subculture is not accurate enough, so it needs to be corrected.

Political culture is a complex system, and various political subcultures are an integral part of this system, and their influence on the political culture system is like a "double-edged sword". Political subculture is not only a supplement to the mainstream political culture, but also adds vitality to the political culture system, at the same time, it makes the function of political culture play a discount and reduces the effectiveness of integration. Therefore, the existence of political subcultures and the conflict and harmony between them determine the state of the whole political and cultural system.

II. Anatomy of the rising pattern of conflict and harmony

From the origin of political subculture and its inherent "heterogeneity", the conflict between them is inevitable. Because, without differences, political culture will lose the community of vitality and development momentum[21]. In terms of intensity, there are two types of conflicts. One kind of low-intensity, absolute and eternal existence often occurs in the border crossing area of different political subcultures, and the other is intense, temporary and extremely low in frequency, but it reflects the essential collision and core value conflict between political subcultures.Therefore, in the history of human political and cultural development, the two states of conflict and harmony between subcultures alternate and appear in cycles, which constitute the dynamic internal image of the development of the whole political and cultural system. The dialectical unity between the two forms the spiral development track of the political and cultural system, and at the same time profoundly reveals the development process of conflict and harmony in the deep field. Of course, conflict and harmony are based on each other and coexist diachronically.

1.Conflict and harmony based on the wrestling of political subculture carriers

Culture is not an independent variable[22]. It is impossible for any culture to develop in its original closed system[23], because "communication is determined by production"[24]. The economic base determines the superstructure. The development of social productive forces leads to the diversification of interest realization, which leads to the repositioning of social members' interest demands, so social members with the same and similar interest demands form new social units, leading to the group differentiation of interest orientation, which makes the social structure determined by interest orientation partially or completely eroded, thus leading to the decline of old social units, the emergence of new social units and the integration of new and old social units.The change of social structure has experienced a continuous cycle from the dominance of the old unit to the dominance of the new unit, and the strength of the old unit is equivalent to that of the new unit.Social groups are both the source and undertaker of subculture, and social changes will inevitably lead to changes in these groups, and the political subculture they carry will also be adjusted accordingly[25]. It can be seen that only when economic development promotes the formation of social units with common interests and produces a certain common attitude towards the political system will there be divisions within the political and cultural system, leading to the emergence of political subcultures. Therefore, social unit is the carrier of political subculture.From the perspective of the process of social unit evolution, in the dominant stage of the old unit, the new unit is slow to adapt to the cultural development due to its own lack of development. The political subculture reflecting its value orientation is unable to challenge the subculture representing the value orientation of the old social unit. Sometimes, in order to win the opportunity to survive, it will take the initiative to move closer to the strong culture. At the stage when the new social unit is dominant, the new political subculture rises to a strong subculture. With the decline of its carrier, the previous strong culture loses its strong position in the political and cultural system, and tends to "merge" with the new strong culture to obtain the possibility of continuing to exist. In these two stages, because a social unit tends to be strong, the culture bearing its political consciousness, attitude and psychology is highlighted, which leads to the relative stability and harmony of the "unipolar" pattern in the political and cultural system. This situation is the result of the tolerance and integration of a certain dominant subculture.The strength of the new and old social units is equal. In the early and late stages of this stage, it is a critical period for the political subculture to" highlight the political beliefs and political orientation of some members"[26]. When the balance of power between the new and old social units has just shown a balanced trend or the new social unit is slightly weaker than the old one, the new social unit will strongly demand that its interests be reflected in the political system, which means the division of the interests of the old unit. When the competition for interests between new and old social units rises to the competition for political power and becomes fierce, it will lead to conflict, opposition and even hostility at the ideological level. Social differentiation makes public opinion no longer a general whole[27], and the conflicts

caused are also intense and structural[28]. It is the manifestation of social units' cognition and attitude towards the fundamental differences of the political system, and it is the collision of the core value orientations of different political subcultures. Therefore, there is a contest between the pressure for change and the pressure for stability in all systematic political processes[29]. If the political system at this time "does not allow new social groups to approach politics, the legitimacy of this system will be questioned"[30]. Obviously, in order to ensure the continuous effectiveness of the existing political resources, the old social units will "meet" the requirements of the new social units in a limited way, so as to narrow their differences, expand their consensus and achieve coexistence and mutual benefit. As Huntington said: "The political system should assimilate all kinds of social forces carrying new social consciousness"[31]. However, when the new social unit is strong enough to replace the old social unit, it will try to exclude the right share of the old unit in the political system to maximize the interests of the group, while the old unit that is unwilling to decline will try to "save" before its strength declines, making the conflicts in the political and cultural system stand out again.

2. The conflict between political subcultures stems from the unbalanced development of harmony.

The conflict in the political and cultural system is the result of the social structure differentiation caused by the imbalance of harmonious development, which is bred and grown in the post-harmonious stage. The economic system reform has accelerated the interest differentiation and diversification of social strata[32], which has strongly impacted a whole set of traditional values, and the original cultural value preference has begun to lose its realistic rationality[33].

For a long period after the great social changes, economic development has played a role in reconciling differences in values, bridging differences in ideas, reaching political consensus, consolidating the new social structure and stabilizing the political system. With the continuous development of economy, a new round of domino effect is caused. The reason is that "interest is the source of social political psychology and political thought. Once' thought' leaves' interest', it will definitely make a fool of itself"[34]. As a result, with the change of interest relations, political relations will inevitably change, which reflects the political psychology and attitude of political relations[35].

In the process that the competition of interests drives the division of social structure and leads to "the social stratum and interest groups gradually form the political consciousness of their own stratum and group"[36], the potential conflicts between political subcultures are constantly escalating, from low intensity to intensity, from recessive to dominant, from the edge and intersection of conflicts to the collision of core values, which makes the conflicts within political culture stand out and become the mainstream trend of political culture system. Therefore, the conflict between political subcultures stems from the post-era of harmonious and unbalanced economic and social structure, not from the harmony of the political and cultural system itself.

3. The conflict between political subcultures is resolved in the harmonious development.

The conflict between political subcultures grows in harmony and is resolved in the process of harmonious development. The emergence of harmony between political subcultures is the result of the "resultant force" of economic development and institutional guidance, and it is an effective means to coordinate contradictions, unify opposites and turn confrontation into mutual promotion, but it will not naturally form. It is not a natural product but a man-made building, which needs the active construction of social members[37]. Economic development is the internal motivation for the harmonious realization of the political and cultural system. Marx believes that "production itself is

based on the interaction between individuals, and this interaction has a production decision"[38]. As a superstructure, political culture is bound to be determined by the social and economic foundation. The sustained development and prosperity of the economy "will strengthen the popular general sense of life satisfaction in society, people's happiness index is generally high, and gradually form a certain political and cultural paradigm"[39]. This is because the economic development leads to the gradual diversification and superposition of the interests of social members, which leads to the deviation between the value orientation of members of different social units and the collective orientation of their own units, and occasionally coincides with the orientation of members of other units. The enhancement of rational choice weakens the "marginal constraint" of political preferences of social units, and members of different social units constantly form a consensus in the "cross zone" of interests for the sake of maximizing interests.However, economy also stipulates the way in which culture can show itself[40]. Therefore, the reflection of economic harmony at the political and cultural level is the dilution and approach of subculture boundaries, and even the stability of the whole cultural system.

Political and cultural integration is a necessary external factor.Every emerging country (or after the great social change) "requires it to integrate those obvious contradictions if it wants to play normally and effectively,"[41] otherwise "if everyone insists on the purity and supremacy of his voice, what we get will be endless struggles and bloody political chaos"[42]. Therefore, the first priority for the political system is to inculcate a sense of loyalty to the country and a tendency to obey the central management[43]. And it will integrate all kinds of political subcultures by means of political socialization, so that the extension of its political culture can be expanded and its connotation deepened, and a harmonious political and cultural system can be constructed with an open and inclusive attitude. The political system's integration of culture within the institutional framework is not the elimination of political subculture, but "means highlighting the common ground between individuals and parts, and each still retains its core characteristics"[44].

Therefore, under the dual role of cultural integration and economic promotion, the strong difference of core value orientation gives way to the ambiguity, convergence and integration of marginal orientation. Finally, the whole system is in a relatively harmonious state, and conflict is no longer the dominant trend of the system, but hidden in a harmonious environment.

Ⅲ. the conclusion

The tension and harmony between political sub-cultures come from the development and promotion of economy, and the differentiation and overlapping of interests are carried by social units and manifested, which is the different cognition and preference orientation of the objective model of political system.The cycle and alternation of tension and harmony is based on the micro-consideration within the political and cultural system, while the macro-level performance is the turbulence and stability of the whole political and cultural system. Macro turbulence and stability not only correspond to micro conflict and harmony, but also represent micro situation. There fore, the alternate appearance of two states between political sub-cultures determines the stability and turbulence of the whole political and cultural system, and promotes the spiral development track of the political and cultural system.

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