

## Culture and Identity – Sociology AQA

Revision notes based on CGP revision guide

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#### **Remember**

All evaluation is predicated on generic principles based on:

1. The different 'how and why' provided by different theories to different topics: for example, Marxist explanation versus functionalism, and structural explanations versus micro theories.
2. The comparison of each theoretical perspective for one topic – like the role of education – to culture and identity, for example. Thus, Marxist explanations of the role of education can be assessed with regard to the Marxist explanation of the role of the media, especially that both education and media are secondary agents of socialisation.

Any evaluation points below are key anchors for the above guidelines – application of generic principles of evaluation.

## 1.1: Different types of culture

**Culture** = a way of life; the language, beliefs, customs, values, knowledge, skills, roles and norms in society.

It is socially transmitted, passed on through **socialisation**.

**Norms** = behaving and thinking about what is considered acceptable versus unacceptable, 'normal' versus 'abnormal' (link with definition of abnormality).

**Values** = run deeper, what is important, right, just, fair, and what is not right or fair.

**Subculture** = an identifiable group within a mainstream culture; members share norms, values and behaviours that are different from the mainstream culture.

- Cultural differences versus subcultures, across and within and over time.
- Can be a form of resistance.

### Mass culture replaced folk culture

**Folk culture** = the culture of pre-industrial society; includes folk dances, songs, fairy tales, folk medicines and agricultural rituals.

Passed through mainly by word of mouth, and moved from villages to towns and cities.

Sociologists argue that folk societies were based on a strong sense of community and local culture that is eroded in urban societies that are characterised by individualism.

**Frankfurt school** = reduced sense of community is linked with the development of mass culture. Media also became a powerful agent of socialisation as a result, diminishing local cultures and accentuating the 'one big village' culture.

Linking with globalisation and its effects.

**Mass culture** = to describe the effects of the media, and new media, and therefore includes fashion and other types of consumption such as food chains.

### High culture and low culture

**The elite** (high SES) tends to be a distinct culture, different from the masses = **high culture** = operas, books, restaurants, art, etc.

Link with cultural capital and material deprivation, habitus, language codes.

The masses enjoy '**low culture**' = soap operas, reality TV, musicals, fast food etc. The problem is not just the difference between cultures, but the normative values attached to

each one compared with the other, and how it is linked with various other concepts, including psychological and sociological factors.

Some sociologists argue there is no such thing as 'low culture':

The idea has a negative connotation especially because of the ethical implications embedded within the concept.

**Bourdieu** (1984) = the idea of 'high culture' is used to provide elite groups with status that is maintained by passing on cultural knowledge.

**Marxists** argue that 'high culture' is the ruling class culture, and it is imposed on the working-class culture if only by defining it as 'better', 'desirable', and 'sophisticated'. The infrastructure determines the superstructure.

## Popular culture

### Active audience.

'Mass' and 'low' cultures are based on the idea of a passive audience, absorbing messages.

'Popular' culture is based on the idea of an active audience that is shaping and influencing culture.

## Global culture

**Giddens** (1990) – technological changes have led to globalisation, goods can be transported to anywhere in the world and information is transmitted instantaneously all over the world, and in various ways. Dissemination of values.

Penetration of non-Western culture = Bollywood, soap operas, etc.

**Klein** (2000) – TNCs such as Coca-Cola and Nike, are involved in cultural production. Some argue that TNCs' power overrides the power of the traditional nation-state.

Dissemination of values = Diet Coke is not just a drink; Nike is not just sport shoes.

**Critics of globalisation** = there is a concern that globalisation would replace cultural diversity with Western culture: cultural imperialism and cultural homogeneity.

**Supporters of globalisation** = it is a two-way process of exchange; thus, they emphasise multiculturalism, plurality of cultures and hybridity of 'pick-and-mix' culture. And also, of identities that could be in constant influx.

## 1.2: Theories of culture

Structural consensus versus conflict versus postmodernism and interactionism – would apply different perspectives based on their core/meta-argument.

### Marxism

False consciousness, perpetuating the conflict.

**Capitalism** creates **false needs** and **commodity fetishism**.

**Frankfurt school** = began as a group of neo-Marxist thinkers (Theodor Adorno from the Authoritarian Personality, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse) in 1930s Germany who combined Marxism and psychology, especially Freud (together with politics, philosophy).

**Frankfurt school** = existing social theory cannot explain reactionary and factionary politics. Also, its members were critical of the impact of technology and capitalism on society.

**Adorno** and others criticised modern culture industry as a vehicle for state monopoly capitalism. Mass culture encourages us to think that we need to buy things which we don't really need; mass consumption. These needs are not at par with 'genuine' needs that cannot be compromised such as food and shelter, yet they are perceived as such in a never-ending cycle; thus, they are 'false needs'.

**Commodity fetishism** = when false needs create obsessions towards consuming goods that are 'must-have stuff': new mobile phones, designer labels etc.

Frankfurt school argued that commodity fetishism is the modern equivalent to religion. Capitalism creates desires that it can satisfy, and we therefore think that capitalism is good and fair because it provides us with what we were made to think that we need.

- ✚ A form of **addiction** = similar to Marx's claim that religion is an opium for the masses, here, consumerism is the modern addiction.

**Neo-Marxists** = argue that the working class is oppressed by the ruling class and capitalism via culture, and the emphasis on ideology.

**Frankfurt school** = the main way to transmit capitalist ideology is through media.

However, this ideology is distorted, presenting capitalism as just and fair and thereby cultivating false consciousness.

Mass culture and its related consumption assisted capitalism by destroying the sense of communities and emphasising conformity and obedience.

Media's use of horoscopes, for example, encourages the idea of life being determined by luck and fate, factors outside our control = external locus-of-control.

Consequently, mass media undermines the potential for a revolution because a revolution requires awareness and relevant proactive action to change reality.

Working-class people, via capitalism, are learning to be **passive and helpless**. This ideology is promoted by mass media.

In addition, **'dulling the mind'** of the working class.

**Other neo-Marxists disagree with this point of view:**

**Antonio Gramsci** (1971) – the idea of a single mass culture is an oversimplistic representation of modern reality.

Capitalism creates a **hegemony** of a dominant culture, but it is not the only one.

**Gramsci** argued that capitalism sort of tolerated oppositional cultures, as marginal to its cultural hegemony. This is another capitalist 'trick' to cultivate the illusion of fairness etc.

**Stuart Hall**, from the **Centre of Contemporary Studies** – youth subcultures help working class young people to resist capitalist values and appear more 'active' and less passive. This view is less negative than other Marxist views which emphasise the passivity. Such passivity means there is little hope for change, because the situation is likely to be perpetuated.

These more positive Marxist views tend to emphasise popular culture rather than mass culture, because popular culture involves an active thus less passive audience, that can exercise some level of judgement and input into media consumption.

## **Functionalism**

Structures and organisations in society function to allow society to operate smoothly and in harmony. Various social institutions work in cooperation beyond the fact that each one of them has to fulfil specific functions, such as education or media.

**Social control** = has a more positive angle, because of crime and deviance serving an important positive function in functionalism. Conformity and obedience.

**Durkheim** = culture as a social glue, bonding people together = **cohesion** = solidarity and consensus.

Norms and values that are embedded in the culture are internalised = identity, and the result = **consensus**, Durkheim called it the '**collective consciousness of society**' = shared values and norms.

This also assists in socialising people to appropriate behaviours, and no less important, social roles and jobs.

**Evaluation** = oversimplistic, there would be no increasing crime if that process was plain-sailing, let alone its correlation with sociodemographic factors.

## Postmodernism

### Culture is diverse.

Rejection of functionalists' outdated ideas that there is a shared consensus of values in culture, or in a dominant culture.

Modern contemporary life is characterised by pluralism and diversity. It is dynamic and fluid and in constant change.

Thus, they reject the idea that culture helps to unify people in society, because there are many different diverse cultures, and they shift and change, and the individual's identity 'flows' with these shifts. Constant dynamic process.

**Stuart Hall** – this postmodern diversity results in **fragmented identities**. People construct their identity based on diverse cultures with different layers that can include different combinations between nationality, gender, ethnicity, social class etc. This process also led to the construction of 'new' identities such as 'Black British' and 'British Muslim': it denotes there are distinct characteristics attached to such identities, creating differentiation between them and others.

## Interactionism

Culture is determined by **individuals** = by individuals' behaviours and interactions.

These are **action theories** = emphasise individuals' actions as opposed to structural theories that emphasise the structures of society, in consensus or in conflict. Action theories do not reject the role of either society or individuals, rather, it considers their interaction and mutual influences.

Individuals have **free will and free choice** anchored in their own ideas = mental processes, thoughts, values, etc, they can be the master of their existence; acting with agency. Social interactions mean individuals do not live in isolation thus they influence one another but it is dynamic and not by mechanical determinism that is implied in behavioural approaches in psychology.

Culture developed from the bottom of society, by individuals, and if people change the culture will change in accordance. In contrast to up-down approach (structural).

**Goffman** (1972) – studied pedestrian interaction on busy Western streets and found that cultural norms associated with the action of walking on the street prevented people from colliding with one another.

This is linked with unspoken rules such as not looking at people for a long time and avoiding conversation, allowing people to walk freely without bumping into one another.

## Feminism

During the 1970s and 1980s, many feminists examined the link between popular culture and gender socialisation. Evidence from these studies demonstrate that **popular culture is saturated with stereotypes of women as housewives or sex objects**. These representations are reinforced by other factors that consciously or unconsciously entrench these stereotypes.

Magazines promoting traditional female roles, The Sun Page 3 girls, etc.

Linking with types of feminism.

## 1.3: Socialisation and social roles

**Socialisation** = the passing on of culture, important for internalisation.

**Primary agent** = **the family**, particularistic values and norms.

- Learning skills, knowledge, norms and values.

### How do children learn:

- Imitation of parents/guardians.
- Rewards for socially acceptable behaviours.
- Sanctions/punishments for socially 'deviant' behaviours.
- Social learning theory and Freud's super-ego. Conscience, morality.
- Internalisation of norms and values versus compliance.

- Deterministic, nurture, acquired, not innate or biological.

**Secondary agents:** universalistic values.

Via institutions and groups.

1 – Education.

2 – Peer group.

3 – Religion.

4 – Media.

5 – Workplace.

### Social Roles

Different **social roles** are the result of socialisation; associated with status.

**Status** = position in a hierarchy, denotes a specific level of recognition and respect.

**Role** = the behaviours and actions one takes because of one's status.

A role = a set of norms that are attached with a given status.

### Status can be ascribed or achieved:

**Ascribed** = fixed at birth, inherited.

**Achieved** = not inherited, achieved via education, work and effort, by merit = potential for social mobility = to acquire a status different to the one the individual was born into, different to the parents and the environment born into.

Linkin with differential achievements, self-fulfilling prophecy (labelling theory) and patterns of crime.

**Social constructs** = ideas and behaviours that are invented by society in contrast to being given by the laws of nature.

**Identity** = composed by several social constructs (in sociology and compare with psychology), identities elements:

**1 – Social class** = differences between different classes: lower, middle and upper classes = based on money, education, occupational prestige, family connections etc, that are social rather than biological.

The challenge of SES and the gradations within the middle class.

**2 – Sexuality** = what kind of sexual behaviour is socially considered as normal.

**3 – Gender** = based on social expectations about masculine versus feminine traits and behaviours, in contrast to actual biological sex differences.

**4 – Disability** = socially constructed expectations of disability, often disabled individuals are underestimated, considered limited beyond their actual disability.

**5 – Nationality** = the link between people and the nation they belong to, socially constructed around expectations of loyalty to one's country.

**6 – Ethnicity** = can complement or compete with national identity, socially constructed around expectations regarding shared language, culture and subculture.

**7 – Age** = socially constructed understanding of childhood and old age especially, its characteristics and restrictions for different age groups.

## 1.4: Theories of socialisation

- ✚ Think about the core arguments of theories and juggle your evaluation by applying contrasting arguments into the explanation of socialisation, as applied to education, crime and deviance, etc.
- ✚ Integrate the differences between primary and secondary agents, especially for example when there is no shared ground: primary agent is socialising for values and norms that are different from the secondary agent, such as the education system.
- ✚ The same strategy with regard to mainstream culture and subcultures.

### Functionalism

If socialisation is the passing on of values and norms, then by definition it puts limits on people's behaviour – because it directs behaviour, places boundaries and 'tells' people what to do and what not to do.

Consequently, according to functionalism, social behaviour is regulated by social control: formal and informal.

**Durkheim** = called that regulation '**constraint**', also known as '**social control**'.

Socialisation creates consensus, shared values and norms; and conformity and obedience are essential to maintain that consensus.

High emphasis on internalisation of values and norms rather than compliance: otherwise, a criminal learns not be caught rather than it is 'bad' to be a criminal.

People are rewarded for conformity and punished for failure to conform/obey rules.

**Parsons** = argued that the nuclear family is key to primary socialisation of children. He called the family as an agent, a '**personality factory**'.

Education and religion are key secondary agents, but the potency of religion is significantly reduced at the expense of the rise of the power of the media, partly due to globalisation.

## Marxism

Institutions/agents of socialisation are used to socialise the working class into accepting their own **exploitation**, without even understanding that they are exploited: **false consciousness** and **indoctrination**. The result is perpetuation of the conflict between the ruling and working class. In that respect, socialisation is a key mechanism, and therefore strongly connected with the focus of neo-Marxists on the role of ideology.

The perpetuation of the conflict is enhanced not only because of the control of the ruling class on the means of production, but also by the ruling class's **control of the production of ideas**: reinforced through socialisation.

**Marxists** agree with functionalists that education promotes conformity, only this conformity is not towards values shared by all, but the values shared by the ruling class and for the protection of the ruling class, that are being craftily imposed on the working class, to make them think the system is just, fair and beneficial to them.

## Feminism

Socialisation of children is aimed to pass on the ideals of the **patriarchy** and thereby it perpetuates patriarchal power.

Initial socialisation by the **family as a primary agent**, promotes conformity to traditional gender roles, with all their biases and unfairness.

**Oakley** (1982) argued that parents socialise children to conform to behaviours and expectations that are matching gender-appropriate ways in traditional patriarchal ideas.

**Liberal feminists** = gender equality and opportunities.

**Radical feminists** = the system is rotten to the core and requires revolutionary changes to eradicate patriarchal indoctrination, and not some unsatisfactory reforms.

## Interactionism

Socialisation is an active process, a two-way dynamic exchange between individuals and society and all its sociocultural institutions.

**Handel** (2006) = three key stages in childhood development that are important in the socialisation process during childhood:

**1** – Children learn how to **communicate with others**, with little understanding of how others see them.

**2** – **A sense of empathy** is developed = understanding the feelings of others, less centralised existence.

**3** – **A sense of self** = being able to see themselves from the perspective of another person and change their behaviour to influence how others see them.

**George Herbert Mead** (1925) argued that **play** is essential to developing a sense of self in children. He agreed with functionalism that institutions socialise into shared values and norms, but at the same time he argued that social control is nonetheless dependent on how people relate to others as well – and that is the two-way exchange element in interactionism.

Additionally, people **can rebel** against socialisation, they aren't passive slaves to the impact of socialisation agents.

Indoctrination thus is not the only way to socialise people.

See therefore the influence of the **peer group** and **peer pressure** especially during adolescence.

In addition, there are significant individual and cultural differences that play a role in the link between primary agent = the family, particularistic values, and other secondary agents = universalistic values. There isn't always a clear-cut match between primary and secondary agents.

✚ Consider **subcultures** differences as a prominent factor.

## Postmodernism

Focus on **personal choice**, diversity, free will and choice, lack of determinism, 'mix-and-match', constant change and exchange, nothing is fixed, fluidity.

**Lyotard** (1979) = there are various competing versions of knowledge and truth in postmodern society and people have the choice what to listen to and what to adopt.

Lyotard argued that even the most powerless individuals have some measure of control over the knowledge and ideas they are exposed to and adopt, and no single institution has a monopoly on ideas and their transmission.

This reduced version of the power of institutions is even more self-evident with the rise of media, especially new media, and the effects of globalisation.

## 1.5: The self, identity and difference

### Identity

Identity is a concept with somewhat different meanings in psychology compared with sociology, but there is a strong link between these distinct meanings.

**Identity** = at a basic level includes basic details of facts about the individual such as name, age, etc.

**In psychology** = enduring distinctive traits and qualities.

**In sociology** = it refers to the way we see ourselves and the way others see us. However, it is not simple, because it refers to social identity, and social identity is linked with our social roles, and social roles are linked with expectations attached to these roles regarding what is acceptable to 'match' the social role. What is socially constructed and what isn't.

### Structuralism

Structuralists argue that identity is caused by **social constructs**.

Institutions socialise people into shared identities and values. Different theories disagree about what are these values, and who benefits from them.

**Functionalists** = social institutions allocate people to different roles in society based on the best fit for their talents, efforts, and achievements.

**Merton** (1957) argues that all institutions have **manifest functions** (=intended outcomes) and **latent functions** (=hidden or unintended outcomes). For example, the manifested function of the education system is to provide skills, knowledge and opportunities for social mobility. However, the latent function is to maintain socially constructed ideas about the kind of future a person can expect, and that is predicated on one's social class identity.

In accordance, studies have found that wealthier university students are expected to be prepared for highly prestigious jobs, whereas poorer counterparts are expected to be prepared for jobs that are less prestigious.

**Marxists** = people's identity depends on their **social class position** in a capitalist unequal system between the ruling and working class.

Cultural values and norms that influence identity are created and maintained by the ruling class and for the ruling class, to protect and perpetuate the capitalist system that benefits the ruling class and exploits the working class. The working class, however, is indoctrinated to think that their predicament is not a predicament at all, and that the system is just and fair.

Ideas about cultural consumption can cause people to develop different class identities and these ideas are socially constructed.

**Feminists** = argue that the patriarchal structure of society has influenced gender identity leading people to accept and adhere to gender stereotypes about male and female identity.

## Postmodernism

**Postmodernists** argue that **people can construct their own identity**. Moreover, this identity can change and shift. Therefore, **free will** and **free choice** and **active individuals**.

Structures are no longer the most important elements in the construction of identity.

A unique identity can be generated by tapping into different cultural sources, rather than the traditional one single source.

Consequently, there is a growing tendency, fuelled by globalisation and media, towards identity that is less stable, leading to changes in identity across time, and thereby the related evolving diversity.

Critics argue that 'to be whatever we like and want to be' is good for people with money and status (not even education!), the components of social class.

## Goffman's dramaturgical model

**Goffman** (1956) argued that identity is deliberately constructed.

Goffman believed that people could control the way they present themselves and their identity during social interactions.

He used the metaphor of **society as 'one big stage'** and people are **actors**, and their performance depends on different roles they need to play on the frontstage environment – compared with being 'backstage' when a person doesn't need/want to play the role and it is where the parts of personality and identity that were hidden on the front stage are revealed.

**Frontstage** = public areas, consciously and unconsciously cultivating impression for the audience. Public sphere.

**Backstage** = private areas, home, more relaxed. Private sphere.

**Role distance** = the gap between the role a person plays on the frontstage compared with backstage.

A person can construct an identity by controlling the impression that the person gives to other people by acting out any specific role such as a student, a teacher, a manager, etc.

### Cooley's 'looking-glass self'

**Cooley** (1902) argued that the way we think about how other people see us, affects our behaviour and self-image = **the looking-glass self**. It is a reflection of how we think others see us, how we appear to others, and how we act in accordance with this reflection. Thus, our sense of self and our identity is constructed by what we think others think of us.

This construction is evolving also by how others respond to us.

He argued that **we are always constructing our identity** at an unconscious level, because we always imagine ourselves through how other people see us, and we change accordingly. Thus, we become the person that we think others think about us.

People are, however, aware that sometimes their personal behaviours and views are different from social norms and that helps a person define who he is in opposition to other people.

### Labelling theory

**Becker** (1963), similar argument to Cooley's idea of the looking-glass self.

The way people see us, and **label** us, directly influences our behaviour, and also our identity and how we see ourselves and what we expect from ourselves based on expectations of our label by others.

For example, **self-fulfilling prophecy** and low educational achievement. Being labelled as 'bad' or a 'failure' leads to failure and lack of accomplishments.

**Becker** also argued that strong labels can evolve into **master status** thereby replacing all other 'micro' level labels. This is especially true for crime and deviance related labels that turn into master status and become the main source of identity.

**Wilkins** (1964) had found that people who were labelled as 'deviant' or 'outsiders' were more likely to join a subculture which provided a sense of belonging and at the same time accentuated greater differences between them and the rest of society. If the mainstream culture is not a 'home' providing a sense of belonging, then a subculture is formed as a substitute.

Labelling theory is a form of interactionism because people can adopt or reject the label, thus, they play a role in the way they direct their behaviour and build their identity. In which case the more important question becomes how and why some individuals accept or reject any given label; what makes the difference between them?

✚ **When evaluating any identity, compare with theories and other identities.**

## 1.6: Class identities

**Social class** is an important component of identity.

Society is stratified by social class.

**Stratification** = the division of society into layers: richest and most powerful at the top, and the poorer and most powerless at the bottom.

In between these top and bottom layers are strata; layers are organised in a hierarchy.

Social class is the main stratification system in modern Western and capitalist societies.

### **Social class – definitions**

**Marx's** divided society into only two classes = the **bourgeoisie** and the **proletariat**.

**UK census** – relies on a scale based on the **job** a person does.

Sociologists customarily refer to four basic social classes:

**1 – the upper class = wealthy and powerful, originally landowning aristocracy,** inherited wealth. Today's may include self-made mega-rich people.

**2 – the middle class** = earn their money from non-manual jobs such as teachers, doctors etc. This class is getting bigger because there is a consistent increase in non-manual jobs parallel to less manual jobs. Also diverse within, different levels.

**3 – the working class** = earn their money from manual jobs such as farm labourers and factory workers. Poorer life opportunities compared with the middle class.

**4 – the underclass** = earn their money from state benefits, including long-term unemployed and homeless people. This class is with the lowest or non-existing life chances (New Right **Charles Murray**).

### Traditional components of **SES** socioeconomic status =

1 – Education.

2 – Income.

3 – Occupational prestige (highly skilled etc).

- ✚ Consider the discrepancy between education, income and occupational prestige when conducting evaluation. Influencers with massive earning with no higher formal education, for example.

### Class culture affects identity

Sociologists often link identity to social class, and that relates to **class culture** and class identity.

**Sugarman** (1970) argued that middle-class and working-class children are socialised into different values and norms. Middle class = encouraged to plan for the future, **deferred gratification**, that is conducive to planning and working towards a professional career; as opposed to **immediate gratification** for working class children.

**Charles Murray** (1994), New Right, suggested that certain values keep people poor including thinking that it is acceptable to live on state benefits long-term or for life. These values are passed on from one generation to the next = **the underclass**.

**Scott** (1991) examined how the upper class is utilising top private schools (such as Eton and Rugby) to nurture social networks including via top universities.

In the state education system, middle-class children tend to form pro-school subcultures such as homework clubs and they are more likely to be placed in top sets, as opposed to

working-class children that are more likely to form anti-school subcultures and in lower sets, and end up with working class jobs.

✚ Link with lack of social mobility, differential achievements and patterns of crime.

## Negative stereotypes about social class and identity

**Skeggs and Loveday** (2012) investigated the effects of negative stereotyping on working-class identity and sense of self.

The working-class participants were characterised as thinking they are being held responsible for being born into a system with structural inequality, selfish and greedy, and according to what they argued, they thought of themselves as particularly loyal and caring compared with middle and upper class.

The study found that struggle is a key part in the performance of working-class identity = lower classes accepted class oppression and endured poverty because they didn't feel they have the power to change their situation.

Consider the relevant cluster of psychological characteristics such as low self-esteem, external locus-of-control and learned helplessness.

They also argued that members of the middle class often attribute negative stereotypes to people from lower classes and feel they have the moral high ground.

Additionally, they argued that people need some level of social, cultural, and economic capital before they attach any social value to themselves.

## Bourdieu and cultural capital

**Bourdieu** argued that there are different kinds of capital in society:

1 – **Economic capital** = income and wealth.

2 – **Social capital** = being a member of a specific group or network.

3 – **Cultural capital** = the knowledge and skills that are required to fit into the higher level/class of society. Also includes related values, such as the value of education.

He argued that the higher class maintains its position by passing on cultural capital including basic aspects such as table manners, the way to speak and high culture.

Middle-class families attempt to develop cultural capital and pass it on to their children to improve their prospects; good books, museums, etc.

In contrast, working-class families do not have cultural capital and also don't try to develop it, because the value of cultural capital is part of the cultural capital itself.

**Bourdieu** argued that social capital is required to support cultural capital, and also economic capital.

### Class is no longer the most important influential factor

**Sociologists agree** that identity used to be predicated on social class, especially the way in which people earn their money.

**Many postmodernists** argue that nowadays identity is prominently based on how and where people spend their money = **patterns of consumption**. Additionally, leisure activities are no longer based on class.

**Postmodernists** argue that the distinction between high and low culture and its association with social class and identity is no longer as relevant as it used to be, especially given the influence of media and globalisation and the consolidation of mass culture with an active audience.

Nowadays people's lifestyle is based on personal choice more than anything else, including not on social class. Middle-class people are engaged in working-class traditional activities such as bingo and the pub and vice versa. This argument however ignores the powerful role that structural constraints can play in personal choice and resources. Can be seen as a naïve argument, wishful thinking.

**Saunders** (1990), New Right, argued that nowadays individuals' identity is not based on social class because old traditional divisions disappeared giving way towards a society with equal opportunities. This argument ignores weak social mobility and the link between sociodemographic factors and achievement.

**Marshall** (1988) suggested that the working class still perceives itself as working class, but it is more **fragmented** than it used to be because of the decline of traditional industries.

- ✚ The middle class cannot be nowadays considered to be a single homogenous class because there are important variations and gradations within it. The same for the weakening correlation between education, income and occupational prestige.

## 1.7: Gender identities

### Sex is not the same as gender

**Sex** = the biological differences between men and women. Binary.

**Gender** = the aspects of masculinity and femininity that are not biological but rather they are cultural and learned through socialisation. Also used to be binary, but not anymore.

Sociologists focus on gender because of the examination of gender inequality in education, employment, media representations and so forth.

### Family: the primary agent of gender socialisation

**Ann Oakley** (1974) identified four ways in which family socialise children into aspects that are related to masculinity and femininity.

**1 – Manipulation** = parents encourage ‘normal’ behaviours to match the child biological sex and discourage what is perceived to be deviant from such norms = such as reinforcing pretty dresses for girls, not to shout or hit for girls etc.

**2 – Canalisation** = parents direct their children’s interests in ways that are specific to their biological sex = such as ‘boyish’ toys for boys (construction Lego, war toys) and girls with beauty toys, dolls etc.

**3 – Verbal appellation** = parents can use language and names to define what’s appropriate = for a girl, ‘you are an angel’, for a boy, ‘you are a cheeky monkey’.

**4 – Different activities** = parents engage children in different aspects of the household in distinct ways, for example, girls help with washing the dishes and sweeping the floor and boys with washing the car and putting up shelves.

### School: secondary agent of gender socialisation

Girls and boys are treated differently in the education system at various stages.

Education passes on gender stereotyped aspects about how males and females should behave in ways that are appropriate for the sex/gender. This difference can affect either boys or girls negatively, not only girls.

Despite recent changes (see educational differentiation) there is still a gender difference in subject choice. Boys are more likely to study physics and IT at A-level, and girls are more likely to study art and English.

**Skelton** (2002) argue that schools both create gender stereotypes and also reinforce the ones that were learnt at home.

- Consider a possible 'match' versus a contradiction between primary and secondary agents.
- Consider the impact of other secondary agents such as the media – Hollywood movies with women who tend to be 'weak'. But not only!
- And consider potential conflicts between the mainstream culture and subcultures.
- Consider social media platforms where the individual can find a place that reflects one's own identity. Link with postmodernism.

**Magazines** = especially teenage magazines, traditional stereotypes and objectification of women and relevant social roles.

**Wolf** (1990) advertising and representations, suggested that advertising tend to present an unattainable 'ideal image' for women, reinforcing the idea that a woman's primary concern is to look good for men.

## Gender stereotypes can affect employment opportunities

Traditional gender roles can influence the opportunities and experiences of men and women in the workplace and at home.

**According to Social Trends 38** (2008), 19% of men are employed as managers or senior officials, compared with 11% of women.

Despite major improvements, it is still difficult for women to reach the top level (glass ceiling is being pushed higher...) especially in traditionally 'male' professions such as judges and pilots, etc.

## Gender roles are changing

### Changes in gender roles – for females

**Sue Sharpe**, in the 1970s, found about teenage girls' attitudes that they value and prioritise marriage and motherhood. When she examined attitudes of teenage girls in the 1990s, she had found a shift towards career ambitions.

**Gittins** (1993) examined rising divorce rates and suggested they demonstrate the change in attitudes of women towards marriage and individual happiness, with the lack of willingness to accept traditional gender roles with passivity.

An important factor in this shift is that more women are working than before (including running businesses from home), higher earners and sometimes sole earners = **feminisation of the workforce**. Consequently, there are more empowered role models for women.

**Ann Campbell** (1984), there is also an increase in women's deviant behaviour, for example, girls' gangs.

### Changes in gender roles – for men

**Jonathan Gershuny** (1992) = childcare and housework are increasingly shared between men and women compared with past patterns.

**'New man' ideas** = connected with his feminine side, shares and contributes to all child rearing and housework. **Metrosexual men**.

**Househusbands** = more common than in the past, loss of traditional jobs, higher earning power of women.

Increased socialisation for boys with the traditional traits and values of girls (caring, communicative) and vice versa, for girls to be dominant and ambitious.

**Crisis of masculinity** = some sociologists argue that these changes have led to a crisis of masculine identity for men especially = where they no longer know what they need to be and are expected to do = a form of a vacuum = they no longer 'fit' with the traditional roles yet unclear about how exactly to be and fit with the new ones. Linking with the argument of anomie and its related confusion.

### Masculinity becomes feminised in the media

**Rutherford** (1996) = images of men in the media are now used in similar ways to the traditional representations of women = objectification, stripper male groups etc.

Cosmetics and toiletries.

Half-naked male models.

**Feminisation of masculinity**. **Wilkinson** (1997) suggested that male and female values are increasingly blended, a blurring of the boundaries, in ways that are similar to general changes about identity and its fluidity, as emphasised by postmodernists.

**Postmodernists** = the decline of the division between men and women (as any other traditional divisions), blending and fluidity, 'mix-and-match' culture of identity, **hybridisation**, consumption and leisure are key factors shaping any type of identity.

## 1.8: Ethnic identities

Sociologists argue that ethnicity rather than race is an appropriate and useful term to employ when analysing society.

**Race** = classifying people based on visible biological features such as skin colour and bone structure. Racism involves the idea that some races are inferior versus superior to others.

**Ethnicity** = people that belong to a certain ethnic group share the same culture, values and norms and the same socialisation.

### Ethnic minorities have different cultural features

Ethnic minorities in the UK are often people whose families originally came from former colonies such as Jamaica and India, from the 1950s onwards.

The 2011 census argue that 14% of the population in England and Wales are from ethnic minorities.

The cultural features are the foundations of each ethnic minority and provide the **ethnic identity** = values, customs, religion, diet, language, clothing etc.

Since the 1950s, alongside wider changes, ethnic minorities and their related identities have experienced **significant changes**, including considering **globalisation** and matching influences by the media.

Despite these changes, culture that is based on shared origin remains a significant factor influencing ethnic identity, particularly with the older generation.

### Socialisation of children into an ethnic identity

Socialisation into ethnic identity is predicated primarily on the **primary socialisation, the family**, particularistic values rather than universalistic values.

**Rosemary Hill** (1987) = found that the family is very important in the Leicester Asian community. However, there is a **generational conflict** between parents and children from ethnic minorities because the children learn many 'Western' ideas about life, work, etc from their white peers.

**Ballard** (1994) disagrees with the argument about generational conflict and argue that the young generation of Asian **learn to negotiate** between the home front and the outside world.

## Ethnic identity and secondary socialisation

Racism in British society can affect secondary socialisation.

**Gillborn** (1990) and others, suggest that African-Caribbean pupils are often labelled as being a 'problem' by teachers; can lead to self-fulfilling prophecy and anti-school subcultures. Fulfilling expectations and accepting the label can lead to the formation of a master status – link with crime and deviance.

**Peer group** = can be influential as well as a secondary agent. Some sociologists argue that young African-Caribbean males are more easily influenced by popular culture and tend to encourage each other to be interested in expensive consumer goods such as cars, designer clothes etc, rather than in education and its related values.

## Ethnic identities as a response to racism

When African-Caribbean and Asian families arrived in Britain they faced a significant degree of **prejudice** from the white population.

That contributed to people from ethnic minorities feeling there is no point in trying to integrate into the mainstream culture and society.

One way in which a degree of discrimination in work, housing, and education, influenced ethnic minorities is by individuals 'clinging' into their identity and thus resisting integration and assimilation into mainstream culture. It can be linked with marginalisation and differential achievement.

The idea of a '**melting pot**' compared with the '**salad bowl**' and compared with complete assimilation = that doesn't undermine the role and need for integration.

**Cashmore and Troyna** (1990) show how people in ethnic minorities were seeking support from each other, for example in religious gathering etc.

## The emergence of new ethnic identities

**Stuart Hall** (1996) emphasises new identities that are rather varied. He argued that the traditional ideas about the distinction between black/white is less dominant and is being replaced by different kinds of Asian ethnicity and black ethnicity.

This **diversity** is similar to what we see with gender identities. Less binary.

Hall also argued that, in general, it seems that other kind of identities become more prominent at the expense of the traditional division of black/white ethnic identity, especially, gender, sexuality and class. And the younger generation can be 'creative' in how ethnic identity is maintained alongside mainstream culture and identity.

**Hybrid identity** = some sociologists emphasise how young people from ethnic minorities are developing hybrid identity that is based on **mixture of influences** and elements. **Gilroy** (1987), for example, examined how black and white culture is influencing one another in mutual ways.

**Modood et al.** (1997), found that ethnic identities were changing and characteristics such as ethnic cloths become less significant for the young generation compared with their parents. Second generation immigrants are more likely to perceive themselves as British compared with first generation immigrants. That signifies a form of integration and assimilation.

**Basil** (1997) suggested that ethnic identities are dynamic and changing. The study interviewed British Asian schoolgirls and demonstrated how they 'mix-and-match' elements from Asian culture ethnicity, language and religion and implant it in the context of British mainstream culture. This created a unique type of identity.

## 1.9: National identities

**National identity** = feeling of belonging to a country and its people.

**Durkheim** = argued that nationalism and national identity play an important function because it makes people feel they belong to a larger group. Some also argue that nationalism replaced the function of religion in providing this feeling and the understanding of the meaning of their lives.

Because national identity involves the inclusion of members in any given larger group, it demarcates the boundaries of this group and its values, and by definition, it excludes those who do not 'belong' to that group, and in a way, belong to a different group. Therefore, national identity is strongly linked with the social covenant, legitimacy and stability. It is destabilising to have a polarisation/cleavage with regard to national identity because it needs to be an umbrella identity under which all other identities clustered.

The negative consequences mean also that if a person consider being British as being white, then it excludes black and Asian British individuals. Much of it, therefore, has to do with **perception** = not only the formal aspects of citizenship, but the perception with regard to what does it mean to be British, for example.

It is important to note that with regard to national identity, consensus is paramount, because the civic-political community has to be united around this overarching identity in order to maintain stability and cohesion. While diversity in other identities could be less problematic, it is more of a concern along the line of national identity because of the central role of the nation-state. However, the nation-state is also in decline in the age of globalisation, international corporations and organisations such as the EU.

- The role of **subcultures** in particular is important.
- Link with devolution in the UK and federal systems such as the USA.

Components of national identity are heavily reliant on **symbols and rituals**.

**Symbols of national identity** = flag, national anthem, currency.

**National rituals** = events that mark the expectation of what people need to think about – the meaning of their national identity as being British, French, etc. For example, Remembrance Sunday = processions and ceremonies to remember British soldiers who died in wars.

### National identity is a product of socialisation

Sociologists argue that people are socialised into a national identity and culture via agents of socialisation such as the education system and mass media.

**The National Curriculum** = all children must learn about Shakespeare.

**The hidden curriculum** = celebrating national events such as the Queen's Jubilee, national football matches, assemblies etc.

**Media** = through broadcasting national rituals like the Royal funerals, state opening of Parliament, etc.

**Stuart Hall** (1992) argued that each country has its own unique collection of stories about itself and its people, teaching how wars were won, what they were about, significant sporting victories, etc, that are being passed on from one generation to the next, and thus create the shared sense of belonging.

This can also be considered as a collective narrative, which is nowadays can be challenged by postmodernist ideas about individuals' narratives.

The question is how this sense of identity is constructed alongside all other identities, especially ethnic and racial.

### Traditional national identity is on the decline

Especially in alliance with the **decline of the nation-state due to globalisation**, sociologists and political scientists argue that there is a consistent erosion of the traditional sense of national identities: what does it mean to be British? Scottish? American? How does a sense of national identity 'sit' with emerging diversity and postmodernist ideas?

**International businesses** such as McDonald's have a presence all around the world. Many British citizens work for foreigner companies that are based in other countries. These changes are all part of the process of globalisation that is sustained by instantaneous access to media all over the world in real time.

However, mainstream TV, fashion, music, and film industry are dominated by American culture and products. That led some to argue that all other cultures are progressively losing their sense of national and cultural identity.

**Britian** = multi-ethnic with many different groups, religions, and languages; with significant regional differences. Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland = have their own distinct and strong national identities. **The devolution** under the New Labour government reinforced this distinct national identity by providing more political power to the central government of distinct regions, such as the National Assembly for Wales in 1998.

### The emergence of new national identities

New **multicultural national identities** are gradually replacing the former traditional 'Britishness'.

Various outside influences are integrated into British traditions in food, fashion, movies, etc: Tikka masala can be considered by many as the new 'national dish' in Britain, for example.

Some factors, however, can be obstacles in the process of the emergence of new national identities. **Racism**, for example.

By definition, national identity creates a distinct difference between one and another, between 'us' and 'them'.

In a diverse globalised society, the relationship between mainstream culture with its diversity of identities, and subcultures, with its own identities is becoming delicate socially and politically.

## 1.10: Sexuality and identity

**Sexuality** = the individual's sexual orientation: heterosexual, homosexual, asexual, bisexual, and other forms of orientations.

Society can try to control sexual orientation, for various reasons that are embedded in values and beliefs. Link with gender identity.

**Cultural differences and subcultures** = attitudes towards sexual orientations can differ significantly between cultures and subcultures, and over time within the same culture, for example, homosexuality in Britain used to be illegal.

**Weeks** (1986) argued that sexuality is a social and historical construct, thus, it takes its meaning depending on the society and time period, and therefore it can change overtime, between and within cultures.

Monogamous heterosexual relationships were the norm in mainstream British and other Western cultures and those who deviated from the norm were perceived negatively with significant informal sanctions, and sometimes formal, like in the case of homosexuality being illegal, or with some formal constraints on homosexual marriages, having children and so forth.

**Agents of socialisation**, as with all other identities are crucial in passing on attitudes about sexuality:

### **(1) Religion**

Religion tends to promote the norm of heterosexuality, monogamy and marriage, as a core value that needs to be protected and be passed on generationally.

**Feminists** argue that religion oppresses female sexuality and encourages passivity and subordination to men: marry young, stay at home and raise the children.

**Functionalists** argue that the control of sexuality is necessary for the survival of society because it maintains stability for the family unit and the children.

**New Right** argue that the moral decline associated with sexuality and sexual behaviour, together with secularisation, is responsible for the breakdown in family values,

encouraging abortion and homosexuality, and in general pose a threat to the social order, consensus and stability.

**Postmodernists** argue that all the above arguments are obsolete and have a negligible role to play in contemporary global society: individual have the free will to choose how to construct their own identity, including sexual identity, and they can also shift between what they have chosen, it doesn't have to be a stable chosen identity.

### **(2) Media = representations in the media can be stereotyped**

**Homosexual and heterosexual relationships are represented differently in the media:**

homosexuality used to be ignored, or underrepresented, or represented negatively.

Early media representations especially during the 1980s referred to AIDS for example as a 'gay plague'.

However, this is increasingly and consistently shifting with more positive portrayal in TV, films etc. It is also important to note that new media offers various media avenues for people to 'find' themselves however they define themselves. Thus, there is increased diversity that is accessible for different people.

### **(3) Social attitudes towards sexuality in the laws**

**Social attitudes and laws** = attitudes towards sexuality are not only informal, such as in films, but they are also reflected in the laws that govern and regulate society.

**Homosexuality**, for example, used to be illegal in the UK until it was decriminalised in England and Wales in 1967, but the age of consent was still 21, higher than it is for heterosexual people.

**In 1988, Section 28 came into force:** it prevented local authorities from 'promoting' homosexuality, namely, representing gay relationships as acceptable. The scope of this law was ambiguous and therefore confusing as teachers thought it meant they could not discuss homosexuality with pupils.

The last few decades are characterised by the legal movement towards greater **equality**. For example, the age of consent for gay men was lowered to 16 in 2000, civil partnerships for gay couples were introduced in 2005, the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) 2010 made it illegal to discriminate against gay couples in the provision of goods and services (hotels, wedding cakes, etc), and the Marriage (Same-Sex Couples) Act 2013 legalised gay marriage. **These legal changes reflect the changing attitudes in society**, including adopting children – you need to demonstrate you are in an enduring relationship. However, not everyone agrees to these changes.

## 1.11: Age and identity

Attitudes about age varied between cultures, within cultures and subcultures, and over time, thus, these attitudes are not universal.

Consequently, age can be seen as a social construct.

Age is part of social identity. Individuals are socialised to accept norms, values and beliefs that are associated with age according to the society they live in.

People in a similar age group share similar experiences of attitudes that are related to age in the society they live in; they are from the same generation. This can explain why different experiences of people in different generations can shape significant generational differences across various factors, age identity included: at what age someone becomes an 'adult' or becomes 'old'.

Thus, the importance of generational differences.

For example, in the UK, back in 1800 many children were treated as 'mini adults' and used to work full-time.

The law also affects how different age groups are treated: getting your driving license from 17, and people over 70 have to renew their license more frequently.

**Bradley** (1997) argues that age as a sociodemographic factor is less important in identity compared with other components such as class, ethnicity and gender. This is primarily because people think of age as something temporary, because they grow older, thus the label associated with age is transitional: child, teenager, adult, etc.

**Marxists** = argue that attitudes to age are influenced by capitalism: age groups are defined by the capitalist system: adults are at working age and the elderly too old to work.

**Phillipson** (1982) argued that capitalism views the elderly as a burden on society and old age is being stigmatised: old people are no longer 'useful'.

### Media representations

The way the media represents different age groups can both influences and shapes social attitudes, but also 'passively' reflects them.

Some sociologists found evidence against ageism in media products:

**Biggs** (1993) found that older people are often in stereotyped roles such as ‘forceful’, ‘difficult’, especially in sitcoms.

**Lambert** (1984) found that older people are often portrayed in positions of power such as news readers, but not the same for older women.

There are also **media stereotypes** regarding the representation of young people. Children are often represented as innocent and teenagers as ‘wild’.

### Life expectancy changed attitudes to old age

The increase in **life expectancy** significantly influenced attitudes to old age, especially in the last few decades.

In general, people live longer. In 2022 life expectancy in the UK is 79 years for men and 83 for women, on average 81 years.

**Postmodernists** argue that along the line with changing attitudes in contemporary world, the attitudes towards age are shifting as well: older people have financial spending power as well, they are portrayed as ‘youthful’, ‘agile’, enjoying holidays, sports and leisure activities.

## 1.12: Disability and identity

Society places disability in its own **separate category**, with its own label.

**Tom Shakespeare** (1994) argues that being in the category of ‘disabled’ can be more difficult and problematic than the disability itself. Disability thus, can be seen as its own **social construct**. He suggested that it is more useful to refer to the specific **impairment** rather than to the concept ‘disability’, thus, to refer to the specific physical characteristics or symptoms. People with specific impairments can do the related tasks, but it is more challenging for them: they are actually able rather than disabled.

### Prejudice against disabled people

There are **negative stereotypes** of disabled people as weak and dependent on others.

**Scott** (1969) studied the way blind people were treated by medical professionals and concluded that they are more likely to learn to be helpless as a result, and the label associated with expectations of being dependent lead to self-fulfilling prophecy.

And helplessness can be learned and is associated with other personality characteristics such as low self-esteem and external locus-of-control.

## Under-representations of disabled in the media

Very few roles for disabled people in the media. For example, **Cumberbatch and Negrine** (1992) examined British television and found that the roles for disabled were limited and based on pity or ridicule.

They also found that how people interpreted media messages about disability depended on their **personal experiences**. People with real-life experience were more likely to reject stereotypical portrayal of disabled people or to reinterpret them in a way that match their own experience. These findings suggest that the media promotes negative perceptions amongst those who already have them.

- It is important to integrate evaluation for all the identities = the features of the current world, social new media, and inclusion have changed dramatically attitudes, media representations, and the essence of all identities. See below.

## 1.13: Production, consumption and globalisation

### Identity is linked with work and leisure

In industrial societies, traditional patterns of employment helped people create a strong sense of belonging and **shared identity through geographical location, the family, and the workplace**. This was based on a strong sense of **community**. The job and the family were largely stable and endured for life for individuals living in any specific place and being members of the community they live in for their entire life.

**Geographical mobility** became more apparent in modern time, and significantly so in contemporary global world with easy and relatively cheap air travel.

Geographical location, family and the job became less stable and related patterns and attitudes changed significantly. People are less independent and rely on others for work and services in order to survive. Increasingly people define themselves on the basis of their consumption = what they buy rather than what they produce.

**Willis** (1990) suggested that work became less satisfying for people because it doesn't require skills as it used to be, and consequently, **leisure time** becomes the source for satisfaction, and it is being used for defining one's identity.

**Rojek** (1995) argued that work and leisure in postmodern societies are increasingly merged because many jobs are available in the leisure industry and more people turn their personal satisfying hobbies into their paid jobs, especially as self-employed and through creating their own business working from home.

### **Social class affects the link between work and leisure**

**Parker** (1976) looked at the link between work and leisure and identified three patterns:

**1 – The extension pattern** = leisure and work are actively combined.

**2 – The neutrality pattern** = leisure and work may not be linked, and their link is not planned.

**3 – The opposition pattern** = leisure and work are deliberately kept separated.

Parker found that:

Upper class with high-status jobs is associated with the extension pattern = networking, making social contacts etc.

Middle and working-class people in jobs that are not satisfying tend to follow the neutrality pattern.

Working-class people in tiring/dangerous jobs tend to follow the opposition pattern.

Parker's theory was criticised for not taking into account the influence of important sociological factors such as age and gender on leisure, especially in the way that they intervene with the influence of class.

**Deem** (1986) argued that women who work in the home do not have any boundaries between leisure and housework, they work 24/7. On the other hand, women who work outside the house and being paid for that work, can separate the work and leisure. However, in their free time, away from their paid work, they still engage in domestic chores and duties.

### **Postmodernists**

**Postmodernists** argue that class, gender and ethnicity no longer play a significant role in any type of identity. These demographic variables used to be crucial in how they shaped identity, but in the contemporary world they 'lost' their potency.

These traditional links are now replaced by what they call **symbolic consumption**: individuals use leisure time and products from culture industries to shape their own identity.

### **Symbolic consumption and consumer culture**

- In industrialist capitalist societies we buy goods that are made by the culture industries = film, music, etc, that is the consumer culture.
- These industries create and sell products and services that fit into people's cultural lives, and it becomes what they think and talk about. It helps individuals define their identity and it becomes symbolic consumption = it moves beyond the product and the service itself; **it is what it means and represents.**
- **Brands** are pivotal for this representation and shaping of identity.
- Link with models of media.

### **Pluralists**

Emphasis of **free choice and its power**. Personal agency and thus 'power' of choice.

In consumer culture people have **consumer power** because they can choose which products and services they buy. Thus, consumers shape the popular culture, not the industries.

Other sociologists disagree with pluralists. **Ang** (1991) suggested that opinions of consumers are largely ignored by the cultural industries which hold the power of influence on what consumers are choosing. The free choice of consumer is an illusion.

**Bauman** argues that while postmodernist society expects people to be consumers, not everyone can fulfil this function because many lack the financial means. He called them 'repressed consumers', compared with the 'seduced consumers' who can afford to be consumers.

### **Globalisation influenced national and individual identities**

Sociologists disagree about whether globalisation influences national and ethnic identity in a positive or negative way. Either way, the influence should be considered to be nuances because it depends which parameters we assess.

Some argue that the influence of globalisation on ethnic identities is negative because everyone is experiencing the same global culture. Also, it means that national and cultural identities are more likely to be merged.

Other sociologists like Bauman disagree and argue that because globalisation makes identity less stable, it creates greater diversity. People can try different cultures, and **'mix-and-match'** different elements thus creating greater variety for all.

Others argue that globalisation imposes Western culture on other societies, like a form of **'cultural imperialism'**, especially through consumption and the role of media. Thereby globalisation contributes to the decline of national identities alongside the decline of the nation-state because of the emergence of **'one-big-village'**.

**Hall** (1992) doesn't agree. He argues that ethnic minorities and the mainstream ethnic majority react in similar ways to globalisation, namely, strengthening their ethnic roots. Additionally, people don't have to construct their identity according to where they live, because of the impact of the internet and the impact of social media, especially with relatively cheap travel = Hall called it **'cultural supermarket effect'**.