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To cite this article: Bidit Lal Dey, John M. T. Balmer, Ameet Pandit, Mike Saren & Ben Binsardi (2017) A quadripartite approach to analysing young British South Asian adults' dual cultural identity, Journal of Marketing Management, 33:9-10, 789-816, DOI: [10.1080/0267257X.2017.1324896](https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2017.1324896)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0267257X.2017.1324896>



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Published online: 19 May 2017.



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A quadripartite approach to analysing young British South Asian adults' dual cultural identity

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ABSTRACT

Adopting an acculturation perspective, this article explicates the duality of young British South Asian adults' cultural dispositions. In so doing, it examines the complex dialectic processes that influence their acculturation strategies. By using a maximum variation sampling method, respondents from six major cities in Great Britain were interviewed for this study. The findings show that young British South Asian adults exhibit attributes of both of their ancestral and host cultures. Their dual cultural identity is constituted due to four major reasons: consonances with ancestral culture, situational constraints, contextual requirements and conveniences. This quadripartite perspective informs a non-context-specific theoretical model of acculturation. Marketing managers seeking to serve this diaspora market (and others) can utilise this theoretical framework in order to more fully comprehend diaspora members' religiosity, social, communal and familial bonding and other cultural dispositions and, moreover, their manifestations in their day-to-day lives.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 15 September 2016
Accepted 26 March 2017

KEYWORDS

Acculturation; British South Asians; consumer culture; diaspora

Introduction

In common with many other diaspora groups, young British South Asian adults find meaning and identity in the concomitant and meaningful interactions with their cultural and ethnic heritage as well as with their nationality and country of abode. As such, their sense of identity is informed by their ethnic inheritance in terms of customs, traditions, religion and language, and by their prerogative as citizens of the UK to draw on British norms, values and heritage. This empirical study investigates this group's nature of and motivation for dual cultural identity.

The demographic composition of the UK population has undergone significant change in recent times. The latest Office for National Statistics findings¹ show that in 2012, 12.4% of the usually resident population of the UK were born overseas, whilst 1 in 13 (7.8%) had non-British nationality. According to a recent study, more babies in the UK are born to mothers from other countries than ever before.² More than 50% of them

come from three South Asian countries – India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.³ Overall, there are 3 million South Asians in the UK and the number is increasing.

British South Asians can be identified as transient in their cultural self-identities as they hold and exhibit values of both Britain and the Indian subcontinent (Bardhan, 2011; Dasgupta, Gupta, & Teaiwa, 2007; Garbin, 2005; Lindridge, 2005). They are part of what may be called the diaspora identity phenomenon. This phenomenon represents a social condition and a form of consciousness that is consistent with transnational identities and can be considered as an interplay between first-generation migrants, their settled generations and their ideas in terms of a triadic relationship (Dudrah, 2014). This identification with their place of origin and place of settlement happens within a tension of being here and there simultaneously (Bardhan, 2011). Furthermore, diaspora identity determines ethnic communities' sense of belongingness, their lifestyle and their consumption patterns (Balmer & Chen, 2015; Cappellinim & Yen, 2016).

Hence, multicultural marketplaces offer research and marketing opportunities due to the dynamic, complex and rich diversity created by different diasporic communities (Demangeot, Broeckerhoff, Kipnis, Pullig, & Visconti, 2015; Jamal, 2003). The increasing number and influence of diasporic communities in the Western market underscores the importance of diaspora marketing (Kumar & Steenkemp, 2013) as migrants and sojourners constitute a significant part of the Western population. The 32 million Mexican-Americans in the US, 4 million Turks in Germany and 3 million South Asians in the UK, for instance, offer huge marketing opportunities as their cultural needs and dispositions are not always the same as those of the mainstream host communities.

As the South Asian group becomes a significant part of the UK, it is vital to understand how they adapt to the wider society and the issues that they encounter (Cooke, Zhang, & Wang, 2013). However, factors contributing to acculturation and resulting diasporic identities of ethnic communities are not independent of contextual issues (Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005; Lu, Samaratunge, & Hartel, 2016). Thus, ethnic communities' acculturation strategies (Berry, 1980; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994) require further research and the ethnic communities' dual cultural orientation (Askegaard et al., 2005; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010) in particular needs further investigation.

We believe that research on acculturation and diaspora marketing would benefit from further studies on the British South Asian diaspora, who have unique characteristics and offer an intriguing context for studies (Lindridge & Hogg, 2006). The rich and detailed notes of consumers as members of relatively smaller groups within a broader society, despite being different from sociologies of general consumption, can offer useful insights and contribute to the development of theories. As the extant literature testifies, contexts can contribute to theorising the distinct nature of certain consumer phenomena (Tian & Belk, 2005) and the interaction between underinvestigated consumers and their spatial and temporal conditions (Crockett & Wallendorf, 2004). However, this research is mindful of the fact that overemphasis on the context may diminish its strength and contributions to relevant theories and concepts. As such the epistemological stance for this research is neither extremely phenomenological in terms of emic descriptions of contextualised and fragmented phenomena, nor is it an endeavour for grand social theorisation on a more aggregate level. We attempt to take both into account, as suggested by Askegaard and Linnet (2011), by paying attention to the 'contexts of context' (Askegaard & Linnet, 2011) in the form of social,

institutional and historical issues that define consumers' contextualised responses. Following Arnould, Price, and Miosio (2006), we seek to harness the potential of the socio-economic, institutional and spatial contexts that contribute to young British South Asian adults' dual cultural identity. Hence, whilst this research investigates a contextual phenomenon, it more broadly seeks to make a meaningful theoretical contribution.

Anglo-South Asia links

Today, those with ancestral roots in the four contiguous republics of India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka share certain connections – and also with Great Britain – in that these nation states are full members of the 53 sovereign states constituting the 'British' Commonwealth. With the exception of Sri Lanka (hitherto Ceylon), all were parts of the former British Empire: 'The British Raj'.

Notably, contemporary Britain has also been shaped by the South Asian Commonwealth community (and patrimony) apropos cuisine (chicken tikka masala); pop music (the popularising of Raga Rock by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones); television (*The Kumars at No 42*); films (*Bend It Like Beckham* and *The Best Exotic Marigold Hotel*); radio stations (Asian Sound, BBC Asian Network, Hindu Sanskar) and brands (Cobra Beer). In addition, prominent British figures from this group are found in business (Baron Alli of Norbury, Gulu Lalvani, Tom Singh); the arts (Salman Rushdie, Vish Dhamija); economics (Baron Desai of St. Clement Danes); politics (Priti Patel, Sadiq Khan); cricket (Nasser Hussain) and even church leadership (Bishop Nazir-Ali).

While the south Asian communities' roles and involvement in wider British society are increasing, the complex dynamics in the formation of their cultural identity is also being observed. Nadyia Hussain, a British baker and television celebrity, says: 'I am British, Muslim and Bangladeshi and I am proud of all three'.⁴ Hence British South Asians, like many other diaspora communities, face dual/multiple cultural identities and their daily lives, consumption and sociocultural interactions are influenced by the dichotomies and complexities emanating from their bicultural orientation.

As the literature attests, consumers' conflicting and multiple identities have been explained in marketing (Ahuvia, 2005; Bahl & Milne, 2010; Peñaloza, 1994; Üstüner & Holt, 2007). As such, there is scope to examine the nature of and motivation behind the dual identities of young British South Asian adults. Partial understanding of the dual cultural identity of British South Asian communities can be obtained from recent scholarly works (Lindridge, 2010; Takhar, Maclaran, Parsons, & Broderick, 2010). However, further research in this field is required, considering the dynamic nature of the diaspora community and the intricacies of their interactions. This empirical study seeks to address these issues and advance the marketing theory and practice on cultural identity and acculturation.

Literature review

At a time when consumers are increasingly defining their lifestyles in non-conformist communal/sociocultural practices (Holt, 2002), contemporary scholarship elucidates the complexities, idiosyncrasies and paradoxes in subcultural practices (Canniford, 2011; Goulding, Shankar, Elliott, & Canniford, 2008). Postmodern consumers reflexively and iteratively define and interpret their cultural dispositions (Woodruffe-Burton, 1998).

Power issues in terms of gender, class and ethnicity (Ourahmoune & Özcaglar-Toulous, 2012) and the historic development of institutional practices (Karababa, 2012), for instance, influence individuals' choices, aspirations and consumption decisions. Consumers often apply their own interpretations of religiosity and engage with wider consumer culture (Jafari & Süerdem, 2012), and thereby members within the same religious groups may exhibit different consumption practices. Hence, it is often difficult to define the sociocultural identity of postmodern consumers.

Multiple identities of consumers in multicultural environments

Consumers strive to construct self-narratives, often by compromising and synthesising multiple identities (Ahuvia, 2005), and/or may choose to maintain disparate identities without consciously reconciling them (Bahl & Milne, 2010). In multicultural environments, ethnic and religious identities can be constructed and exhibited in complex ways, namely the socio-historic and political background and its influence on the extent of religiosity and consequent liberalism among various religious groups in Lebanon (Cleveland, Laroche, & Hallab, 2013); the conflict between global and local cultural dispositions faced by Danish youth (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006); and the influence of normative political ideologies on African Americans' shopping behaviour (Crockett & Wallendorf, 2004). All of the above elucidate how a good deal of the contemporary consumer environment is informed by a complex cultural dynamic/s.

Ethnic minorities' consumption is also influenced by their desire to hold and exhibit ethnic identifications (Chattaraman & Lennon, 2008; Mehta & Belk, 1991; Rajagopalan & Heitmeyer, 2005), although that may not be equally applicable for all products. For instance, American Jews and non-Jewish Americans do not have significant differences in selected areas of consumption behaviour when it comes to automobiles (Podoshen, 2006). Acculturation literature further investigates into this issue.

Acculturation processes in a multicultural environment

Acculturation theories explain how, why and to what extent ethnic communities retain their ancestral culture, adopt the host country's culture or demonstrate a new culture which is different from both the ancestral and the host country's cultures. Luedicke's (2011) review of 14 scholarly works on acculturation and consumption patterns identifies the complex and dynamic influence of acculturation agents on consumption behaviour. Luedicke (2015) has reconceptualised consumer acculturation as a phenomena that occurs when consumers (e.g. immigrants) adjust their consumption practices and (collective) identities through interaction with consumers from unfamiliar national, social or cultural backgrounds. The influx of economic migrants and refugees into the Western countries from the former colonies in the postcolonial era has enhanced the importance and topicality of this stream of research.

The seminal work of Berry (1980) explains four major acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation, which define the bipolar continuum of acculturation. His subsequent works (Berry, 1997, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2010) adhere to the initial model and a more positivist approach to analysing acculturation strategies. However, in multicultural contexts, wholesale acceptance and/

or rejection of the host or ancestral culture is overly simplistic, as complex co-existence of ancestral and host cultures' attributes among migrants can be found (Jamal & Chapman, 2000; Oswald, 1999; Weinreich, 2009), calling into question the validity of the bipolar acculturation continuum. Furthermore, the two extreme forms of acculturation strategies, namely assimilation and marginalisation, can also be questioned (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

In consumer studies, Peñaloza (1994) suggests four outcomes of the acculturation process: assimilation, resistance, maintenance and segregation. However, she argues that despite assimilation, Mexican migrants in the US remain connected to their ancestral cultural traits. Peñaloza's seminal article on acculturation strategies opened up a new dimension in acculturation studies. Her informants assimilated with the mainstream US culture in terms of consuming many products (e.g. clothes) but still chose to maintain their own ethnic identity by adhering to certain cultural dispositions (e.g. food habits). The outcomes of their acculturation strategies, as Peñaloza argues, were determined by individual differences (e.g. demography), acculturation agents (e.g. family) and the acculturation process (e.g. motivation). Subsequent acculturation research (e.g. Askegaard et al., 2005; Weinberger, 2015) in consumer studies investigates both the determinants and outcomes of acculturation and examines biculturalism among migrants and sojourners. Üstüner and Holt's (2007) research on poor migrant women's acculturation in Turkish cities shows collective modes of acculturation shaped by conflicting power relationships. Furthermore, minority communities exhibit hyper-identification and adhere to their ancestral cultural traditions to compensate for cultural differences (Hirschman, Ruvio, & Touzani, 2011; Minton, Kahle, & Kim, 2015). Stayman and Deshpande's (1989) empirical data suggest that consumers' sense of ethnic identity is not independent of situations and therefore people living in multicultural societies can have ethnic identities that are differentially salient.

Duality of cultural identity

The two post-assimilationist articles by Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) make significant advancements in explaining the duality of cultural identity. However, their analyses are not context-independent and do not fully capture the dynamics in non-US societies (Askegaard et al., 2005). Although we understand the importance of contexts in defining acculturation agents, processes and outcomes, Peñaloza and Oswald's works do not entirely explain the dynamic multicultural environments that prevail and influence acculturation in other country contexts.

Furthermore, they also fail to explain the reason and nature of dual cultural identities. For instance, Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) do not consider the dynamics of acculturation for second- and/or third-generation migrants who are born and brought up in host countries, unlike the first-generation migrants. Due to their distinct religious practices and restrictions, Hindus and Muslims may find it more difficult to assimilate within a Christian majority multicultural Western society. Hence, the processes of acculturation for Mexican Americans (Peñaloza, 1994) in the US would be different from those for South Asians in the UK. Furthermore, the sociopolitical and historic inter-relationships between the host and immigrant communities can also influence acculturation strategies.

Nevertheless, the duality of cultural identities has increasingly received research attention both in consumer research and in wider social science. According to Schwartz et al. (2010), young Latin American immigrants in the US can at the same time be fluent in both Spanish and English and can demonstrate both individualistic and collective values in different contexts. Hence, their practice, values and identifications can simultaneously manifest Latin, US and/or global consumer culture. Although the institutionalisation of ethnic and religious practices (e.g. the construction of mosques) facilitates the British Muslim population's intra-community interactions and the construction of community identity, that might not always discourage them from adopting wider consumer culture, such as buying expensive cars (Jamal, 2003). Hence, ethnic communities are more likely to have dual or multiple cultural identities. In addition, Askegaard et al. (2005) emphasise the bicultural identities of ethnic minorities by identifying a new acculturation outcome, termed 'pendulism', which refers to the oscillation between acculturation and maintenance. The term 'pendulism' suggests volitional and elective acculturation strategies (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Moreover, acculturation can be facilitated by the degree of similarity between host and migrant cultures (Rudmin, 2003). On the other hand, home and host countries can have very different contextual influence on an individual and create paradoxes and conflicts in his or her inner self. The concept of fragmented self by Firat and Venkatesh (1995) has been extended by Jafari and Goulding (2008) by defining 'torn self' that denotes the dialectic and ambivalent expression of Iranian youth living in the UK who simultaneously desire to keep their ancestral origin and embrace Western culture. Migrant communities' dual cultural identities however could have multiple reasons and may not always be an outcome of contradiction and conflict between the host and home countries' sociocultural and political states.

Table 1 summarises some of the seminal works on acculturation and possible scopes for further advancement of this scholarship.

Hence, current literature does not fully explain the paradoxes, idiosyncrasies and dualities in cultural identities and expressions of diaspora communities. While some of them have been criticised for their context specific explanation, others provide partial understanding of ethnic communities' cultural disposition. However, acculturation is a result of dynamic processes that are influenced by a range of contextual variables and their interrelationships which require generalisation for scaffolding holistic theoretical frameworks. This research addresses these issues as it aims to develop a broader conceptual underpinning to examine a more generalised model of acculturation process and examine its outcome by categorising acculturation strategies.

Methodology

The research strategy was designed with a view to gaining a thorough understanding of young British South Asian adults' lifestyle and cultural identity. As such, recourse was made to an interpretivist methodology, which affords the opportunity to identify and analyse 'why' and 'how' young British South Asian adults define themselves, and thereby exhibit multiple cultural identities.

Table 1. Some of the seminal works on acculturation and possible scopes for further advancement.

Authors	Contexts	Contribution	Scopes for further advancement
Peñaloza (1994)	Mexican-American community	A dynamic model of acculturation leading to four major outcomes: assimilation, maintenance, resistance and segregation.	The empirical and theoretical contributions are often context specific as argued by Askegaard et al. (2005). The motivation for and the nature of the duality of cultural identity require further investigation.
Oswald (1999)	Haitians in the US society	Explains the duality of identity and culture-swapping behaviour.	Due to the specific sociocultural upbringing of Haitians and political reasons for their migration to the US, the empirical data are context-specific. The motivation for culture swapping behaviour among ethnic communities in general requires further research.
Askegaard et al. (2005)	Greenlandic migrants in Denmark	The concept of 'pendulum' to denote the duality of cultural identity. Identity formation is a function of consumers' self-reflexivity.	More specific reasons for ethnic consumers' movement between host and ancestral cultures need to be defined and analysed. For instance, selective authority exercised by Muslims defines their consumption behaviour (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012).
Üstüner and Holt (2007)	Batıcı women in urban Turkey	Formation of hegemonic and counterhegemonic consumer identity as a result of dialectical inter-relationship between socio-economic structural agents.	The hegemonic and counterhegemonic inter-relationships are not always the case for ethnic minorities' acculturation in Western societies. There are paradoxes and dichotomies in acculturation strategies and outcomes. For instance, British-born South Asians often learn their ancestral cultural values from Bollywood movies (Takhar et al., 2010) – this does not mean that they do not follow or appreciate Western lifestyle projected on British or American movies. The paradoxes and dichotomies faced by individuals and their strategies to address those differences could be further analysed/investigated.
Jafari and Goulding (2008)	Iranian youth living in the UK	A result of inner conflict that resulting from the desire to resist the extremely dominant culture.	While the ambivalence, conflict and confusion can happen amongst ethnic minorities living in a multicultural environment, it is still a partial outcome. Dual cultural identity resulting from congruence and conformity may also happen which is not fully captured by the concept of 'torn self'.
Jaspal (2015)	British South Asians	Offers rich insights into the differences between British born and first-generation migrant South Asians and also elucidates the dynamics of migration and its impact on identity formation.	The paper identifies factors that contribute to the formation of identity of British South Asians. However, the duality or multiplicity of their identities and their further categorisation would be beneficial for research and businesses.
Cleveland, Rojas-Mendez, Larcohe, and Papadopoulos (2016)	Acculturation for global consumer culture (AGCC) – positivist research.	Consumers exhibit four acculturation patterns (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation) for different product categories.	The dynamics of AGCC are not exactly the same as the dynamics of ethnic minorities' acculturation. Furthermore, interpretivist methods can be used to obtain deeper insights into paradoxes, complexities and dualities of consumer identity.

For this investigation, the primary modes of qualitative data collection comprised in-depth interviews. Thirty-four respondents were selected using maximum variation purposive sampling⁵ (Bryman, 2012; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) so that various linguistic (e.g. Punjabi, Bengali, Gujarati), religious (Muslim, Hindu, Sikhs) and demographic groups (in terms of gender, occupation and income) were covered. Both first-generation migrants and British-born South Asians were included in the sample as the education, upbringing and lifestyle are likely to be different for the two groups (Jaspal, 2015). In the main, this population is more likely to be found within Great Britain's metropolitan areas, particularly English cities. While the history and current dynamics of South Asian migrants in some of these cities (e.g. London, Leeds and Manchester) has received research attention (Eade, 2014; Kalra, 2014) and offers strong rationale for selecting them for this research, our sampling selection takes the following issues into consideration:

- (1) A UK government report shows that international migrants mostly settle in big cities.⁶ Hence, this research targeted the major metropolitan cities and their adjacent areas in Great Britain.
- (2) This research is on the British South Asian community. By definition, Great Britain includes England, Scotland and Wales. England and Scotland together constitute more than 90% of the total population.⁷ The UK and Great Britain are often used interchangeably. Northern Ireland, the fourth country of the Kingdom, could also be considered for this research. However, Northern Ireland does not have a big South Asian population comparing to the other three countries and therefore the sampling did not include any of the Northern Irish cities.
- (3) Glasgow is the only non-English city that belongs to the top seven most populated British cities⁸ and hence it has been included in this research. Greater London, Leeds, Manchester and Birmingham have the biggest South Asian populations in the UK. Newcastle has been selected as a city from the North East to maximise geographic coverage. Table 2 provides the percentages of the South Asian population in these six cities to justify the selection criteria.
- (4) Asians/British Asians constitute approximately 7% of the total population of Glasgow.⁹

Mindful of the above, the respondents were selected from the six major metropolitan areas of Great Britain that have large South Asian populations (London and surroundings: 17 respondents; Leeds and Yorkshire: 6 respondents; Birmingham and the greater Midlands: 4 respondents; Manchester and the North West: 2 respondents; Newcastle and the North East: 3 respondents; Glasgow: 2 respondents).

Table 2. English cities with Asian/British Asian population in 2011.

City	Asian/Asian British population (%)
Inner London	12.80
Outer London	13.40
West Midlands – metropolitan (Birmingham)	14.19
Leeds ^a	6.93
Greater Manchester	7.14
Newcastle	7.03

^aAdjacent Bradford has approximately 20% Asian/British Asian population.

Source: *The Guardian* (<https://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/2011/may/18/ethnic-population-england-wales>).

Respondents were identified by making initial contact with targeted places of worship (churches, mosques and temples), community organisations and universities. A list of respondents along with their demographic and ethnic profiles is provided in [Appendix A](#). The first author (who is fluent in spoken English, Bengali, Hindi and Urdu) conducted the in-depth interviews. Interviews were conducted in different locations based on the convenience of the respondents. While most of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' houses, there were also occasions when interviews took place in places of worship and university campuses. Respondents were asked about their cultural and religious orientations, their food habits, interest in sports and recreation, overall lifestyle and their motivation for integration with both the South Asian and the broader British community.

All interviews were transcribed. Four interviews were conducted in Hindi/Bengali for the convenience of the respondents. Five other interviews involved English–Hindi/Urdu or English–Bengali switching. All of the interviews were translated and transcribed in English. Two of the co-authors have proficiency in Hindi and Urdu and one is a native Bengali speaker. Translation in qualitative research can be a challenge. There are certain words which have rich meaning in South Asian countries. For instance, *Wilayat* (Urdu), *Vilayat* (Hindi) and *Bilat* (Bengali) mean 'foreign country' according to the dictionary. However, the word in its use particularly refers to Britain. It comes from the colonial past, when the word was used to denote Britain as a more civilised and better place. Likewise the word '*Apna*' (Hindi/Urdu) means 'very own'. British Asians normally use this word to refer to their own way of doing something. For instance, they use the word to explain authentic Indian/Pakistani food/recipes. Being mindful of this fact, the translation was checked amongst the co-authors, who *foreignised* the translation, as suggested by Dion, Sabri, and Guillard (2014). We tried to keep the tone of the statements the same and used some of the Hindi/Bengali words (e.g. *deshi/desi*), as was the case in some other similar research (e.g. Dey, Binsardi, Prendergast, & Saren, 2013; Dion et al., 2014)

Template analysis was applied for data management. The transcripts were coded using the NVivo software package (produced by QSR International). Analysis of data started with the development of a coding template and identification and classification of themes and constituting codes. In this research, two broader themes were applied – acculturation and dual cultural identity. Against each theme there were two sets of codes. While some of the codes were theory driven, others were data driven, as suggested and practised in previous scholarly works (Chen, Nunes, Zhou, & Peng, 2011; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) ([Appendix B](#) provides a list of codes and their origins). Once the information related to the research objectives had been identified, data were analysed using a constant comparative method (Rocca, Mandelli, & Snehotka, 2014). The emergent themes were then compared with the extant literature.

Findings and analysis

The research did not find evidence of absolute marginalisation and/or absolute assimilation. All the respondents demonstrate adoption of host country cultures and retention of ancestral cultural attributes, although the extent of adoption and retention varies among the informants. The research also finds and analyses the differences and

similarities of acculturation strategies between British-born South Asians and first-generation migrants.

Understandably, due to their education and upbringing, British-born South Asians are more attached to British culture. In contrast to first-generation migrants, they find it easy to integrate with mainstream British society. As one respondent explains:

Respondent 3: 'I was born in Newcastle. My parents came from Sylhet in Bangladesh. I visited Bangladesh when I was very young and do not have much memories. UK is my country, my home. Most of my friends in the university are of white English origin.'

Respondent 3 is, however, very much attached to his family members based in the UK. His paternal and maternal relatives live in Newcastle and Sunderland respectively. This is also the case for other British-born respondents in this research. Respondent 23 lives in London, but she was born in Northern Ireland:

Respondent 23: ... there are around fifty families in Northern Ireland who came back (migrated to Northern Ireland from India) in the 60s and 70s. These families are well connected and they have strong bondages. I grew up being part of this community. We have a strong association in the form of Indian Community Centre in Belfast. There is a temple inside the centre where people meet regularly.

The respondent speaks in a strong Northern Irish accent and takes a lot of pride of her Belfast origin. She grew up in the more cosmopolitan part of South Belfast, and had opportunities to mingle with other communities. However, she still remained close to Indian culture and Hinduism through her regular interaction with the Belfast-based Indian Community Centre.

As well as their engagement and interaction within their own community, some of the British-born respondents also speak their native language at home. For instance, respondent 34 speaks Sylheti (a particular Bengali dialect) at home and respondent 19 speaks Punjabi. Respondent 27 is a third-generation British Pakistani who speaks three languages: English, Punjabi and Urdu. Respondents generally have preference for South Asian foods and a taste for Hindi/Bollywood movies and music, although none of them visit their ancestral country frequently. As respondent 27 explains:

... when I was young I went to Pakistan with my parents and grandparents regularly. But, gradually most of my relatives migrated to the UK and we have very few relations back in Pakistan.

On the other hand, first-generation migrants have strong attachment to their home countries. They migrate to the UK for work/study or for a better future. However, they also endeavour to explore and learn British culture. As respondent 16 explains:

I came here to do ACCA.¹⁰ After completing my degree, I decided to stay in this country. I like London and life in the UK. Although I miss my country, and my relatives back home, I consider this to be my new home.

Respondent 20 came with her husband, who was working in the UK, and decided to stay. She and her family are now British citizens.

Respondent 20: It was not easy to become a permanent resident and subsequently a naturalised citizen. It was expensive and we had to go through a number of steps. However, my husband has a good job in this country and I am working as well. We hope our children will have a better future growing up in the UK.

Hence, for both British-born and first-generation migrants, the evidence of duality in terms of attachment to the UK and to their ancestral country/community/culture is evident. This research attempts to analyse this duality and examine the factors, processes and reasons that lead to bicultural identity. Based on the findings, four major categories of acculturation strategies can be identified: consonances, contexts, conveniences and constraints. The following section discusses these acculturation strategies.

Acculturation by consonances

We define 'consonance' based on its dictionary meaning: agreement or compatibility. In this category, the researchers classified respondents who assimilate (or intend to do so) with the mainstream British culture, but at the same time retain ancestral cultural identities on the basis of compatibilities and agreement. They retain the parts of their ancestral cultural identities which are consonant with British mainstream culture. Likewise, they also feel more comfortable with parts of the host culture that are consistent with what they experienced and practised back home (for the first generation) or assume will be endorsed by their ancestral culture (second-/third-generation migrants). Hence, there is strong evidence of cultural reflexivity, as defined by Askegaard, Kjeldgaard, and Arnould (2009), as British South Asians identify and explore their cultural roots and links during their acculturation process.

Respondent 11, from Kolkata (Indian city), found it easy to embrace the multicultural British society and the values of liberty and freedom of expression due to his upbringing in a liberal, secular and cosmopolitan city. He came to the UK as a PhD student 15 years ago. His statement shows how growing up in Kolkata has helped him to embrace certain British values:

Respondent 11: See, I grew up in a cosmopolitan environment. I never differentiated between my friends. I had and still have a lot of Muslim and Christian friends. I always had liberal values and this is why I find no problems in integrating with friends from other cultural backgrounds. I enjoy Christmas as much as Durga Puja.¹¹ I am not an atheist, but I also do not give in to religious dogmas.

The above excerpt also highlights the fact that for many the acculturation process does not start after their migration to a new country. The Indian subcontinent, being a former British colony, has strong political and cultural associations with the UK. The British colonial patrimony included the English language, Standard English spelling, Westminster-style Parliamentary democracy, the common law legal system, driving on the left, etc., which are prevalent in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Hence, young British South Asians' acculturation in the UK can be facilitated by the consonance of cultural similarities between the two.

Sports and Bollywood in this regard demonstrate fascinating aspects of acculturation by consonances. Cricket, a British sport, despite to some extent having lost its glamour in the UK,¹² has become more popular in the Indian subcontinent over the years. Cricket was introduced to the Indian subcontinent during the British Raj, and over the years became the most popular sport in South Asia. All four South Asian countries – India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh – have strong cricketing sides, with the first three having won a number of international trophies, including the World Cup. Eventually, cricket established a strong base among British South Asians, who celebrate the sport as a hybrid identity of their ancestral and international culture.

Fletcher (2011) suggests that British Asians are choosing to support their teams of ancestry rather than their country of birth or residence, which reflects the complexity of the South Asian diasporic identity. The respondents in this research are no exception. Furthermore, the passion for cricket among some of the Indian and Pakistani respondents appears to have been influenced by Indo-Pak political and cricketing rivalry, highlighting cricket as a significant component of their perceived national identity. Two respondents' opinions in this regard are presented below:

Respondent 27: I grew up in the UK – I have strong interest in football. But when it comes to India vs. Pakistan cricket matches, it is something different. It is a passion, I enjoy the rivalry ...

Respondent 2: My father is a Newcastle United fan. But I do not follow football. Since my childhood, I have been worshipping Sachin Tendulkar.¹³ ... I follow Indian cricket players on Twitter. I have installed cricket apps on my iPhone.

For both of these British-born respondents, cricket links them with their ancestral communities and identities and also works as a bridge between their ancestral culture and British culture. Yoga is another such bridge: it originated from India, became popular in the West and subsequently attracted upper-end urban elites in India (Askegaard & Eckhardt, 2012). Instead of an oriental culture being endorsed by the Western world, we can see a part of British sport (cricket) becoming more popular in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka and legitimising the identity of diaspora communities of these countries back in the UK.

Part of this concept resembles Goulding's (2002) vicarious nostalgia as respondents retain their ancestral cultural attributes through events, artefacts, symbols, etc. However, we argue acculturation by consonances goes beyond the vicarious nostalgia. For instance, British born respondents may be nostalgic about various aspects of their ancestral cultural attributes which they experienced during their childhood. However, their retention of those attributes appears to be encouraged by the acceptance and celebration of those attributes in the wider society – cricket perfectly fits with that.

Like cricket, there is lot of appreciation for Bollywood movies among the South Asian communities. British-born and first-generation immigrants both offered similar responses in this regard. There is increasing interest in Bollywood dance (particularly *bhangra*) and music among the wider British population. The endorsement and popularity of Bollywood in British society encourages young British South Asians to retain the same. As one of the respondents mentioned during the interview:

Respondent 20: Yes, I am very much into Bollywood culture. Coming to the UK, I can still watch Bollywood movies in theatres. I have been to some Bollywood events organised in local pubs and found bhangra music played in night clubs. People from all communities enjoy them. I was pleasantly surprised to see that a colleague of mine knows some of the Bollywood stars. ...

It would be relevant to mention that some of the Bollywood blockbusters in the last two decades are based on stories of British Indians – which further highlights the movie industry's popularity and appropriation in British South Asian society. South Asian diaspora often considers Bollywood and other cultural activities as a strong bond between their migrant lives and their ancestral country and culture (Khandelwal & Akkoo, 2014; Takhar et al., 2010). There is a sense of pride and passion for Bollywood

and cricket, particularly when South Asians know that both are accepted amongst the wider British population. Hence, their acculturation strategy chooses to retain Bollywood and adopt cricket as they have reciprocal inter-relationships between South Asian and British cultures.

Acculturation by contexts

Acculturation by contexts is noticed mostly at the behavioural level. Respondents who fall into this category demonstrate different behaviours in different contexts. A third-generation Indian respondent (respondent 30) who demonstrates strong assimilation in terms of language and lifestyle also celebrates her ancestral origin. Her interview response shows her passion for traditional South Asian dresses. Her opinion in this case explains her appreciation for traditional dresses.

Respondent 30: ... I do not have many opportunities to wear 'desi' dresses. Normally, during Diwali or wedding parties I wear salwar kameez or sarees ... Yes, I wear Western dresses when I go out with my British colleagues.

Respondent 16, a first-generation migrant, wears *salwar kameez* in her home and short *kurta* or loosely fitted tops at work. As she explains:

Respondent 16: If I am going to any Asian programme and travelling by car, I would wear saree/salwar kameez. It is not very convenient to wear traditional dresses and travel on public transport. However, it is good to see a lot of Asian ladies wear traditional dresses while travelling on tubes and buses.

In the two situations above, reference can be made to Weinberger's (2015) ritual strategies. Respondent 16 does not entirely intend to disengage with the dominant UK rituals, but she maintains an appropriation strategy for acculturation, which is reified through her selection of clothes.

Respondent 6 also holds a strong desire for traditional outfits, but at the same time she is not prejudiced against Western dresses.

Respondent 6: ... I like to wear desi dresses when I attend 'Asian' events. ... Yes, I am comfortable in both Western and desi outfits.

Luedicke (2011) suggests that migrants maintain their ties to their original culture and at the same time, adopt some practices and beliefs of their local peers. Upper middle-class Indians living in the US not only adopt American food, clothing and furnishing styles but also use their Indian possessions to identify themselves with their cultural contexts (Mehta & Belk, 1991). Our findings concur with this notion and explain that a reason behind this duality could be migrants' response to contextual requirements. Hence, we attribute the contextual requirements as a more generic reason that defines the exposition of cultural dualism.

This appears to be common among quite a number of respondents who exhibit different cultural attributes in different contexts. They celebrate 'Asian' or 'desi' events such as Diwali, but also go to Christmas parties, and their clothing, appearance and behavioural expressions meet contextual requirements. These varied behavioural expressions are also demonstrated through their expression of self-identity. As one respondent says:

Respondent 20: I always put photos, 'statuses' and 'check-ins' on Facebook to let my friends back home know about my life in the UK. ... Yes, I do a lot of 'photos' and I am thankful to iPhone for this ... I take photos both with my work colleagues and friends and family.

They post photos on social media and display themselves in their living rooms in different dresses (Western and Eastern), different locations (night clubs and temples) with different individuals (colleagues/friends from the wider community, friends/family members from their own community) to legitimise and endorse their multiple identities.

Acculturation by constraints

Immigrants' motivation for cultural identity often comes from their intention towards separation from mainstream culture. Some evidence of separation among the first-generation migrants can be found in the following excerpt:

Respondent 10: I am an avid social media user. I am living far away from most of my friends and family members, and social media is a bridge for me to remain connected with them. When I go out, visit some nice places or perhaps do nothing and chill at home, I want to share the moments with them.

Respondent 10, in the above statement, explains her strong desire to remain connected with friends and family members back home. Her constant interaction with social media lends itself to that motivation. However, we find that as an accountant, she is unable to separate herself entirely from the mainstream community. Likewise, respondent 16 is a college teacher, a first-generation immigrant who interacts and integrates with the wider community for her work. Despite separation in their social lives, both of them integrate in their occupational lives.

The following excerpt provides us with further evidence of forced integration:

Question: Do you integrate much with your local colleagues/neighbours?

Respondent 4: I do not do much socialisation with my colleagues. I have a good working relationship with them. But I hardly meet them after work, or have any dinner or social events with them ... I often do not understand their jokes (blushes) Yes, I know my neighbours; we exchange greetings, and have occasional chat. Kids play together. They are from different communities – mostly British and African.

This is a form of involuntary integration, where the respondents are required to integrate for occupational/locational (living in the same neighbourhood) reasons. It is natural for many people to have limited social interactions with work colleagues for various reasons, which might not necessarily be related to ethnic or religious division. However, respondent 4 does not enjoy the jokes told by his colleagues and appears to lack the motivation to meet them beyond the office environment. The findings concur with Jaspal (2015), who argues that the complexities in national identification among first-generation British South Asians often result from their perceived lack of attachment to the white British community.

The researchers consider this acculturation strategy different from 'separation', as the respondents integrate and interact with wider communities, albeit not very spontaneously. Berry's (2009) definition of separation for respondents with low assimilation intent and strong ethnic identity does not properly capture the factors that motivate and/or discourage individuals to interact and engage with people from other communities.

A first-generation Bangladeshi respondent from Glasgow explains how her family started to change their eating pattern.

Respondent 31: You know as Bangladeshis we love to eat fish. When we came to Glasgow we found a South Asian grocery shop that sells Bangladeshi fish. We tried their fish. Honestly, it was a very bad experience. The fish were kept in frozen condition; God knows for how many months or maybe for a year. Then we started to cook local fish such as salmon, seabass, and trout in Bangladeshi style and found it very close to our taste.

Question: In the ideal scenario you would have still liked to taste the likes of Hilsa and Ruhee¹⁴; won't you?"

Respondent 31: Absolutely. You know fish is not like chicken, beef or lamb. You do not get the same type of fish in all parts of the world. When we visit Bangladesh we enjoy eating all Bangladeshi fish.

Existing literature suggests that Asian consumers' formation of family and cultural identity is reflected in their food habits (Edirisingha, Ferguson, & Atiken, 2015). The findings of the current research further extend this notion and exhibit the dynamic nature of identity formation as consumers adopt and alter their food habits due to various constraints. These findings also complement Cleveland et al.'s (2013) quantitative study on Lebanese consumers' acculturation of food habits in French-speaking areas of Canada. Cleveland et al. found that Lebanese consumers, who exhibit higher levels of assimilation, prefer both ethnic and mainstream foods, such as *halloom* and cheddar. However, the current research finds and explains the reason behind the acculturation of food habits for certain ethnic minority groups. The qualitative enquiry offers further insights into how and why ethnic minorities' food habits may change.

The respondents who live in more ethnic minority dominated regions such as East London and Birmingham have easy access to Asian groceries and can adhere to their ancestral food habit. As one of the respondents mentions in his interview:

Respondent 33: I live in Southall. We have a big mosque and regular access to restaurants and Asian shops. For me, it is important to stay close to my own community.

Hence, not all consumer choices are forced, and neither are their decisions to integrate/ assimilate. This integration is influenced by various constraints resulting from factors such as occupation and location.

Acculturation by conveniences

Integration can also be demonstrated on the basis of conveniences. A critical analysis of the religiosity of the respondents will unfold this issue. South Asian communities have strong religious orientation, although it is suggested that there is a declining level of religiosity among British Indians (Lindridge, 2005). In this research we found differences in religiosity among the respondents, despite the fact that the majority can be identified as moderately to highly religious.

Respondent 23: I am a proud Sikh. I go to Gurdwara (Sikh Temple) every Sunday. ... Yes, I know Punjabi and I speak this language at home and at the Gurdwara. Our scripture is written in a language which is similar to Punjabi.

Respondent 17: I go to mosque every Friday. I have learnt Arabic and I can read the Qur'an ... At our home we speak Urdu. ... Yes I am a practicing Muslim.

Question: How would you define your religiosity?

Respondent 17: I try to follow it as much as I can. I do not drink alcohol and I eat only halal.

Another respondent's (Muslim) husband drinks alcohol (respondent 16). However, she is very careful not to post any photos/comments/posts on her or her husband's Facebook account that might give her friends and relatives the impression that her husband drinks. She does not normally take photographs in pubs or bars. Respondent 18 explains the dichotomy and paradoxes countered by many British Muslims. As he says:

Respondent 18: I like contemporary Western music. Yes, I know it is not very consistent with Islam, my religion. But I am born and bred in this country, I have grown up in this society and I have a better understanding and appreciation for English songs than Urdu/Arabic songs.

...

Question: I can see you have a beard. Is it due to style?

Respondent 18: (smiles). I look smart, innit? No, actually I keep my beard because of my religious conviction. It is my identity.

Question: Do you feel like you would lose your identity otherwise?

Respondent 18: Not really, but I am proud of my Muslim identity.

Ethno-religious identity can create tension and ambivalence among ethnic minority members, as suggested by Jafari and Goulding (2008). While religiosity tends to be a significant constituent of ethnic youths' identity, they are also influenced by secular and global consumer culture.

When another religious Muslim respondent (respondent 28, who wears *Hizab*) was asked about whether or not taking photos conflicts with her religious belief, she said:

... taking photos itself is not very Islamic in a very strict sense. However, I don't maintain that stricter version. Culturally, I don't think there's a clash, as it's just another global trend that has become part of our daily lives. Hence, I wouldn't be too worried about any kind of photography.

The respondent is aware of the stricter version of her religion. She wears the *Hizab* to comply with that version, but does not mind photographs. She is a regular user of Facebook and Instagram and engages comfortably with social media-led interaction with people from other backgrounds.

One Sikh respondent says that she eats beef when she goes out with her friends. A Tamil Hindu respondent says that he does not think eating beef makes him a 'lesser Hindu'.

Here, the integration with wider cultural traits is not by force or in a contingent or consistent manner, but rather is driven by convenience. Cultural attributes (from either side) that are convenient are adopted/retained. As a result, integration may lead to duality of identity, which may exhibit paradoxical behaviour. It is a form of selective integration driven by the principles of convenience. We choose to define the word as per dictionary: 'being useful, easy and suitable to someone'¹⁵ (according to the *Oxford Dictionary*). Hence, acculturation by conveniences happens when people choose options that are easy and suitable to their likings, although those may be contradictory and inconsistent with their religious/social/cultural beliefs.

Summary of findings

Before presenting the discussion and theoretical contribution, it would be better to summarise the findings and highlight the salient features.

Table 3 summarises the findings.

Discussion

This research is mindful of the fact that diaspora community is not monolithic. However, the findings of this research can be generalised and thereby used for further advancement of acculturation scholarship (e.g. Askegaard et al., 2005; Cleveland et al., 2016; Jafari & Goulding, 2008; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994). We propose a revised model for scaffolding the theoretical construct in light of the findings of this research.

Dynamics of acculturation

Second- and third-generation immigrants constitute significant parts of ethnic minorities not only in the UK, but also in other countries such as the US and Australia. In this research, we have found that the British-born respondents often have different needs and motivation for acculturation compared to the first-generation migrants. Hence, we replace the 'recency of arrival' mentioned by Peñaloza (1994) with 'migration history' as a significant individualistic characteristic that has influence on acculturation and dual identity.

With regard to the agents of acculturation, this research finds that individuals' interaction with family, religion, society and various institutions (e.g. commercial, social and religious) leads to their strategy for acculturation and determines to what extent an individual chooses to retain their ancestral cultural traits and/or adopt host country's culture.

Religion is central to many people's lives, as reflected by their attitudes and/or behaviour with reference to aspects of religious activity, dedication and belief (Brink, 1993; Shachar, Erdem, Cutright, & Fitzsimons, 2011). The extent of a person's religiosity can be assessed in terms of their cognition, affect and behaviour towards consumption (Moufakkir, 2011). However, religions' influences on acculturation and self-identity are complicated (Lindridge, 2010). Although the Hindu and Sikh respondents in this research appear to have more liberal views towards religion and show more intent towards integration (e.g. attending parties, wearing Western dress, embracing the Western lifestyle), we could not gather sufficient evidence to reach a conjecture on whether or not religious denomination is the main factor determining their acculturation strategies. Nevertheless, we analyse the ways in which the South Asian population's negotiation with the constant friction between their religiosity and wider British lifestyle reflect on and constitute their acculturation strategies.

Furthermore, we have found that commercial and social/religious institutions play a major role in our respondents' lives. One respondent born in Northern Ireland has enjoyed community life and learnt about Indian culture due to her family's regular engagement with the local temple. The importance of South Asian shops and grocery stores in the lives of the migrant community is also immense. This goes far beyond what is often termed 'Little Britain' or 'Little China' in Western cities. These commercial entities



Table 3. Summary of findings.

Evidence of biculturalism	Explanation and emerging patterns
<p>British-born Asians enjoy cricket and celebrate Bollywood culture. They also support their ancestral countries' cricketing sides. This is also a dominant part of the cultural disposition of the first-generation South Asian migrants.</p> <p>Acculturation does not start after migration. Some of the first-generation migrants in this research adopt various aspects of British culture and values, even before migrating to the UK. Due to the historic relationship between the UK and the Indian subcontinent, there is strong cultural and political attachment between the two.</p> <p>In this research, we have found evidence to suggest that sometimes first and second generation migrants exhibit different cultural practices and dispositions in different situations. For instance, the preference for contextually required clothing and fashion items is noted for a number of respondents. They are open to adopt Western style and fashion and retain Sub-continental traditions depending on the nature and requirement of the contexts. Their use of language and preference for food also vary. Some of them celebrate both ancestral and host country's religious events. Hence, there are situations when ethnic minorities switch between two different cultural orientations to align themselves with the contextual requirements.</p> <p>We have also found that acculturation is not volitional. Acculturation often happens by force. Like many other Western countries, there are also areas in Great Britain that are populated by ethnic minorities. Respondents in this research coming from South Asian populated areas appear to have less desire for acculturation. On the other hand, respondents living in more cosmopolitan areas are often forced to mingle with wider communities. It is not only about the communal interaction, but also about access to groceries and the availability of social and religious institutions that influence their degree of desire for acculturation.</p> <p>Biculturalism can also happen when migrants choose to make selective use of their religious practices. They do not completely leave their faith or religious conviction, but in order to keep up with the wider community and their social and occupational lives, and often to maintain a wider consumer culture (e.g. social media engagement, use of cosmetics, etc.), migrants undertake selective interpretation of their religiosity. Unlike what has been discussed in the previous section (row 3), they have limited desire for integration and stronger intent to adhere to religious convictions.</p>	<p>Cricket and Bollywood exhibit the link between British and South Asian culture. While cricket is a British sport, Bollywood is becoming increasingly popular in the UK.</p> <p>Migrants find it easy to adopt the parts of the host country cultures that have similarities or association with their home country cultures and hence exhibit bicultural attributes.</p> <p>The motivation comes from their desire to meet the contextual requirements. There is also intention to integrate without sacrificing ancestral cultural traditions.</p>
<p>On this occasion, the desire for and the degree of acculturation may vary depending on the communal and institutional facilities.</p>	<p>The motivation comes from a strong desire to adhere to religiosity. The paradox between more orthodox religious views and the liberal Western lifestyle is reconciled by applying selective interpretation of religions.</p>

work as a hub and symbol for communal activities and reify the desire for the home/ancestral country's foods, lifestyle and religious/cultural practices.

Our model (Figure 1) further explains the fact that acculturation is a recursive, iterative and dynamic process. It is also influenced by the pull towards tri-dimensional cultural forces – host country, home country and the degree of similarity/contrast between the two. In this research, the colonial relationship between the UK and South Asian countries appears to have been a significant factor in the lives of British South Asians. People from former French colonies may have similar interactions with France. This is more holistic and denotes how the dialectic inter-relationship (both positive and negative) between host and ancestral country's cultures can have influence on migrants, than Jafari and Goulding's (2008) 'torn self' that is based on the conflictual interrelationship between the two different cultural expressions (the UK and Iran).

The dynamics of acculturation leads to the formation of dual or multiple cultural identities. Here we offer a quadripartite perspective to analysing dual cultural identity formed by the influence of ancestral and host country culture on an individual.

Quadripartite perspective to analysing dual cultural identity

We have identified four categories of dual cultural identity: consonance, constraints, contexts and convenience, as discussed in the findings section.

Sekhon and Szmigin (2016) have labelled this mixture of home and host country influences as the 'bicultural self'. They suggest that this 'bicultural self' is a source of tension and conflict but allows individuals to experience and celebrate both cultures. None of the respondents demonstrate absolute assimilation. Even the British-born

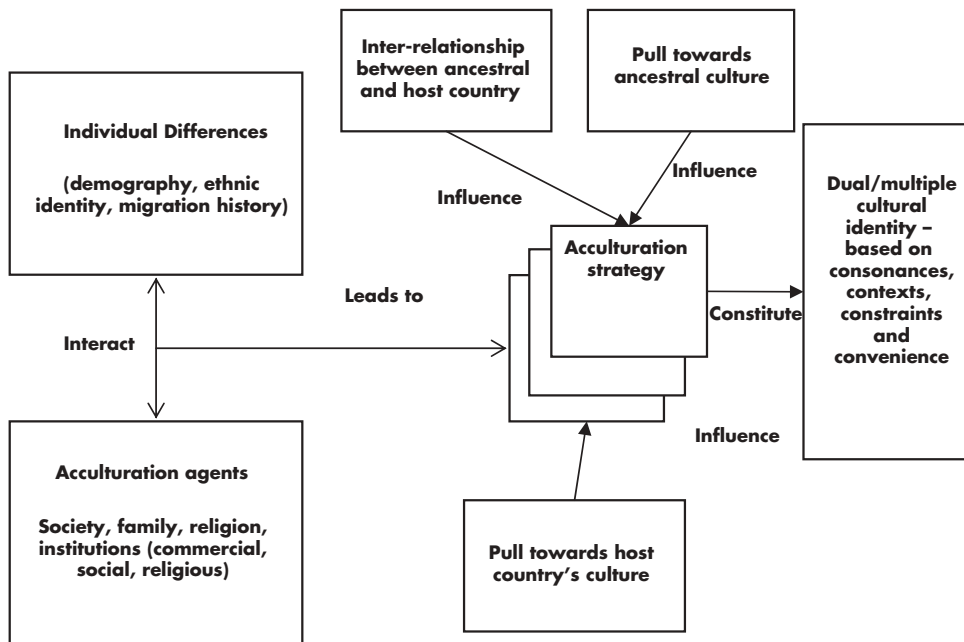


Figure 1. Dynamics of acculturation.

respondents show their appreciation and interest in their ancestral cultures and they feel more comfortable with cultural attributes that have relation and recognition in the wider British community. This category has been interpreted as retention of the ancestral culture on the basis of 'consonance'. The similarities and reciprocities of cultural interactions between the host and ancestral countries' culture support migrants' acculturation strategies. Furthermore, some of the cultural attributes can be adopted and/or retained reflexively by the migrants due to their acceptance and recognition in both cultures.

We have also noticed evidence of forced acculturation. Unlike 'pendulism' (Askegaard et al., 2005; Sekhon & Szmigin, 2016), which refers to more volitional and elective decisions to move between one's host and ancestral culture, this acculturation strategy leads to partial integration due to situational 'constraints'. The immigrants, while acculturating due to 'constraints', are not 'separated' from the mainstream in the way Berry (1980) defines, and they show some kind of 'resistance', as Peñaloza (1994) defines. However, their resistance does not lead to complete segregation. Despite locational and/or occupational integration, migrants can still have a separated lifestyle.

Furthermore, when a recently migrated Bangladeshi family in Glasgow is forced to alter their eating habits due to a lack of availability of their preferred food items, the authors seek to expand on Jafari and Visconity (2015) by identifying migrants' interactions with the consumptionscape that fosters and/or impedes their acculturation.

Rudmin (2003) also emphasises the importance of situational facilities as much as migrants' psychological state. We argue that the existence (or lack) of social, financial and technological factors can determine acculturation. For instance, the respondents living in Greater London with easy access to communal/social support and ethnic businesses and religious institutions have limited interaction with wider communities. Often immigrants prefer to live in areas populated by their own community members. Respondent 33, for instance, enjoys living in Southall, which gives proximity to his community.

The situations of the Hispanic/Haitian community in the US and the South Asian community in the UK have significant differences in terms of their acculturation experiences and strategies. For instance, Peñaloza's (1994) research found limited evidence of Hispanic communities' change in food consumption, as Mexican foods were available in the US. On the contrary, in this research, respondents living in smaller UK cities find it hard to adhere to their own food habits/styles. In contrast, in areas populated by South Asian communities, mainstream supermarkets such as Tesco and ASDA have separate aisles for Asian grocery products. While Mexican immigrants do not have problems in buying meat from big supermarkets, South Asian Muslims' need for *halal* meat may force them to shop at ethnic grocery stores if they do not find *halal* food in mainstream supermarkets. Furthermore, it appears that religion constitutes a significant part of the ethno-religious identity of the South Asian community. Hence, the symbolic expression of their cultural and consumption practices is more evident than in many other ethnic groups.

Acculturation by 'convenience', as mentioned in the findings section, refers to the ambiguities and paradoxes surrounding biculturalism and dual or multiple identities. Jafari and Süerdem (2012) suggest an 'authorised selection' perspective where Muslim

consumers authorise themselves to make selective interpretation of Islam and justify their own choices. The current research finds that this selective interpretation also exists among members of other faith groups (Hinduism and Sikhism). Here consumers are found to be acting like pragmatic agents who conveniently choose cultural attributes that suit their living in multicultural environments. They can manage to keep the influence of both their host and their ancestral culture to a limited level.

‘Context’ denotes the fourth perspective. This is closer to ‘pendulism’ (Askegaard et al., 2005), although the classification presented here implies a more assertive intent than Askegaard et al. (2005) found among their respondents. Furthermore, their interaction in multicultural environments is not driven by ambivalence or emotional oscillation, but rather by contextually defined expectations. This classification also resonates with Stayman and Deshpande’s (1989) situational ethnicity by explaining the influence of contextual factors on individuals’ expression of self-identities. Acculturation by ‘context’, discussed here, extends and advances the concept by explicating the contextual acculturation as a more fluid and flexible strategy applied by the integrationist immigrants and sojourners.

Table 4 summarises the findings and exhibits the quadripartite perspective to analysing dual cultural identity.

Conclusion

This research offers significant marketing implications. Although the findings have been extracted from a particular community of a country, the motivation for and the nature of cultural dualism of the migrants and their process of acculturation can be generalised to make contributions to wider theories and practices.

Diaspora marketing strategies can be benefited from this research as it would enable marketers to develop strategies for studying, categorising, segmenting and serving ethnic

Table 4. Contribution to the acculturation theory: a quadripartite perspective to analysing dual cultural identity.

Pull towards host culture	<p>Intends to assimilate. Adoption of host culture and retention of ancestral culture on the basis of CONSONANCES</p> <p><i>For example: Where immigrants assimilate to interest in certain cultural attributes of the host society, which has similarity with their ancestral culture, and feel comfortable with certain ancestral cultural attributes, which are recognised in the host society.</i></p>	<p>Integrate and exhibit both host and ancestral culture on the basis of CONTEXTS</p> <p><i>For example: Where immigrants celebrate/demonstrate different cultural traits in different contexts. Their acculturation is influenced by contextual requirements and they have preference for both host and ancestral cultural attributes.</i></p>
	<p>Integrate and retain host and ancestral culture on the basis of CONVENIENCE</p> <p><i>For example: Where the cultural dispositions of immigrants are defined and influenced by ancestral culture, but they conveniently choose certain aspects of host culture.</i></p>	<p>Choose to separate from the host culture, but integrate due to CONSTRAINTS</p> <p><i>For example: Where immigrants, although uncomfortable in interacting with British society at large, feel obliged to interact with the aforementioned for occupational/locational reasons.</i></p>
	Pull towards ancestral culture	

customers. There is scope for more fusion products in the fashion, food and beverage and entertainment industries that address of acculturation by contexts. For instance, a combination of Eastern sarees with Western jewellery or vice versa could address the acculturation by contexts for British South Asian young women. Similar strategies can be applied for various diaspora groups in other societies. Parts of North African community in France and Chinese community in Australia for example can be approached with similar marketing strategies. Recognition of ethnic cultural symbols in mainstream business and commercial marketing can be encouraged by acculturation by consonance. South Asian brands such as Patak's, Cobra and Kingfisher, which have acceptability amongst the wider British population can be mentioned in this regard. Food and beverage brands from the Asian and African countries hence can be marketed amongst ethnic communities in the Western multicultural cities. Acculturation by constraints can provide a useful understanding for Government and not-for-profit organisations that promote cross-cultural interaction with a view to combating social exclusion, ethnic segregation and religious extremism. People may suffer from a sense of separation and resistance even if they live and work with wider communities. Finally, acculturation by convenience can also be used by a wide range of businesses. The recent marketing success of the *burkini*, for instance, epitomises individuals' acculturation decisions and intentions based on convenience and pragmatism.

The quadripartite perspectives and the factors and the processes presented in [Figure 1](#) can be examined and applied for other communities in other contexts as well. They go beyond the context of British South Asian young adults and enable their application in other contexts and also for future research to build further upon as a means of deepening our understanding of general acculturation processes and practices that are not context specific.

Limitations and future research

The research did not engage with the most vulnerable and marginalised members of British South Asian communities, and hence this paper is unable to explain their cultural identities. It does not cover minors or senior citizens either. Furthermore, Luedicke (2015) suggests that host community can also influence the acculturation of the ethnic minorities. This paper does not discuss the role of the host community in the South Asian population's acculturation processes, which could provide more insights into the complex dynamics of the formation of dual identities.

Notes

1. <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/migration1/population-by-country-of-birth-and-nationality/2012/sty-population-by-country-of-birth.html>.
2. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/immigration/9508687/Record-number-of-babies-born-to-foreign-born-mothers.html>.
3. http://indy100.independent.co.uk/article/more-babies-in-the-uk-are-being-born-to-mothers-from-other-countries-than-ever-before-bkeE8iJtV_Z.
4. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/b07tj3tk/the-chronicles-of-nadiya-episode-2>.
5. A kind of purposeful sampling strategy aimed at capturing and describing the principal outcomes that cut across different groups of participants.

6. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/321814/14-802-people-in-cities-numbers.pdf.
7. http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_406922.pdf.
8. http://www.citymayors.com/gratis/uk_topcities.html.
9. <http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=17783&p=0>.
10. Professional qualification on accountancy.
11. Bengali Hindu festival.
12. According to the England and Wales Cricket Board website, the number of cricketers in England has fallen by 10% in recent times: <http://www.espncricinfo.com/england/content/story/801645.html>.
13. A famous Indian cricket player.
14. Bangladeshi freshwater fish.
15. <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/convenience>.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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Appendix A. Demographic and ethnic profiles of the participants.

Respondent no.	Age/gender	Occupation	Location	Ethnic origin	British born (Y/N)	Religion
1	18–25 (F)	Student	Newcastle	Pakistani	Y	Islam
2	18–25 (M)	Student/graduate	Newcastle	Indian	Y	Hinduism
3	18–25 (M)	Management trainee	Newcastle	Bangladeshi	Y	Islam
4	30–35 (M)	Engineer	Birmingham	Indian	N	Hinduism
5	35–38 (M)	Self-employed	Birmingham	Bangladeshi	N	Islam
6	30–35 (F)	Self-employed	Birmingham	Indian	Y	Hinduism
7	25–30 (F)	Housewife	Midlands	Indian	N	Hinduism
8	30–35 (F)	Researcher	Manchester	Bangladeshi	Y	Islam
9	25–30 (M)	Restaurant worker	Manchester	Pakistani	Y	Islam
10	30–35 (F)	Accountant	Leeds	Indian	N	Hinduism
11	35–40 (M)	Lecturer	Leeds	Indian	N	Hinduism
12	25–30 (M)	IT professional	Leeds	Indian	N	Hinduism
13	18–25 (F)	Student	Leeds	Bangladeshi	Y	Islam
14	18–25 (M)	Student	Leeds	Pakistani	N	Islam
15	35–40 (F)	House wife	Leeds	Indian	N	Hinduism
16	30–35 (F)	College teacher	London	Bangladeshi	N	Islam
17	18–25 (M)	Student	London	Pakistani	Y	Islam
18	18–25 (M)	Student	London	Pakistani	Y	Islam
19	18–25 (F)	Student	London	Indian	Y	Hinduism
20	30–35 (F)	Office admin	London	Indian	N	Hinduism
21	25–30 (M)	Researcher	London	Sri Lankan	N	Hinduism
22	35–40 (M)	Doctor	London	Bangladeshi	N	Islam
23	25–30 (M)	Retail services	London	Indian	Y	Hinduism
24	30–35 (M)	Restaurant worker	London	Bangladeshi	N	Islam
25	25–30 (M)	Nurse	London	Indian	N	Hinduism
26	35–40 (M)	Self-employed	London	Indian	N	Hinduism
27	35–40 (M)	Self-employed	London	Pakistani	Y	Islam
28	18–25 (F)	House wife	London	Pakistani	N	Islam
29	35–40 (M)	Office manager	London	Bangladeshi	Y	Islam
30	25–30 (F)	House wife	London	Indian	Y	Hinduism
31	30–35 (F)	Doctor	Glasgow	Bangladeshi	N	Islam
32	25–30 (M)	Student	Glasgow	Bangladeshi	N	Hinduism
33	35–40 (M)	College teacher	London	Pakistani	N	Islam
34	18–25 (F)	University student	London	Bangladeshi	Y	Islam

Appendix B. List of the themes and codes used in this research (not all applied in this paper).

Themes	Codes (bottom-up/inductive)	Codes (top-down/deductive)
Acculturation	Consonance (cricket, Bollywood); contexts (clothes, festivals, language); convenience (religiosity, dietary preference, socialisation); constraints (interactions, socialisation)	Religiosity, national identity, family influence, motivation to integrate, diaspora identity, institutions
Dual cultural identity	Fusion food, paradox in religiosity, differences in cultural dispositions, festivals, sports and recreation, entertainment	Selective authority, situational ethnicity, hyperidentification, pendulism