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CONSUMPTION AND EVERYDAY LIFE

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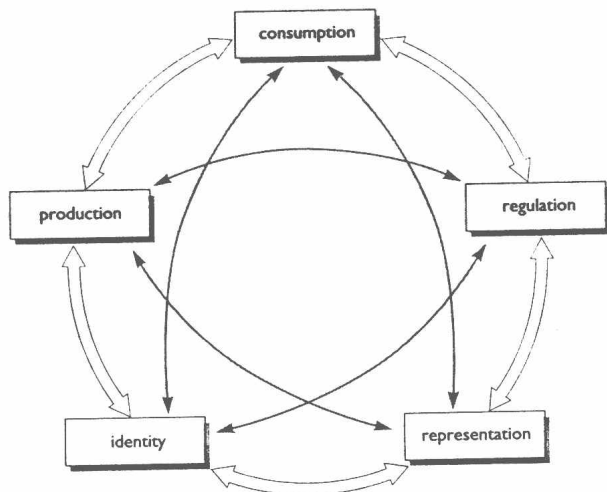
edited by Hugh Mackay

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Introduction

Hugh Mackay

This volume is concerned with cultural consumption and the practices of everyday life. Our selection of 'consumption' as a term in the title of the book is a heuristic device for drawing together some interesting work which is characterized by its concern with everyday consumption practices; our focus is very much on how we appropriate and make sense of various cultural forms in our routines in everyday settings. The notion of the cultural circuit (see **du Gay, Hall et al., 1997***) is a way of identifying the variety of *loci* at which one can explore cultural processes.



The circuit of culture

So cultural consumption can be conceived as a crucial moment of the cultural circuit. Quite explicitly, the notion of the circuit is *not* intended to suggest that consumption (or any other 'moment' of the circuit) is determined by production, by the economic 'base' – which some characterize as determining the cultural 'superstructure'. On the contrary, work in cultural studies has been at pains to draw out the interrelationships between the various moments, the processes of influence or feedback whereby the various components or stages of the circuit of culture are inextricably linked. Other accounts address cultural production (see **du Gay, ed. 1997**), and, although consistently pointing out the inextricable links between production and consumption, do not focus explicitly on the latter. In discussions of

*A reference in bold indicates another book, or another chapter in another book, in the series.

cultural production there is an *implied* consumer, but in this book our focus is on *active* consumers and their *local* practices, rather than the broader forces and processes by which globalization can be characterized. So, like du Gay (ed., 1997), we are concerned with the intersection of the global and the local, but here our focus is more on the practices of everyday life, on the 'local' side of the story.

So what exactly do we mean by consumption? In *The Oxford Dictionary* the term is defined in terms of 'using up; destruction; waste; amount consumed; wasting disease' – a pretty negative set of meanings, one of which refers specifically to the popular name of a disease (pulmonary phthisis). More relevant to our concerns, Raymond Williams tells us in *Keywords* (1988), with the onset of capitalism the word 'consumer' became used in the economic sense, commonly posited as the antithesis of 'producer'. In the twentieth century its usage has increased, with the advent of mass consumption, and as efforts to generate and manipulate markets have developed, with the growth of advertising and marketing. The everyday use of the term nowadays follows the economists' notion that 'consumption' is about 'use', an approach taken up by the consumer movement (and *Which?* magazine). This common-sense approach assumes that we consume what we need, to get something done. However, such a utilitarian approach (like the 'waste' definition) contrasts strongly with recent uses of the term 'consumption' in cultural studies. Here, the 'negative' meanings of 'wasting' or 'using up' have been replaced to a considerable degree by more positive associations. Consumption is seen as an active process and often celebrated as pleasure, and the consumer has even become elevated (by some on both the left and the right) to the status of citizen, the principal means whereby we participate in the polity. In postmodern accounts, cultural consumption is seen as being the very material out of which we construct our identities: we become what we consume.

In this book we shall be engaging with all of these various 'stratified deposits' which lie beneath contemporary meanings of the term. In this introduction, I shall first summarize briefly the key thinkers and schools in the sociology of consumption. I shall then introduce the chapters of the book, and explain how each in its distinctive way offers an approach and case study for understanding cultural consumption. Finally, I shall refer to six themes which are addressed in each of the chapters of this volume.

Within sociology until recently there was a dominant focus on production, with consumption, if addressed at all, accorded a secondary or determined status (Thorstein Veblen, discussed below, is perhaps the most notable exception to this generalization). Clearly, such an emphasis reflects popular conceptions: that consumption is somehow less important than, or subordinate to, the 'real' world of work – of industry, commerce and administration. Whilst work is seen as noble and productive, consumption and leisure are commonly conceived – in the Protestant tradition – as less worthy, frivolous, even wasteful, indulgent or decadent. In addition to a

judgement of moral worth, there is a serious gender implication of this orthodoxy: the passivity of consumers is congruent with notions of the passivity of women, and the traditionally male world of work is privileged over the female domestic arena. In political terms, such thinking coincides with much of the rhetoric of both left and right about the centrality of production to generating wealth or income, or to determining the form of social organization.

The traditional view is demonstrated *par excellence* in the perspective often known as the 'mass culture critique', or 'the production of consumption perspective' (discussed in **du Gay, Hall et al.**, 1997). The Frankfurt School and their disciples, writing in the inter-war period, argued that the expansion of mass production in the twentieth century had led to the commodification of culture, with the rise of the culture industries (see **Negus**, 1997). Consumption served the interests of manufacturers seeking greater profits, and citizens became the passive victims of advertisers (see, for example, Packard, 1957). Processes of standardization, they argued, were accompanied by the development of a materialistic culture, in which commodities came to lack authenticity and instead merely met 'false' needs. These needs were generated by marketing and advertising strategies and, it is argued (for example by Hoggart, 1957), increased the capacity for ideological control or domination. In Europe, and in Britain in particular, there was the added notion of 'the spectre of Americanism' – the rather puritan notion of the swamping of authentic, varied, locally distinctive cultural forms and practices by degenerate, inauthentic, homogeneous, North American culture – an argument containing, commonly, a strong undercurrent of moral outrage about change and, especially, about conspicuous and excessive consumption. The rise of leisure and consumption activities increased the capacity for ideological control or domination, and detracted from more 'authentic' experience and from meeting human needs. The shift is often associated with a decline in collective activity and in the public sphere, and the growing privatization (in the home) of our daily lives (discussed in **du Gay, Hall et al.**, 1997, section 6.1). Crucially, this perspective attributed to consumers a profoundly passive role, portraying them as manipulated, mindless dupes, rather than as active and creative beings.

Broadly speaking, consumption today is *not* seen by social scientists as corrupting, nor are consumers seen as the passive victims of capitalism – although arguments about excessive and unnecessary consumption figure with increasing prominence in environmental discourse. In contrast with such traditional approaches to consumption, our focus in this book on consumption practices and everyday life accords to consumers a more important and *creative* role. Our concern is with how cultural texts or artefacts are used in everyday life. In this we are reflecting a crucial recent shift in sociology towards a concern with culture and with consumption – which, increasingly, is seen as worthy of study in its own right. Without it, there would *be* no production. Rather than a passive, secondary, determined activity, consumption (and its focus, the home) is seen increasingly as an

activity with its own practices, tempo, significance and determination. Case studies (e.g. du Gay, Hall et al., 1997) demonstrate the *active* role of consumers in shaping technological and cultural artefacts and their meanings; and, of course, they demonstrate the mutually constituted nature of production and consumption.

The sociological analysis of consumption can be traced back to the work of Marx. Marx's theory of capitalism provides a clear and detailed account of the interconnectedness of production and consumption, showing how production is for the market and for profit. But Marx actually writes extremely little about consumption, rooting his analysis of consciousness, or identity, in production and its social relations. The first sustained account of consumption – which in some ways laid the foundation for later work – is Veblen's (1889/1899) research on the conspicuous consumption of the *nouveau riche* in the late-nineteenth-century USA. In this he explores how goods are used as symbolic markers of social status, and how consumption is for the purpose of impressing others with one's good taste and ability to pay for more than most can afford. Veblen found that the *nouveau riche* displayed their status through conspicuous consumption of goods with little or no utility or function.

More recently, Bourdieu (1984) provides a more developed but similar argument (his work on distinction regarding the body (e.g. appearance and posture) is discussed in Shilling, 1997). Bourdieu rejects a narrowly economic definition of social relations, seeing them as *cultural* as well as economic. In capitalist societies, he argues, cultural capital is distributed in such a way that social groups have different capacities to vest cultural value in symbolic goods. Symbolic goods function as signs, and are used to signify prestige, status and social standing. Culture is about the processes of identification and differentiation, with identities produced through practices of distinction: we distinguish ourselves by the taste distinctions we make – for example, between 'cultivated' and 'vulgar'. We bring our cultural capital, our taste, to bear on objects, and consumption involves the consumption of signs and symbols (of meanings) and works like a language in that it is rooted in a system of meaning. But more than such structuralism, Bourdieu points us towards the *active* nature of consumption practices.

Consumption is the articulation of a sense of identity. Our identity is made up by our consumption of goods – and their consumption and display constitutes our expression of taste. So display – to ourselves and to others – is largely for symbolic significance, indicating our membership of a particular culture. As Bourdieu puts it, taste classifies the classifier. Social subjects are classified by their classifications, and distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, and thus class difference is constructed through consumption. What he calls the 'habitus' is the underlying structured system of classification which is learnt in childhood, and applied in later life – a framework for cultural propriety and personal identity. A habitus is a structured set of dispositions which provides a framework for our exercise of

judgement and taste. So, although diverse and varied, consumption practices are socially structured. Thus Bourdieu extends a class analysis to the realm of consumption.

Several criticisms are commonly made of Bourdieu's work. First, he restricts his analysis to class, taking no account of other divisions, notably of gender, 'race', or generation. Secondly, whilst his analysis is rooted in consumption patterns, he ignores the diversity of uses and meanings of artefacts, the richness of everyday life. Thirdly, and crucially, he tends to treat social class as given. In the end, what he is doing is applying to consumption patterns a class analysis which is derived from the realm of production; in this sense he is – despite his focus on consumption – following the conventional wisdom, in which consumption is a largely secondary and determined activity. It is worth noting that, in the past decade or two, those involved in marketing have begun to categorize people by *lifestyle* rather than by class or income level. In their case study of the Sony Walkman, du Gay, Hall et al. (1997) show that, from the point of view of producers, consumers are best classified in other than conventional occupational or social class terms. Today, people's sense of identity is bound up with consumption as well as work roles, suggesting a perhaps even greater significance of consumption for contemporary culture than that argued by Bourdieu.

It is the postmodernists who take this line furthest. Broadly, these writers root their analysis in the notions that culture is becoming increasingly fragmented, and the symbolic is of increasing significance – such that any underlying substance is obliterated. Baudrillard (1988) completely rejects and overturns any ideas that consumption is about need, use or utility and that consumers are manipulated by advertisers. Whilst Bourdieu argues that we consume according to who we are, Baudrillard argues that we become what we buy: signs and signifying practices are what is consumed – even if we do not consume the product. Signs have no fixed referent: any object can, in principle, take on any meaning. Rather than representing some signifier, the sign is all that is left. We are left with society as pastiche, a play on signs with no reference beyond the commodity.

Such arguments are probably less fashionable today than in the recent past. Unsurprisingly, they have invoked a range of criticisms: there is little empirical support for the argument; research has often focused on 'youth', the lifestyle stage when experiment with identity is central; identity is less malleable and cannot be so easily changed simply by purchasing goods; and, although goods have a communicational or symbolic value, they also have a materiality.

Empirical, qualitative research on the everyday appropriation of cultural artefacts is precisely the focus of subculture theorists and others who have explored 'the pleasures of consumption'. Subculture theory emerged in the 1970s, largely from the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (see, for example, Hall and Jefferson, 1976), and can be seen as a reaction to the 'critique of mass culture' school outlined above.

Subsequently, others have explored the pleasures of consumption from other positions (e.g. see Radway, 1987). These researchers of cultural appropriation found that the reality of mass culture was far more creative than suggested by mass culture critics, and was a means whereby aspirations are expressed creatively. Rather than being passive and easily manipulated, they found that young consumers were active, creative and critical in their appropriation and transformation of material artefacts. In a process of *bricolage*, they appropriated, re-accented, rearticulated or trans-coded the material of mass culture to their own ends, through a range of everyday creative and symbolic practices. Through such processes of appropriation, identities are constructed. For subcultural theorists, these identities are generally born out of conflict with the dominant order. Such consumption writing differs from both Bourdieu's work and the 'critique of mass culture' in its qualitative approach: through ethnographic research methods, 'real' consumers in everyday settings were investigated. This work shows us the value of observational approaches to everyday life. But, more than that, it provides an explanation of the political significance of consumption. Rather than the politics of despair or at least compliance, subcultural theorists found protest and resistance against traditional and elitist cultural forms. Although far from radical, these informal practices constituted tactics of subversion and for 'getting by'.

A more extreme variant of this approach is the 'pleasures of consumption' thesis. Like subcultural work, and congruent with postmodernist approaches, this draws on the work of de Certeau (1984) to celebrate the creativity of consumer practices (e.g. Fiske, 1989a, 1989b). De Certeau is concerned with the production of meaning by consumers. Fiske and other proponents of the 'pleasures of consumption' approach see popular culture as a contested arena which involves a confluence of creative everyday practices and the products of the culture industries. They focus on the creative capacities of consumers, the empowering nature of consumption, and its subversive possibilities – drawing diametrically opposite conclusions from the pessimism of the 'mass culture critique' school.

Like subcultural theory, the 'pleasures of consumption' literature is criticized for its naïvety, romanticism or optimism regarding the significance of subcultural or consumer resistance; and for ignoring the vast numbers to whom shopping is *not* a pleasure. The freedoms and pleasures which are identified are perhaps more relevant to the Thatcherite 1980s than the present day, and are perhaps more applicable to the affluent. For many of us (as Miller argues in Chapter 1 of this book), shopping is an exercise involving thrift, the burden of choice, and something which takes up valuable time – rather than being a pleasure. Like subcultural theory, however, the approach is valuable for foregrounding everyday practices and ethnographic methods of enquiry.

Let us move on to the other term in the book title, 'everyday life'. I have explained that the theoretical approaches and case studies of the book focus

our attention on the rich diversity of 'everyday life'. But what do we mean by 'everyday life'? Like 'consumption', it is a complex term and one used with varying meanings. As a starting-point, 'everyday life' can be seen as a concept which lies at the very heart of cultural studies, in that the term expresses the notion that we should conceive of culture, in an anthropological sense, as ordinary. 'Culture' refers to what we all do, what we all take part in – rather than being synonymous with 'high culture', the preserve of an elite. So a focus on 'everyday life' directs our attention to 'the ordinary' – our everyday processes of making meanings and making sense of the world. The focus – carried by the 'life' part of 'everyday life' – means that we are less concerned with the powerful and that which is recorded and codified, and more concerned with the unpredictable, the improvised and with the routine activities and control of ordinary people as they go about their day-to-day lives. I shall refer to three different ways in which the term 'everyday life' is used.

First, used in the anthropological sense, it refers to 'the everyday', the humdrum, the routine, even the drudgery – as distinct from Sunday, the weekend, or the festival. In this sense, it encompasses our taken-for-granted routines, that which we repeat daily – as distinct from the exceptional, or sacred, interludes in these.

Secondly, there is the approach which sees 'everyday life' as productive consumption (de Certeau, 1984). Such an approach sees consumers as almost endlessly creative in the appropriation and manipulation of consumer goods – the complete opposite of the 'mindless dupes', those controlled and manipulated by producers and the production system, discussed by the Frankfurt School and others. Through everyday practices, goods and services are transformed, and identities constituted. This is the approach which has been taken up by John Fiske (1989a, 1989b), referred to above. Consumption is not the *end* of a process, but the beginning of another, and thus itself a form of production (and hence we can refer to the 'work' of consumption).

Thirdly, there are approaches which posit 'everyday life' as the opposite of state bureaucracy and 'the system' (e.g. Gullestad, 1992). 'Everyday life' is characterized by small, local communities, with close and emotional ties, connectedness between people, caring, spontaneity, immediacy, participation and collaboration. So it is a focus which directs us away from the long arm of impersonal bureaucratic and market relations, the state, or other institutions of regulation. In this, of course, it has a spatial dimension, pointing us to the community and the home – very much the focus of this book.

These theoretical perspectives and concepts provide the backdrop for the six chapters of this book. All are concerned with how we read and analyse the ordinary, everyday, popular processes of cultural consumption.

In Chapter 1, Daniel Miller lays out some key elements of debates about consumption, exploring the rich, idiosyncratic and unpredictable nature of

local consumption practices. Miller uses several case studies: council flat kitchens in London (the consumption of a state service and of kitchen interiors), soap opera in Trinidad (the consumption of US television broadcasting in another context), soft drinks in Trinidad, and shopping in London. Through these he argues, first, that consumption is not just of utilitarian goods, but is about the construction of identity. Secondly, he argues that culture itself is constructed through the creative 'work' of appropriation, of transforming, customizing and investing meaning in goods as they are domesticated and consumed. The local production of global products and cultural forms demonstrates the continuing salience of the local. Finally, he examines the links between local consumption and the global (production) economy, explaining how places today are interconnected rather than bounded. In this account he rejects completely the notion that it is manufacturers who construct demand and consumers who are duped; on the contrary, he argues that it is retailers and consumers who control the process. His focus on the global interrelations of consumption is an altogether different focus from the 'pleasures of consumption' – which, anyway, he found a far cry from the reality of the 'work' of shopping. An anthropologist, Miller provides rich ethnographic data in relation to each case study – providing an account different from so much of the research on shopping and shopping malls (e.g. Gardner and Sheppard, 1989).

In Chapter 2, Ruth Finnegan outlines and evaluates a complementary perspective and method for understanding local, everyday practices, introducing work on personal narratives and identity. Her focus is on the significance of 'the ordinary' or 'the everyday' in contemporary culture. Personal narratives, she argues, whilst richly idiosyncratic, unpredictable and diverse, are not arbitrary but deeply cultural, in that they are structured in terms of certain conventions, with common themes of time, place and control. Finnegan argues that an autobiography, rather than simply being the sum of events which happen to someone, is a narrative which is used to make sense of life and to construct an identity. Finnegan, like Miller an anthropologist, is concerned to stress the creative and individual nature of personal narratives; she points out the disjunctures between her preference in this respect and approaches in cultural studies which, she argues, are more concerned with the constraints on us as individual actors.

In Chapter 3, Finnegan presents a case study of one particular popular cultural practice. Drawing on Howard Becker's interactionist work on 'art worlds', and on performance-oriented approaches, she stresses the creativity of the full range of local music-making practices in a British new town. Again, Finnegan is concerned with the *active* nature of musical consumption 'work'; and her approach can be seen as that of an anthropologist engaging with some key concerns which are addressed by work in cultural studies on consumption – with a concern with 'art' and 'ritual enactment' rather than more directly with such notions as 'power'. The chapter is interesting for its focus on performance rather than what Finnegan presents as more

conventional textual approaches. By focusing on music we are extending our definitions of the media, and by focusing on performance we see that consumption is an *active* practice, not something governed or determined by the strategies of producers. In drawing out the links between production and consumption Finnegan identifies both the creative, active and collaborative work of music producers (who are at the same time consumers of others' music and of cultural, musical conventions) and of music audiences (who 'work' with musicians to 'produce' musical events). Thus, again, we have a case study of the links between production and consumption; and, following the work of subcultural approaches, a concern with the *active* nature of music-making. At the same time, Finnegan avoids using the term 'consumption', arguing that, for her, it carries connotations of passivity and determination.

In Chapter 4, Nigel Thrift explores the significance of place for identity. Our sense of place is not fixed, but is historically specific, culturally constructed and contested. Place is not just location, but is something which is crucial to our identity. A cultural geographer, Thrift argues that places are important, they are becoming commodified, and their meanings are contested. He opens by presenting two arguments about place: that it is fundamentally unchanging; and that its mediation (by the media) means the end of difference. In contrast with these explanations, Thrift is concerned to lay out a 'middle way': as places become media-ated some things are lost, but other things are gained – we have new possibilities for reaching out to others, and for redefining our place. So his argument is for a 'progressive sense of place'. Through a case study of the Sami, Thrift explores ways in which Eurocentric accounts have 'othered' places; in this, he explores notions of 'imagined communities', narratives of the loss of the wild and remote and of exploration and progress, and time-space convergence. Thrift's 'middle way' examines how the Sami are living and telling new stories, through their deployment of new transport and communication technologies, and thus are producing a new sense of place, belonging and identity.

In Chapter 5, Shaun Moores is concerned with the domestic consumption of broadcasting. This is an important instance of the point where symbolic goods encounter the everyday world of life in households. Like other chapters, Moores' examines the inextricable links between production and consumption – between broadcasting as an institution of cultural production and as an institution of everyday life. Regarding the former he explores the industry's orientation to its viewing and listening publics, and, in particular, its communicative styles and modes of address. At the other end he is concerned with the significance of reception – the situated meanings and pleasures which are generated by consumers; this involves consideration of the social relations of power which operate in domestic contexts. We are presented with an analysis which rejects simple notions that meanings are transmitted and passively received. Rather, they are *negotiated*, by *active* audiences, and thus are embedded in a local context. Finally – again like other chapters – he examines the articulation of local cultures and processes

of globalization: television and radio link viewers and listeners with distant events; they transform our everyday sense of self and identity; and they are central to social arrangements of time and space, to processes of *time-space compression* or *distanciation*.

In Chapter 6, Hugh Mackay explores domestic information and communication technologies (ICTs) as an example of cultural consumption. Like other chapters, this account of consumption is firmly rooted in an analysis which links consumption with production. In this case, the 'social shaping of technology' is explored – how technology can be understood as a 'text', encoded in its design and decoded in its appropriation. Mackay explores how technologies, like other artefacts, are not merely material or utilitarian, but also symbolic. Rather than being determined by designers and manufacturers and then purchased for what they can do, their meaning, and also their form and function, are shaped by consumers. Applying arguments similar to those of Moores (in Chapter 5), Mackay examines how ICTs are used and made sense of in everyday life. In capturing time and space as they enter the home, new technologies engage with the politics of the households, with gender and family relations. In the process of domestication the technology itself is transformed. Clearly this is an argument for a profoundly active view of the consumer. Mackay concludes by discussing some of the implications for senses of community in the contemporary era. The introduction of ICTs is accompanied by new institutions and regimes of regulation, and this leads in to the theme of the next and final volume of this series, cultural regulation.

In this book we deal with a wide variety of forms of consumption. Each, in its own way, draws on or refers to six themes:

- the balance between creativity and constraint
- the interrelationship between consumption and production
- the situated character of everyday practices
- the broad range of consumption practices
- the value of qualitative, observational and ethnographic research methods
- the spatial dimension of consumption.

First, the volume draws on the theme of *the balance between creativity and constraint* in everyday, local routines and practices. The argument of each chapter is that we are not the passive victims portrayed by the 'critique of mass culture' school; nor are we the liberated consumers discussed by the worst excesses of the 'pleasures of consumption' approach. Somewhere between – and this is the main theme of this book – we find creative, active individuals, working with a range of materials, and, through a range of consumption practices, constructing and making sense of everyday life. You will find that the various chapter authors take different positions on the balance between creativity and constraint, reflecting both their theoretical predilections and the particular consumption processes and practices with which they are concerned. Finnegan's chapters are notable for her preference

to emphasize creativity rather than constraint. That there is a huge diversity of possible consumption behaviour is unsurprising given the infinite cultural contexts of consumption 'work'. At the same time, access to material and symbolic resources is patterned, and the chapters identify the various dimensions of these patternings.

Secondly, each chapter acknowledges *the interrelationship of consumption and production*. So our focus on consumption far from precludes giving attention to the two-way links between consumers and producers. We are concerned with the constraints of production processes on consumption practices; but also on how production is informed by the creative 'work' of consumption in everyday life. Given the emphasis on the *active* nature of consumption, chapter authors conceive of consumption as a productive activity, rendering the very terminology of the distinction irrelevant.

Thirdly, our interest in how things are appropriated and transformed by use in everyday life draws our attention to the contexts of consumption, *the situated character of everyday practices*. But, more than that, this involves a focus on the private–public boundary. Each chapter, in its own way, looks at the relationship between the outside world and the private sphere, and is concerned with explaining the mediation of that boundary. Consumption, we find, is crucial to understanding how this boundary operates.

Fourthly, we are working with a broad definition of 'consumption', and address a diversity of areas of consumption and *a broad range of consumption practices*. Crucially, *contra* the 'pleasures of consumption' approach and postmodern work which tends to conflate postmodernism with the consumer society, we are concerned not just (indeed, very little) with shopping – which is the focus of other books (e.g. Gardner and Sheppard, 1989).

Fifthly, our case studies demonstrate *the value of qualitative, observational and ethnographic research methods*. This is because we are interested in *everyday life*, and are concerned with actors' *meanings* – in relation to taste, texts, artefacts and uses. Some of these qualitative methods are discussed in the chapters below; more generally, qualitative data are cited in support of arguments which are presented. So in this book we are dealing with an approach to the study of culture which complements other approaches, such as textual analysis (see Hall, ed., 1997).

Finally, a focus on everyday lives and on ethnographic studies points us to the *spatial dimension of consumption*: consumption takes place in space. We have said that a focus on consumption shifts the focus of attention from work to the domestic. In focusing on the domain of the domestic, we must be clear that this is not simply about processes and practices of isolation or individualization. On the contrary, consumption shapes spatial patternings and binds places together; and the rise of mass consumption can be seen as linked to a changing sense of place. Places and communities – commonly seen as largely bounded until the 1960s or 1970s (see Bell and Newby, 1971)

– are now seen as bound together more than ever before, in global interdependency, and as entities to which symbolic meanings are given. Each chapter has a particular concern with place, and with the local articulation of global cultural processes.

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CONSUMPTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Daniel Miller

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