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BRITISH IDENTITY MANIFESTATIONS IN THE POSTMODERN LITERARY FRAME

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"Short stories are nearer poetry than anything. They are like a conversation, a dialogue. And besides, some of them are quite long." Jane Gardam

National identity can be traced in almost all the spheres of human habitat cultural, institutional, political, literary, pshychological, daily routine and many others, that is both in the verbal and non verbal activities of all and each person, respectively. In this research we look upon the British identity manifestations in the post-modern multifaceted literary frame based on the English short story contexts. Given the popular approach of the marked British conventionalism, concepts and cultural artefacts, as it were, we elucidate the stories of three contemporary women writers — A.S. Byatt; J.Gardam and D. Moggach, as a field to reveal literary reproductions of *identity* paradigm and its social-cultural component in view of the city of London and certain niches of its subcultures. The analysis produces challenging ideas when considering social and spatial distinctions of London's image according to the writers' subjective attitudes, as well as the moral of the past and present, which are portrayed by three main topics: intellectuality and erudition (the London library); arts and theatre (the National Theatre and Shakespeare); Post-colonial reality (Pakistani shopkeeper's British dream-home), all of them as inseparable components of British national identity.

Keywords: postmodernism, British national identity, A. Byatt, Jane Gardam, Debora Moggach.

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Introduction

It is worth mentioning from the very start that Byatt's and Gardam's stories can be considered as having more emphasized postmodern features such as mystic phenomena, strangers, suspicion, discrete talks and monologues as typical of postmodern plots, somehow missing or deemphasized in Moggach's story. However, national artefacts, love for gardening and theatre, generation gap, etc. along with memories and values, are there to distinguish the characters' conscientious self-identity and its manifestations in their daily practices and roles in the family and at work.

Among the current functional varieties of discourse, the special significance of fiction can never be overestimated, and this, first and foremost, is due to its ability to express, shape and manifest a wide spectrum of identities. Any fictional text, as it were, is rich in cultural, aesthetic and factological concepts as well as allotted an indisputable ability to influence public thought and reflect the hidden shades of social strata mentality, hence, identities.

It is assumed that identity is a mosaic of historical, linguistic, pshycological, anthropological and many more facets, so, when discussing the British identity, it should be mentioned that extant in the flow of everyday life, it is vividly portrayed in material and non-material, institutional, political, cultural, religious and many more reproductions as a working paradigm not only summed up in popular consciousness and mentality but also evidenced by literary depictions. Particularly, in the given case of the British short story genre, *identity discussion* seems relevant when the plots and genre preferences, choices of style and means of its actualization, content intricacies, protagonists, time and space peculiarities are considered, and the subculture and milieu of the society are also given thought to. It is no surprise, then, that both the identity and behaviour of human beings have been seen as very much defined by their particular sociocultural positionality (Sell, 2004, pp. 30 - 31).

Given all these considerations on the behavioural models and status, culture and society values, individuals' tendencies and practices available, the stories contribute to defining and producing this or that image in a broad palette of post-colonial reality, immigration, globalities and origins to spread light on identity discussion in post-modern contexts (Castles, & Davidson, 2000, pp.45-63; Kumar, 2005, pp.3-28).

British identity in a postmodern context

In the present research British identity is substantially viewed in the context of the story genre, as evidenced by the works of British postmodernist authors, whose stories explicitly reflect identity, especially marked with its both social and cultural characteristics.

And since in every postmodern fictional text there are many implications of archetypes, allusions, references, quotations, fantasy, events and episodes, often ambiguous connotations and mystic occurrences as well as fairy tale and mythical plots, it can be presumably mentioned that the reader should be familiar with the reality manifested, otherwise it would be impossible to fully comprehend the text in its full capacity of semantic, emotional, ideological and moral integrity (Byatt, 1994, p.71). Thus, it seems advantageous to distinguish between linguistic and non-linguistic manifestations of identities in the stories presented. An insight into familiar pervasive paradigms inherent in British reality is needed to perceive the cultural evaluation of postmodernism and globalization issues and processes, attributed to the concepts of the British heritage or tradition in the given literary contexts (Byatt, 2000). Interestingly, one of the typically historical, artistic and cultural features of the postmodern epoch is the disappearance or rather conscientious ignorance of the traditional links of the past and the present, or their estrangement from everyday life (Walker, 2006, p.323; pp.325-26), whereas memory, both individual and collective, plays an indispensable role in the restoration of the historical past (Halbwachs, 1992, pp.40-45; p.135; Boyer, 1994). There is no doubt that printing played a major role in the development of the country's cultural identity, for it contributed to the preservation of public memory for future generations to understand the historical bases of the formation of national identity. Of paramount importance in this respect, are also the autobiographical works, another literary tendency which helps presenting family stories, turning to traditional artifacts, background events and historically valuable facts in order to preserve and adhere to one's national customs and national identity (Feldman, 2001, pp.32-33, p.226).

One thing is, however, obvious. Both individuals and public groups reproduce any complexes of national ritual and practices in their own way, creatively. Historical memory presumably opens up great possibilities of discussing the readers' and fictional characters' relationships, when recollecting and reenacting the socially established roles, habits and customs (Berensmeyer, 2006). Thus, it is obvious that historical past and notable events have an important role in identity formation; they create frames and design unforgettable and lasting patterns of national portrayal, providing a background for understanding and interpreting the current cultural values and attitudes encapsulated in national identity. Emphasizing the historicity and authenticity, peculiar to individual and collective memory in this process, however, it should be admitted that the analysis of the contemporary British stories turns out to be rather promising in the manifestation of identity in fictional texts (Walker, 2006).

Nowadays, British identity is associated with multicultural reality, a phenomenon which is conditioned by a number of factors: emigration movements, political and language-based strategies, general education system propagation, large-scale processes related to the idea of citizenship, civic society, immigration, human rights, oblivion and memory, exile and intermarriages (Aboulela, 2004, p. 76).

The artistic value of the stories discussed is manifold, and the consideration of the linguostylistic and lexical peculiarities, prove important and effective in respect of the revelation of the identity paradigm nuances. The stories chosen as an object of research, in fact, cover the post-colonial mosaic of the United Kingdom, in respect of its ethnocultural, linguistic and political practices and diversity.

Our choice of Antonia Byatt's, Jane Gardam's and Debora Moggach's stories can be grounded for by the fact that they quite allusively as well as symbolically and metaphorically reflect London's political and daily routine, subjective perceptions, attitudes, moral and psychological peculiarities as characteristic of different segments and subcultures of the society, acting as components of national identity manifestations. Valuable is also the fact that each of the chosen writers has her own narrative and literary style, her unique significance and mission in terms of the artistic epitome of the British identity in postmodern contexts.

A.S. Byatt's artistic interpretation of British identity

A.S. Byatt's story "On the Day E.M. Forster Died" evolves around an intellectual woman's daily visits to the London library, the intricate, unreal, moreover, fantastic visions she experiences, the people she meets in and beyond the library, encounters which are specified by the space she acts in. The author skillfully applies interesting stylistic solutions when creating the

images of the intellectuals who highly appreciate certain spiritual values and lifestyle and consider them prior to the very subculture they belong to, as well as their perceptions and materialized manifestations of public and cultural space, activities and interests. All this is presented from the point of view of an intellectual woman, whose image in fact fills in London's urban subculture.

It should be noted that being an intellectual writer, Mrs. Smith, the protagonist, regards her self-perceptions, her feelings and her *self* in general as objects of her own reflections, meditations and authentic reenactment, as a core idea and gist of all her works. In the story the protagonist is the mediator between the reader and the narrative, and it is interesting to note that the author's own self-consciousness, realized through the narrative of the storyteller, by no means underestimates the value of the novel as an artistic expression of identity, on the contrary, it underscores Byatt's insight as a storytelling tool.

Byatt's story is somehow different as compared to classical short story genre. Nonetheless, the artistic representation of the rhetoric of an erudite writer is quite unique, as the author being guided by the principle of historicity, is research-oriented and digs out and depicts both historical issues and national symbols in her work. She can definitely be considered an identity and cultural legacy preserver, delicately recycling her own understanding and model of Britishness (Byatt, 2000, pp. 91-92; p.196). Throughout the story, the use of different place-names such as Piccadilly, Regent Street, Jermyn Street, etc. which can be considered cultural markers of the city of London, English culture and Britishness at large, vividly show Mrs. Smith's devotion to and love of the city of London of which she is an indivisible part (Byatt, 1994, p.71). The heroine herself, who is the quintessential focus and realizer of the author's ideas and worldviews, is presented to the reader as someone who, in fact, is an attribute of London's daily life and has a certain mission, a woman who finds her satisfaction and harmony in the intellectual spheres (for example, in her regular daily self-forgetful visits to the London library). The London library, being a publicly intellectual and cultural space and milieu, is one of the hallmarks of British identity in several ways: a tourist destination, a living repository of history, which makes the "export" of British tradition possible. Thus, the meditations and thoughts of the protagonist and her writing career in the library harmonize with Byatt's perception of the library as a symbol of intellectual identity. The consistent visits of Mrs. Smith to the London library

generalizes the image and self-identity of those women who prefer mental activities, working career to family routine and worries.

The study of the biographical, creative activity, and genre preferences of great writers motivates and inspires Byatt's thoughts, her creative impulse, literary taste. Thus, it is not surprising that her heroine's observations are also interesting and challenging in respect of the latter's appreciation of the detailed consideration of the world-famous writers, biographies and works.

Adhering to genuine, authentic and unchangeable, often surrealistic phenomena, yet, loyal to her own self-identity, the heroine is quite aware of the importance of literature, art in general, as exceptional values in her understanding of life. However, she is full of skepticism as she is far from being sure that life can stimulate the development of art, or that with the help of art it will be credible to protect the world from possible dangers. Presumably, this contradiction can be explained by the split and duplicity in the heroine's ego.

In the context of the urban subculture, the idea of a cultural space is clearly predominant, and the image of London comes forth in this context; it is modelled by a combination of the author's apt remarks and observations of cultural values and the complex of urban attributes. The description of London's richest and most prestigious districts, introduces the reader to the realia, which, in fact, shapes the multifaceted British identity (Pevsner, 1921, p.75, p.125; Kumar, 2003; 2015). In this story, the social bases of the territorial division and cultural background of spatial hallmarks of London are clearly and scrupulously described owing to Byatt's sophisticated use of accurately chosen linguistic elements as well. For example, in her description of the West End in London, through the use of elements like Jermyn Street, Piccadilly, Fortnum, Mason's and other place names the author emphasizes the rich and dazzling splendor of the West End in the literary context of her narrative, where she develops the depiction of cultural details concerning the psychological tendencies, characteristic of the rich for whom their wealth is a key precondition for securing a prestigious position and status in the society (Boyer, 1994). One of the interesting characteristics of the story is the consideration of the mother tongue which reveals some details of social strata identities, and, as if, once again realizes the artistic potential of the native dialect as a means of expressing the idea of Britishness. In this way, Byatt underscores the importance of the mother tongue in view of the British national selfestablishment. According to the author, the 70s are characterized by the whole set of those very values (Byatt, 1994, p.67).

London theatrical life as a component of British identity

Successful artistic representations of London's daily life can also be found in Jane Gardam's story Groundlings, which is especially remarkable for the original reproduction of the London theatrical life and theatre attendance. The huge theatrical community endowed with common and distinctive features deserves attention. By these characterizing features and the descriptions of people's appearance and their behavioural peculiarities, the etiquette of communication can be outlined which revolves around Shakespeare's multifaceted phenomenon. Many of Shakespeare's quotes, allusions and references are directly related to the spiritual and intellectual values typical for the given period of the society and for those who embody them. Following the plot line of Shakespeare's dramas and comedies, Gardam presents her time and concerns. And indeed, for the British reality (in fact, the whole world), Shakespeare is one of the inherited values and everlasting identities. He is as up-to-date nowadays as ever, so he does not come down from the stage all over the world. The British reality is *filled with* Shakespeare. The phenomenon of Shakespeare, as it were, is inserted in everyday life and has become one of the most important components of the British identity paradigm.

The author reproduces the theatrical atmosphere of the 20th-century London, reconsidering her memories accumulated over forty years; in particular, she speaks of the 60s and 70s, the peak of the cultural ascent everywhere in the world, and the utmost fascination and worship of Shakespeare's creations and their popularity which almost every layer of the society was enchanted by. And this is done by Gardam through the use of successfully coined linguistic elements and stylistic means. In her depiction of the British reality impregnated with the phenomenon of Shakespeare the author proceeds from the contrasting ideas of theatrical and non-theatrical. This is reflected in the passage below:

It is the procession that floods across Waterloo Bridge from the station, across the river to work. ... It is an army of silently trumping, non-conversing, face-forward, jerking, walking, trotting, running ants, heads held tense, hands hard-gripping on cases, umbrellas, newspapers, the coming day. It continues, a steady flow, for the best part of two hours, dwindling off at just after ten o'clock. It is the march of the disciplined, the bread-winners, the money-grubbers, often the dead. Over the Bridge they tramp, south to north, in to the stomach of London. ... They don't look over their shoulders and down or they would see us, their opposites, as in a mediaeval diptych of heaven and hell – or hell and heaven: the motley bundles of the theatre queuers looking upwards and over at them as we blink with sleep. Us, the pleasure-seekers, the unrepentant from across the wide world, the creatures of high holidays.

It can be assumed that this contrast (between *the disciplined bread-winners, money-grubbers, those with hands hard-gripping on the coming day* and *their opposites – the theatre queuers, the pleasure-seekers, the unrepentant from across the wide world, the creatures of high holidays*) can be metaphorically reflected in the symbolic pattern *Shakespeare vs Profane* to be viewed as an indispensable constituent of British identity.

Therefore, the descriptions of the characteristic features of the regular visitors of the National Theater are of particular interest in Gardam's story. When you read the story, a vast panorama opens before you -a panorama of rather strange personalities who do not resemble the images of the usual theatre goers, you realize they can spend days and nights in the queues at the box office. Moreover, some of them in fact become permanent "dwellers" of that place, eating, sleeping, getting closer to each other, and, as it is shown at the end of the story, even dying there. And although they are very different from each other in their unfamiliar looks and behaviour, in their communicative culture, and verbal or non-verbal etiquette, however, at the same time they seem to be very closely united for their love of Shakespeare, and the aim they pursue is the same – to enjoy the charm of Shakespeare's plays. The depiction of these extraordinary people filled with fanaticism reminds of Umberto Eco's quote, "It is not theatre that imitates life; it is social life that is designed as a continuous performance, and because of this there is a link between theatre and life" (Eco, 1994, p.107; p.117).

It can be assumed that the fragmentation in the presentation of the content details, the temporal disorder, the somewhat blending of the historical tradition and the fantastic perception of reality add to the postmodern playfulness of the text of the story.

Quite symbolic is the title of the story *Groundlings* which presents the condensed picture of the Elizabethan theatre with people sitting around the stage in galleries, and tolerance towards any happennings and incidents that

used to occur among the huge diversity of people gathering in the theatre. This title particularly underscores the hierarchy, so obviously present in the society and social life, which is testified by the fact that the common people who were on the lowest rank of the social ladder, hardly managed to get even the cheapest tickets to the theatre and had to follow the performance standing in the galleries and particularly in front of the stage (hence ground+ling+s – those standing on the ground). By introducing the sociolinguistically and linguoculturally marked word *groundlings* into her story, the author tries to highlight the commonalities between the atmosphere (Berensmeyer, 2006,) in Elizabethan theatre and the one of the theatre realities of the post-war period of the 20th century 60s and 70s that was still alive in her memories. And Gardam does this through placing the phenomenon of Shakespeare as a national value of eternal worship and identity marker into the core of her perceptions and interpretations.

Aggi Batt, the central character of the story, who reminds of the groundlings and can be justly identified as part of the London theatre scene, stands out with her pronounced unequivocal, unnatural fanaticism. In the descriptions of her extraordinary appearance and no less unusual behaviour some typical features peculiar to postmodern writing can be traced. To understand the message and quintessence of J. Gardam's story it is particularly important to go deep into the allegory of the quote uttered by the heroine of the story, who, when asked which is her favourite play, answers *"Winter's Tale, but it's getting late for it now"* (Gardam, 1994, p. 93).

Post-colonial tendencies in deconstructing national identity

Rather interesting reproductions of British identity are also available in D. Moggach's "Empire Building". This story presents immigration and adaptation practices, as different from the ones discussed above, cultural and spatial geography in London's daily life having become an integral part of the London subculture. The writer's intention to create a metaphoric title of the story, associates with the British Empire and immigration practices, its material and non-material values both imported into and exported from the colonial countries (Kumar, 2015). It is well known that the colonial countries were not just territories, but a solid, monolithic structure, endowed with the British artefacts, realia and spirit. In contrast to the initially conquering tendencies of the colonial policy, it later took on unique nuances of harmonizing with the Britishness, patriotism, self-confidence, and, which is even more important, missionary, cherishing the ideas of their superiority, conscientious sacrifice and

help to civilize and educate the colonized peoples in the spirit of Britishness (Castles, & Davidson, 2000, p.85; pp.176-177)¹. Thus, the other aspect is the import and adoption of Britishness, and the great desire just to be British in all walks of life, as it were. The portrait of the empire emerges rich in figurative blocks of the expression from the point of view of the protagonist of the story, his impressions of the foreign culture he was so eager to adopt, Londoners' behavioural etiquette and so on, though all this seemed immoral and ill-mannered to Hamid, a Pakistani shopkeeper living in London. He looked at the representatives of the *former colonial society*, who, once wouldn't even touch his hand, but now touched the windows of his shop, with a kind of sarcastic malice and hostility. They seemed physically weak, immoral, helpless, to his mind, in fact *lost people* as compared to such a purposeful and goal-oriented person as he was, full of aspirations and dreams (Kumar, 2015, pp.100-105).

Hamid, with a natural ingenuity and wisdom of a successful merchant, acquired his own department store, a shop, giving it a symbolic name '*Empire Stores*'. This fact, he thought, demonstrated and embodied in its own way the full-fledged Londoners' pursuit of wealth, family well-being, as well as the *dream-fate* of many other expatriates.

Although his shop was located in a district with poor dormitories for the Irish expatriates and other commercial establishments, Hamid believed that by organizing and promoting the '*Empire Stores*' shopping properly, he would be able to meet the needs of the residents to the full. As Hamid was in touch with various members of the society, he also observed both the locals and different national minorities. His contacts and clashes with foreign culture took place in the department store, in the broader context of urban culture. In this stream of London's daily life, he often encountered verbal insults of national discrimination, unfair conduct on behalf of the visitors to his shop, and violence, i.e. overtones that underscored the seemingly illusive harmony and integrity of the imperial structure. Hamid's desire to be safe, invulnerable and perfectly happy, to safeguard his family's prosperous life in his *new homeland* turned out to be just an illusion (Hussain, & Paul, pp. 407–425).

In the case of Moggach's story, the title metaphorically illustrates émigré practices – Hamid's cold-hearted, unemotional response and self-control, acquired primarily due to his own culture, his specific behavioural etiquette, that can be interpreted through his desire to be wealthy in a new homeland, to have a successful work, a well-to-do family, and, in particular, a well-educated son with a promising future. The culmination of the symbolic setting and

message of the story is the fact that Hamid, buying a house in one of the richest districts of London, turned hopeful that the house with a garden would completely change his and his family's life, become a guaranteed sign of Britishness and security for his family and especially his business, make him a full member of London's society. But he soon realized that the idea of the British house and garden being an integral part of the British cultural values, as the embodiment of the British mindset and spirit, was not familiar to him. This became obvious when he, ignorant of either the art of furnishing the house or taking care of the garden, demonstrated them to his so-called English friends who started ironizing his undertaking. Their mild satire concerning Hamid's design of the British house can be heard in the story both verbally and nonverbally, and this turns out to be a psychological stress for the hero. But the most frustrating feelings occurred when he realized that his efforts to make his son a real British had been in vain, for his desires proved to be incompatible with reality. His son who, when a child, made Father happy reciting Wordsword's Daffodils, now turned out to be interested only in drinking and reading cheap low-quality pornomagazines (Moggach, 1994, p.146).

Hamid's creed is the philosophy of tolerance, typical of cultures of national minorities who have left their homelands and are trying to adapt to the new environment, lest his children, the son particularly, are not subjected to humiliations he himself has experienced. In the story, Hamid's evaluation of cultural stereotypes is shaped according to his national differences as those of permissible-impermissible standards of morality, and also his subjective self-perceptions whose sophisticated assessment observations and is reproduced and presented owing to the author's talent and intention via intricate, uncomplicated and straightforward linguistic means, to discover new identities comparing and synthesizing social hierarchy when considering London's multiracial mosaic, delicately interwoven with the literary context. It can be stated that Mogghach's "Empire Building" displays a certain subculture, a part of London's daily life in the 1970s, reflecting the complex and controversial process of Britishization of a foreigner in London, his efforts to adopt the cultural lore of customs and lifestyle.

Conclusion

Our examination shows that each of the stories addresses different clusters of values embedded in the complex structure of British identity. And, it can be claimed that all of them finally unite in the context of London's everyday life

manifestations; almost all the reproductions of identity paradigm are full of different word units expressing emotions and often characterized by the use of phrases to complete the image.

In addition to presenting multiple identities available in British national identity, these stories have a number of other commonalities and features. The images of women are somewhat outlined (especially in the stories of Byatt and Gardam), and émigré adaptation practices are artistically presented (Moggach) with their time and space-based specific characteristics and activities: work, family, friends, intertwined with self-identity, with the intellectual potential of the mother tongue and assessments of national values. And they bring up daily life episodes, micro and macro stories, which represent the unique mosaic of the city of London acting as features of the value systems of subcultures and their representatives as well as individualized identities.

Conclusively, it can be stated that literary and textual representations of the stories, reenactment and memory, national characters, historical events and their sequential descriptions testify to the accepted and recognized, lasting British identity paradigm markers of national belonging ever and today. Encapsulated in theoretical approaches and literary rhetoric of the post-modern and globalization omnipotent and ubiquitous frames, the stories ensure insight and perspective to develop more on the linguocultural scope of the British national identity.

Notes

1. In respect of colonial spirit and policies on behalf of the UK in the 19th century, it is of interest to mention that R. Kipling was concerned with the white man's mission to educate and civilize the savage. He positively represented the moral burden of the white race, who were divinely destined to 'civilize the non-white other.' Kipling, R. "The White Man's Burden" In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia.* Retrieved July 8, 2022 from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/R.Kipling

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ԲՐԻՏԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԻՆՔՆՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԴՐՍԵՎՈՂՈՒՄՆԵՂՉ ՊՈՍՏՄՈԴԵՌՆԻ ԳՐԱԿԱՆ ՇՐՋԱՆԱԿՈՒՄ

Սեդա Գասպարյան Նվարդ Երնջակյան

Ազգային ինքնության հետագիծը նկատելի է կենսամիջավայրի գրեթե բոլոր ոլորտներում՝ մշակութային, ինստիտուզիոնալ, քաղաքական, գրական, հոգեբանական, առօրյա և այլն. համապատասխանաբար բոլորի և լուրաքանչյուր մարդու խոսքային և ոչ խոսքային գործունեության մեջ։ Այս հետազոտության մեջ դիտարկում ենք բրիտանական ինքնության դրսևորումները անգլիական պատմվածքի համատեքստում հետմոդեռնիստական արժևորումների դիտանկյունից։ Հաշվի առնելով հասկացությունների և մշակութային արտեֆակտերի գրական երևույթը արժևորելու ընդունված մոտեցումը ըստ բրիտանական պայմանականության, փորձ է արվում պարզաբանելու երեք ժամանակակից կին գրողների՝ Ա.Ս. Բայաթի; Ջ. Գարդամի և Դ. Մոգաչի պատմվածքները՝ որպես ինքնության և դրա սոցիալ-մշակութային բաղադրիչի գրական վերարտադրությունները բացահայտելու դաշտ։ Դիտարկվում են Լոնորնի կերպարի սոզիայական և տարածական տարբերությունները՝ րստ գրողների սուբյեկտիվ վերաբերմունքի, ինչպես նաև անցյալի ու ներկայի բարոյականության։ Դրանք պատկերվում են երեք հիմնական թեմաներով՝ ինտելեկտուալություն և էրուդիցիա (Լոնդոնի գրադարան), արվեստ և թատրոն (ազգային թատրոն և Շեքսպիր), հետգաղութային իրականություն (Պակիստանի խանութպանի բրիտանական երազանքի տունը), որոնք բոլորն էլ բրիտանական ազգային ինքնության անբաժանելի բաղադրիչներ են։

Բանալի բառեր՝ պոստմոդեռնիզմ, բրիտանական ազգային ինքնություն, Ա.Բայաթ, Ջեյն Գարդամ, Դեբորա Մոգաչ։