Chapter - III
IDENTITY FORMATION

The chapter starts with narrating the idea of identity and identification at both levels of individual and group, which are in psychological, historical, political, religious, sociocultural frame, etc. and are dealt in preferential mode in American and European societies, in first section. The chapter proceeds with explaining identity theory and identity approach with special reference to symbolic interactionism and biographical/biological frame of approach for identity formation. The basic focus of identity theory has been discussed on symbolic structural perspective where human existence, behaviour, social action and interaction, self, society matter. The ethnographic identity approach for identity formation is concerned with local (plane for people's living), network (people's interaction network), and memory (people's understanding created over time) in both public and private sphere in the form of individuality and collectivity. The second section intends to describe idea of identity formation with identity needs, and identity emerges with concept of logic of difference, individuality and temporality. The third section deliberates upon relation of identity and culture in various cultural frame, popular culture, growth of consumer culture, its attributes and idea of consumerism. The various idea and scope of culture in sociological and anthropological frame of culture and structure, value and ideology of day today tradition, governing tradition and human behaviour, as several role of culture in serving code of law and conduct, values, need serving system, etc. are discussed. The growth and emergence of popular culture in various tradition of Frankfurt School, in Canada, USA and British, and in relation of identity formation on the one hand and on the other consumer culture and its various attributes, cross cultural consumption and its role in identity formation are described and analysed in detail.

Identity and Identification

To establish a person's identity, two things are important to know. One is his name and other what station he occupies in his community. And personal identity includes more a
subjective sense of continuous existence and coherent memory. The psychological sense of identity emphasises on subjective and objective, and individual and social characters. A subjective sense of identity has been a sense of sameness and continuity as an individual. It has been described by William James (1920) in his letter. It is discernible in a mental or moral attitude in which he feels himself most deeply and intensively active and alive in his letter. The social aspect of identity formation has been analysed and explained by S. Freud (1959) in an idea of a ‘inner identity’, which shares the core idea of capacity to live and think in isolation from ‘compact majority’. For gradual development of a mature psychological identity of individuals both roles played interchangeably and traditional values of community play a significant part. But in the process of development of individual psychology identity has been indispensible at the end of adolescent stage but it is not feasible before. The growing body of individual feels the development like the body sexuality seeks new loyalties and all these fuse with each other in a new sense of sameness and continuity. In each new generation historical process and life history play vital role with both kinds of positive and negative elements important for identity formation. In this process positive elements show conformity, loyalty, ideological unity with both individual and collective aspect and is termed as positive identity and where the identity formation involves a continuous conflict with powerful negative identity elements, which aggravates crises and it came to fore to arouse a murderous hate of ‘otherness’. The psychologist first understood the significance of the identity process and recognised psychological factors like alienation, identity confusion, depersonalisation, as sever disturbances of the individual sense of identity. The identity confusion has been called as a syndrome and also recognised as characterising neurotic disturbances resulting from traumatic events like war, internment, migration and other dominant features in development and some developmental features in adolescence as cited by Erikson (1964). This syndrome further noticed in pervert, delinquent, bizarre and extremist behaviour.

2 Ibid., p.61.
3 Ibid., pp. 61-62.
The historical consideration of identity formation brings back to a man to his prehistory and evolution. In the gradual emergence of mankind consciousness like tribes, nations, caste and class has been having its overt defined and each of them is reinforced by prejudice against its images of other pseudo species. In the changing scenario of cultures, political systems, and technologies identities and identification are bound to shift and change. The developmental considerations of societies have forced to examine historical processes for identity and ideology, which are two aspects of the same psychological process. These are considered only why sanctions for individual and collective maturation towards those higher forms of social identification in which identities are joined, fused, renewed, and transcended. There has been periods in history where three human apprehensions aggravated each other—fear aroused by discoveries and inventions of weapons, anxieties aggravated by decay of institutions, which acted as anchor of existing ideologies, and dread of an existential vacuum devoid of spiritual meaning. The ideology of process has laid down unpredictable change as ‘wave of future’ and however all over the world the struggle for anticipatory and inclusive identities has been seen and the revolutionary ideology promised and intended to provide a new identity of ‘peasant and workers’ so that it helps to the youth of such countries to overcome their tribal, feudal and colonial orientation. In this process several happening such as new nations absorbing nations, world space as extended by including outer space as proper local for universal technological identities and functioning societies reforming their principles, true leaders by supporting development of more inclusive identities and creating significant new solidarities and only new enlighten ethics can replace successfully dying moralism. However, M. K. Gandhi can be seen as a case in point for providing India as a new identity by using nonviolence active mode and transforming divisive and negative identity.

A person’s identification with a group has been more pervasive regardless of his status of politically active or not. The individual identification with a nation, an ideological movement, a political party, a social class, a radical or ethnic group, a farm, labour or veterans’ association, a religious faith and so on have been seen as examples. In

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4 Ibid., p. 63.
5 Ibid., pp. 64-65.
a general sense, political identification of a person means his sense of belonging to a
group or party, which influences his political behaviour. The term identification has not
been used in early process as in operation of capitalist system, workers development of
class consciousness among themselves and they could communicate about their
depredation and in party, workers’ love, trust and recognition in the elections have been
used without using party identification as cited in the works of Lipset and Bendix
(1953). The term identification in the modern group sense has been used by S. Freud
(1921) and he observed that people in the crowd are irrational, impatient, uninhibited and
credulous and the group leaders play a part that infuse emotional ties among members,
originated due to personality of individuals, which has been underestimated. Freudian
identification has been the expression of emotional ties of persons with one another. A
boy likes to be his father as he identifies himself with his father because of an ego ideal.
Identification may be ambivalent or may be partial especially when identification is
applicable to a limited or a single characteristic of the ideal of multiple identifications in
a pluralist society, in the ambivalent condition of identification as when a boy is jealous
of the father’s place in the mother’s affection. Here, the propensity to identify with
someone is carried by some other newly grown common quality, in a grown boy, which
is an object of sexual instinct. Freud tries to explain, however, the need, ability of
individual to affiliate and the emotional ties involve as an essential attribute for a man as
a social animal. The ambivalent character of identification faces problems when positive
action and negative actions are identified in it.

However, certain identifications such as class, party and religion are relevant to
discuss. The potential for the explanatory power of identification can be presented
through class identification. The external objective ‘indices’ like occupation, education,
income, which are independent and can be used for separation of persons’ class
identification. The impact of class identification was seen in the voting behaviour in both
USA and British societies. Even its impact was noticed independent of the actual socio-
economic status of voters. Many scholars’ such as Alford (1963), Bonham (1954), Mike

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6 Ibid., pp. 56-57.
8 Ibid., p.121.
and Mackenzie (1954), and Lazarsfeld et. al. (1944) studies have more impact of class and identification on voting behaviour in British society than in the USA. The process of class identification is more likely to be completed by adolescence and more closely related to the political attitudes and vote preference than political attitudes. The middle class persons are more aware of class related issues, voting perception and identity with nation and class than working class person as described in the study of Cantril Bchanan (1953). Religious identification shows impact on voting in the case of even no nominal relation between party and church, no difference in the faith of candidates and no religious issues involved in campaign. The independence of ethnic or socio-economic identification status relation had been observed when Catholic have tended to vote Democrats in America. The effect of religious identification on political behaviour has been seen heightening when issues of ethical, moral, faith, social welfare, war, gambling, prohibition, and contraception come out in society time to time.

The term party identification has been developed in the USA but it was not used widely until after 1948 election. The excessive rationalisation of popular thought where voters used to choose or frame their choice on deliberate assessment of issues and candidates, probably these were the reasons for delay in recognising party identification. After 1952, as cited by Campbell et. al. (1954) shown that party identification was considered as an independent variable for motivating voting behaviour, which was analysed along with the candidates' issues of choice and orientation. In American society the genesis of party identification has been observed in socialisation process within family as American children began to identity themselves as Republican or Democrat at the age of 7 or 8 years. Easton and Hans (1962) write that American children adopt their party as they adopt their family name and religion and assimilate party identification more completely than they assimilate their parent opinion and vote preference. Party identification may increase with increase in lifetime and it also gets changed in life and party identification appears to influence behaviour, attitudes towards government policy and perceptions of candidates. The notion of identification in the western countries has been a reality and its notion and significance varies with political culture and structure. In French society few people think such identification is vague and unstable and parties

in election provide varieties of choice which really made people confused as cited by Converse and Dupeux (1962) and Campbell and Valen (1961) in their study in Norwegian society where other identification such as class, occupation, religious groups have reinforced the political identification. In USA, two groups of voting research are identified, Campbell and others in Michigan University identify party identification as Central whether in Columbian group when Baselson and Lagarsfeld play domination role, identify class identification as dominant and central role to play in election in the USA.  

Identity Formation in Symbolic Interaction and Biographical Frame

The concept of identity plays important role in a large number of formulations and its roots have been grounded in a variety of disciplines like Psychology, Social Psychology and Sociology and the idea of scholars such as Kleigert (1983), Teitge and Teitge (1968), Reynolds (1990), Hewit (1989), McCall and Simmons (1978) and Styker (1980) have been working in the areas. The theoretical framework of symbolic internationalist assumes that human beings are not merely reactors, but they are actors. Identity theory shares an ubiquitous feature of human existence, which has been the possibility of choice, social structure and social interaction, which are equally ubiquitous in constraining human action but not determining strict sense of thought. In a true sense of an abstract philosophical opinion that human being like to choose in any situation in a free mode even to endure great punishment or death. Identity theory shares, in general a number of assumptions or premises of internationalist thought, which are derivative of a symbolic-interactionist theoretical framework.

Identity theory is considered as a derivative of symbolic-internationalist theoretical framework and shares following premises of thought:

1. Human beings are actors as well as reactors.

2. Human action or reaction is critically shaped by definition and interpretation of situation of action or interaction, which are based on the shared meaning of interaction.

3. Persons attribute these meanings to themselves on to the self-conception, which are critical to the process of producing action and interaction.

4. Self conceptions like other meanings are shaped in the course of interactions are largely the outcome of others responses to the person.

However, in the third premise self reflects society and in conjunction of the fourth, it gives rise to the basic proposition of symbolic interactionism. If society shapes self then self shapes social behaviour. These premises insist upon the possibility of reciprocity among its components – social behavior impacts self and society and self can impact society. Theory of identity has been built on the refinements of symbolic interactionists evolved by Mead (1984), Cooley (1902) and Blumer (1969) mainly. These are the conceptualisation of society, the conceptualisation of self and the relative weight accorded to the social structure versus interactive process in accounts of human behaviour. The traditional framework of society views it as a unitary, undifferentiated, unorganised, unstable and ephemeral having internal barrier to the evolution of shared meaning. In this view social structure have little place in accounts of person’s behaviours and there are few meanings of linking of the dynamics of social interaction to the broader social settings. Such conceptualisation of social structure has been inadequate and it misses out its undeniable impact on behaviour. It does not delay the definitional and interpretative process of social life central to the interventionist thinking and explanation and self is portrayed as unitary, as equivalently intentionally differentiated, unorganised, unstable and ephemeral. The identity theory derives from the contemporary sociological conceptualisation of society, and durability of the patterned interactions and relationship, which form the heart core of social structure. The social structure has resistance to change and its tendency to reproduce itself. But the contemporary image visualising society has been highly differentiated yet organised interaction and relationship of
complex mosaic of groups, communities, organisations, institutions and encompassing a wide variety of cross-cutting lines of social class, age, gender, ethnicity, religion, which are seen as parts of organised in multiple and overlapping in international, functional and hierarchical ways. These parts are considered highly interdependent, implicated in close and cooperative interactions and sometimes in conflicting ways. The symbolic-internationalist premise accepts that self reflects society and it mirrors out a complex conceptualisation of self. Self is seen as organised in multiple ways, multifaceted and comprised of varieties of parts that are sometimes interdependent, dependents of other parts, and sometimes in mutually reinforcing and conflicting ways. Here, James's (1890) view of self is important to cite as he portrays self of persons, who have as many selves as there are other persons to react to them or as many as self as they are groups of others to do so.\footnote{Ibid., p.873.}

Both society and self are complex and multifaceted and constitute the basic formula of symbolic interactionism, which helps in theorising particular parts of self and particular parts of society by permitting reasonable operationisation of those parts particularly by focusing on impacting role choice. The social behaviour is specified by taking role choice needed to pursue action for meeting expectations. The role choice has been considered as a specification of general category of self and hypothesised to be a consequence of identity salience, which is hypothesised to be a consequence of commitment and a specification of society. In identity theory the character of commitment imparts identity salience, which influences the role choice. The concept of identity salience develops from the concept of multifaceted view of self. Self is conceptualised by a set of discrete identities as persons having potentially many identities in relation to the roles or by the internalised role designation. Identities require both persons placing as social objects and their designations in the opinion of scholars like Ine (1962) and Stryker (1968). Thus the concept of identity is tied to roles and through roles to be positions in organised social relationship. And the identities of, for example, mother, father, husband, doctor, child, player, etc. may make it clearly understood.
The self is not only multifaceted but it is postulated to be organised and it is structure of identities organised in a salience hierarchy. Theory of hierarchy takes hierarchy as a principal mode of organisation of identities and it assumes that identity varies in its salience. Identity salience is defined as the probability of invoking a given identity or calling into play in a variety of situations or in a differential probability sense, it can be defined as a given identity, which will be involved in a given situation. The person's quality of commitment has a basic referent in the network of his social relationship. The image of society is associated with the complex mosaic of differential parts and also with the recognition that persons conduct their lives in the context of small and specialised social networks by virtue of particular social position and playing of associated roles. In other words, person's commitment to social networks in the relationship of a person with other person in the network is depending on his particular role playing of particular identities. However, two distinct forms of commitment or possible independent discussion have been discerned: international and affective in the view of Stryker (1968) and Serpe (1987). The former is related to the number of relationship entered by having virtue of a given identity and ties across various social relationship and the latter is having its emotional attachment to the particular sets of others. A reciprocity among the three terms of identity theory formula is recognised and the process to be hypothesised and stated by proposition on the ground that identity is strictly a cognitive phenomenon and can change more rapidly than commitment and its conceptual care in interaction than commitment. Burke (1981) and Reitzes (1990) have shown, that the mechanism underlying the linkage among commitment and identity salience and identity salience and behaviour in the idea of symbolic interaction that is the commonality of meaning, makes social life possible.

The identity in ethnographic/biographical frame is concerned with describing the idea of relation of local (place where people live), networks (the ways in which people interact) and memory (the understanding which is sustained and created overtime). P. W. Preston (1997) has taken praxis, of particular relevance and it is interesting to note that notion of culture as sets of ideas, which are embedded within routine practice and

13 Ibid., p. 874.
14 Ibid., p. 875.
familiar institutions and which constitute self-identity, since the cultural practices will be comprised of locale, network and memory.\textsuperscript{15}

The notion of locale points to the immediate sphere of practical activity within which one moves. It involves a series of familiar and regularly used location, a specific group of people who are again routinely seen, or hail from richly known background, and a place. And all this one can summarise as a locale. The notion of network points to a wider spread of contacts, which people have and use it. The spread of contacts which grows out of the spread of practical activities which are pursued within the familiar local but it also moves beyond familiar boundaries. The contacts could be distant family kin networks, professional and business networks, or simply the tourist and leisure activities undertaken in pursuit of pleasure. The entire dispersed ensemble of people and places can be summarised as a network. The memory points to the ways in which practical activities deposits residues in memory and provides the basis for ideas of community. Memory comprises a store of experience and knowledge to inform future activity. It is a fluid sphere of reflective self-understanding, liable to alteration in the light of new events. We can distinguish between personal memory, which is the stuff of autobiography and memoir, and collective memory, which contests public sphere. It is said that identity will be a substantive/individualised way of locating oneself in the social world. The simple idea of identity is a way in which a person more or less consciously locates himself. The substantive business of the identity can be unfold in terms of the idea of locale, network and memory in family, local area, community, institutions, little tradition, formal realms, great traditions, and in the realm of media. The other issues in the context of identity for the sources of concern of debate of great concern are the: the shift from private to public and also the shift from private folk knowledge to public ideological knowledge.

The private sphere is characterised by an ordinary and normal life of people in their family, work and leisure. It has its own pattern of power and desirable. The private sphere is embedded in the broader public sphere and also compelled with its demand. It is pleaded that the characteristics of industrial capitalism put constrain on to private sphere reconstruct its characteristic in accordance with the demands of logic of this system but

the subversion and denial of their demands are also even. Public sphere has also its power pattern and schedules of desirable. In this context a shift from private to public sphere is significant. The political-cultural ideas which govern the individuals within the private sphere towards the collectivity and can take them to grow out to the public sphere. The trend of growth is absolutely organic. The formal ideas of the public sphere, are promulgated by varieties of political actors. In the modern world the key actor is state and other associated mechanism of parliaments, parties and pressure groups, etc. This move is said to be the movement of political-cultural ideas of private sphere, which is tested and legitimated in the tradition to the realm of ideas tested and legitimated in the open public sphere. This shift is a loss of power of an ordinary person, which he enjoys in the private sphere and the key attributes of the public sphere is of rational nature.

Preston talks about political cultural identity of a group or community in a collective form. The structural circumstances which have shaped the collectivity are also experiencing change in the global system consequently the groups, community etc, undergoes change. The concept of political/cultural identity is grounded in the classical tradition of European social theory where the key strategy of inquiries is political, economic, social-institutions and critical cultural analysis. Identity is not a single homogeneous stock of traits, images and habits. It has many aspects and they are derived from certain sources and find expression in particular social context. A simple idea of identity is a way in which we locate ourselves in our social world. There possibility of making change in identity but it involves reordering in local memory and network. Preston talks about the difference between necessary and contingent change in identities. In the former case the issue of identity is related to fundamental structural pattern of social organisation and in the latter it is lined with personal choice and identity is never fixed but always shifting.

Identity Formation: In Local, Network, Memory, Language and Political/Cultural Structure Context

The issues or elements, which are embedded in the locale and their roles in the formation of identity especially when these elements are spreaded in their respected areas and
identity can be derived by the notion of networks of the elements of the various locale and places with the help of network of interactions. Family sphere is the immediate location for the sets of relationship, which constitutes identity. When we shift from a domestic sphere to the world of formal organisation like journey to the work, workplace, and various other organisation, which we belong to and with which we interact. The patterns of relationship are not concentrated in one place as they have a tendency of spread and encompass in a particular place. The way of thinking about the spread of experience is to think in terms of networks: family networks, local networks, community networks and professional networks. It means that relationship is spreaded extensively and it constitutes identity. The relationship, which constitutes identity has a quality of persist and decay, logosed in time or extends over time. The residue of such shifting and logging pattern of relationship is embedded in memory. Here, Preston talks about private and collective memory. Private memory in ideosyncratic/idosyncratic and is the material of biography and when the group/community affirms the sets of ideas that is consenting is termed as collective memory.

Since identity has a complex structure of depth, spread and extension. It is an outcome of a complex series of social processes. Identity is not learned, it is a complex series of social process. This learning is in the sphere of locale will be direct and less direct in the public sphere. Learning in public sphere is presentation of private self in the public sphere. The sets of social relationships, which constitute identity are understood within language. Social construction of complex identities is accomplished in language. The contingency of social relationships and fluidity of language of identity means that identity is a fluid and subtle construct. We must treat identity as contested in the eyes of contemporary concern for language and critical theorists. In the domestic sphere the contentedness will get expressed in the power relationship between persons, in the family, locality and community. In the public sphere this nature of identity is contested value in the product of power relationship between groups. Gadamer (1960) writes that the experience of world in language is 'absolute'. Language is not being if embraces all being in-itself, in whatever relationship it appears. The fundamental relationship of world
and language is that world is the object of language rather the object of knowledge.\textsuperscript{16}

Here a few sets of claims are made about language:

1. Language is the ontology of humankind, means people are inhabitants of structured sets of language - carried meaning.

2. The structured sets of meaning always get priority i.e. in a sense persons are derivates of structures.

3. The relationships between persons are essentially linguistic/semantic.

It is implied that language carried structure which is in complex and extensively structured fashion and Preston says that language use is subtle, allusive, indirect, reflexive, self-conscious and intimately linked to the routines of social practices. Structured pattern of language can be pointed into three: horizontal, vertical and longitudinal. The horizontal structuring refers to the ranges of ideas related to little tradition, big traditions, institutions, fashions, themes. The vertical linkage reflects linkage of self, group society and epoch with each other. The longitudinal linkage where history is the source, stock and repository of meanings, is seen that human linguistic/social practices constitutes the world of life expenses in which we inhabit various forms of life. We constitute our experience of the physical particular forms of life world with the idea of reasons and ethnics, are internal to forms of life.

The idea of political-cultural identity points to the relationships of individuals and collectivity. This relationship has been understood in different ways as in Europe it is rationality and legitimacy, in the case of USA it is autonomous self and contracts, and in the Asia it is family and community seen at different time and place. This political cultural identity can work at a series of levels.\textsuperscript{17}

1. Person - Centred – how an individual construes his relationship to the community he inhibits.

2. Group - Centred – how persons lodged themselves in group and a grouping of persons construes its relationship to other groups within the community.


\textsuperscript{17} Op. cit., P.W. Preston, 1997, pp. 54-76.
3. Collectivity - Centred - how person ordered as groups thereafter construe themselves in relation to other separate groups.

Needs of Identity

For the further debate of need of identity or who needs identity, Stuart Hall (1996) finds two ways of responding such situation. The first, approach focuses on the deconstructive critique, where many of the essential concepts has been subjected too. The second approach requires to identify set of problems and irreducibility of the concepts, which give rise to the emergence of concept of identity. The deconstructive approach puts key concepts ‘under erasure’ since they are no longer in use, no longer serviceable, but there is no concept with which they can be replaced. Derrida has described this approach as thinking at the limit, as thinking in interval, a sort of double writing. By means of this double and precisely stratified dislodged and dislodging writing, we must mark interval between inversion, which brings low to the high place concepts, and irrespective emergence of new concept which can never be included in the previous region. Thus identity is a concept operating ‘under eraser’ in the interval between reversal and emergence, an idea which cannot be though in the old way and also without which certain key concept cannot be thought at all. The second approach is related to the question of what set of problem of irreducibility of the concept identity emerge. And Stuart Hall tries to answer it with the centrality to the question of agency and politics. The concept of politics he means two things, one political movements, which signifies identity and politics of location and manifested difficulties, which have affected all contemporary forms of identity politics. The concept of agency express three things - no desire to have unmediated and transparent notion of the subject, or identity is seen as the centre of social practice, or the approach of origins of all historicity, which leads to transcendental consciousness. Here Foucault focuses on the theory of discursive practices and favours reconceptualisation of the subject identity, thinking its new, displaced and decentred position in the paradigm.

The cultural identity is collective or in true sense self hiding many identities, or invisible many other or more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves' with the people sharing common history and ancestry. Hall needs to situate the debate of identity within the historical development and practices of many populations and culture in relations to the process of globalisation, which is co-terminus with modernity and with the process of free and forced migration in the post-colonial world. Several scholars seem to invoke the origin of identity in historical past and identities and using above questions of resources of history, languages, and culture in the process of becoming rather than being is not related to who are we or where we have come from, what we might become, how we have been represented, and how that bear on how we might represent ourselves. Identity is therefore constituted not outside representation but within. In the narrativisation of self, fictional nature of this process in no way undermine its discursive, material or political effectivity even if belongingness and suturing into the story which make identity arise in partly imaginary and partly constituted in fantasy or in the fantasmatic field. Identity is not constituted outside but within, it needs to be understood that identity is being produced in specific historical and institutional sites within the specific formation and practices by using denunciative strategy. However, they emerge in the modalities of power and more the product of making of difference and exclusion, and are the sign of an identical naturally constituted unity. An identity in its traditional means refers to all inclusive sameness, seamless and without internal difference. The others view identities in the idea of relation to others are constructed through differences not through outside others. The relations to what it is not precisely, what it lacks to, what it is called constitutive outside and in positive term identity can be constructed. Laclau (1990) argues that construction of social identity is an act of power. For example in the Black-White relationship White is marked equivalent to 'human being' and 'woman and Black' is unmarked in terms of man and White. The term identity can function as point of identification and attachment only because of its capacity to include to leave out to render outside objeced and it has its margin and excess and

something more. The term identity has its foundational characteristics of the unity and internal homogeneity, and is its constructed form naming its necessary but it is not natural. The constitution of social identity is an act of power, Laclau (1990) argues powerfully that unities, which proclaims identities are constructed within the power and exclusion and are the rule of process of naturalised, over-determined process of closure but not of natural and inevitable or primordial totality.

Lawrence Crossberg (1997) wants to challenge a number of elements of contemporary works like the sub-sumption of identity into a particular set of modernist logic and assumption that such structure of identity necessarily define the appropriate models and site of political struggle. He raises questions that every struggle over power can be around and understood in terms of issues of identity. In fact he also suggests that the identity categories and its power in both the cultural studies and cultural politics and do not want to escape the identity discourse, but want to rearticulate and relocate it by placing it in larger discourse of modern formation of power. He proposes that cultural studies need to move beyond models of oppression and oppressed and the transgression model of oppression and resistance because such model of oppression is not appropriate to contemporary relation of power but also incapable of creating alliances. They cannot tell how various fraction of population in different relations to power interpolate into the struggle for change. Considering central problematic of identity as modern, Grossberg has sketched out three relationship aspects or logics such as a logic of difference, a logic of individuality and a logic of temporality, that really constitute it. He claims that if identity is some how constituted by modernity, then current discourse of modernity fails to challenge their location within implication with and the formation of power. He claims /contests the current direction of cultural studies by three corresponding alternatives a logic of otherness, a logic productivity and a logic of spatiality.

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26 Ibid., p. 88.
27 Ibid., pp. 89-102.
Identity Formation and Framework of Differences

Stuart Hall (1991) has proposed two models of investigating the constituents and politics of identity based on the historical and strategic distinction. The first model assumes that some essential and intrinsic content to any identity is being defined by either any common origin or by a common structure of experience or both. Here, the struggle over representation of identity takes the forms of fully constituted, separate and distinct identity in place of another. The struggle against any existing constitution of particular identity takes the form of contesting negative identity with positive once and trying to discourse authentic and original content of identity. The second model assumes that identity is always rational and incomplete and in the process. The identity depends upon the difference and negation of some other. It denies the existence of authentic and originry identity based on universal shared origin and experience. Identity is considered and structured representation where it only achieves positive thought the narrow eyes of negative. It is a temporary and unstable effect of relations, which define identities by making difference thus the emphasis, here, is on the multiplicity of identity, and difference and connection or articulations between fragments and difference. The fact that multiple identities can be seen in the work of Kobene (1926) and Mercer (1994) for race, class and gender and in the Michele Wallace (1994) work it is for women, Black, White and guy. The struggle over identities has involved politics of representation not of adequacy and distortion. It involves how identity is produced and is taken up through the practice of representation. It follows Derrida, who views identity is entirely cultural or linguistic construction. The cultural identities are now concerned with challenge and identification of other constitution of subaltern, marginalised, dominant identities and social construction. He has figured out difference, fragmentation, hybridity, border and diaspora for describing for considering them in temporary and spatiality frame of identities.

The difference can be described as a particular constitutive relation of negativity in which the subordinate term like subaltern or marginalised other is necessary and the

internal forces of destabilization are formed to be existing within the identity of dominant term. The instability of any dominant identity, which must incorporate its negation is always the result of way of nature of language and signification. He has identified two variants for this purpose- firstly, notion of the supplement, locate the other outside of the field of subjectivity as it was as pure access and secondly, to the notion of the negativity locates the other within the field of subjectivity as a constitutive exotic other. He gave examples of the Jews in works of Lyotard (1990), Certeau (1984) work for subordinate population, Bhabha's (1994) notion of mimicry and Orientalism (1978) of E. Said to make clear the figure of difference in the theories of identity. For Jews the European culture cannot be identified because it excludes them and unnameability is itself constitutive of European identity. The second figure fragmentation has emphasised the multiplicity of identity and any position within any apparent identity. Identities are always contrary to make up out of partial fragments. Thus theories of fragmentation can focus on the fragmentation of either identical identities or the social category like difference within which identities are placed or its combination are placed. Therefore, identities are always contradictory and situated in a series of political games around fractured or decentred identities. For, knowing Black's fractured identities the Kaleidoscopic conditions of blackness for knowing their anger of experience, representations, etc are in of important. The third, figure of hybridity has been used by L. G. Grossberg to describe three different images of boarder existence of subaltern identities as existing between two competing identities. Firstly, 'third space', that is Bhabha's work and secondly, images of liminality. The 'third space' images describe subaltern identities as a unique and literally defined in between place inhabited by the subaltern. The images of 'liminality' tend to collapse the geography of 'third space' into the border space itself where subaltern lives. In both the cases of images of variants the subaltern is neither one nor other but is defined by its location in a unique special condition, which constitutes it as different from either alternative. Two figures of hybridity is diaspora and border crossing. The 'border crossing' is making an image of betweenness where it does not construct a place or condition of its own other than the mobility, uncertainty and multiplicity of the fact of the constant border crossing itself. The second figures diasporal more often gives the more dicronic inflection and closely
related to the border crossing. The figure of diaspora has become increasingly visible in the works of anthropologist and other postcolonial theories. Describing diaspora, as a signifier not simply of trans-nationality and movement, but of political struggle to defines the local. It is a distinctive community in a historical context of displacement. Diaspora links its identity to the special location and identification to histories of alternative cosmopolitanism and diasporic networks. However, as S. Hall quotes B. Perry (1992), who offers new possibility to the cultural politics that avoids many of modern logic by rooting identity in structures of affiliations and ways of belonging to it. Such figures talk about describing identity, that have been attached because of several reasons like:

1. Ignoring the fragmentation and conflictual nature of discourse of power (different) in both place and space.
2. Ignoring the heterogeneity of power and reducing it to the material representation.
3. Ignoring its material reality.
4. Ignoring the positivity of subaltern as processor of knowledge and tradition, having their own history of power relation defined within the ranks of subordination.

Cultural Identity: Logic of Difference, Individuality and Temporality

The logic of difference offers a particular interpretation of the relations between identity and modernity, an interpretation, which denies the logic of possibility of any alternatives. The modern constitutes its own identity by differentiating itself from another identity, which is always constituted out of difference. The modern makes identity into social construction and a counter modern politics has to contest the particular relations of identity and difference that has been constructed offered and taken up in the modern. And fundamental structures of modernity are always of differences i.e. always different from itself-across the time and space. Now, Grossberg tries to clarify the theory of difference

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and the theory of otherness. The theory of difference builds upon strong notion of
difference in various fields and the identity or its meaning depends entirely upon its
relation to and difference from, other term. This theory takes the given difference, out of
which identity is produced on the one hand and on the other hand theories of otherness,
assume that difference is historically produced and on the real imposed on the modern
structure of power. This theory accepts a weak notion of difference and they do not see
such difference as fundamentally constitutive, rather they recognise strong sense of
otherness that exist in its own place or with its independent of any specific relation.32

Here the idea of difference and otherness can be seen as in the work of various
Derrida says that Descartes idea of exclusion of madness from reason has constituted the
possibility and identity of reason. The relation between madness from reason is originary
gets out of difference and thus the idea of difference exists at the centre of identity. And
Derrida views in support of Descrates as any conception of reason produces and negates
the idea of madness. Descartes idea of exclusion of madness, is a philosophical
representation of a real historical events, and this exclusion is material and special as
much as discursive. The idea of exclusion is necessary to establish status of reason and it
is not constitutive for either of reason or madness.

E. Said (2001) seems to suggest that Orientalism is a mode of representation,
which help us in distinguishing ourselves from other. It is also a style of thought based on
an ontological and epistemological distinction. Here critiques say that distinguishing
other is insufficient and as it seems condemning any attempt to represent other and for
the other point he faces to consider the political history of relationship between ontology
and epistemology. The emergence of orientalism has been viewed in various conditions
of ontological distinction as an act of power or when such distinction is defined or placed
in the service of knowledge, when epistemology is equated with or supersedes with
ontology. When Said connects specific discourse and their distribution to the institution
of colonialism, the ambiguities can be noticed in the field of identity theory, which is
obvious in the quarry does ‘oriental exist’ apart from orientalism. Since both ‘orient’ and

'oriental' are the construction of colonial discourse and they cannot exist out of such discourse. Orient is an objective of knowledge and is the product of colonial relations of power and the existence of orient is tautological. If it is so then all knowledge and construction of any object of knowledge must be condemn since it is appropriated and oppressive. Said has identified three different positions in which the existence of oriental can be laid down:

1. The first is the negativity of the self understanding of the West gave rise to the origin of orient.

2. The orient and occidental are in the unequal relations of the constitutive difference and each is necessary to the self definition of the other.

3. The oriental has been involved in the actual material process of colonisation, traced, exploitation and domination.34

But, here scholars have viewed that if the West has created the orient then orient has also created in other place. The second points of unequal relationship, for this matter each must exist independently and in some sense having its own positivity. But this positivity never been specific and it is always deferred and irrelevant to the constitutive relation. For the third view, however, people travelled place and culture that already centred and the oriental existed independently of the Orientalist. The dominant development is that E. Said has offered to establish a simple chair from colonialism to the construction of cultural identities to the production of subject. Here, various questions can be raised like how colonialism produces a particular subjectivity of the colonialised or how it closes of the possibility of subjectivity or some combination of two. Benita Perry (1992) and others have also pointed out several question such as about interdependence of metropolitan and colonial history and culture, the relation between power and distinct specificity to western structure of power, relation between culture of imperialism and colonialism, geopolitical configuration of power and power relations within cultural process.

D. Hanlon (1988) 'modern humanistic individual' is being predicted on the identification of three different planes as cited in S. Hall:

1. The subject as a position defining the possibility and sources of experience by extension of knowledge.
2. The agent as a position of activity.
3. The self as the mark of social identity.35

Such maps of identification and belonging define and produce the fitting space for individuals and their how and where fitting ways give rise to the parades, there paradoxes were mounted in the claims of the unity of both subject and self, social constitution of both subject and subjected, and both cause and effect. If we see these aspects of individuality as a production process of three distinct individuation, then these paradoxes may be a disguise for the operation of modern power. Here, important task is to locate the machinery, which has produced identification on and belonging subsequently articulated into structure of individuality. The idea of subject is epistemological and it describes a position within the field of subjectivity produced by a particular subjectivating machines. Subjectivity must be a universal value and everyone has some form of subjectivity and at least in a sense exists as a subject and thus experiences some knowledge about himself and the world. Since subjectivity is seen in terms of value corresponding into various form of subjectivity in modern times so modern subjectivity must be function to authorise experience itself and some position must be better able to articulate and defend their authority, thus subjectivity is contextually produced epistemological value in Althusser view.

The subjectivity is abstract and it is always inscribed and described within the cultural code of difference that organise subjects to define social identities in human societies. Everyone exists within strata of subjectivity, located in a particular position, which enables and constrains the possibility of experience and legitimising representation of experience. The question of identity in one of the social power and its articulation and in this sense then self is the material embodiment of identities and the a material point for

the difference and distinction are inscribed upon socious exist only after historical diffusion. The matter of power and agency are different and related to the articulation of subjectivity and self and the question of agency is related to action and nature of change. In the cultural studies the agency involves the question of where and how people control their own action through some act of will. Thus agency involves the process of action by which reality is continually being transformed and power enacted. In the classical term the issue of agency raises the question of will and how people can be responsible for their determined action. Here, two forms of agency - culture and classical are being cited. Thus agency involves relations of access and participation and possibility of moving into particular sites of power and actioning and belonging for enabling power. Agency is related to access, investment and participation that is distributed within particular structural terrain. Thus agency is a political problem not conflated with issue of cultural identity or epistemological possibilities.

The definition of modern is also built on the logic of temporality and the modern thought and power lie in two important assumptions: time and space but time is considered more fundamental than space in this bifurcation. Many scholars locate the beginning of modern philosophy in Cartesian problematic of the relation between reality of truth and individual, that is being solved by self reflecting consciousness. In the Kantian perspective this consciousness is identified with mediating position of experience, that has opened up the space for modern thought. The privilege of consciousness (romanticism/imagination) as the space of opposition depends upon the opposition with difference and subjectivity with temporality. The unity of the subject is dependent upon the unity of time. Consciousness is capable of appropriating other in order to totalise and transcend class. Identity is not only historically constructed and all these places of individual are constructed temporally. There are subjectivity as internal time consciousness of difference and agency as temporal displacement of difference and might be understood within a spatial logic.

Subjectivity as special, is clear that people experience world from a particular position and such position is situated in space not time. Taking the example of diaspora

that is understood with the multilocal attachment dwelling and travelling affiliation of belonging. It is position that defines us spatially in relation to others as entangled or separated. And people's understanding of knowledge is determined by the place of birth, conception and residence as E. Michaels (1994) says, cited by Gorooberg.\textsuperscript{37} The self is identified more narrowly understood and reconceptualised in special term. He has quoted the complex politics of identity in the contemporary American urban society then we could contrast four such vectors:

1. Population largely demobilised with very little or no ability to move out of enclosed and defined space.

2. Population with high constrained but extensive life of mobility.

3. A highly mobile population which is never less excluded from certain places.

4. A population living in a voluntarily imposed for tress like space but with the variety of technology, granted extraordinary mobility.

In America, Los Angles is seen not merely a 'dual city' but a complex system of competing and overlapping nobilities. The various populations of Los Angles is defined in terms of ways of various identities such as Blacks, Latins, Koreans, Whites, etc are articulated by different maps of special existence. Final, agency like identity is a matter of relation of places and spaces and distribution of people in them. M. Morris (1988) says that it is the product of organising a limited space, it is a matter of structured mobility by which people are given access to particular kind of place, specific places and spaces define particular forms of agency and product of diagram of mobility and placement, which define sector of influence can be stopped or placed.\textsuperscript{38} Around such places maps of subjectivity and identity, meaning and pleasure, desire and force can be articulated. It maps the way mobility is both enabled by and limited within the field of force. Agency as a human problem is defined by the articulation of identities and articulation of subject position into specific places and spaces. Judith Butler takes the insights from Foucault and a psychological perspective in one analytical frame work in her book Gender Trouble (1990) and Bodies that Matter (1993), she express the concern with the discursive


limits of 'sex' and with the politics of feminism, the complex transaction between the subject, the body and identity, through drawing together. She again views by adopting position that the subject is discursively constructed and there is no subject before or outside law and she considers sex as normative matter and in the Foucaultian idea of a 'regulatory ideal'. The sex not only functions as a norm but it acts a part of regulatory practices. It is an ideal construct and forcibly materialised through time with an effect of power.39

Sex produces the bodies it governs through interrelation or repetition and its regulatory forces are regarded as a kind of productive power, which produces, demarcates, circulates, differentiates the bodies that it controls. This materialisation is an effect of power and the subject is grounded in this theory of language. And this performativity is shore of its association with violation, choice and intentionality and re-read as that reiterate power of discourse to produce the phenomenon that it regulates and constraints. The linking of this process of sex with identification by which heterosexual imperative enables sexed identification and disavows other identification. Butler's arguments are developed in the context of discussion of gender and sexuality, framed by feminism, and is directly recurrent to the question of identity and identity politics, and sexual differences in relation to other axes of exclusion. In Butlers view all identities operates through exclusion, discursive, construction of a constitutive outside and the production abjected and marginalised subjects, outside field of symbolic, the representable and production of an outside, a domain of intelligible effect which returns to troubled and unsettled foreclose, which are called identities.40 She deploys the arrangement with effect in relation to the sex enablising and the rationalising the subject. Stuart Hall has quoted James Souter (1995) arguments, which questions Butlers idea of feminist identity politics and foundationalist premises by questioning its adequacy of representational politics, its basis of universality and unity of the subject and all other identities is based on excluding 'different' and by prioritising heterosexual relations as basis for feminist politics. The unity concept is produced and restrained by the concept of power, which sought emancipation, it is phantasmatic efforts of alignment, loyalty,

40 Ibid., p.22.
ambiguous and cross-corporal cohabitations. It is sedimentation of the 'we' in the constitution of any 'I' and it unsettles 'I'. Identifications are never fully and finally made, they are incessantly reconstituted and are subjected to violate logic of interability. They are constantly marshalled, consolidate, retrenched and compelled to give away. 41

There are so many aspects of social inequalities like gender, age, race ethnicity, nationality, religious affiliation, sexual orientation (heterosexual, gay or lesbian, bisexual, trans-sexual), which are perceived to sway lifestyle and life-chances of individuals, and group, community, etc and the differential distribution of social rewards and privileges. Harriet Bradley (1996) talks of four aspects of inequality - class, gender, race/ethnic and age, which have invited both public and academic attention nationally and internationally and are viewed as heart of processes of social change and identity formation. 42 The interest in the analysis of class, a form of social inequality, goes right back to 19th century classical sociological theories of K. Marx and Weber. Marx has analysed increasing inequality in capitalist society or industrial society, on the basis of ownership of property, leads to the formation of, the bourgeoisie and the working class proletariat. The study of gender has a shorter history and the gender difference in society considered primarily natural, arising from biology. Gender, is a social category, includes all the linked relationship of men and women which are constructed, organised and maintained with the rise of feminist movement in mid 19th century issue of inequalities related to men and women has came to the fore and it has been diversified into classical feminist, liberal feminism, Marxist feminism and radical feminism. The other dimension of inequalities is race and ethnicity. The study of race, as a social problem, has a longer history than gender. In Britain this problem has arised as a result of post-war immigration from the commonwealth countries from Asia, Africa and Caribbean colonies. Similarity in America it is related to the perception of Black American. The concept of race and racial origin is based on the notion that a distinct racial groups has different genetic inheritance, personality traits, patterns of behaviour and forth than others such racist ideas used to justify the supremacy and domination of one race over others like supremacy of Whites over Blacks.

41 Ibid., p. 105.
Age as an important aspect of social inequality, has recently received the attention and it has been seen that attributes of particular age-group people are determined and altered by social and historical contexts. The people in a same age-group, even would not share a common position because their experience is affected by the individual’s class, gender and ethnic position. The reducing lessening production capacity with continuous aging of individuals puts them at risk of individual survival in industrial society. It has also traditional support and networks within the family and community relationship, which have been found to be progressively weakening in several studies. Age is an important aspect of individual identification but it is less common for the political identification. Two factors can be mentioned in this relation. Firstly, the involvement of various age groups in the individual’s movement and today’s young rebels well became future respectable citizens, if prevent the formation of any organisation which can promote the interests of old age people. Secondly, the young and old age powerless people’s age group are so differentiated in terms of experience that they cannot get united because of their suspicious and hostility towards each other. It has been also found that young people are the major part of several political movement associated with religion, ideology, racism class, ethnic, etc issues.

It is seen that identities are not fixed it is always in flux and post-modernist stress that it is not determined by a single aspect of social being such as age or class but are made up of multitude of elements. Feminist movement involves sundry issues, central to women's identities which may embrace traditional ways displacing femininity through domestic or caring roles motherhood, assertion of sexuality. It is noticed that gender experience has been felt by women of various ethnic groups, ages, religious, classes, nationalities, sexual orientations, etc. Feminist Research, conducted by various scholars, focusing to explore the consciousness issues related to gender, class, sexuality etc. resulted into different work done at different point of time. Recently gender identity has acquired important aspects of sexuality like heterosexuality, homosexuality, lesbianism, etc for its identification. Here, race and ethnicity are observed as powerful force for the identification. The question of ethnic and racialised identity/identities in the case of migration can substantiate the changing nature of identity bases like in 1960s Black

43 Ibid., pp.106-107.
power movement compelled and attracted Afro-Caribbean and Asian to adopt Black identity regarding their political affiliation in the struggle against white oppressors. The role of culture and religion in the case of ethnic or racial identity can be better understood with the help of example Asian Muslims resident in Britain. British Muslims do not like themselves to be seen as or called as Black, Pakistani or other racialised identities.

Bradley (1996) has identified social identity at thee levels: passive, active and politicised. Passive identities are derived from the sets of lived relationship seeds as class gender, ethnicity etc where individuals are not engaged actively. In active identities individuals are conscious of and it provide a ground for their actions. There are several positive elements in individual’s identification which occur in time when individuals are defined in negative way when their experience described nation. Race and ethnicity are likely to assume collectivity in their form through springing and proliferation of political bodies. Various feminist movements and gay and lesbian movements, etc are example of politicised identities.

Culture and Identity Formation

It is worth to take a holistic view of culture and its various manifestations. Culture is obviously the integral whole consisting of implements and consumers goods, of constitutional charters for the various social groupings, of human ideas and crafts, beliefs and customs. Whether, we consider a very simple or primitive culture or an extremely complex and developed, we are confronted with a vast apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual or non-material, by which man is able to cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him in regard to culture.

The term culture has been used in the contemporary sociological research to describe everything from elite artistic activities to the values, styles, and ideology of day to day conduct. The current researches have been taking place in the ambit of sociology of culture includes science, religion, law, media, popular culture and work organisation.

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The coherent concept of culture and its boundaries has been still in the process of evolution with expansion and fluidity in nature. In this connection the debate rest on culture, mass media, social structure, and contemporary other forms have been in practice. The debate on culture and social structure has been seen in works and researches done in the culture or anthological tradition by scholars such as Franz Boas (1896 and 1940), Bronislaw Malinowski (1927 and 1931), Margaret Mead (1928 and 1935), Alfred Kroeber (1923, 1948 and 1952), and Ruth Benedict (1934), who felt that culture has been the central concept in social sciences and it primarily gives force in primarily all patterns of behaviour, focusing on the interaction, individuals, priority and importance, who interacts with whom, which should be given priority in the theories. The other position of culture was countered and given consideration in the structural tradition such as A. R. Radcliffe Brown (1952), E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1937 and 1940), from the British school of Anthropologist and Claude Levi-Staruss (1953 and 1963) in the structuralist tradition from French school focussing on social structure (kinship) more, which determines pattern of said action and thought. The holistic approach of the concept of culture stems from Edward Tylor (1871 and 1924) which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by men as a member of society. Culture consists of all that is produced by human collectivities that is all of social life. It includes anything that differentiates man’s accomplishments from biological and evolutionary origins, which includes religion, kinship structure, language as well as nation states are relevant to the concept of culture.46

In following Franz Boas, the study of culture used to examine different types of societies and variations in different cultural patterns helps in playing significant role in governing human behaviour. These variations observed in the different cultures in different societies helped in breaking down anthropological notions of ‘the psychic unity of mankind, the unity of human history and the unity of culture.47 The pluralistic and relativistic approaches to culture are followed and emphasised localised conception of culture. The culture produces a distinctive identity for a society, socialising members for a greater homogeneity and identifying outsiders. Thus culture is treated as differentiating

concept, providing recognition factor for internal cohesion and external discrimination. Although two very known approaches 'emic' and 'etic' of culture have been seen in the ethnographic researches, in the ethnographic tradition of their contemporary period both A.L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn have built a general agreement that culture consist of patterns of explicit and implicit behaviour transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, their embodiments in artefacts, consisting of their core values and ideas and attached values on the one hand and on the other culture is considered product of action and also conditioning elements of further action.

Milton Singer (1968) has characterised pattern theory of culture, which includes behaviour, cultural objects, and cognitive predisposition as part of the concepts, and emphasising culture as both a product of social action and a process that guides future action. Pattern theory states that behaviour follows a stable routine from the simplest levels of custom, dress and diet to the more complex levels of political, economic and religious life. The prevalence of specific pattern is variable in different areas and different societies, but larger configuration tend to be more stable, changing incrementally unless redirected by external forces. The concept of culture in the structuralist perspective emphasises on the social structure which is grounded in the interactionist framework. Radcliffe-Brown, a champion of structuralism argues that a social structure has been appropriately represented by a network or system of social relations than a set of norms. The structuralist argument intends to clarify how actors in a society actively produce and are socially produced by their cultural context. Structuralist seeks to establish a referent for social structure that is analytically independent of the culture and artefacts produced in that system. The structuralists base their claim on the fact that interaction of actors in a society primarily produces the development and application of cultural elements. And culturalists respond it by claiming that interaction is a cultural phenomena and cultural patterns have been established priory to any ongoing social relationship in the most complex societies.

Here, the two streams sociologists are seen interpreting culture. In one stream, anthropological interpretation comes, which places common people and elite category in the same category and other stream equates identification of cultural activity with a value statement. This moral and aesthetic evaluation of cultural products and activities shall be useful tool for the sociological analysis of cultural differentiation. These evaluative questions play a part in the analysis of mass culture and the growth of mass culture production, which can be traced from Post World War-2 in the USA. The mass culture is regarded as dynamic, revolutionary force, breaking down the barriers of class, tradition, task, and dissolving all cultural distinction. It mixes and scrambles everything together and produces homogenisation. ⁵¹

The high culture has been both mass effective symbol and having richness of expression and identified with the normative evaluation. The opponent of mass culture tends to criticise the consumption of mass culture, as they see themselves as the saviour of a true or high culture. The average consumer does not have ability and interest to differentiate between blurred lives of cultural production due to the easy and immediate accessibility of cultural products. The mass culture derive and borrow themes, values and beliefs from different cultural traditions and connecting them into mechanical formulastic system and it is in the interest and benefit of society to distinguish between types of culture. ⁵²

The first theory of culture, takes stand on biological fact. Human beings are animal species and they are subject to elemental conditions which have to be fulfilled so that individual may survive, the race continue and organisms one and all be maintained in working order. In this whole outfit of artefacts and its ability to produce them and to appreciate them, man creates a secondary environment. In the first place, it is clear that satisfaction of the organic or basic needs of man and of the race is a minimum set of conditions imposed on each culture. The problems set by man's nutritive, reproductive, and hygienic needs must be solved. They are solved by the construction of a new, secondary, or artificial environment. This environment, which is neither more nor less

than culture itself, has to be permanently reproduced, maintained, and managed. The cultural tradition has to be transmitted from each generation to the next. The methods and mechanisms of an educational character must exist in every culture. The order and newer law have to be maintained, since cooperation is the essence of every cultural achievement. In every community there must be exist arrangements for the sanctioning of customs, ethics, and law. The material substratum of culture has to be renewed, and maintained in working order. Hence, some forms of economic organisation is indispensable, even in the most primitive cultures. It is to see that a theory can be developed in which the basic needs and their cultural satisfaction can be linked up with the derivation of new cultural needs; that these new needs impose upon man and society a secondary type of determinism. We shall be able to distinguish between instrumental imperative arising out of such types of activity as economic, normative, educational and political and integrative imperative where knowledge, religion and magic play part. The analysis is an attempt to define the relation between a cultural performance and human need, basic or derived, may be termed functional. Function cannot be defined in any other way than the satisfaction of a need by an activity in which human beings cooperate, use artefacts, and consume goods. Yet this very definition implies another principle, which can concretely integrate any phase of cultural behaviour. The essential concept, here, is that of organisation and in order to achieve any purpose, reach any end, human beings have to organise. As we shall show, organisation implies a very definite scheme or structure, the main factors of which are universal in that they are applicable to all organised groups, which again, in their typical form, are universal throughout mankind. Malinowski proposes to call such a unit of human organisation by the old but not always clearly defined or consistently used term institution. This concept implies an agreement on a set of traditional values for which human beings come together. Again, in terms of our functional analysis, we will show that no invention, no revolution, no social or intellectual change, ever occurs except when new needs are created and thus new devices in technique, in knowledge, or in belief are fitted into the cultural process or an institution. This brief outline, which is really a blueprint for our following fuller analysis,

indicates that scientific anthropology consists in a theory of institutions, that is, a concrete analysis of the type unites of an organisation.\textsuperscript{54}

R. Brown (1952) claims that some scholars have used the term culture in different sense that are equivalent to what he calls a form of social life. The ordinary use of term, culture refers to a process by which a person acquires knowledge, skill, ideas, beliefs, tastes and sentiments from contract with other person or from contact with books and other work.\textsuperscript{55} He gives importance to discovery of cultural tradition for handing down or handing on various things. It gives the example of handing down the understanding and use of English language and sometimes Latin or Greek of French, or Welsh. And in the case of modern complex societies where a great number of separate cultural traditions are found, which have used for handing down several things but in the simplest form of social life these cultural traditions may be reduced to two-one for men and other for women.\textsuperscript{56} The culture and cultural tradition are named and used of the recognition of certain aspect of reality of social life process but not as a whole process, which certainly conveniently refers to certain aspect of human social life. It is because of the existence of culture and cultural tradition in human life remarkably differs from animal life. This cultural process is a specific feature of human social life, which is constituted by the transmission of learnt ways of thinking, feeling and acting. It is part of that process of human interaction which is defined as the social process thought of a social reality.

\textbf{Popular Culture and its Traditions}

A set of available artefacts like films, records, clothes, television programmes, modes of transports, etc is called popular culture in popular term and these had not come to the recognisable contemporary forms until the post-Second World War and when these products were being designed and manufactured for new consumer markets. For the debate about impact and significance of popular culture the profound social and economic transformations have been mediated through aesthetic concepts like 'taste' and

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., pp. 67-74.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p.5.
‘quality’. But various underneath discussion issues like discrimination, complex moral, social, even economic options and strategies are being openly examined and issue of taste like good/bad, high/low, ugly/beautiful, and the ephemeral/substantial emerging of certain points are discussed.57

The study of popular culture includes all like writing of textuality, dancing, making music, theatre, sport, carnival, talking in bars, shopping, walking in the streets, eating, making films, doing, television, painting the walls on the streets, painting the body, creating and designing the building, building and riding trains, automobiles, making a brain into machines, using mechanised brain to transmit to you, and the valuable body, speaking and connecting it more than it knows; and sometimes more than it. The study of popular culture is the study of our past articulations and believing that we must grasp the moments before they are gone forever.58 The problem of debate of notion of popular culture is read and understood in relation to a conception of culture, which is independent of economics and politics. In turn it necessitates return to Gramsci who was considered an active participant in events and was also opposed to Marxist economism. The problem rests on three issues:59

1. What were the people experiencing and making as culture?

2. How was the culture of the centre determining people’s experience and voice?

3. What strategy could the left have to harness the first against the second to create an alternative and democratic culture?

Gramsci shows concern with creation of counter hegemony against hegemony of existing cultural system and creating alternative culture. According to S. Hall (1992), the popular culture is not at all commodified and stereotyped. It is the truth of our experience. It is a theatre of popular desire, popular fantasies. It is where one discerns the identification of one self where one is imagined, where one is represented for both audiences and to oneself also.60

58 Davies Iaon, Cultural Studies and Beyond: Fragments of Empire, (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 120.
59 Ibid., p. 121.
60 Ibid., pp. 123-135.
The tradition of popular culture in cultural studies varies from tradition of Frankfurt school, United States, Soviet Union and Canada to the Birmingham tradition. The Frankfurt tradition creates a critical interpretation of society in general and mores from the economic to the cultural realm. This school has introduced the term 'critical theory' to the lexicon of 20th century theoretical work and its scholars such as Theodore Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Leo Lawenthal, Herbert Marcuse, Walter Benjamin and Siegfried Kracauer have developed in depth study of film, music, and everyday life as they are related to capitalism, modernity and fascism. Walter Benjamin was of the view that popular culture was manipulated by the Nazis to the mass production of their propaganda in Germany. However, Willar was the manipulator and lover of all popular forms of media, radio, films, which were used to sustain Nazi power in Europe. The popular culture had more pretention beyond Nazi manipulation and fascism is an introduction of aesthetics into political life as quoted by W. Benjamin, and fascism used popular culture to glorify states and their leaders. Benjamin is of the view that introduction of mechanical mode of reproduction like films and photography create 'aporios' or differences existed in cultural realm by bringing irrevocable change, i.e., losing aura of arts and gaining democratic flavour of arts. Earlier people used to visit museum and by seeing painting and arts they enter into relationship of aura of present and part with the high accessibility of films and photography to people, art and culture opened to more people and as a result lost its anchor to its past. And this mechanical disruption of aura of arts compressed time and space. Benjamin says before film and photography, every era of modern life brought about changes except work of art and its power, which was maintained with slow and persistent movement. With the film and photography the most profound change in arts and its impact upon the public and this arts consumption of masses and its impact could be experienced in the movie, newspapers ad magazines, which was the beginning of popular culture on the hand and end of high arts on the other. This mechanically reproduced arts brought about changes in artists and audiences. The actors performing in front of direct audiences on theoretical stage and actors performing in the films before camera in absence of direct audience is entirely different as in films camera is a mediator between actor and audience and film actors are

transformed into an image of 'stars', who were always different in persons and larger than life on screen, which was absent in theatrical arts. 62

In the cultural studies in the United States the tradition of popular culture was rarely mentioned by American scholars, who are literary critics, like Gilbert Seldes (1956 and 1957), the most prominent name and who started his work on popular culture when high culture was valued more than any other time. And traditional culture critics saw no value in the popular culture and only few in the United States can understand and value high culture. Seldes claimed that high culture was an important part of American life and popular culture was also equally important but it was never high culture and it never needed to be. Seldes established two major themes: the uncovering of popular culture and the immediacy of experiencing popular culture to demonstrate imaginative power of popular culture and said that he was not discovering but uncovering popular culture and discovering popular culture was the high pretension. The potential of people was the creative power of popular culture. Now the creators and producers of popular art have to take it upon themselves to create that which elevates the taste of all. Seldes believed that quantity of immediate experience of popular culture made different from traditional arts and culture and popular art and culture expressed the present movement and instant mood, which should be confused with the superficial terms to degrade taste. The immediate taste and experience of popular culture is an important aspect of people culture and one could experienced popular arts as long as they were available, unlike painting in the museum and with development and subscription of television, home videos, syndication all this has got changed. The concept of immediate experience was dealt with the way of interaction of person with popular culture and its critical attention. He gave examples of jazz and films like other forms of popular culture to understand it, and Seldes said Jazz was powerful because one needed to use the senses to see, feel and hear it. The films arouse emotions of those who watch them, which is an immediate experience.

The cultural criticism in the Soviet Union and Canada has been witnessed in the Mikhail Bakhtin, a literary critic, who believes that nature of language and the culture of

people can do revolutionary changes. He claims that no one could control the meanings of words and forms and there is no neutral word and forms exist. The word in languages is half someone else's and it becomes one's own only when the speakers populates it with his own invention. His idea of value the language of popular culture as a form of knowing and meaning, was an opening door for scholars. He again believes that the vitality of society comes the way general population creates meaning in everyday life tradition. In this regard, he discussed the role of carnivalesque festivals, such as Mardi Gras, to undermine authority of royalty and church. The carnivalesque used to describe the use of popular culture to question dominant cultural forms and to create anarchical forms of culture that dominate little regard for taste and decorum. During such popular festivals people mimic and lampoon kings, queens, and church figures in a manner that was grotesque, ie., use of language, crude displays of bodies, gluttonous eating habits. Here, people question the taste and culture of those who are in power and believe that all people are equal. He tried to create open language and dynamic popular culture and for his efforts, he was put into exile from Moscow by Stalin.

The famous scholar Marshall McLuhan was interested in popular culture as he spent most of his academic career in Canada. His most famous dictum is 'the medium is the message'. It is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action. He believes that almost every experience is mediated through some form of mass communication in the forms of films, television, radio, telephone. He believed that all media are either hot or cold. Hot media include films or radio, which extends in one single sense in 'high definition' it is set of being well filled with data. And cold medium such as television or telephone contains less data in its resolution. He was the first to recognise the cultural ramification of information technology. He says that when we use media technology like films, radio, etc. this enhanced our normal capacity of seeing and hearing beyond our normal capabilities, which alter our whole body, whole human condition, right down to the nervous system and our consciousness.

The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (BCCCS) has been the most famous and influential in popular cultural studies with its scholars like Stuart

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Hall, Angela Mehobbie, Paul Willis, Raymond Williams, Richard Hoggart, E. P. Thompson, etc. Richard Hoggart and Rymond Williams in their major books, The Uses of Literacy (1957) and Culture and Society (1983) respectively questioned the traditional approach to the literary scholarships on culture. R. Hoggart was not interested in how culture is being defined by aristocratic task and he was interested in how working class culture evolved in the first 50 years of the 20th century. He commonly observed that England was moving away from deeply divided class based society to classless order through a bloodless revolution. Hoggart focussed attention on the magazines readers creating a broad-based readership of consuming class and such creation of mass culture who shared the same bland and shallow tastes. And reading the same stuff in large number also makes disappearing working class culture and mass culture, and in last six decades western world is to live to consume and to have it on any cost. R. Williams in his work defined what culture means in past two centuries within the context of industry, democracy and arts because of dramatic change in meaning in England in the dramatic technological changes. The modern modes of communication limited earlier for a few in the 19th century was constructed for masses and mass communication has come to dominate the way people communicate and see the world. Mass communication is a matter of informing people and making sure that they are receiving information that create opportunity for them to elevate their material and intellectual condition. 65 Stuart Hall has been the most influential scholar from Birmingham school. He was influenced by Gramsci's notion of hegemony, which means that in modern society power is not maintained through brute force but through persuasion. Power is not maintained through military might or police brutality but it is maimed through institution of culture such as mass media and schools. The schools and media outlets become conduits through which people were persuaded that those in power were the legitimate or complete. It is the way in which mass media were used hegemonically that interested Hall in popular culture.

In the realm of popular culture the most important concept of S. Hall, was articulation, and he had two things in mind. Firstly, he accepted the more traditional notion of articulation; to articulate, to utter or speak. Secondly, we speak of an articulated lorry where the front and the back can be necessarily connected to one another. The

elements are exchanging conditions of every day life and the certain conditions are the material, economic and social conditions of thorough and by which people live. S. Hall was interested how these forces are articulated in popular culture. He also used the term "hybridity" to understand popular culture. Dick Hebdiget has worked on style, music and subculture in the USA and the Great Britian. And his contribution style and music has concentrated on his notion of subculture. By 'subculture' he means, not subordinate or interior to a dominant culture.  

Peter Burke tries to investigate the popular responses to the attack on popular culture in more depth and in more comparison reference to England in 19th century, which shows the identity formation of various class people in English society. A case in England reveals that the most visible struggle over popular culture involving for competing uses of public space in the centre of towns for traditional festivals. In the city of Durby, the custom of paying football in the street of Shroke Tuesday was suppressed in the later 1940s on the grounds that playing football in street led to moral degradation, assembling of lawless rebel, terror and alarm and damage to property. The supporters of the rational recreation movement suggested that the game was to be replaced by athletic sports or by a free railway excursion or it be displaced by the centre of the city as if this was middle class territory. This conflict did not exactly follow the class line as it was supported by small middle class populists including local factory owners. Some ordinary people resented and remarked that they treat poor folks in this way and deprived them from recreation. It was a microcosm of the cultural conflict in England and Europe and there had been a powerful movement to reform popular culture, the culture of customs, drinking violence, irreverent humour, to reform with the evils of drinking, with breaches of the Sabbath, with cruelty to animals, involved in the popular sports of cock-fighting, dog-feting and bull-baiting. As at the first place, the popular culture uses do not mean to employ dialects, ballads, festivals and customs are utilised to mark end identity and also the popular culture is the true agent and people are merely tool for raising class consciousness and national identity for innumerable individual to act for identification. At the second stage, it has not been emphasised that the cultural roots of the popular identity do not mean that other roots were absent for identity formation as railway

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development and spread, the work of trade union and political party plays in both weakening of some kind of identity and strengthening of other identity. The point is to emphasise that popular culture plays role in both construction and reconstruction of identities.  

In many parts of the world the collective identities have been formed and reformed in the 19th century in course of resistance to the West. In Europe, the most important identities of resistance was in exclusive sense against the opposition to ruling class as ruling class referred the term ‘the people’ to refer to remainder of the population as ignorant, superstitions, disorderly and as the working class. E. P. Thompson’s (1963) work on the history, a perspective from below, people felt to identify themselves on their experience of culture, religion, their reading, their ethos in their rituals of mutuality against their rulers and employers. His attention to culture and language still unusually remembered as ordinary people and working class identified themselves as opposed to rich and poor. This cultural distance of elite from common people discover popular culture as something exotic and enthralling. This withdrawal of upper classes and bourgeoisie from ordinary people is called by Burke as ‘reform of popular culture’ and they imposed their ethos on working class, especially discipline, rationality, cleanliness, temperance, self control, respectability and a precise sense of time. And in the course of time, traditional culture was to be perceived and identified more strongly with the traditional community and novelties are identified as enemies of the community in England.

Cross Cultural Consumption and Identity Formation

The consumption of commodities after ascribing borders by people of different culture talk background transform in desire, taste, status, vision, values, life style, production and consumption relation and identity of individuals and groups. In the due course of

70 Ibid., pp. 298-302.
process such commodities and products are not accepted and used by people as such in their original forms but they are also being transformed and changed under hybridation or Coeralisation process in accordance with the local needs emphasizing wide local acceptance, demand and spread leads to the growth of consumer culture across the globe.

At the same point of time the growth of consumer culture and consumerism raises moral and ethical questions of destroying cultural differences and diversity by primarily homogenisation process of Europeanisation in general and Americanisation in particular.

This growth leads to identity consciousness and assertion of identity in and around the world.

David Howes talks about cross-cultural consumption by asking what happens to commodities when they cross cultural borders and this phenomenon promises to transform our understanding of culture and consumption and sketch some of the more pressing analytical and ethical issues raised by the globalisation of the consumer society.

He clarifies it by giving examples of West African villagers which recoils horror when an American multinational introduces a new line of baby food with pictures of smiling babies on the labels and assuming that the jars contained not food made for babies, but food made of babies, the Hopi Indians of Arizona are dismayed to see caricatures of their gods or kachinas in the comic book portraying them as bad guys dominated by all American superhero, Lord Ganesha and Lord Shankar in USA on some wearable and usable items as being reported in media, Indian came on street in their opposition of protecting their identity. The Brand names and trademark symbols such as Marlboro, Nike, Roles, Reebok, Adidas, are now known around the world. These brands and marks have transcended language and make possible to display one’s status or signal one’s desires by simply pointing to the appropriate symbol.71

He cites Mary Douglas and Isherwood, (1979) who hold importance of material part of culture, in making perception and interaction, and market relations. These goods present a set of meanings, which is more or less coherent, and more or less intentional.

The idea of goods is used to substantiate the order of culture and the need of goods is felt for making visible and stable categories of culture and one infers and judges people based

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on the clothes they wear, car they drive, the way they furnish home, in other words, we judge them on the basis of the assemblage they construct from the total cultural repertoire. Moreover, with the accelerated pace and increased scope of world trade possibility of crossing borders than ever before and then the culture they ‘substantiate’ is no longer the culture in which they circulate as notions like ‘blueprint’ by McCracken, ‘code’ by Douglas or ‘system of objects’ by Baudrillard seems to be changed. Here, Davis Howes claims by taking the constant displacement of things in the increasingly global market place into account the relationship between goods and culture needs to be rethought. This emphasis is not on the cultures as meaningful wholes existing in pristine isolation but particularly on their interface of social relations of consumption and the logic by which goods are acquired and received, understood and employed in different western and non-western societies. The arguments presented, here, related to enablity one to attain a deeper awareness of the extent of capitalist penetration in the 20th century, a fuller appreciation of the resiliency of non-western and western cultures, contemporary thinking about the cultural-affects of the migration of goods within the world market system dominated by the paradigm of global homogenisation in the face of globalisation and finally leading to erode cultural differences are increasingly through the world-wide replacement of local products with mass-produced goods, which usually originate in the West in general and in USA particular. This process of colonisation is regarded as Coca-colonisation, in other words, of the non-western world along with the institution of new regimes of consumption. It is examined that a product like Coca-Cola can be seen to contribute to the homogenisation of cultures and the replication of uniformity is said to be the main reason for Coke’s success. Coca-Cola is made from the same formula and marketed according to the same strategy of ‘one sight, one sound, one sell’ across the world. The consumption of Coca-Cola has been apparently allied with the internalisation of American political ideology and economic values.

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In fact mass-produced and marketed goods such as Coca-Cola, blue jeans, Hollywood movies, etc. across the world, sometimes appear to serve as a catalyst for cultural and political change in the world. It can be said as a powerful argument in favour of the paradigm of global homogenisation as these items have displaced local products like coconut milk, fruit juice, even water drinks in many regions. But such goods after entering into a new culture, will not necessarily retain and communicate the values they are accorded by their culture of origin. And when one takes a closer look at the meanings and uses given to specific imported goods within specific local context or realities, he, often, finds that the goods have been transformed, at least in part, in accordance with the values of the receiving culture. In addition to acquiring new uses, imported objects often become imbued with alternative meanings upon incorporation into a new cultural setting or local reality. For example one finds that Coke is often attributed meanings and uses within particular cultures that are very different from those imagined by its manufacturer.

As in Russia it is believed that Coke can smooth wrinkles in Russia, in Haiti it can revive a person from the dead, and in Barbados it can turn copper into silver. However, Coke is perceived as a native product in many different places as Coke is also indigenised through being mixed with other drinks and run in the Caribbean to make Cuba Libra, or aguardiente (an alcoholic beverage) in Bolivia to produce Ponche Negro and often people believe that the drinks have been originated in their country, not in the United States. The process of re-contextualisation of foreign goods as assigned meanings and use by the culture of reception may be termed as hybridisation or for creolisation. This concept highlights that the goods always have to be contextualised in giving meanings, inserted into a particular social relationship to be utilised. The multiplicity of possible local-global articulations is, therefore, can be understood with use of these concepts.

The culture is recognised and constructed through both production and consumption and various scholars are now involved in re-periodisation of consumer culture, re-conceptualising its causes, and revaluing its moral and political consequences. For instance, it can be thought now that the industrial revolution presupposed and may even have been preceded by a consumer revolution and the birth of

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76 Ibid., p.6.
the consumer society is no longer presumed to be explicable in terms of technological innovation and changes in the forces of production and mode of consumption. In this connection Jean Comaroff (1991) explores the role of clothing in the making of colonial subjects and ethnic communities in southern part of Africa. Comaroff claims that the 19th century British missions to southern Africa has been devoted so much attention to clothing African nakedness, and this effort was seen as integral to the revolution the missionaries hoped to forment in African hearts and minds. She points out that clothing was considered to represent the fabric of civilisation by the British missionaries, and as such, was seen as a major means of fashioning new social identities for the Africans. Comaroff goes on to describe how the second-hand clothes from Britain did indeed foster the Europeanisation of Africans, but also touched off a complex politics of dress, playing into the making of new ethnic and class divisions, as well as encouraging syncretisms with indigenous styles in this regard. Comaroff gives an example of syncretism as a South African chief who ordered a European-style suit to be made for him out of leopard skin, which has been understood and analysed by various scholars as he wished to make himself a white man, others viewed leopard skin as traditional symbol of chiefly office, the chief was not simply emulating European fashion through cross-cultural dressing but he was seeking to double his authority in his community with symbol of foreign dressing and indigenous symbolism of the leopard skin.77

This focuses on the analysis of cross cultural goods, food items, etc. imported to the West and its engagement lies in the processes of hybridisation or creolisation than any thing else, which is termed popularly consuming others. The link between food and cultural identity, which Allison James (1996) explores some of the changes occurring in British patterns of food consumption since the 1950s. For example, James notes that Indian food now outsells fish ‘n’ chips and British rail has been known offering a range of international cuisine featuring in ‘Dishes of the World’. The result of all these divergences in available tastes is that the British subject has a veritable smorgasbord of culinary signposts to choose from for the purposes of constructing an identity. Therefore, the question arises, with increasing globalisation of foodstuffs—either through the import of exotic foods or through the expansion of fast-food franchises like McDonald, Pizza

Huts, Barista, Subway, should be interpreted to mean that food has lost its potency as a
determinate marker of identity or has enhanced it. British taste has also been modified by
the appearance of hybrid of domestic/foreign dishes, as seen in the growing preference
for curried chips. James concludes asking whether these developments in British cuisine
reflect an abandonment of national, regional and class identities traditionally or refracted
in through the rephrasing of food domain. In fact, James analyses apparent globalisation
of the British palate, which has been offset by the discovery and revaluation of authentic
British fare, which in turn supports an insular sense of identity.\textsuperscript{78}

Brad Weiss describes the use Haya of Tanzania locally grown coffee as both a
masticatory and its product fits within the fabric of Haya social and ceremonial life. The
Haya also exports large quantities of coffee to Europe and also profess to be mystified
about what Europeans do with it all. He finds both significant conjunctions, and even
more significant disjunctions, in the way this commodity has entered into the definition
of class relations, work relations, and domestic relations in the settings. By straddling the
two worlds this analysis provides many valuable insights into the making and remaking
of a commodity.\textsuperscript{79}

Bredin claims that electronic media as electronic colonialism or media
imperialism is typically seen as homogenising forces and the power of such media to
disseminate the values and practices of the dominant society should not be
underestimated. However, in the aboriginal communities of the Canadian North appears
demanding introduction of radio and television not just for mass-market programmes
such as \textit{Happy Days} and \textit{Dallas}, but also for local programming in local languages. In
response to such demand, native communications societies, like Wawatay, have to do
both to adapt traditional communicative practices to the new technologies on the one
hand and to adapt modern media to the transmission of traditional messages and resulting
into oral traditions going electronic on the other hand. In a way, Bredin remarks on how
media does both facilitate and necessitate border crossings and she refers to the way

\textsuperscript{78} Allison James, “Cooking the Books: Global or Local Identities in Contemporary British Food Cultures”,
in David Howes. (ed.). \textit{Cross Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities}, (London and New

\textsuperscript{79} Brad Weiss, “Coffee Breaks and Coffee Connections: The Lived Experience of a Commodity in
Tanzanian and European World”, in David Howes. (ed.). \textit{Cross Cultural Consumption: Global Markets,

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Wawatay reporters take up a position on the issue of cultural boundaries of their community. In the construction of such positions, old boundaries have not been effaced but reassembled in fluid, strategic, situational ways. However, the new positions from which one can speak have increasingly evoked the borders issues they have transformed and aiming so not to divide and exclude but to interface and construct. In the Epilogue, Constance Classen and David Howes try to interweave the various perspectives of a global consumer society presented and its aim is to map out the global dynamics of consumption, as goods cross and recross cultural borders, and highlight the social and ethical conflicts which can arise as a result of this process. It is concerned with the ethics of consumption and provides a counterpoint to those approaches which treat consumption as a purely 'symbolic' phenomenon Sahlins, (1976) McCracken, (1988). The subject of global trade and marketing presents a prism of a multitude of facets having to do with the production, marketing and consumption of goods and images across cultures. To explore the cross-cultural interplay of the process of the production, marketing, consumption and reproduction of goods across western and non-western societies, the phenomenon of global marketing from a different perspective such as the consumption of Western goods by non-western peoples; the global marketing of western goods; the consumption of non-western goods by the West; and, the global reproduction of western-style goods are considered to be important. Underlying discussion is a concern with the social and moral ramifications of the spread of consumer culture, the ethical dimensions of cross-cultural marketing and consumption, and the equivocal nature of perceived marketing and consumption in different social settings.

Traditionally various cultural theorists like Adorno and Horkheimer (1973), and Marcuse (1964) have depicted the masses, who are being manipulated and brainwashed by consumer culture. This manipulation is being held to be particularly acute in the case of the Third World consumer, who is deemed to be at the mercy of the dream machine of western marketing. As a result of the relentless promotional drive of TNCs in the Third

World consumers are said to be coerced to buy goods like jeans, watches, perfumes, televisions, which has no real meaning for them as they play, sometimes, no authentic role in their culture as cited from Wilk (1994) and Tomlinson (1991). The more recent approach in the study of consumer culture put forward by authors such as Miller (1987), Hannerz (1992) and Willis (1990), among others, has been stressing on the agency of consumers to select and adapt products according to their own desires, knowledge and interests. This approach believes that Third World people may seem to be manipulated into buying consumer goods which are alien and destructive of their cultures, in fact, they are actively employing consumer goods to express and forge their own unique cultural identities and the term 'creolisation' has been proposed to refer to such kind of indigenisation of consumer goods. The transformations of global goods and images, which undergo in local marketplaces and the conflicts of values also occur when consumer goods are marketed across cultures. In other words, the fact that consumers can creatively construct their own identities through the products they consume it does not mean that diffusion of consumer culture presents no dilemmas for the peoples across the world. The ethical concern most commonly raised with respect to the trans-cultural marketing of goods is that the spread of a single regime of products and values around the world will work to destroy cultural diversity and end up creating a globally standard culture.

The global marketing of Western products is criticised not only for spreading western values but also for spreading as many people perceive as materialist and decadent values. The goods and values what West is ostensibly offering to the rest of the world are Junk food, Barbie dolls, designer jeans, Playboy magazines, happiness in a dish washer, social status in an automobile, beauty in a bottle hair colour, which, in the minds of many critics of the consumer society, have already brought the West to a state of moral and social decay. The criticism of the shallow and self-serving way of life is ostensibly promoted by western consumer goods has been world-wide. For example, in Chile, intellectuals claimed that Donald Duck and other African comic book characters were spreading the materialist and imperialist ideology of the United States under the guise of harmless entertainment for children as cited in Dorman and Matteurt (1975) and in Iran, the government considered banning of import of satellite dishes in order to preserve
Iranian culture by infiltration by immoral Western television shows and they view it as these programmes are prepared by international imperialism, as a part of an extensive plot to wipe out our religious and sacred values declared an official of the Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance as cited in Barber (1995) and Arnould (1989). These protests are rarely sufficient to deter the consumption of Western commodities in the non-West unless the bans are imposed on them. For example, the such protests are considered improper in India as it has not prevented Indians from watching such displays in American movies and television shows broadcast on the cable networks channels and the expectation on the part of the global marketers is that this watching will soon turn to imitating, and in turn, create a need for a whole new range of consumer products. Even official bans on western consumer goods are often insufficient to keep such goods from entering into the country. For example in Iran a ban on American movies have led to underground video clubs springing up all over the country, and a widespread prohibition on imports in India similarly resulted in a thriving black market in foreign goods as cited in Barnet and Cavanagh (1994). However, a strong popular interest in consumer goods of people reinforces the fears of especially those who worry about their cultural and religious identity, which will be swept away by a flood of Michael Jackson videos and McDonald’s hamburgers if the country’s gates are opened to the global marketers.

These examples of western consumer goods cited, here, are indeed spreading across the globe, there is none the less a significant amount of variation in the ways in which these goods are received by different peoples. When non-western peoples are seeing consuming western goods they do not necessarily swallow them whole in symbolic values but rather season and prepare them according to their own tastes and customs and it can be well understood with the concept of hybridisation. Though it might not be the case as some nationalists and nativists fear that instances of syncretism between local cultures and global goods are just steps on the route to homogenisation and spreading consumerism with the growth of consumer culture.

The Growth of Consumer Culture in Global Age

A consumer means knowing about one's needs and attempting them to satisfy by choosing, buying, using and enjoying. The term needs are often not seen as natural and self-evident for example basic needs for food, clothing and shelter on the one hand and on the other hand, they are often understood as arbitrary and subjective as term 'wants', preferences or desires, which are entirely bound up with the peculiarities of individuals. Both of these approaches are ambiguous in nature as they do not fundamentally clarify social nature of needs. One must be very clear that needs are not social in the simple sense there are the role of social influences or social pressures or process of socialisation through which society moulds the individual. And central point is a different one as when one says that he needs something, he makes at least profoundly two social statements. Firstly, he means to say that he needs this thing in order to live a certain kind of life and has a certain kind of relations with others for example have such kind of family, be a certain kind of person, carry out certain actions or achieving certain aims. These statements of need are by their very nature profoundly bound up with assumptions about how people would, could or should live in their society. These needs are also political but not only social in the sense that they involve statements about social interests and projects. This connection is partially obscured when needs are treated as natural or purely subjective. Secondly, to say that one needs something such as his social group, his community, his class to make a claim on social resources and to claim an entitlement. Needs are both social and political in nature. These are statements which questions whether material and symbolic resources, labour, power are being allocated by contemporary social processes and institutions in such a way as to sustain the kind of lives that people want to live.

Consumption has been always and everywhere a cultural process, its dominant unique and specific mode of cultural reproduction developed in the modern west and

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85 Ibid., p.3.
consumer culture— a culture of consumption is in important respects central to the
meaningful practice of everyday life in the modern world and it is more generally bound
up with central values, practices and institutions defining western modernity in terms of
choice, individualism and market relations. In a single defining feature, consumer culture
denotes a social arrangement in which the relation between lived culture and social
resources, between meaningful ways of life and the symbolic and material resources is
mediated through markets. Consumer culture marks out a system in which cultural
reproduction is largely understood to be carried out through the exercise of free personal
choice in the private sphere of everyday life. It is about continuous self-creation through
the accessibility of things, which themselves present always as new, modish, faddish or
fashionable, in improved and improving nature and its fashionable experience provide
the very idea of consumer culture constantly heralded as new in each and every
generation. Consumer culture is neither the only way nor it is purely a western affair but
it is certainly the dominant way of which consumption of everyday life reproduced and
possesses a practical scope and ideological depth which allows it to structure and
subsume all others to a very great extent. It arose in the west, from about the 18th century
onwards, as part of the west’s assertion of difference as modern, progressive, free,
rational from the rest of the world. It has been a flagship for the advancement of western
business, western markets and a western way of life. The idea of consumer culture, is
based on assumption of dominance and denigration, of the western sense of being
civilised and righteously affluent, as possessing values of universal character for the
universalising project of western modernity which has, both global pretensions and global
extension. For many, consumer culture appears to fully formed only in the postmodern
era but it is inextricably bound up with modernity as whole that stands two things:
Firstly, core institutions, infrastructures and practices of consumer culture is originated in
the early modern period as part of the very making of the modern world. Secondly, it is
bound up with the idea of modernity, of modern experience and of modern social
subjects, as the modern constitutes around a sense of the world experienced by a social

86 Ibid., p. 8.
87 Ibid., p. 9.
actor who is deemed individually free and rational within a world governed and produced through rational organisation and scientific knowledge rather by tradition.

The 1980s has witnessed one of the most powerful rediscoveries of consumerism and the consumer has been the hero of the hour not just as the provider of buying power which would fuel economic growth but as the very model of the modern subject and citizen. It has been also heralded the subordination of production to consumption in the form of marketing: design, retailing and advertising of the products. The Fordist mass consumption – the pioneer of consumer culture – is giving birth to a newer and truer consumer culture of target or niche marketing. The forging of personal identity would be firmly and pleasurably disentangled from the worlds of both work and politics and would be carried out in a world of plural, malleable, playful consumer identities, a process ruled over by the play of image, style, desire and signs in this regard. This consumer culture is proudly superficial and profoundly about appearances and in this we turn out not to be sensibly materialistic at all: unhinged from core social identities and physical want, consumerism become a pure play of signs. But the ideological miracle of consumer culture was to tie this image of unhinged superficiality to the most profound, deep structural values and promises of modernity: personal freedom, economic progress, civic dynamism and freedoms of the market as the guarantor of both economic progress and individual freedom. The expanding prosperity with capitalist expansion places consumer culture near its centre and acts as the engine of prosperity, a pre-eminent tool for managing economic and political stability and the reward for embracing the system. The harmonious marriage of managerial collectivism and consumerist individualism in the mixed economy which has exemplified in the idea of regulation and in the split between social provision for welfare and infrastructure on the one hand and private sector enterprise on the other Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1968 and 1969) calls consumer as 'affluent worker', who steadily builds up domestic capital within the framework of long-term job security and stability of the everyday consuming household, which is anchored within the protective harbour of state, which has organised around a set of organised government, organised business and organised labour.

Ewen (1976) and Marchand (1986) demonstrate that the burgeoning advertising and marketing of this era were selling not just consumer goods, but consumerism itself as
the shining path to modernity. As they incite their publics to modernise themselves, modernise their homes, their means of transport. The exemplary goods of the period are about the mechanisation of everyday life, starting with houses themselves, and extending their electrification, durables like washing machines, vacuum cleaners, fridges, telephones, then finally, the automobile for that modern sense of movement into the future and into the jazz age. This is the age of real estate, consumer credit and cars, modern appliances, bought by modern methods, placed in a modern household. Over this period, consumer culture moves in two contradictory but interrelated directions. On the one hand, the world has become a cornucopia of consumable experience and goods delivered by modern progress as consumer culture seems to emerge from the production of public spectacle, from the enervated and over stimulated world of urban experience. And all is display; the development of shopping, arcades, and department stores, international exhibitions, museums, new forms of entertainment, cities, department stores and especially international expositions carry powerful collective meanings as symbols of both scientific civilisation and national greatness. And on the other hand, and in opposition to the public culture of commodities, consumerism has been made respectable during this period by connecting it to the construction of private, bourgeois domesticity and consumption is to be turned into respectable culture by wresting it from the hands of both the aristocracy and working class. 88

Consumer Culture and Identity: A Culture of Consumption, Free Choice, Universal and Impersonal Nature

The consumer culture and modernity has been interwoven and penetration of consumer goods, elements of fashion and tastes and consumption, development of infrastructure, new kind market and advertising, new concept of desire, status, and transformation of economic, social and cultural life by market exchange, trade exchange, play prime part in growth of consumer culture and consumerism. In the modern world consumer culture implies consumption as central focus and notion of social practices, ideas, aspiration, identity and the culture of consumption as a dominant value. The concept of consumption

is identified as mass consumption and has been mediating by market relation of consuming goods, services and experience. This consumer culture makes consumer free and sovereign and its development put pressure to replace tradition by negotiation and reconstruction of social appearance, life style, values, crucial for both individual and collective status and identity formation.

The consumption has appeared and recognised in the modern period in which both consumer culture and modernity is interwoven. The productivist bias, which has been the relation of preoccupation of modernity and capitalism as an Industrial Revolution with the idea of production an engine and essence of modernisation; is been contested by a growing historical revisionism which argues that a Consumer Revolution preceded the Industrial Revolution. Dan Slater claimed that it was at least a central and early ingredient of western modernisation by citing various basic references and reviews, which included Agnew (1986); Appleby (1978); Braudel (1981); Brewer and Porter (1993); Bronner (1989); Campbell (1989); Fine and Leopold (1990); McCracken (1990); McKendrick et al. (1983); Mukerji (1983) Perkin (1968); Porter (1982); Rule (1992); Sekora (1977), Shammas (1990); Thirsk (1978); Weatherill (1988) and Xenos (1989).

This argument involves developments that can be discerned: firstly, a new ‘world of goods’ with a wide penetration of consumer goods into the everyday lives of more social classes; secondly, the development and spread of ‘consumer culture’ in the sense of fashion and taste as key elements of consumption; and thirdly, the development of infrastructures, organisations and practices that target these new kinds of markets with the rise of shopping, advertising and marketing. Rather than production or consumption, it is trade and commerce that looms largest in the early modern mind and are recognised as the early catalysts for transition from traditional agrarian to modern society. Moreover, it is commerce that provides several new images and concepts through which society is understood and consumption is recognised and re-valued in ways of consumer culture with including notions of economy and government, the idea of civil society and of society itself, images of the self, self-interest, reason and desire, new concepts of status and culture. The relation to commerce that consumption was redefined in the 18th century and in earlier times, consumption meant waste, squandered using up things without gain,

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a loss to economic, moral and political flows of values. By the later 18th century this word was used technically and neutrally within economic and other discourses to signify to attend the sole end and purpose of all production and the interest of the producer necessarily for promotion of the consumer. The idea of commerce forces people come to see the necessary and important social conditions which enable goods to be sold. Secondly, the revaluation of consumption along the lines of a modern consumer culture is linked with the experience of transformed world in terms of not just economically but socially and culturally, by commerce, market exchange and money. The market-based exchange and consumption presupposes that individuals could make unconstrained choices for buying goods and that access to these goods could be regulated solely by the possession of cash or money. He says that the idea that people's lifestyles could be determined solely by their money-wealth-rather than by religious prohibitions on luxury and excess, by juridical prohibitions of certain goods to certain status groups, by traditional and communal surveillance, by the cosmological fixity of 'the great chain of being' – indicated a situation of status instability and ultimately status revolution. The spread of markets and market-mediated consumption required the breakdown of the old status order and the exercise of the early modern mind in corrosive or liberating effect of monetary relations on traditional society.

In the modern world, notion of consumer culture implies core social practices and cultural values, ideas aspirations and identities, which defined and oriented in relation to consumption rather than to other social dimensions such as work, citizenship, religious cosmology or military rule. Thus in modern society a consumer culture does not refer simply to a particular pattern of needs and objects i.e. a particular consumption culture rather to a culture of consumption. To talk this way is to regard the dominant values of a society not only to be organised through consumption practices but also in some sense to derive from them. The contemporary society can be described as materialistic having a pecuniary culture based on money, concerned with 'having' to the exclusion of 'being', as commodified, as hedonistic, narcissistic or, more positively, as a society of choice and consumer sovereignty. The very idea of a culture has been defined as the social preservation of authentic values that cannot be negotiated by money and market.

exchange. However, consumer culture is often equated with mass culture with a society in which the desires and tastes of the masses, newly empowered by money and democratic rights and reduces culture to consumption. Moreover, a central claim is that values from the realm of consumption spill over into other domains of social action and modern society is in toto a consumer culture but not just in its specifically consuming activities. The spread of consumption values to the general society occurs because: firstly, the consumption itself becomes a central focus of social life in the sense that one reproduces more and more areas of social life through the use of commodities, and in the sense that other foci of life like work, religion, politics, become less important or less meaningful; and secondly, the values of consumer culture acquire a prestige, which encourages its metaphorical extension to other social domains such as the extension of the consumer model to public service broadcasting or health provisions.91

The concept of consumption has been mediated by market relations and takes the form of consumption of commodities generally by consuming goods, services and experiences, which have been produced by institutions solely in order to be sold in the market to consumers, not interested in need or cultural values but in making profit and economic values.92 The integral to our everyday life consumption is the act of choosing between a range of alternative commodities. The consumer’s access to consumption is largely structured by the distribution of material and cultural resources like money and taste, which is determined by market relations of wage relation and social class among others very in crucial ways. In Marxian sense, the concentration of means of production under private ownership means that workers for the most part do not produce the means of their own consumer goods. They obtain them indirectly as people sell their labour power for money in the form of wages by producing goods to which they are normally indifferent, in order to be able to buy another market goods they actually want and which have been produced by other equally indifferent workers and capitalists. From this perspective, it is the wage-relation, and not industrial mass production, it is capitalist relations of production and not its technical forces that produce the consumer, and do so instantly and automatically. The worker and the consumer are born of the same social

relation. The wage relation might produce a very poor consumer indeed, for the most part, and one who cannot go to the market for many of his or her needs, instead either going without, or up to a late historical period – continuing to produce outside of market relations the means of his or her own substance. But it is through the market that consumer culture is defined: consumers are produced when the market emerges as the general means of economic regulation. 91

Consumer culture is often identified with the idea of mass consumption which exemplifies the generalisation of commodity consumption to the entire population. The more fundamental principle of mass consumption is the idea of making large volumes of goods for sale to a general public rather than for oneself, for one’s household or local community. The idea of selling a product might be related to selling to any individual anywhere, presumes impersonal and generalisable relations of exchange as the basis for mediating consumption is not related to the needs of a known and unique individual or community. Market relations are anonymous and in principle universal because the consumer is an anonymous subject not a known customer and who can only be imagined and constructed as an object for the target of a marketing drive, the profile produced by a market survey, a mass market or market segment. Moreover, if the cultural meaning of the consumer goods is not immediately provided by the personalised relations in which it is produced and exchanged, then this too must increasingly be produced and distributed in an impersonal and generalised manner in all the terms such as design, advertising and marketing all start before widespread industrialisation because of the need to personalise the impersonal, and to make to culturally specify the general and the abstract. The idea that consumer culture serves a general public also promotes a more positive idea that it embraces ‘everyone’ accessing of commodities is treated in principle as the activity of the entire population. Everyone is formally free and equal when he goes to market, unconstrained in his choices by legally fixed status or cultural prohibitions. Moreover, consumer culture appears to be universal in so far as it portrays itself as a democracy of comfort and wealth, There seems to be a fundamental right to consume freely for each is given us by modernity; the right and ability of a consumer is the ideological birth right of the modern western subject. Similarly, however there is principles for restricting who can

consume and also what can be consumed, otherwise all social relations, activities and objects can in principle be exchanged as commodities in the markets. It is one of the most profound principle of secularisation enacted by the modern world. Everything can become a commodity at least during some part of its life and this potential for any thing, activity or experience to be commodified or to be replaced by commodities perpetually places the intimate world of the everyday into the impersonal world of the market and its values. Moreover, consumer culture appears universal because it is depicted as a land of compulsory freedom, in which everyone must be a consumer. It is by and large through commodities that everyday life, and the social relations and identities what we live within it, are sustained and reproduced.\(^{94}\)

As a consumer you make choices, you decide what you want, how to spend your money to satisfy needs. This exercise of choice in principle means that no one has the right to tell what to want and what you want to buy. Consumer sovereignty is an extremely compelling image of freedom, which feels personally significant to modern subjects. The freedom of consumer culture is crucial to modernity, especially in its liberal version: consumer choice is a private act. Firstly, it is private in the positive sense that it occurs within a domain of the private -- of the individual, the household, the group of friends -- which is ideologically declared out of bounds to public intervention. The relation between freedom and privacy is crucially linked to the idea of the modern individual and by much reason of the Enlightenment as a private resource, which he could resist the irrational social authority of tradition, religion, political elites, superstition. The private individual resources is also defined in terms of the interests of individual, which only he could know and which he has every right to pursue and consumer choice is merely the mundane version of this broader notion of private and individual freedom. Secondly, consumer choice is private in the more negative sense that it is restricted to the household, mundane domesticity, the world of private relationships. Any particular act of consumption is private in the sense of having no public significance. As a consumer one does not consume in order to build a better society, to be a good person and live the true life, but to increase private pleasures and comforts. The consumer culture is marked by double sense of privacy and its relation to choice and freedom:

individual empowerment, meaning, investment in the future, identity etc. are bound up with a restricted area of life. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the privacy of individual choice seems to contradict social order, solidarity and authority. If individuals define their own interests, how can society hold together and what happens to enduring cultural values, and if choice is governed by private individual preferences, and if we cannot judge or regulate the desires of individuals, how can they work to constitute a good or progressive or authentic collective life.\textsuperscript{95}

In consumer culture, the constant desire for more and unlimited need, and the constant production of more desires is widely taken to be normal for its denizens and essential for socio-economic order and progress. The idea of insatiable need is bound up with notions of cultural modernisation. It is the increased productivity of modern industry, is widely understood as both a response and a spur to the capacity of people’s desire to become increasingly sophisticated, refined, imaginative and personal, as well as their desire to advance themselves socially and economically. It is generally accepted that a commercial society is systemically dependent on the insatiability of needs and commodity production requires the sale of ever-increasing quantities of ever changing goods. And market society is, therefore, perpetually haunted by the possibility that needs might be either satisfied or unsatisfied. The concept of redefinition of leisure time as consumption time and the commodification of leisure has been playing crucial role in sustaining capitalist growth. It has also been argued that advertising and marketing have not only addressed demand-deficits for particular brands and products but also participated in changing values from a puritan orientation to savings, the future, preservation of goods and sobriety to a hedonistic ethos of spending and credit, orientation to the present, rapid technical and aesthetic obsolescence, the turnover of styles and goods and a playful culture. It is precisely known in this domain that the fundamental and ultimately self-rending cultural contradictions of modernity and post modernity arises with economic modernisations, which is characterised by rational planning, discipline and labour underpinned by a work ethic on the one hand and on the

other hand, it structurally depends upon fostering irrational desires and passions, a hedonistic orientation to gratification in the present which must surely undermine it.96

The ancient regime, in Europe, inherited the feudal idea, and a social structure comprising fixed and stable status and identity. It was a world in which social position is ascribed by birth and is fixed as part of a cosmological order in which each entity has an ordained place and has attached to its exclusive rights, privileges and obligations. In such society the latter include rights and obligations to a particular lifestyle. Hence, sumptuary laws are important forms of symbolic regulation as certain animals can be eaten only by nobles (poaching laws), guild members must wear uniforms, retainers must wear livery, and the right to move house should be conditional. In other words, crucial areas of consumption were fixed both in order to mark out positions within the status order, and also in order to regulate and police it. In the 17th and 18th centuries, revivals of sumptuary laws were rife in England as 'the great chain of being' began to rust away over with the birth of commercial society. The concept of individualism in modern society is founded on modern practices of market exchange that sweep away the possibility as well as the desirability of a fixed status order. The move 'from status to contract' makes social mobility of either upward or downward for status is a matter of principle and is now an achievement of the moment but not an attribute ascribed to one as part of an inheritance from the cosmic order. In a post-traditional society, social identity is no longer given or ascribed, must be constructed by individuals, but in the most bewildering of circumstances one's position in the status order no longer fixed because the order itself is unstable and changing and is represented through ever changing goods and images. And the idea of accessing goods is regulated purely by money, yet these goods still signify social position, and in increasingly complex and creative ways. Goods can always signify social identity, but in the fluid process of a post-traditional society, identity seems to be more a function of consumption than the other existing traditional ways round. However, the extreme version of this is found in the idea of post modernity where society appears as a kind of fancy dress party in which identities are designed, tried on, worn for the evening and then traded in for the next. Appearances of the images we construct on the surface of our bodies, our living spaces, our manners and our voices have become a

crucial way of knowing and identifying ourselves and each other. In the new and modern world, one relies on appearances. Consumer culture, under these conditions, is crucially about the negotiation of status and identity, and the practice and communication of social position. Regulation of these issues by tradition is replaced by negotiation and construction, and consumer goods are crucial to the way in which one makes up his social appearance, his social networks of lifestyle, status group etc. and his structure of social value.\(^\text{97}\)

Consumer culture most obviously involves an aestheticisation of commodities and their environment of advertising, packaging, shop display, point of sale material, product design etc, which have a long history within commercial capitalism. These features have been again come to the forefront since 1980s, and have been both evident and much discussed from the very dawn of commerce as the ordering principle of everyday modernity. Firstly problems of status and identity has been promoting a new flexibility in the relations between consumption, become more important in signaling status, both the structure of status and the structure of meaning become unstable, flexible, highly negotiable and appearance becomes a privileged site of strategic action in unprecedented ways. Secondly, the nature of market exchange seems intrinsically bound up with aestheticisation and commodities circulation happens through impersonal and anonymous networks. The split between producer and consumer extends beyond simple commissioning to production for an anonymous general public and to reconnect consumer and product within this mediated space both must be personified again, given meaning, and a meaning which connects them. All aspects of the product’s meaning and all channels through which its meaning can be constructed and represented become subject to intense and rationalised calculation.\(^\text{98}\) This gives rise to some of the central issues debate on consumer culture. The modern notion of the social subjects as a self-creating, self-defining individual is bound up with self-creation through consumption partly with the help the use of goods and services that we formulate ourselves as social identities and display these identities, which renders consumption as the privileged site of autonomy, meaning, subjectivity, privacy and freedom on the one hand. And on the other


hand, all these meanings around social identity and consumption become crucial to economic competition and rational organisation, become the objects of strategic action by dominating institutions. The sense of autonomy and identity in consumption is placed constantly under threat because the constant and constitutive controversy over whether consumption is a sphere of manipulation or freedom, whether the consumer is sovereign or subject, active or passive, creative or determined, and so on. Moreover, there has been a considerable shift in how theorists perceive the role of culture in social organisation. The critics of consumer culture assumes that in capitalist societies culture appeared to be at the service of economic and political power, for example, advertising, fosters those needs in individuals, which were most useful to the system, both in the sense of increasing demand for commodities and in the sense of identifying individuals with the commodity system. Much post-Fordist and postmodern theory, on the other hand, argues that culture is now organising the economy in crucial respects of the value of goods depends more on their cultural value rather than on their functional or economic value. However, advertising and marketing are no longer functions subordinate to production but are actually commanding discourses within firms and more and more commodities take the form not of material goods at all but of signs and representations. This logical development of consumer culture in advanced capitalism as a whole seems to be in the direction of the de-materialization of the economy.99

Summary

This chapter has analysed identity, identification, identity theory and approach in symbolic interactionism and ethnographic/biological frame by focusing on interaction, local, network and memory; identity and culture, popular culture, growth of consumer culture, its attributes, consumer, market and consumerism in relation to identity formation. The idea of identity of a parson starts with two important attributes: The one his name and the living position of the person in community. The other is person's personal, social, political, psychological sense of identification, which have been discussed in basic frame of western and American society. Identity theory in symbolic

interactionist thought and frame has been relevant for considering human being as both actors and reactors. It means that the meaning and conceptions of self are shaped in course of interaction. It critically produces both action and interaction. The geographic/biographic approach to identity is explained in the interwoven relationship of local, network and memory in the socio-cultural frame of action and reaction at both individual and collective level. The needs of identity in cultural terms have further pressed and promoted the debate. S. Hall asks who needs identity and replies with the help of two approaches of de-constructive critiques and irreversibility of the concept of identity. L. Grossberg starts with the particular challenges of power struggle, which cannot be understood with identity question and he considers identity as the central problematic of modern society. He sketches out logic of individuality, logic of temporality and logic of modernity that constitute identity in cultural frame. The chapter further proceeds to describe importance of culture on several aspects like elite, artistic activity, values, style, ideology, and current streams include science, religion, law, media, structure, etc. The ideas of E.B. Tyfor, Malinowski, A.R. Brown, F. Boas, and other are important to these issues. Milton Singer talks of pattern theory of culture where individual behaviour is discussed from simplest level of custom, dress, diet, to more complex, level of political, economic, and religious life. The two important traditions of culture- one is anthropological, and other category is sociological. The availability of artefacts like films, records, cloths, television, progress, modes of transport, dancing, music, theatre, sports, films, painting, etc., belong to popular culture. The various popular cultural traditions from Frankfurt School to United States, Soviet, and Canada, to Birmingham School have also been discussed. The last section of the chapter delineates the cross-cultural consumption, growth of consumer culture and consumerism, various attributes of consumer culture, and identity formation. The latter part of this section, describes growth and characteristics of consumer culture such as free choice, universal, impersonal, and a privileged medium for identity formation.