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AMBIVALENCE OF THE ECONOMIC CULTURE OF CITIZENS: PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT

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Economic culture, which is formed on two levels, is the basis of economic activity of city dwellers. On the one hand, it is personal culture, which is determined by the internal value orientations and norms of the townspeople themselves. On the other hand, the basic economic culture, which determines their perceptions of economic practices, values and norms formed in a particular society.

Approaches to understanding culture are diverse: the functional approach is represented by the works of R. Merton, S. Lipset, T. Parsons, which investigate the rules of functioning of institutions and socio-cultural norms embedded in them. If E. Durkheim in the analysis of the genesis of the city sees the manifestation of culture in the collective consciousness of labour organization, M. Weber in his work 'The City' talks about the determination of socio-cultural conditions for the development of Protestantism, and more widely – Western capitalism [1].

The introduction of the concept of 'spirit of capitalism' is conditioned by the norms that the scientist found in the sermons of B. Franklin. Following the rules given by B. Franklin, a capitalist will not carry out demonstrative consumption, as described by T. Veblen, because hedonism does not fit into the value system of a Protestant. The works of M. Weber and T. Veblen were written around the same time, but represent different approaches to capitalism and culture, which allows us to argue that depending on the nature of factors determining economic behaviour, the results of economic activity of the townspeople themselves change significantly. M. Weber, considering the influence of world religions on economic

activity and motivation, laid the foundations of a new scientific direction in sociology, as he raised questions about whether economic culture is changeable or whether the basic characteristics do not change despite the secularisation of society [1].

Criticising M. Weber's position, F. Brodel speaks of another source of motivation - service to the idea, society, corporation [2, 37]. V. Zombart distinguishes internal (personal, individual traits) and external factors [3] (nationality) in the formation of economic activity. T. Parsons emphasises external norms, values and goals of action, socio-cultural regulators of institutional nature, which determine internally internalised standards [4]. It is the motives of action integrated with normative-cultural standards that allow achieving equilibrium in society, and as long as the values are common to the actors, a single motivation of behaviour is formed, and the system is reproduced. Within the framework of structural-functional analysis, top-level economic activity and innovation can be regarded as destructive phenomena, and therefore it is difficult to analyse in detail the internal resources of a city dweller as a factor of social change in the city.

M. Weber's concept still has a significant impact on the study of the genesis of the economic activity of citizens, as it allows us to differentiate between internal and external, conscious and unconscious reasons affecting the nature of economic activity. The external factors determining economic activity include culture as interpreted by P. Bourdieu [5].

He includes in the analysis of culture societal practices - laws, resources and rules that operate in each field, are unique, rooted in power relations and function as 'local knowledge'. Culture sets cognitive frames, coordinate systems (frames), through which one can interpret the meanings of others' actions, decide "what is happening" and what actions should be taken to realise interaction [5]. P. Bourdieu's position seems to us insufficiently justified, because in addition to the fact that actors act within the framework of societal practices without thinking, depending on the level of economic activity, they can act outside the framework (lower-level economic activity, non-adapted economic behaviour), or they can purposefully try to change the rules (higher-level economic activity, economic behaviour aimed at innovation). P. Bourdieu, of course, draws attention to the fact that different groups act in different ways, as the practices carried out by them vary greatly, but the analysis can be supplemented by noting that different groups, relying on different values, can build their own practices, relying on both 'local knowledge' and decisions made independently. Functional values are shared by professionally-oriented citizens, the value of labour is significant for them. Institutional values characterise not people, but the totality of economic institutions.

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Thus, culture provides tools to evaluate the economic actions of citizens; economic culture is a source of strategies, motives for action and allows choosing tools to realise economic interests; it defines the values that underlie the economic actions of citizens.

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