PLANNING FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH THE INTEGRATION OF A NEW POLITICAL CULTURE

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Abstract: The article represents an attempt to investigate the phenomenon of political culture through the lens of sustainable development. Based on comparative approach and Political Science provisions, implementation of UN Sustainable Development Goals is considered within the integration of a new political culture. Patterns characteristic for the USA and China are employed as examples, and the broad use of 'sustainable value' notion is suggested. It is shown that sustainability value and political culture are integral elements of sustainable development planning and practice, which should give the synergy effect.

Keywords: sustainable development; integration; political culture; ESG; sustainable value.

1 Introduction

In the modern world, political culture represents one of the main elements that make up the spiritual potential of a society, reflecting the degree of its political civilization. However, the peculiarity of this social phenomenon also lies in the fact that it accumulates the substantive characteristics and distinctive features of politics and culture, and at the same time their genetic relationship is manifested. Culture is included in the world of politics with its ideas about the ideals and moral standards of political relations [13]. Politics, in turn, determines the content and direction of the cultural development of society, the conditions and possibilities for using its achievements.

The currently observed increased interest in the problems of political culture is due to the sociocultural and geopolitical shifts taking place in the world, the expansion of international relations, the increasing role of a conscious and responsible choice of goals and means of transformative activities, including sustainable development.

The modern international political system is characterized by a state of "crisis stability" [4]. E. Laszlo calls the moment of transformation of modern human civilization a macroshift [3]. A macroshift, according to Laszlo, represents a bifurcation point in the dynamics of the evolution of the international community. In this situation, turning to the problems of studying the prospects for global "sustainable development" ("SD") is of significant relevance for such disciplines as world politics and political global studies.

The origin of the concept of SD is traditionally associated with the teachings of V.I. Vernadsky about the noosphere (20-30s of 20th century) and reports of the Club of Rome. Within the framework of the concept of SD, as a rule, three spheres of the global world are distinguished that require qualitative transformations: global ecology, social and economic spheres. A number of researchers identify a fourth sphere of SD - cultural [30]. However, such an important area of sustainability of global development as political, remains largely underdeveloped to this day.

Today, the concept of SD is a scientific approach that is of significant interest in the context of studying global political

dynamics. This concept focuses not on the stable state of the international community, but on the potential of this community to carry out qualitative changes that should ensure the survival of the world community in the long term. In this regard, the most important place belongs to the issue of design and management of SD [11]. Among other things, the implementation of SD involves the development of more effective risk and safety management mechanisms. In addition, research in line with the concept of SD is designed to find and specify acceptable ways to achieve the so-called "Millennium Development Goals". Of course, the concept of SD also has an internal political (national-state) dimension.

The toolkit of global events, which the concept of SD is focused on, as well as the institutional design of its implementation, largely stem from the ideas of the neoliberal approach in the theory of international relations and world politics; however, at the national level, institutional design and approaches are refracted through the prism of the corresponding political culture, which in a number of countries it is far from the liberal vector. However, the need to take into account the SD implementation of the principles of achieving the Millennium Goals, 17 Sustainable Development Goals formulated by the UN, determine the necessity of integration of a new political culture in any society. Thus, the issues of planning and implementation of SD vectors through the integration of a new political culture represent a very relevant and extensive research field in an interdisciplinary plane.

2 Materials and Methods

The methodological basis of the study is the use of the latest interdisciplinary methods, which are widespread in ecopolitical science and global studies, among which there are holistic methods, methods and approaches used in synergetics, and the use of more traditional comparative historical methods, the method of system analysis.

Also, the methodological basis of the study is made up of general scientific and political science methods. In relation to the research topic, special attention was paid to comparative and historical methods, thanks to which it was possible to carry out a comparative analysis of competing and complementary versions of the concept of sustainable development, taking into account regional and national differences, as well as historical and sociocultural contexts.

3 Results and Discussion

The category of political culture is multifaceted. It characterizes both the way of behavior and activity of individual and collective subjects in the sphere of politics, and the way of functioning and development of political institutions and the political system as a whole). Political culture is often called the basis of all political activity, since it allows identifying the underlying reasons for the specificity of political behavior of different socio-political communities, even under similar conditions of existence.

The concept of political culture was formulated in Western, more precisely Anglo-American, political science in the late 50s of the 20th century. In modern science, two main approaches to the interpretation of the category of political culture have developed. Some scientists understand political culture as a set of spiritual phenomena in the world of politics, a form of political consciousness (Almond). Others include in the concept of political culture not only political norms and principles, but also manifestations of political behavior, political activity in the broad sense of the word (Paul, Sharan). In our opinion, in the context of sustainable development, these two approaches should be combined, since while the concept of sustainable development itself is based largely on ethical principles (and not only utilitarian, but also Kantian ones), the planning and

implementation of programs in the field of sustainable development are based on political behavior and activity. Political culture can be seen as a mediator between areas of social relations, cultural norms, stereotypes, and political processes.

The combination of economic development and sustainable planning has grown in importance as countries recognize the connection of economic, social, and environmental factors. Finding a careful balance between economic growth, social well-being, and environmental conservation is critical. To ensure a long-term and successful future, government agencies, companies, communities, and individuals must work together. Integrating these dimensions, society may address current concerns while also protecting resources and opportunities for future generations.

Theoretical approaches in the field of interstate cooperation focus on the institutional basis of those transformations that must take place within the framework of the global SD. In this context, the developments of E. Milner are of significant interest. Within this approach, the main focus is on the idea of common interests [32]. Louis Meuleman proposes a scheme depicting policy and institutional coherence for the SDGs: horizontal, vertical and inclusive (see Figure 1).
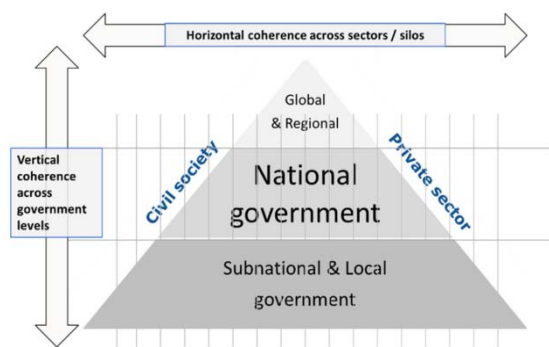

Figure 1. Policy and institutional coherence for the SDGs: horizontal, vertical and inclusive [27]

The concept of Sustainable Development is based on fairly innovative developments in the field of political ethics. The Brundtland report (The Brundtland Commission, formerly known as the World Commission on Environment and Development, was a UN sub-organization dedicated to bringing countries together in the goal of sustainable development) raises the idea of "the rights of future generations" [8]. In this regard, while previously the leading power was responsible only to the states and the peoples inhabiting them - contemporaries, now the situation is changing radically. The 1997 Declaration of the Responsibility of Present Generations to Future Generations states: "Current generations have a responsibility to pass on to future generations an Earth that will not one day be irreparably damaged by human activity". Based on the logic of the concept, the very notion of "activity" in this case can be interpreted quite broadly [3]. In particular, one can talk about military-political activities. The breadth of formulations is a distinctive feature of the SD concept. Based on the Brundtland report, it can be noted that the concept of SD addresses the problem of political regimes of the future, as well as the question of constructing the international system of the future. The report's authors pointed to the need to promote political systems that ensure grassroots participation in decision-making. We can associate these attitudes with the extremely popular concept of e-government today, which in the long term may receive an international dimension. Globally, according to the authors of the report, a system should have been created that would maximize the sustainability of trade and financial ties.

Thus, the question arises about the need to create a more sustainable and at the same time more flexible and open to positive changes, and as a result, a more equitable world order.

The very concept of SD needs significant clarification and disclosure of political aspects.

The following factors of global instability can be identified: intrastate, interstate, transnational, global. These factors are closely related and mutually influence each other. In this regard, such aspects that limit global development, such as economic, environmental, and social, are significantly influenced by the political sphere, which permeates all the main levels of the world system and is reflected, accordingly, in national political processes and political culture.

In the conditions of growing global dependencies, material and spiritual inequalities, culture turns into a deep fundamental matrix of knowledge, beliefs, and political practices that can guarantee the safety of social and political changes. Successful modeling and forecasting of these changes becomes impossible without the integration of science into the sphere of political and civil relations and the use of scientific measurement and organizational and management techniques and procedures.

In addition, the modern strategy for the sustainable development of national societies arises on the basis of the process of forming a current digital political environment and culture. Dynamic functional changes are taking place in the content and life of civil society participation. A new socially oriented and controlled democracy is emerging in place of the declining elitist democracy, which was mainly limited to electoral processes. A new, modern democracy, permanently improving the constitutional and legal framework, mechanisms and procedures for managing resources and interests in the center and regions of the country, becomes an instrument of a developed civil society.

Furthermore, as a framework, the SDGs build on the earlier Millennium Development objectives (MDGs) in a variety of ways, most notably by attempting to deeply connect the social, economic, and environmental components of the objectives. This entails connecting across time to ensure that short-term improvements in human well-being do not come at the expense of compromising long-term well-being by destroying the underlying social and environmental capital on which our global life support system is based.

The notion of sustainable development has developed from an emphasis on environmental challenges to a more balanced approach that includes environmental, economic, and sociological components. Local attempts to encourage environmental stewardship and economic growth are not mutually incompatible, but issues persist about the sorts of policies that combine these efforts. Clearly, integration is unlikely without a suitable political culture.

Political culture, as structural elements, includes the culture of political consciousness, the culture of political action, and the culture of the functioning of political institutions. If to structure political culture at the level of an individual, then one can distinguish political knowledge, political beliefs, and political behavior [13]. Political culture is an integral system of value-based, cognitive, behavioral elements functioning in the real environment.

A political attitude is a subject's attitude towards political phenomena, and political behavior is one or another way of a subject's response to current events. Political attitudes and political behavior exist in organic unity; their stable stereotypes constitute an indispensable component of the political culture of an individual, social group, ethnic group, or society as a whole. The political culture of any society is characterized by its own characteristics, which reflect the norms, values, stereotypes, forms of political participation and power relations inherent only to that society. Political culture is influenced by historical conditions and national traditions, ideological attitudes and religious beliefs, and the peculiarities of the geopolitical position of a particular ethnic group. It is a product of civilizational development, the ascent of humanity to ever higher levels of cultural and moral existence. A significant role here is played by the achieved level of socio-economic development of society,

higher education landscape, the political regime, legislative provisions for the implementation of political and civil rights, the level of education, legal culture of the population, and much more [17; 21; 22; 24].

Accordingly, it is difficult to talk about the possibility of universalizing political culture. When integrating political culture for successful sustainable development planning, it is necessary to take into account national specifics, including security implications [16; 20; 23].

In particular, China plans to achieve carbon neutrality by 2060. A focus on sustainable development distinguishes market leaders, and the government supports the greening of the economy. According to the Center for Research on Energy and Clean Air (CREA), in 2023 green projects earned a total of 11.4 trillion yuan ($1.6 trillion), which is 30% more than in 2022 [15].

In 2015, the UN General Assembly proclaimed the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and set a date for their achievement - until 2030. Asian countries have significantly "pushed back" these deadlines, stretching them from 2050 to 2070, experts in the field of sustainable development note. In their opinion, this happened for several reasons. "Firstly, it's a matter of mentality. It is in the spirit of the Asians to build a development strategy for a hundred years ahead. Europeans are more inclined to short-term planning - to receive benefits and investments from any projects", the experts said. "In addition, this is an overestimation of their own strengths: in the 15 years since the adoption of the concept, the Europeans intended to completely reshape the energy industry almost from scratch" [26]. Experts also note that European countries have failed to achieve their goals. Germany, having closed all nuclear power plants and abandoned coal, became completely dependent on its neighbors. Germany imports about 43% of its required electricity from France (nuclear power plants) and the Czech Republic (coal-fired stations). "Asians cannot afford such mistakes" [28].

In 2023, after a six-year break, trading in carbon units resumed on the Beijing Exchange (they were suspended due to the low volume of transactions). According to the new rules of the program for registration, certification, and trading of voluntary emissions reductions CCER (China Certified Emission Reduction), any company can purchase certified reductions. Previously, there were restrictions on this activity. It is expected that in the future even individuals will be able to purchase certificates.

The country is preparing to resume voluntary carbon credits. CCER envisions the ability to quantify and trade CO2 emissions reductions from projects that include forestry, renewable energy (RES), and methane utilization. In addition, the Chinese government intends to compile an annual national greenhouse gas inventory as part of efforts to stop the growth of emissions by 2030 and achieve carbon neutrality by 2060 [15].

Chinese companies indicate reducing the energy intensity of production as one of the goals of sustainable development. Thus, the developer and casino operator in Macau, Sands China Ltd, announced an extensive ESG agenda and was included in the 1% of companies most focused on achieving sustainable development goals in China by S&P Global Ratings. In particular, the policy of increasing energy efficiency in the construction of facilities through the use of new energy-saving technologies, renewable energy sources, and low-emission vehicles deserves attention. An example of an energy efficiency achievement is the replacement of existing heat pumps at the Plaza Macao Hotel. The new system supplies hot water while maintaining its temperature at 80°C.

Investments in energy-efficient processes, according to CREA, amounted to 0.6 trillion yuan in 2023 and 0.5 trillion yuan a year earlier [15]. Chinese energy service companies are booming: their capitalization is growing every year.

Regulators in Asian countries, as well as in European ones, are concerned about the problem of companies exaggerating ESG indicators – the so called "greenwashing" practice. While there is no special law regulating greenwashing in China, a number of regulations have already been integrated into the relevant legislation on financial activities, advertising, consumer protection, trademarks, and combating unfair competition. Thus, in 2021, the People's Bank of China issued guidelines on environmental disclosure for financial institutions, including reports on the assessment of green investments by fund managers.

In the financial sector, greenwashing targets companies that receive funding to develop green projects that are not green. These could even be high-carbon, high-pollution projects. "Leading companies, even such as PetroChina, are coming under fire from criticism and in the media. China's leadership, in particular, requires financial institutions to manage the risk control of green projects in accordance with national and local environmental standards. In addition to national legislation, certain regions, typically those with higher levels of economic development, play a leading role in the adoption of comprehensive environmental legislation" [33].

Voluntary guidelines for Chinese companies to disclose ESG reporting came into force in 2022. The Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Beijing stock exchanges have published requirements for the publication of ESG reports for 2025 by April 30, 2026, covering companies whose shares are included in the SSE 180, STAR 50, SZSE 100, and ChiNext indices, as well as for companies whose shares are traded on Chinese and foreign platforms. "With this announcement, China joins other major markets, creating own requirements. Under the new rules, company reporting requirements will cover four main topics, including company governance, strategy, risk management, as well as metrics and targets. The rules include reporting of greenhouse gas emissions across the value chain, including the publication of indirect greenhouse gas emissions (Scope 3), which was a key point of contention during the finalization of the requirements as companies raised concerns about the difficulty of collecting emissions data in the value chain.

Beijing's willing acceptance of the concept of sustainable development is not difficult to explain: the issue of sustainable development is of particular relevance for the PRC. China's economic development does not proceed parallel to the processes of globalization, but is purposefully intertwined with them. The country is determined to take advantage of all the opportunities offered by globalization. However, due to the insufficiency of its own resource base at high rates of economic growth and due to the specifics of the place of the PRC (as a "world factory") in the global division of labor, China's dependence on external sources of resources - hydrocarbons, metals, etc. - continues to increase. This situation carries with it risks for the sustainability of the development of the PRC, since it cannot but affect the economic security of the country.

Mitigation of this dependence can occur if China switches to a "green" economy and expands the base of its own renewable energy sources, or radically increases the import of natural resources from less developed countries that are in no way capable of threatening China's economic independence.

The first path is long and costly, while the second one is politically vulnerable, since it can provoke new accusations that China is pursuing a policy of neo-colonial exploitation of "small" partners. The formation of a "green" economy is not a private issue for an individual state. It is closely related to the issues of global sustainable development, since it requires interaction with other countries, the use of international developments on this issue, and coordination of development strategies of many subjects of international relations. This very complex, expensive, and important task is beyond the power of one country, even an influential one [1]. That is why international cooperation on the basis of global sustainable development is of additional value for China.

The PRC interprets the stability of state institutional foundations in its own unique way. This specificity is expressed in increased attention to the stability of the existing system, the leading role of the party, as well as the internal political situation. China, unlike Western democracies, is ready to take the strictest measures to maintain internal order [25]. Although it could be paradoxical for the modern doctrine of the effectiveness of liberalism, the strictly centralized management of the country and total party control quite successfully serve the task of the general stability of the PRC.

The uniqueness of the PRC's approach to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda can be illustrated by the fact that the country's government is developing political guarantees for this process. They consist of creating a comprehensive system of measures and principles, "which will be determined by the national strategy and be based on a specialized strategy and a local strategy" [12]. These measures and principles will be implemented (and are already being implemented) in ten areas: eliminating poverty and hunger; maintaining economic growth; promoting industrialization; strengthening public safety and improving social services; ensuring equality and justice; improving environmental protection; attention to the problem of climate change; increasing energy and resource efficiency; improving national policies and promoting international cooperation. Beijing also intends to ensure the responsibility of governments at all levels (local, provincial, and central) for implementing the Agenda. To achieve this, it not only strengthens horizontal inter-regional and inter-institutional coordination, but also forms a vertical mechanism linking the central, local, and grassroots levels. Thus, this is China's version of integrating a new political culture for planning to achieve the SDGs and national sustainable development.

In the US, a combination of economic and environmental priorities has brought with it harmonization on the distribution of industry in the country, as well as on reducing pollution levels. The US Administration annually formulates, clarifies, supplements, and modifies the key areas of its activities in the environmental and economic spheres, thereby developing its own sustainable development strategy, focused on the interaction of national and regional authorities, industry and environmental movements. By the end of the 80s, the United States had developed an economic model in which emission quotas were distributed between each state of the country, which subsequently became the basis for the development of international measures in the field of emission quotas [10]. According to the measures taken, each state received the opportunity to exchange quotas with other states, which made it possible to develop industry on its territory, taking responsibility for pollution, or, conversely, to give its quotas to other states and direct its activities to other areas.

Today, the implementation of the idea of sustainable development can be traced in the strategies of sustainable cities in the United States. Each of these cities has its own unique feature, depending on its geographical location, natural resources, ecological and geographical features, population, or prevailing ideas in society.

It should be noted that the list of the most sustainable cities in the United States was proposed by the American organization Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) and is called "Smart cities". Seattle currently ranks number one in the list of sustainable cities. In its activities, the above organization used data from the US Environmental Protection Agency, and also analyzed information from the city administration about the state of the environment in the city and its suburbs. When creating the rating, ten different criteria were used, such as air quality in the city, carbon dioxide emissions, the use of alternative energy sources, the presence of bicycle paths, etc.

According to experts, Seattle was and still is the leader among sustainable cities. Seattle has a highly developed light rail system that allows residents to move around the city without significant environmental impact. The city's energy needs are provided by hydroelectric power plants, which allow reducing carbon dioxide emissions produced by power plants that burn hydrocarbon fuels. Seattle participates in two programs to "fight" global warming: Seattle Climate Action and Seattle Climate Partnership. According to experts, the urban population of the city is represented by people with a highly developed culture and environmental responsibility, which indicates a high level of integration of the new political culture into the public and institutional 'fabric' [28].

After Seattle comes the metropolis of San Francisco, which is one of the most populous cities in the United States. Important and interesting initiatives related to the development of a sustainable city in San Francisco include a prohibition on the use of plastic bags, the active development of a program for using solar panels to provide electricity to the city, the development of cycling in the city and city support for healthy food producers. There are stores with so-called "organic" and environmentally friendly products. Organic products meet certain criteria - plants are grown without the use of pesticides and herbicides, animals are raised without the use of antibiotics, etc.

And finally, Portland is one of the top three American sustainable cities [28]. Just like San Francisco and Seattle, Portland has a light rail system that makes it easy to get around the city. Portland is aggressively combating carbon emissions by modernizing the city's industries. Portland is also famous for the fact that its residents recycle more than half of their own garbage, which makes it a very "environmentally friendly" city.

Also interesting is the example of the city of Sacramento, which has developed and uses the principle of its own energy policy, providing city needs 100% from renewable sources. City officials have created a project to provide city residents with free trees that citizens can plant in front of their homes to have a positive impact on the environment and cool their own homes from the shade of trees.

The following is the example of Boston, which also strives to provide the city with renewable and/or non-traditional energy sources and is developing a program for the construction of solar power plants; all traffic lights use LEDs, which allows significant energy savings by regulating city traffic. All of these innovations make Boston a leader in environmentally friendly technology on the East Coast.

Reducing resource consumption, creating park areas, and developing bicycle transport are an important part of the sustainable city strategy. Actions are being carried out to involve the US population in the improvement of their state and the country as a whole. For example, one should mention Earth Day, when volunteers clean beaches, squares, and parks. Conferences, exhibitions, traffic closures on busy streets in large cities, cleaning of areas and tree planting are also held.

At the same time, the United States at one time signed the well-known Kyoto Protocol, but did not ratify it, which means that the country in total "supplies" about 25% of the total volume of carbon dioxide and other pollutants into the atmosphere and practically did not use the experience accumulated by it within the framework of the use of hydrocarbon quotas within its limits. The integration of political culture for planning sustainable development turned out to be "patchwork", not ensuring the integration of the new political culture of the SDGs at the national (federal) level, but nevertheless very effective at the regional and local levels, which constitutes the uniqueness of the political culture of the United States.

The worldwide low-carbon energy and renewables industry demonstrates the significance of states in sustainable changes. The United States was an early leader and pioneered major innovations, but the venture capital firms that supplied initial funding were not long-term investors, and programs failed. China, on the other hand, has provided significant governmental support for renewable energy discovery, design, and manufacturing, and has quickly become the world leader in solar photovoltaic technology, exporting products all over the world. Danish wind power has grown from its humble origins as a community-led effort to a worldwide market participant, whereas Germany has begun to replace its nuclear capacity with

renewables through substantial state-supported private investment. Other nations, such as the United Kingdom, have fallen behind, partly due to the lack of continuous, persistent official funding [31].

Thus, a green entrepreneurial state selects winners, offers long-term funding, and guarantees that green technologies reach the market following research and development expenditure. Indeed, the majority of the market-led examples highlighted in the previous section, whether carbon offset programs under the UN REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) program or renewable energy investments, have required some form of state intervention, albeit in a relatively limited regulatory role. States and markets are inextricably linked, and they must work together to achieve global public goals like sustainability.

States and markets, of course, function within a setting that is impacted by history and politics. There is no easy way to reproduce the principles of the entrepreneurial or developmental state, whether green or otherwise. Some of these differences may be explained by comparing political economies, namely the varied ties between state and capital, as well as the history, ability, experience, and political legitimacy of the state and its institutions. Transformations are particularly difficult in some environments due to powerful, entrenched forces and historical lock-ins of political, financial, or technological interests. State institutions and their forms of accountability play a significant role in bringing about change [31]. Several routes are observed. For example, one could involve a strong, centralized state with significant clout and enforcement capacity, as in China; another could involve a decentralized, democratic response, in which states (or more commonly federal regions) compete with one another and have strong forms of downward accountability to electorates, as in Germany. Political culture essence of manifestation conceptually is depicted in Figure 2.
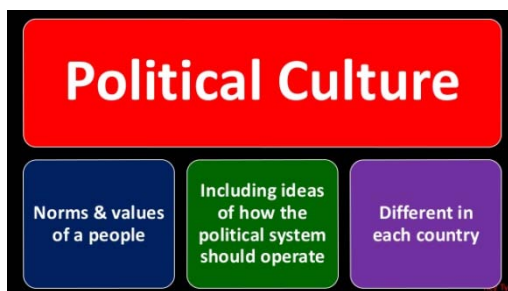

Figure 2. Political culture essence of manifestation [29]

Developed countries strive to create societies in which everyone has equal opportunity to prosper, by integrating social equality and inclusion into sustainable development policies. These policies mitigate inequalities, increase social cohesion, and ensure that all community members benefit from sustainable development. Eastern countries place greater emphasis on the "E" and "G" components of sustainable development, while often demonstrating more impressive successes in environmental protection than developed Western countries. The obvious conclusion is that culture is the most important variable in the "function" of sustainable development. Also, namely culture determines the composition of the relevant stakeholders and their interests at the national level. That is, conceptually, the politics of planning and implementation of sustainable development at the national level can be written as a formula:

$$PSD = ((E + S + G) \times C) + \sum_{i=1}^{f\,(c)} sh_i$$

where

PSD – politics of sustainable development
E – environmental component of ESG paradigm
S – social component of ESG paradigm
G – governance component of ESG paradigm
C - culture
i – number of stakeholders

Jyoti Hosagrahar [14] writes that "the safeguarding and promotion of culture is an end in itself, and at the same time it contributes directly to many of the SDGs – safe and sustainable cities, decent work and economic growth, reduced inequalities, the environment, promoting gender equality and peaceful and inclusive societies. The indirect benefits of culture are accrued through the culturally-informed and effective implementations of the development goals".

Dan Byrne [5] rightly claims that rightly or wrongly, ESG (environment, social and governance) has become a political issue. "Proponents never intended it to end like this, but here we are. Why? Because of its impact on the way people spend money. ESG is a new take on business and investment strategies. In general, it aligns them with goals that the mainstream 21st Century stakeholder would consider top priorities. As a result, it's a hot and often controversial topic for boards, shareholders, and politicians who represent their interests". There is, however, a gap in this opinion, since culture component is not taken into account. Not only business and investment are the definitive factors of state' behavior on the international arena, and not only interests of business determine national strategies, in particular in SD.

As noted above, in modern political science there are several approaches to defining political culture. Almond's interpretation is sometimes referred to as a psychological approach, since the researcher pointed out: "When we talk about the political culture of a society, we mean a political system internalized in the consciousness, feelings and assessments of the population" [2]. Almond defines political culture primarily as a "pattern of orientation to political action" or the distribution of patterns of orientation toward political objects among the members of a nation, which include "cognitive" (knowledge about and belief in the political system), "affective" (feelings aroused by political system) and "evaluative" orientations (opinions about various political objects). Thus, Almond's political culture appears as "diverse, unstable, repetitive, cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations regarding the political system in general" [2].

The second common approach to understanding political culture is a behavioral interpretation, implying that culture involves certain typical actions of individuals in the public sphere of society, stimulated by existing normative regulations (S. White) or patterns of this kind of behavior (D. Plano).

Proponents of the third approach (F. Huynx, F. Hickspurs, U. Rosenbaum) perceive political culture as the ideals, values, and knowledge of an individual expressed in behavior [34]. Thus, political culture goes beyond behavioral patterns or psychological orientations, also turning to value elements, ideals and even political myths. In accordance with the positions of a number of theorists, political culture should be perceived not as some homogeneous and time-stable integrity, but as a set of subcultures that can have different effects on social values, attitudes, and behavioral patterns [6].

In today's turbulent and nonlinear world, all three approaches seem correct. Planning sustainable development through the integration of a new political culture is possible only on the basis of taking into account specific values that are clearly or latently present in society.

The link between governance and development is a hotly discussed issue. While some scholars think that governance has a favorable influence on growth, others disagree.

Gale [9] contends that achieving sustainable value necessitates a fundamental rethinking of how enterprises and governments are controlled, calling into question the notion that preferences are rational. The book demonstrates how 'tetravaluation' is being partially fulfilled at the business and state levels, by seeing sustainability value as supervening on four other essential economic values. With huge variations in institutional needs across traditional liberal, nationalist, and socialist frameworks, Gale urges political economics to renounce its monistic modernist heritage in favor of the pluralistic, reflexive, and multidisciplinary approach that sustainability requires. He proposed the idea of "sustainable value". Developing the

concept of sustainability value (SV), which requires integrating economic (exchange), social (labor), environmental (intrinsic), and cultural (use) values in all processes of extraction, manufacturing, trade, consumption, and disposal, in his book "*The Political Economy of Sustainability*", he attempts to reformulate understanding of key political economy topics such as trade, investment, preference formation, corporate governance, and the role of the state. Gale's work has significant ramifications for current political, economic, and cultural institutions, and it provides public policy experts and sustainability practitioners with a new viewpoint on improving policy results.

Sustainability value and political culture are integral elements of sustainable development planning and practice, and the effectiveness and speed of achieving SDGs at the national level directly depends on the synergy of these elements [7; 18; 19].

Meanwhile, sustainability policy necessitates the deliberate institutionalisation of sustainability in politics and administration. Sustainability strategies must include monitoring and reporting systems, structural and procedural elements that allow for horizontal integration of policy fields within multilevel political-administrative systems, collaboration with non-state actors, management of divergent forms of knowledge and knowledge claims, and consideration of short-, medium-, and long-term perspectives in decision-making. These basic institutional and instrumental elements call into question some key characteristics of democratic and bureaucratic policymaking, such as short-termism in election cycles or unit specialization in administrations, but they are critical to developing and implementing policies for interconnected problems of sustainable development. Even if nation-states will continue to be at the core of sustainability policy, it is becoming obvious that sustainability is intrinsically a global issue. In today's globalized and linked world, the social sciences must go beyond methodological nationalism and embrace international, transnational, and cosmopolitan viewpoints.

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Primary Paper Section: A

Secondary Paper Section: AD, AE, AH