

INVESTIGATING LOCAL CONSUMPTION CULTURES AND THE GLOBAL COMMODITY: ETHNOGRAPHY OF LOCAL CULTURE IN THE FACE OF THE GLOBAL IN BANEH

Kamal khaleghPanah¹, Hiwa Karimzadah² and Jalal Mostafae³

¹Department of sociology, University of Kurdistan, Iran

²Department of English Literature and Linguistics, Islamic Azad University of Baneh Branch, Iran

ABSTRACT: *The present research attempts to investigate local consumption cultures and the Global Commodity: Ethnography of Local Culture in the face of The Global in Baneh. Theoretically, the present paper in the frame work of consumption culture theories argues that the face of The Global should be understood in association with identity, Global Neo liberal market and collective ideology. In this research fifteen subjects with approach of participated observation were officially interviewed. As the result it can be concluded that local consumption cultures have the most influence on the market ideology and advertisement mechanism therefore, the role of religion and national features is less effective. The Global which includes particular meanings has the ability to get the satisfaction of consumers in various subculture: thus, the commodity has been successful in corresponding with self-embedded meaning and consumer interest. Local culture commence to accept the logic of market rationalization and follow its rules and in different cases, it has the capability to produce and adjust its commodity with harmonized logic. Local- traditional and Global relationships are continuing to survive: Even tough, market-based rational and logical rules are dominant on relationship form which organize local contents. Marketization and commercialization of public and private sector as well as the local people is a growing process that has involved everyone which result in moral reactions and adopting striking identity strategies.*

KEYWORDS: Globalization, Localism, Post-Industrial Capitalism, Consumer Culture, Ethnography, Articulation, Hybridization

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

Many contemporary social and cultural issues and challenges arising from technological developments which have profoundly influenced everyday life. The Global trends based on Western origin has involved various people around the world and has paid the way for opportunities, challenges and various threats in face of local communities. The contemporary communities are faced with decisive and determining choices in which its position has been inevitably affected; they test age of communication, attitude and their preference and evaluate it with the Global logic. In our time endogenous and self-reliance on one or more local source of culture lose its credibility- and production of different communities - whether industrial or cultural - has to have flexibility in attitudes, cultural norms. In fact, the Globalization has become a source for judgment and a framework for referring to a variety of issues.

Free circulation of commodity is the first and most important global advent of such a worldwide system which involves diverse spectrum of ordinary people due to its consumption. The world neoliberal economy moves precisely on the basis of such a system- product and its consumption is the key to understanding the new world order. Globalization from the viewpoint of culture has prepared the sense of belonging to human and global communities which frees human from the power of tradition. These issues and challenges has faced local people with sort of being in global arena which should be careful in performance on the world stage. Thus, they should judge their cultural neighbors about customs and traditions of their own and others. In other words, The Globalization has brought the existence of Other ever-present for local culture which is always acting as a supervisor.

In such circumstances, The Globalization does not geographically limit itself, thus couple of questions should be asked: how local cultures will deal with this situation? What attitude will they have? Will Globalization be used to serve local interest? Will the Globalization be used as an opportunity to show the differences and distinctions? Will Globalization with all forces and space-time tools such as satellite and internet media, opportunist capitalist economy, ecological manipulation and demographics of distant land overcome obstacles like cultural, ethnic, religious and national boundaries? What will be the trends in local culture? What way it will choose for collective behavior? Will it be integrated into the global capitalist economy?

The consequences of such a situation in transitional societies are much clearer and more tangible. Because society is stuck between two types or two different styles of living therefore various groups with different attitudes began to react and respond to the emerging situation altogether. In the present study seeks to explain and describe the depth of one of urban areas which has been integrated rapidly into the global economy over the past few years and has been connected with World markets (albeit unofficially), in which global commodity has been flooded.

Baneh is a border city with the population of around one hundred and twenty thousand and probably it can be a convenient transportation route for both Iraq and Iran because it has better route in comparison to its neighboring town. This city has been disputed in the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Safavid two hundred years ago and its relation with border has been never restricted. Baneh has resolved its crises by relying on its own needs and particular situations as far as its importance is reflected in the folk literature neighboring towns.

The recognition of the other part of Iran about this city is limited and perhaps few people even heard the name of the city before the last two decades. This situation aggravated due to its marginal position compared to more central areas and with no particular attraction for tourists and travelers. It is natural if the culture of indigenous people of this region remains in its purest form because of the lack of its cultural relations with other ethnic groups. This marginal position in comparison the center parts of Iran had been largely ignored for local needs which had also been exacerbated by population growth and urbanization and the people town and the nearby border cities were forced to migrate permanently to more central locations or to work in the region's exhausting seasonal chores.

As Baneh market is growing to appear, the situation has completely changed. The city has put to work that potential talent for sake of new interest in preparing essential needs in times of crisis across the border, thus local needs and requirements of globalization have aligned in traditional and local context. The attitude of dealing with these issues and different world

culture and socio-economic mechanisms is contrary to the present study that we describe, interpret and analyze.

The above topics are very tangible way in which this study is done which is formed the concerns of the local population of the city and even neighboring cities. The global commodity market which has been growing over more than two decades. This has changed and influenced the urban space both materially and culturally. On the other hand globalization with commodity and free market economy with its own opportunities have entered this place and there were people with particular culture, interests, wishes and local organization in general, which should be entered into conflict with the new social conditions.

This paper seeks to study ethnographic of local culture in the face of the Global and globalization in intermediary commodity-commodity and subsequently its consumption. Thus we seek to identify, recognize and describe the local interpretation of global commodity: we examine assessment and positioning of commodity in the local context its place.

In this paper we examine the different and contradictory currents and waves in the context of Baneh. A city with border situations and its own local culture that has recently joined this context in recent years. An increasing trend for advent of global commodities and free market economy has infiltrated in this city apart from the global market in spite of existence of state-central nation with national economy which has established a new market in the city. In particular we seek to answer the following questions:

What will be the conditions of Western commodities with values embedded in the local context when looking at its use in the context of local culture? How and with what meaning does the commodity consume? What ideology is identifiable in consumption?

How do the local people have been aligned to deal with the issues of the global market and capitalist economic consequences? What changes have they made in relationships and generally accepted roles and roadmap of the local culture?

Review

As all problematic issues and topics which mentioned in this research are universal issues and the process and procedures of local life. They emerge in context of consumption in a way that consumption has been affected from this intercultural arena and along with its investigation, we can recognize the connection among the local, the global and the global-local. In this section we try to introduce the most studies and researches that have been done on such issues.

From the view point of the Global intercultural consumption, extensive researches have been conducted on the effects of globalization on local values in cooperation with international and governmental institutions which in this regard have led to the formation of common research committees. It shows the paramount importance of this issue in the prestigious scientific academic circles (John Bird, 1993; David House, 1996; B. Potter 2001; Cheng, 2003; Shvrkn 2004; Lyzardv 2008).

David Howes studied the consumption of Western products in non-Western societies and has concluded that commodities have been selected by the agency of consumer, interests, goals, knowledge and desires. Finally he studied the colonialism of consumption of Western commodities (1996).

Theorist like George Ritzer who was speaking of Americanization of communities and service system in the book "Exploration to the Sociology of Consumption," concludes that McDonald's system against localism loses its importance and may completely disappear - although rationalization will continue its process. He added that McDonald's system has always tried to force consumers to behave the same but has never been successful; more interesting is his discussion about credit cards, he argues that credit cards much more than cash has increased imprudence and defiance and violations in the sphere of consumption. These cards has led to privatization and latency consumption rather than security. Ritzer also against the fans of first view argues that the uniformity and coherence are related to the international level which is increasing, however it is an increasing level of localization in the consumer's level (Ritzer, 2001, p. 14-18).

Extensive studies have been done by researchers of ethnographer in different contexts and who are faced with the first waves of changes which tie a range of macro issues to the local context and has included theories of consumption, market, leisure, legitimacy, identity and satisfaction. (For example, see Allen, 2000; Arnould, 1989; Arnould and Price, 1993; Curasi, Price and Arnould, 2004; Belk and Coon, 1993; Fisher & Arnould, 1990; Joy 2001 Sherry 1983, Wooten 2000; Belk, Sherry, and Wallendorf 1988, Sherry, 1990; Coulter, Price, and Feick, 2003; Bonsu and Belk, 2003; Celsi, Rose, and Leigh, 1993; Deighton and Gray 1995; Fournier 1998; Heisley and Levy, 1991; Wallendorf and Arnold, 1991; Hill, 1991; Hill and Stamey, 1990; Hirschman 1992; Holt, 1995).

One of these books is an edited work by Alan Tomlinson (1990) which has been published. This book is a set of collected works that reviews consumption relationships with consumer's identity. Tomlinson stated in the introduction that the product is now changed in recent consumer-oriented capitalism which goes beyond its use: today's commodity impacts on consumers and stimulates consumers with quality and functionality, which enables to provide show in a large public arena. There is difference between the purchase of an object in order to use it and gain something for the sake of style or fashion. Commodity has altered into an object of individual fantasy for purpose of display (p. 19). He adds that our identity has been created by others which goes into market in dominated and deceptive manner. This is a response to the key question of What is emerging as the dominant consumption practices is based on individualistic sense of own and the idea of free choice. Although we think we are free, choices have been constructed consciously for us; therefore this is dangerous illusion of freedom (p22). The facing challenges in this work consist of these questions, therefore we are the part of what we buy. To what extent we have the ability to identify the manifestations of what we buy and how we can recognize that this is not natural situation of objects? How long such a constructed choice will be acceptable for the consumer as prevailing individual freedom.

Tomlinson finally come to such conclusions: This is the effect of commodity that allows customers to buy enthusiastically over times and expresses subjective desire of its own through objective impersonal consumer capitalism relations (p 30). Practical Consumption patterns have been reduced and the choices and lifestyle needs have been dramatically increased (p 33). Consumer culture is not a spontaneous culture. It is a culture dependent on excessive display (in public) (p. 34). Whatever the deception and seduction of commodity is, consumption is an economic and social construction (p 35).

Daniel Miller (1998) has edited a book titled *Material Culture*. He states that this book reveals a simple Marxian ontology and insists on the analogy that existence of forms is shaped in production. This is the moment which people construct themselves with mediator associated

with cultural forms in the field of consumption or increasingly constructed by others. This identifies historic shifts from production to consumption and neglects consumption heritage which people are committed to theories that have been proposed in other periods (p. 11). Miller states that all the research presented in this book are the result of ethnographic studies. The used ethnographic in material culture emphasizes what people are doing in practice exclusively in relation to things (p. 12).

Miller fundamental question is why some objects are important? He argues that the basic epistemology of material culture must remain realistic rather than positivists and must also be accompanied by the critique of ideology. Therefore material culture has to find a way that on the one hand report experience and on the other hand be a formalistic application of analytical design. He adds “ In my work in Trinidad I have tried to show how kinship and ethnicity can be equal with home decoration or media as a form through which certain value systems transfer during the decades” (Miller 1994: 257).

Finally he concluded that the Estonians, the Philippines and the Trinidad seek to create mechanisms to put away what the West as modernity and style has placed in Coca-Cola and Marlboro cigarettes and change the features of symbolism which they think is sinister and invalid. Miller describe his work “ In fact, compared to general discourse the articulation of local-global emphasizes on material culture which provides important insights about groups to visualize the different sections available in the range of commodities to create process of incorporation and rejection which is beyond the models of Americanization or globalization”.

The conceptual framework: the theory of consumer culture

Theoretical approach of this study is based on an article by Eric Arnold and Craig Thompson (2005) entitled *Consumer Culture Theory: Twenty Years of Research*. They investigate categories of different approaches in the sphere of consumption and introduce the theory of consumer culture (CCT) as an area of research that has four distinct branches. In the following article, we briefly review. This article provides a review of twenty years of research on consumption and show ideological, symbolic, empirical and socio-structural aspects of consumption. The aim of authors is to prepare a valid field for this research tradition as it is called the theory of consumer culture. In this paper, the main purpose is to correct three mistakes about the essence and analytical bias CCT (theory of consumer culture) and then to identify how CCT in consumer research plays its role by elucidating the cultural dimension consumption cycle. Thus, the new theorists develop research interests in relation to the thematic areas.

They state twenty years of research has produced research turmoil that shows the aspects of structural -social, symbolic and ideological consumption. This paper presents a thematic review of the incentive interest and conceptual and theoretical orientations. Due to extensive areas of this whole, they pay attention to the entire cultural spectrum of consumer research.

CCT is not grand unified theory and describe the dynamic link between the actions of the consumer, market and cultural significance while this totality shows of distinct theoretical approaches and research purposes. However, the researchers of CCT in a general theoretical orientation share the study of the cultural complexity that binds their approaches. . CCT instead of looking at culture as a system of convergent, harmonious way of life and shared meanings of mass and values which are shared among community members, it focuses on the heterogeneous distribution and multiplicity of meanings overlap between cultural groups in the

broader socio-historical framework of globalization and the spread of market. Therefore, consumer culture in their attitude focuses on the social configuration which mediates the relations between lived culture and social resources, meaningful ways of life and material and symbolic resources through the market.

Overall CCT is an interdisciplinary research tradition that has helped to advance knowledge about consumer culture and has produced findings in the field of systematic and empirical, theoretical innovation which is related to all the wider realm of social science, public policy and management.

After the above theoretical discussion, they will focus of the available trends in the field of consumption and recognize four research program in the last twenty years. (1) Consumer identity projects, (2) marketplace cultures, (3) the sociohistoric patterning of consumption, and (4) mass-mediated marketplace ideologies and consumers' interpretive strategies.

1- Consumer Identity Projects

Consumer culture theory concerns the constitutive ways in which consumers working with marketer-generated materials, forge a coherent if diversified and often fragmented sense of self. The corollary premise is that the marketplace has become a preeminent source of mythic and symbolic resources through which people, including those who lack resources to participate in the market as full-fledged consumers, construct narratives of identity. In this work, consumers are conceived of as identity seekers and makers..

2. Marketplace Cultures.

CCT view consumers as producers of culture looks in comparison to the traditional approach of anthropology in which people are considered as carriers of culture view consumers as producers of culture looks. . The main question of this research program is: How does emergence of consumption as human dominant practice organize the overall cultural plan for action and interpretation, and vice versa? A group of CCT is devoted to Marketplace culture that seeks to open up the process through consumer culture that is introduced in a specific cultural environment. The flow of this CCT addresses in which consumers feel social inertia in which consumers forge and create distinctive, fragmentary, self-selected, and sometimes transient cultural worlds through the pursuit of common consumption interests .Whether characterized as a subculture of consumption a consumption world , a consumption micro culture, or a culture of consumption.

3. Socio-historical patterns of consumption

The third field of CCT indicates that social structures and institutions are systematically influence consumption. Structures such as class, community, ethnicity and gender. Consumers can be seen as the activists of social roles and positions (Otnes, Lowrey, and Kim 1993). In summary, management problematic guiding it through the question: what is consumer society and how is it constituted and sustained? To address this problematic, consumer culture theorists investigate the processes by which consumption choices and behaviors are shaped by social class hierarchies (Allen 2002); gender (Bristor and Fischer 1993); ethnicity (Belk 1992); and families, households, and other formal groups.

4. Mass-Mediated Marketplace Ideologies and Consumers' Interpretive Strategies.

Consumer culture theory examines consumer ideology—systems of meaning that tend to

channel and reproduce consumers' thoughts and actions in such a way as to defend dominant interests in society (Hirschman 1993). The questions guiding this research program figure prominently in much critical and media theory outside of consumer research. They include the following: What normative messages do commercial media transmit about consumption? How do consumers make sense of these messages and formulate critical responses? In this research program, consumers are conceived of as interpretive agents whose meaning-creating activities range from those that tacitly embrace the dominant representations of consumer identity and lifestyle ideals portrayed in advertising and mass media to those that consciously deviate from these ideological instructions.

Ethnographic Methodology

Urban Ethnography is a method that has been adopted in this study. Michel Dunier (2013) states "Ethnography is a social science that explores the lives, actions and beliefs in the daily context. Official surveys and interviews are used by researchers in the social sciences. In contrast ethnographer pays to seek to understand life as it is lived" (p. 4). He added that the results of his work is mainly based on field work that involves entering the world of people under study as near observer or participant in a relatively long time. Sharing experiences of daily life, subject will harmonized conditions and less visible situations (same page).

Urban Ethnography is based on this belief that people's observation in their everyday context in different situations might give the clue that how they construct their world. In fact Ethnography emphasized the usefulness of personal experiences - whether the experiences of those who have been studied or those who do the study. In the other words, ethnographers are interested in the everyday experiences of ordinary people in ordinary day and their interpretations of life experiences. Dunier states that "during the time a good Ethnography can become unprecedented social history" (same 9-10).

Richard E. Ocejo (2012) says ethnographic research learning not only requires operation and monitoring but also a conflict of feedback on the strategies and actions. What Urban Ethnography distinguish from others is that authors study broader forces into the urban life in their analysis. They recognize care about the city, political economy, inequality, culture, conditions, size, density and diversity in the life their participants. They will study urban space where people can affect their understanding because the conditions of admission plays the key role in shaping people's lives (same page6-7).

Ethnographic work is theoretical sampling method. This means that researchers in the area of research must begin to collect data from a variety of sources and theoretically enriched his research. Statistical society are different groups in Baneh who are generally young salespersons. These people are directly involved in dealing with global commodity and create unique group in the form of local culture. It should be noted that any talk, discussion, and observation in the marketplace and on the subject has been used as a part of research of ethnographer. Ethnography inductive data collection strategy is examined in detail and begins moving slowly at the macro level. Formal and informal methods for gathering data are based on open questionnaires and participant observation. In general attending the place is the main work of ethnographer. Here for analyzing ethnography, we have used content analysis.

Field work study

As we know there has been uneven development in Third World countries which cannot meet their expectation in marginal areas and borders. A superficial observation of the difficult economic and social conditions of the area and shows the erosion of livelihood of these regions. These terms and situations of border is frequently created the ability to go to the other side of border which was a rational choice.

Baneh is located in Kurdistan province, on the western border of the country. Baneh has been geographically and culturally marginalized and the people of this city had its own culture and social history. So it is natural to breed local values and create its distinct culture in society. But today, because of the position of the border as well as the expansion of global markets has achieved exceptional situation because in recent years a large number of global goods have been transferred and so many passengers has travelled there to purchase goods. Those living in Baneh have noticed the process of change, thus traditional atmosphere and local culture of city has been changed noticeably: this situation ultimately leads to deep changes in the market, urban environment, culture, local people and even the overall strategy of government. Malls, international freight forwarding companies, exchange offices, international travel agencies, multiple banks and financial institutions with multiple branches, tourist tours, hotels and inns, restaurants have changed the face of the city. People confront fast entry of goods in world market and relationship of diverse cultural forms due to the influx of passengers from all parts of the country.

Thus, confrontations between local values, global commodities and their use in Baneh has created a special and interesting situation and acts as intersection collision of different cultures. Therefore it has prepared proper subject for research which has not been examined so far.

This paper covers three fundamental dimensions which examines the context of urban space of Baneh: Globalization and global goods, local culture and its associated values, consumption, consumer behavior and cultures of consumption. The contributions of all these dimensions manifests during the "practice" of consumption where consumers respond to this trend which shows priorities, orientation and ongoing need in the everyday life.

At the beginning of modern times, border was considered as alternative option to get out of critical situations in which it can satisfy the needs of both sides of the border. Accordingly, the people of this city meet basic needs from Iran and Iraq. But border also had serious consequences for the local population: Central policies of the nation-state Middle East oil and uneven development of marginal areas along with chaotic situation and Kurdish security issues in the aftermath of Iran's revolution and the war with Iraq has caused deprivation.

End of the war and the relative calm of the seventies onwards and continuing internal crisis in Iraq with Kurdish regions and the war with Kuwait has exacerbated the crisis which caused inability in supplying basic needs. Even still agricultural production in the country is low and food production is the main export from Iran to Iraq. In other words, both sides of the border had the main effect in moving Baneh into commercialization process. In addition, tariffs on foreign goods from the central government's made differences between the high prices of imported merchandise from the official border and smuggled goods.

“We began our own food export such as pasta, biscuits, chocolate and son on in 1993. Due to America's attack on Iraq, Iran has been changed to Iraq main exporter. Iraq caused many wars

with Kuwait and Iran... war with America and forming the autonomous region of Iraqi Kurdistan. Believe it or not ... There are not any ketchup factories in Iraq at the beginning Baneh was the path for export and then became a route for entry and exit of goods. Today, while still food and livestock products are priority for exporting to Iraq, the whole range of foreign goods ranging from clothing, home appliances, audio and video, mobile, industrial tools and spare parts are imported. . These conditions have made Baneh as historical mediator for the better use of neighbor country ‘‘Karim.M 45 years old.

‘‘The market of that period was solely on the basis of people's food needs... But this new market has been turned into luxurious market’’. Omid. R 34 years old.

The process of Market embeddedness on small city

In the early years of emerging of the market smuggling was not only an economic phenomena but also occurred perfectly in the context of socio-cultural developments of locals. Smuggling was a specific social action and was considered to have the sense of protest and resistance against the central government. . Land Cruiser (Toyota) entered the city with smuggled goods and was easily shot in the public eyes....so local people tried to hide the car in the yard or warehouse without knowing the driver. This meant that the smuggling was interpreted as an act of protest in the historical and social context.

Other phenomena that existed in Baneh was exchanging of currency such as dinars and dollars. History of dealing of dinar and the dollar is much older than market's history. Locals with smallest amount of material in the range of 5 million Toman engaged in exchange trade. These people have no role in the pricing currency and could obtain smallest profit randomly because the currency price is more affected by international, political, and macroeconomic developments. This market along with the people are like gamblers who follow the flows of commerce. Approximately five hundred to a thousand people are engaged in this work.

Villages which are in the vicinity of border have moved dramatically towards urbanization. Thus, the majority of rural people, especially young people engage in the transportation of goods. Trucks have destroyed agricultural lands and these trucks drivers have made their own roads without having any permission of the farmers. In addition, when the product is high in the border, the value exchange of labor power goes up because it requires carriers, car and more mules: thus these factors will increase freight. This issue became so intense that the people of surrounding towns (especially Saqez) came to Baneh for transporting the goods in the border. These people from other cities who came to Baneh caused to reduce freight.

Commercialization of relations and traditional setting

Baneh has reorganized social relations by the new nature of commercial which has distinction with other cultural relations: network of social relations in the context of the local culture of the city has paved the way for understandable and observable commercialization. Because of the historical border in this area, there are close family relationship between the two countries (Iran and Iraq): Today, this traditional relationship has provided the situation for which the trade relationship is consistent. Network of local relations has been directed in commercial utilization. Those who have managed to maintain their family ties with the other side of the border now use these relationships for business. Thus, they have started good business based on trust and confidence that traditional relations have brought them.

Rivalry exists as a certain cultural phenomenon continuing market development. This means that each individual imitates others business. This imitation is existed in the kinds of goods as well. For example, fuel smuggling had reached such an extent that the fuel was depleted in Baneh and even taxi drivers sold their own fuel. At a certain point on the border exporting sugar was a good business and incredibly sugar factories were constructed in every area. There were a hundred and seventy workshops. Others turn to the construction of commercial complexes or malls. During the four years, four or five malls increased to seventy malls. Rivalry caused the rapid destruction of certain business and many businessmen went bankrupt.

‘‘ it is all rivalry ...it is rumored that home appliance has more profits ... within a week, half of the city stuff their shops with home appliance’’ .Sherko. S 40 years old.

Now they have invested on construction. In some areas the price of houses reached four billion tomans which is really high. Even some land which is still in forest has been segmented and is bought and sold. One of the landowners has segmented his land and has decided to name the town Kobani. Some of them have decided to name their land after great Kurdish writers to give them great cultural connotation. This kind of development has no external factor. This is just additional investment and ought to be invested in somewhere else and because of border position, it has no choice for investment except building construction.

Job creation of commodity market

Unusual jobs have been made in the market due to local conditions: international chains of smuggling have been made. Due to this, the fake goods (goods that are made with authentic brands) shall be smuggled out of China Customs. As a result, Chinese smugglers have joined those in Baneh. Bane's companies generally are involved in this work in China. Thus, transporting in china is much harder than in Iran's border. They do not guarantee the loads because it is too risky. The owner of the goods should take responsibility. The cargoes head to Sulaymaniyah then unload in Iran's porter. The containers exit through Bashmaq's customs in Mariwan. Because a container is sent to abroad, usual customs tariffs will not be imposed on it. Thus it should not unload inside Iran. It will be unloaded in Sulaimaniyah and eventually smuggling comes to the second round: the goods are smuggled into Iran's territory again by the border. This time all the goods are transferred by Land Cruiser or mules. The goods are guaranteed in the border that is the transportation companies should take responsibility for goods. Finally goods should be delivered in the storage. The cargoes have special code for each owner in order the owner no to be identified in the time of crisis. Companies generally do the shopping for buyers. The buyer should know the address of the shop and the codes of the goods. Finally if you deposit money for the company, the purchase is done. There should be a member of the company in China to take care of the business. Thus, if the company is trusted, general expenses including visa and travel costs will be decreased and competitive strength in commodity prices will rise.

Service jobs such as restaurants, inns, rental houses, transportation companies, travel agencies, exchange offices and banks have created thousands of job opportunities. There are many groups such as vendors, mall janitors and accounting who are engaged in the market. Overall market has prepared special prosperity to the city.

Government's position in the face of city/ market

Since the beginning of the formation of market, government had a significant change of position: First smuggling was seen as a resistance against the central government and was acted against it. There were armed clashes that led to the physical conflict and even death. Perspective of the central government did not change easily. The government intended to disrupt the connection between the borders to maintain the special meaning of the border as deterrent barrier and use border as a platform of export.

The trend of changes in the establishment of the market is important if we see state institutions and their functioning as central government representative views. The first involving government agency is the Border Police Force. As a result of this interaction that the parties have over their own interests - as they turned over to compromise and expediency- each party tried to comply with the points of view of the other side. For example, local people avoid importing the stuffs which arouse great stress and high sensitivity of government. It was after the clashes and armed conflicts that the government's attitude gradually changed. Thus, the police force started secret cooperation with smugglers.

Another institution that profits from the market is municipality. Municipality used any opportunity to participate in the market. It initially launched to build shops and small markets then partnered with a few capitalists and started to build many shopping centers. Municipality utilized places that had great position and was close to the central market. It turned its own building's yard into marketplaces. The ground floor of Municipal Mall was used for bank renting. Finally it attempted to sell green spaces.

When the municipality began to build shopping center, it had the responsibility of supplying the electricity power. But after selling shops, it refused to continue cooperation. This malls, like other malls use the electric motor to provide the needed power. Despite its increased income, there is no civil development in other parts of the municipality. The only place that has changed is Pirmorad. It has been turned from a place of pilgrimage to the amusement park. This institution suffers from lack of planning. While strongly stand against the countryside's construction, it has constructed buildings such as malls, and shopping center in the middle of city. Unfortunately municipality is involved in bureaucracy.

The importance of Customs has been reduced due to lack of change in its performance and lack of planning and confusion. If your goods are confiscated you have to pay fines double of commodity prices. It will take six months to return the goods, so the large quantities of goods miss in warehouses. In early formation of market, when a cargo was confiscated by the police all of them would deliver in customs. The owner of the cargo were summoned to the customs. Thus, they registered the cargoes with the names of several owners in order to reduce the fines. But now police force hardly ever delivers goods to customs because of sharing unofficial income among its members.

Generally the main problem of commodity in Baneh is confusion in the legal definition: it is probably deliberately confused. In the context of this study, there are different and conflicting definitions in practice. Smuggled goods in the border includes all goods which do not pass in official passages. As soon as supposed smuggled goods enter into the warehouse and shops, they will not be labeled as smuggled any more. They are freely shown in the window shops and are sold in wholesale and retail. If the goods exist Baneh and enter another city, it will be labeled smuggled again. Here the commodity should re-enter the cycle of smuggling.

Range of goods that are imported into Baneh includes electronic devices such as cellphones, tablets, and laptops: home appliance appliances such as LED and LCD TVs, home theaters, air-conditioners and washing machines: kitchen appliances such as oven, ironing clothes, meat grinder, juicer, rice cooker, grill, sandwich maker: clothing with all its items and in all age and gender ranges: food packaging such as milk, pickles, olives, chocolate, pastilles, chewing gum, tea and coffee: Industrial tools such as drills, saws and electric motor: cosmetics for men and women such as razors, hair dryers, hair straighteners, nail polish and lipstick: toys and even specialized goods such as hiking equipment, accessories for swimming and fishing and camcorders.

All of these goods with stylish and attractive packaging and best quality and prices are available both to travelers and local people. This market is up to date with special global commodities which has been able to attract everyone throughout Iran.

Facing of the locals with the commodity

The face of commodity was just for sales and livelihood of local people. Few people tended to consume luxury goods both for financial and cultural reasons. As the market gradually grew, it had impact on local people and people showed pleasure in consuming commodity. Travelers from larger cities and the effect of global media advertising had a significant impact on the creation and dissemination of this process. Although satellite was focused on Kurdish issues, it inculcated consumerism in the mind of people. People tendency to use global commodities increased due to the use of the latest technology. On the other hand, local people did not use domestic production comparing to global commodities. Local people's consumption before market development, especially in terms of food and clothing was more indigenous production and Iranian products had negative connotation. Thus, kind of freedom was given to the people through universal consumption of goods both to passengers and local people and they enjoyed from its consumption. Global commodity has rooted its presence in local people consumption culture. Therefore, the early treatment of people with goods was different due to social and class status. Nationalist local people supported importation of smuggled goods to disturb affairs of government. Individuals and religious groups were very skeptical and promulgated cautious and conservative criticism. Adults were attracted to global commodity consumption more than any group. They entered into the world of fashion and the global consumption specially clothes. Thus, now people do not have resistance to certain goods and consumption.

CONCLUSION

There were certain assumptions and hypotheses at the beginning of this study which the researcher was confronted with different answers and solutions after conducting interviews and continuous enterprise in the market. This led to expand the scope of his studies to examine different theories. Meanings, themes, interpretations and practices showed certain patterns of thought. Interestingly, the findings of studies be consistent with theories that are not necessarily put into practice. In discussions concerning the market and its impact on individuals and political economy in the writings of Foucault (*Birth of Biopolitics*, 1978) and environmental issues and geographical theories of David Harvey (*Urbanization of the Capital*, 1985), these findings are very close and consistent about the city, places and environments. We'll see trends in local, national and global effects and how relationships are established.

The global commodity and local consumer.

In consumer culture, consumption constitute the central place in our daily life. Choice for consumption is not only for our products and their usefulness but on the basis of their symbolic meaning. Basically we consume to create and maintain not only ourselves but also to find our place in society. From a critical perspective attempts to create self, lead to illusions in the world of consumption.

Attempts to create self in a modern society is inseparable from the concept of consumption. Actually the society has a consumer culture. This is a situation that our social life is understood in the terms of consumption. Therefore consumption has central position for meaningful practice in the daily life. Certainly we use our products of beliefs ad practice no only to satisfy our needs but also for our own creations. We are what we have and our possession is part of our developed self. The material objects embodies a system of meaning to express ourselves and communicate with others. If a person is faced with the threat of meaninglessness, he/ she is forced to make sense of life by engaging in symbolic consumption. Ontology without possession cannot be true. While consumerism create our own symbolic meaning and identity, it provides the illusion and capture us in endless consumption.

Local consumption cultures

After investigation in local context, it was found that commodity can be applied to any consumer with any tendency and social differentiation and consumers shows the supremacy of his/her trends and social position in consumption of global commodity. Therefore access to the product and its consumption cause the legitimacy and acceptance of many meanings for the consumer. As Miller argues material culture has constitutive feature which is called the objectification of the social relations. Thus, access to expensive global commodity needs financial ability particularly success in market which embodies social relations - upper, middle and lower class - and helps the establishment of this situation.

Hybrid combinations of the local and global implications is observed due to the global commodity consumption is in the context of study which its local meanings is linked with gender, ethnicity and different ideologies. The property of global commodity in the context of the study is that it can bring the global meaning to local culture and does not raise objection to local consumers. Style of consumption of adults (male) are mostly clear and abounded with liberal ideologies. Women's style of consumption is devoid of local elements. They want with themes of freedom to improve their social status through consumption. National, ethnic, religious and ideological groups like to consume the global commodities but their difference is in that having the product shows ideological superiority over the other groups.

Development of rationalization and maintenance of local content

Changes in the context of local culture caused the predominance of forms of economic rationality and market but it has continued local content. Any content can survive if it is not at contradiction with the market rationality. As Daniel Miller (1998) states: if local culture wants to survive in the capitalist world, it should accept the commercialization and market form. Globalization with its logic continues marketization of anything outside of its own and devours a variety of cultures and different context.

Collective ideologies

However groups of local people are different from each other, their status is defined and adjusted according to the market. Each group is defined according to particular situation and market position and provides description and justification for the performance of his/her own activities which is different in practice. While the market logic is ruling on the performance and attitude both those who are involving in the market and those who is not, they deny market impact on performance, attitude and even their own consumption. For example groups that have economic activity outside of market consume global commodities but personal utilization become their criteria. In fact, consumption is a right for everyone, but with distinct ideologies. Thus, consumption has become one of the ideological foundations of popular culture which the various groups and classes want to display their orientation.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai, Arjun. (1986). *The social life of Things*. UK: Cambridge university press.
- Appadurai, Arjun. (2005). *Modernity at Large*. Routledge.
- Arnould J, Eric. Thompsn J, Craig. (2005). *Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research*. *Journal Of Consumer Research*.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. (2013). *Globalization And Hybridity*. Published online by Globus et Locus.
- Bird, Jon. (1993). *Mapping the Futures, Local cultures, global change*. Routledge.
- Castells, Manuel. (2010). *End of Millennium*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Cohen, Robin. (2007). *Creolization and Cultural Globalization: The Soft Sound of Fugitive Power*. Routledge.
- Droge, Cornelia. Roger, Catalone. Agrawal, Madhu. Mackoy, Madhu. (1993). *The Consumption Culture And Its Critiques: A Framework For Analysis*. *Journal Of Macro-Marketing*.
- Daunton, Martin and Hilton, Matthew. (2001). *The Politics of Consumption*. Routledge.
- Duneier, Mitchell and Kasinitz, Philip and K. murphy, Alexandra. (2013). *The Urban Ethnography reader*. Oxford University Press.
- Ellen, Roy. (1984). *ethnographic research*. Academic press.
- Eriksen. Hylland, Thomas. (2003). *Creolization and creativity*. (2004) *Creolization in Anthropological Theory and in Mauritius*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd & Global Networks Partnership.
- Evans, Peter. (2008). *Is an Alternative Globalization Possible?*. *Politics & Society*, Vol. 36 No. 2, June 2008 271-305. Sage Publications.
- Freedman, Johnathan. (1994). *Consumption and identity*. OPA (Overseas Publishers Association).
- Hammersley, Martyn and Atkinson Paul. (1983). *Ethnography Principles in practice*. Routledge.
- Hannerz, Ulf. (1997). *Flows, Boundaries and hybrids*. Published in Portuguese as "Fluxos, fronteiras, híbridos: palavras-chave da antropologia transnacional".
- Hogg, Margaret. (2009). *Mapping symbolic (anti) consumption*. *journal of business research*, www.sciencedirect.com.
- Howes, David. (1996). *Cross Cultural Consumption*. Routledge.
- Jackson, Peter. (2004). *Local consumption culture in globalizing world*. British institute geographers.

- Jamson, Fredric. Selected Writings on the Postmodern (1983-1998).The Cultural Turn.VERSO London • New York.
- Jones, Andrew. (2010). Globalization: Key Thinkers. Polity Press.
- Miller, Daniel. (1998). Material cultures Why some things matter.UCL Press.
- Money, Annemarie. (2007). Material Culture and the Living Room: The appropriation and use of goods. Journal of Consumer Cultur.
- M. Venegas, Kristan.H. Huerta, Adrian. (2008) Urban ethnography: approaches, perspectives and challenges In New approaches to qualitative research: wisdom and uncertainty. University of Southern California.
- O`Rielly, Karen. (2005). Ethnographic Methods.Routledge.
- Ozanne L, Julie. Tech Susan, Virginia.(2006). Transformative Consumer Culture Theory.Dobscha, Bentley College.
- Piancentini, Maria and Mailer. (2001). Symbolic consumption in teenagers, clothing choices.Journal of consumer behavior.
- Rhod, James. (1995) What is ethnography in sociology. Routledge.
- Richard E. Ocejjo. (2013). Ethnography and the city: Readings on doing urban fieldwork.Routledge.
- Ritzer, George. (2001). Explorations in the Sociology of Consumption. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Ritzer, George. (2009) Globalization A Basic Text.Wiley-Blackwell publications.
- Schuerkens, Ulrike. (2004). Global Forces and Local Life.Sage publitions Ltd.
- Swoden, Liza-jane and Griemer, Martin. (2009). Symbolic consumption and consumer identity.Tasmania ANZMAC journal.
- Tomlinson, Alan. (2005). Consumption, Identity and Style.Routledge.
- Venegas,Kristan. (2007). Urban ethnography approaches perspectives and challenges. Journal of higher education. California.
- Warde, Alan. (2005). Consumption and Theories of Practice.SAGE Publications.