situation of face-to-face interaction. In conditions of modernity ... locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the 'visible form' of the locale conceals the distanced relations which determine its nature. (Giddens, 1990, p.18)

Places remain fixed; they are where we have 'roots'. Yet space can be 'crossed' in the twinkling of an eye — by jet, fax or satellite. Harvey calls this 'the annihilation of space through time' (1989, p.205).

4.2 TOWARDS THE GLOBAL POST-MODERN?

Some theorists argue that the general effect of these globalizing processes has been to weaken or undermine national forms of cultural identity. They argue that there is evidence of a loosening of strong identifications with the national culture, and a strengthening of other cultural ties and allegiances, 'above' and 'below' the level of the nationstate. National identities remain strong, especially with respect to such things as legal and citizenship rights, but local, regional and community identities have become more significant. Above the level of the national culture, 'global' identifications begin to displace, and sometimes override, national ones.

Some cultural theorists argue that the trend towards greater global interdependence is leading to the break-down of *all* strong cultural identities and is producing that fragmentation of cultural codes, that multiplicity of styles, emphasis on the ephemeral, the fleeting, the impermanent, and on difference and cultural pluralism which Kenneth Thompson described in Chapter 5, but on a global scale — what we might call *the global post-modern*. Cultural flows and global consumerism between nations create the possibilities of 'shared identities' — as 'customers' for the same goods, 'clients' for the same services, 'audiences' for the same messages and images — between people who are far removed from one another in time and space. As national cultures become more exposed to outside influences it is difficult to preserve cultural identities intact, or to prevent them from becoming weakened through cultural bombardment and infiltration.

People in small, apparently remote villages in poor, 'Third World' countries can receive in the privacy of their homes the messages and images of the rich, consumer cultures of the West, purveyed through TV sets or the transistor radio, which bind them into the 'global village' of the new communications networks. Jeans and trainers — the 'uniform' of the young in Western youth culture — are as ubiquitous in South-East Asia as in Europe or the US, not only because of the growth of the world-wide marketing of the youth consumer image, but because they are often actually produced in Taiwan or Hong Kong or South Korea for the New York, Los Angeles, London or Rome high-street shop. It is hard to think of 'Indian cooking' as something distinctive of the ethnic



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traditions of the Asian sub-continent when there is an Indian restaurant in the centre of every city and town in Britain.

The more social life becomes mediated by the global marketing of styles, places and images, by international travel, and by globally networked media images and communications systems, the more *identities* become detached — disembedded — from specific times, places, histories, and traditions, and appear 'free-floating'. We are confronted by a range of different identities, each appealing to us, or rather to different parts of ourselves, from which it seems possible to choose. It is the spread of consumerism, whether as reality or dream, which has contributed to this 'cultural supermarket' effect. Within the discourse of global consumerism, differences and cultural distinctions which hitherto defined *identity* become reducible to a sort of international *lingua franca* or global currency into which all specific traditions and distinct identities can be translated. This phenomenon is known as 'cultural homogenization'.

ACTIVITY 1

You should now read **Reading A**, 'Global culture', by Kevin Robins, which you will find at the end of this chapter. As you read, note:

- First, the account Robins offers of trends towards 'global standardization';
- Then, the turn in the argument: 'global standardization' also involves the 'marketing' of difference;
- Finally, what Robins then says about the growth of a new global– local nexus.