

**‘Strategies from Below’: Middle-class British Indian
Consumers’ Navigations of Ethnic Identification and
Intergenerational Cultural Transmission**



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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2020

Lancaster University Management School

For Amit, who always walks with me.

DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted in support of an application for another degree at this or any other university. It is the result of my own work and includes nothing that is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated. Some of the ideas in this thesis were the product of discussions with my supervisors Professor Margaret K. Hogg and Dr Hayley Cocker.

Excerpts of this thesis have been published in the following conference manuscripts and academic publications.

Peer-Reviewed Book Chapter (Invited Contribution):

Pradhan, A., Cocker, H. and Hogg, M.K. (2019) Ethnic identification: Capital and distinction among second-generation British Indians. In eds Badje, D., Kjeldgaard, D. and Belk, R.W. *Consumer Culture Theory*. Published online: 26 Mar 2019; 85-101. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0885-211120190000020010>

Conference Papers:

Pradhan, A., Cocker, H. and Hogg, M.K. (2019) Social Anchoring - An alternative understanding of migrant consumers' experiences. *Consumer Culture Theory Conference*. John Molson School of Business, Montreal. 17-19 July. (Conference Paper)

Pradhan, A., Cocker, H. and Hogg, M.K. (2018) Performing identity – How British Asians acquire subcultural capital, build social capital, and gain distinction through

Bollywood, music and dance. *Consumer Culture Theory Conference*. University of Southern Denmark, Odense 28 June-1 July. (Conference Paper)

Author Contribution Statement

I initially designed the study, gathered all the data for this thesis, and conducted initial data analysis on my own. My supervisors then gave feedback on the analysed data and together, we agreed upon which themes to pursue. The first full drafts of all three manuscripts were written by me. My supervisors were involved in critical revisions of the final drafts of article 1 (Chapter 2) and article 2 (Chapter 3). Supervisors provided some feedback as well as minor edits for article 3 (Chapter 4) as they might for a monograph thesis, however, they did not make any major revisions to this article.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores ‘strategies from below’, i.e., the strategies employed by migrant consumers in making sense of their ethnic identification in navigating intergenerational cultural transmission, and in interacting with identity mythologies. Prior consumer research within consumer culture theory has focussed on the challenges and difficulties associated with the new subjectivities emerging from globalisation and mobility. This research, however, takes an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding migrant consumers by focusing on the empowering and uplifting aspects of their cultural heritage, the sense of self they derive from particular ways of ‘doing family’ (Morgan, 1996), and their experiences of believing themselves to be privileged ‘model minority’ migrants. In this way, the thesis aims to present a more diverse representation of ethnic subjectivities that can provide theoretically relevant insights for reconsidering how we think about consumer ethnicity in the future.

The context within which the aforementioned phenomena are analysed is the lives of first-, 1.5-, and second-generation middle-class, Hindu British Indian women. The thesis is comprised of three research papers, each employing a different analytical lens – Bourdieu’s (1979) concepts of field, capital, and habitus; Zontini and Reynold’s (2018) transnational family habitus; and Grzymala-Kazłowska’s (2016) social anchoring theory - for understanding migrant consumers’ adaptations to the receiving society. The emergent findings show how consumers leverage subcultural capital to gain distinction in society, how we can understand successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minorities, and how consumers can mobilise myths about their ethnicity to express personal ethnic identifications. The thesis makes contributions

to our understanding of how migrant consumers overcome challenges by drawing upon unique resources available to these groups. Additionally, by taking a generational lens to understanding consumer ethnicity, this thesis extends our understanding of the evolution of experiences and constructions of ethnicity beyond the dominant post-assimilationist acculturation paradigm.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This has been a long and arduous journey. However, I have been lucky enough to not have to make it alone. So, please bear with me while I take a moment to convey my gratitude to all those who have taken this journey with me.

I would like to most sincerely thank my supervisors, Professor Margaret Hogg and Dr Hayley Cocker for their unending help, support, guidance, motivation, patience, indulgence, concern, and care throughout this journey. I would like to thank Margaret for her kindness, her constant care, for being an inspiration and a role model not just as an academic but as a person. Margaret really is the very best. I would like to thank Hayley for her kindness as well, and her friendship, and for being a cool voice of reason and hope when I needed it the most. I have been very lucky to have a fantastic supervision team and for this I am very grateful because without it I would not be here.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and love to my mom, dad, and Amit for always being by my side, for believing in me, helping me, supporting me, and putting up with me through this emotional rollercoaster of a ride. Thanks to my mom for teaching me to be brave and giving me courage. Thanks to my dad for passing on his sense of integrity and hard work. Thanks to Amit for being the best human being I have had the privilege of knowing and loving. My family has been my pillar of strength and support, and every day I wake up knowing I have won the lottery of life by being born into this ocean of love.

I would like to thank my informants for giving me their time, inviting me into their homes and their lives, for feeding me, befriending me, and trusting me with their stories.

Thanks especially to Kish, Neesha, Kit, Jasmine and Harsha Aunty for going above and beyond. I am truly grateful to have met all these amazing women through this journey.

I would like to thank Professor Søren Askegaard for his help, critique, and academic mentorship. Thanks for always pushing me to do better.

Sincerest thanks to Gian Fulgoni and Lancaster University's Marketing Department for the funding provided for this PhD.

Thanks to my friends for making this journey more fun. I would like to thank Tobias Finke for believing in me even at times when I didn't. Thanks to Debjani Paul for sharing my sense of weird. Thanks to GulAhmed for being there, thanks to Adjoa for joining me at the High Table, to Rhucha for the laughs, to Samyuktha, Sarada, and Shashwati for being my F.R.I.E.N.D.S, and to Craig for six seasons and a movie.

Thanks to the CCT community for welcoming me and making me feel like I belong. Shout out to The Daniels and my Danish crew. Thanks also to those who inspired me to take this academic journey – Dr Bham Venkataramani, Julie Brooks, and Dr John Desmond.

Thanks to Kayla Friedman and Malcolm Morgan for this Word template.

This PhD was fuelled by some very good coffee so I would like to acknowledge all the baristas over the years who have kept me going. Special shout out to Tom, Martha, Fionn, Jenna, Lilly, Ollie, Alice, Katie, and Tasmin for all the fuel, conversations, and encouragement.

Thanks to all the dogs who have kept me entertained and brought joy to the most difficult days of this journey – Venk, Cosmo, Phoebe, and the loving memory of Pongo

(the smartest and goodest dog) in particular. Finally, thanks to Steven Erikson and Brandon Sanderson for giving me bridges when I needed them.

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1 Introduction

This thesis explores ethnic migrant consumers' 'strategies from below', i.e. strategies consumers employ at an individual-micro-level in making sense of their ethnic identification, in navigating intergenerational cultural transmission, and in interacting with identity mythologies. These themes are analysed among middle-class, Hindu British Indian women consumers covering first- (born in India and migrated to Britain), 1.5- (born in India and migrated to Britain as children under the age of 10) and second-generation (born in Britain to Indian parents). These women belong to Britain's professional middle-class and are often represented by, and identify with the 'model minority' myth (Lee, 1996). Unlike in some other societies where the model minority might be prized for its cultural invisibility (Aw, 2019), most of my informants believe their cultural heritage is entwined with and celebrated in British society. This coupled with their lived experiences of successful academic and professional achievements and comfortable social class status, results in migrant consumers who are largely content with their lives in the receiving society.

This research is set within the consumer culture theory (CCT) literature (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). The study aims to explain 1) how ethnic identification can be used

as a strategy for distinction by ethnic migrant consumers, 2) how intergenerational cultural transmission takes place successfully among ethnic migrants, and 3) how mythologies can be experienced as consonant with lived experience and therefore mobilised to construct a sense of privilege by consumers. These research questions have been addressed in the three articles presented in the findings section. In this way, the thesis extends the conversation in consumer research about the lived experiences of ethnic minority migrant consumers. In particular, I explore consumers’ ethnic identity-work; the dynamics around ‘doing family’ (Morgan, 1996) and maintaining culture among ethnic minority consumers; and consumers’ interactions with macro-level mythologies about ethnicity. I use three different analytical lenses in order to achieve this – firstly, Bourdieu’s (1979) concepts of capital, field, habitus and distinction; secondly, transnational family habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018); and thirdly social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016). Contextually, the study is set in Britain and the protagonists are professional British Indian women, who have attracted little research attention (Biswas Sasidharan, 2011). These women belong to a growing group of professional ethnic minority migrants in Britain. Hence, by understanding these women’s experiences of ethnic identification and ‘doing family’ we develop a more holistic understanding of how members of new professional migrant families are adapting to life in Britain.

In this first section I provide a brief contextual introduction (Section 1.1). The following section (Section 1.2) provides an overview of the three research papers that comprise the findings of the thesis. This is followed by a discussion of how this study is positioned in three relevant literature streams – consumer acculturation, transnational families, and consumer myth making (Sections 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5 respectively). I provide details of my research design in Section 1.6, and finally an outline of the rest of the thesis is provided in Section 1.7.

1.1 CONTEXT

According to the 2011 census the British Indian population numbers over 1.4 million (ONS, 2015), making up 2.3% of the total population. Indians are the largest visible ethnic minority in the UK, they have the highest representations in managerial jobs, and are reported to perform better than their white peers in education (ibid). Indian cultural forms such as cuisine, movies and music are popular and prevalent in the mainstream public imagination. Owing to India's colonial history with Britain, Indian culture is interwoven into British culture through shared practices such as tea drinking, the love for cricket, and the popularity of Indian cuisine. Thus, the context within which this study is set is one with a long colonial history.

1.1.1 INDIAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN

Records of Indian explorers landing in Britain date back to the sixteenth century, while documentation of a proper Indian migration to Britain began in the eighteenth century with the rise of the East India Company (EIC) (Ballard, 1994). These early Indian migrants were mainly employed as sailors in the EIC ships. As the dominance of the EIC grew, Indian migration increased and diversified. Along with sailors, the British brought back Indian nannies and domestic servants once their own stay in South Asia had ended. Once India was colonised, young members of the British aristocracy were often encouraged to spend time in the ‘colony’, and some brought back Indian brides (Varman, 2016). A majority of the Indian population in Britain pre-1950s originated from rural India and belonged to economically disadvantaged sections of society (Ballard, 1994). However, the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 and the Immigration Act of 1971 restricted the freedom of movement and settlement for primary migrants from India. Nonetheless, post-war migration from India continued, mostly in order to fulfil labour shortages in the railways and in the textile sector in the North West of England. In the 1960s and 1970s a large group of Indians were expelled by Idi Amin from East Africa and those with British passports fled to the UK. These new arrivals, who viewed themselves as twice migrants, have been identified in previous research as transnationals and identify with Gujarat and Hinduism or pan-Asian-British ethnicity as opposed to just Indianness (Näre, 2017).

Additionally, in the 1950s and 1960s, Britain's National Health Service (NHS) underwent expansion and began recruiting medical staff from India to fill shortages (Esmail, 2007). This practice continues to this day. Increasingly, skilled migration is becoming the primarily available and publicly valorised form of migration in Britain for Indians (Raghuram, 2004). As a result, there exists a group of Indians in Britain who belong to the professional and middle-class (Jones, 2013; Meghji and Saini, 2018) that has not attracted a lot of research attention. My informants identify with and are identified as belonging to this group of British Indians.

1.1.2 FIRST-GENERATION'S EXPERIENCES OF MIGRATING TO BRITAIN

My first-generation informants migrated to Britain as a result of arranged marriages to their spouses who were Indians already working as professionals in Britain. Most of these women were already familiar with Britain and British culture through the Indian education system as well as the prevalence of the BBC News television channel in India. However, this did not mean that their arrivals were problem-free. Many informants spoke of issues with the weather, culture, and accents. However, they emphasised how they overcame these challenges with the help of others. Upon moving to Britain they found themselves in an unfamiliar environment yet with access to social networks setup by their husbands. Some informants' family members had migrated to Britain before

them, and acted as ‘acculturation agents’ (Peñaloza, 1994) as well as providing an emotional support system. As a result, most first-generation informants were able to quickly develop bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), which could be mobilised for cultural adaptation and ‘integration’. Informants mentioned watching the news to understand British accents and learning to cook British cuisine as some of the ways in which they adapted to life in Britain. At the same time, they were also preoccupied with constructing their identities as wives and getting to know their husbands. This is possibly why they were not able to devote as much time to being occupied with ‘acculturating to’ the host society because migrant identity was one of multiple potential identities to be managed. Some of my informants experienced initial deskilling on arrival, however, all eventually found themselves employed in professional occupations.

Currently all except one of my first-generation informants are working professionals. The exception is a retired medical consultant. These informants live in various suburbs across England, and most have adult children. During their interviews they spoke fondly of their social networks in Britain as well as in India. Most seemed content with their life in Britain, which was now ‘home’ since this is where their children were born and will choose to reside. None of my informants planned on returning to India later in life (Ramji, 2006) primarily because here in the U.K. they are close to their children and wish to remain geographically close to them. Most informants were proud to be British

Indian and believed themselves to be integrated into society in Britain. A snapshot of their profiles can be found in Section 1.6.4.4.1 while demographic details can be found in Appendix I.

1.1.3 GROWING UP BRITISH INDIAN - 1.5- AND SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANT CONSUMERS' EXPERIENCES

This group of informants was either born in Britain or was raised here since childhood. They spoke of growing up in Britain knowing they were 'different' from their peers. They mentioned eating Indian cuisine at home, hearing their parents speak their heritage language, and watching Bollywood movies. Some informants attended Indian language schools, while others learned heritage languages at home, and still others went for Indian dance and music classes. All informants except one had visited India regularly and expressed fond memories of their times there. Informants were close to their 'extended' family members including grandparents, cousins, aunties, and uncles. Many of these were considered immediate and not extended family members regardless of their infrequent presence (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). These informants kept in touch with transnational family members through the use of information communication technology (ICTs) and most had formed their own connections with these family members that were separate from (or independent of) their relationships with their parents. All informants spoke of their various family members throughout the

interviews and many explicitly mentioned belonging to close-knit families. In this way, the salience of Indian culture in their lives was pronounced.

1.5 and second-generation informants also expressed being socialised into aspects of ‘British’ culture by their parents as well as through institutions such as schools. Informants associated having good manners, speaking well, and respecting women as some of the ‘British’ traits encouraged by their parents. They also spoke of what was restricted and policed – going out, drinking, being individualistic. Many informants ‘learned’ ‘ways of being’ (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004) British by attending the theatre with their parents, learning to play classical music, and celebrating Christmas.

The informants belonging to this group were either in fulltime education or working professionals at the time of the interviews. Only one was married, and almost all were living away from their families for the first time in their lives. They called Britain home, mostly felt accepted in society, and most believed in the post-racial ideology (Meghji and Saini, 2018). They called India a second home and considered it, either as a physical space or as an imaginarie, salient to their identifications. A snapshot of their profiles can be found in Section 1.6.4.4.2 while demographic details can be found in Appendix I.

1.2 OVERVIEW OF ARTICLES

While the previous section introduced the context within which this study operates, this section introduces the theoretical crux of the thesis by first presenting a succinct overview of the research questions addressed by each article as well as the theoretical lenses employed (see Table 1 below). Additionally, the article abstracts are also included so as to give the reader a snapshot of how the papers fit into various theoretical conversations, which are discussed in further detail in Sections 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5.

Chapter Number	Article Title	Research Questions	Theoretical Lens Employed	Relevant Literature	Key Findings
2	Ethnic identification: Capital and distinction among second-generation British Indians	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How can ethnic identification be conceptualised among second-generation ethnic consumers? 2. How do these consumers acquire, use, and (re) produce cultural and social capital for ethnic identification? 	Bourdieu's (1979) concepts of capital, field, habitus, and distinction	Consumer acculturation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ethnicity is central to second-generation consumers’ identity-projects, and their everyday social interactions. 2. Ethnicity is considered in uplifting and empowering terms, and first-generation consumers play a key role in reinforcing this belief. 3. Second-generation consumers acquire, use and (re) produce situationally prized subcultural capital for distinction from other ethnic consumers and members of the white majority group.

3	Rules of engagement – intergenerational cultural transmission among middle-class British Indians	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do migrant women negotiate intergenerational cultural socialisation around ‘doing family’? 2. How do they navigate reflexively constructed ‘rules of engagement’ of cultural identity particular to their gender and class? 	Transnational family habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018)	Transnationalism and transnational families	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. British Indian mothers inculcate two salient ‘ways of being’ – a family-first orientation, and white middle-classness - as strategies for intergenerational cultural transmission. 2. The former schema operates through family obligations across borders, reproducing the transnational family habitus across generations, while the latter schema is incorporated through flexible boundary-making, and adapting, adopting or rejecting selective ‘British’ cultural practices in the habitus. 3. British Indian daughters navigate cross-border family obligations and camaraderie with white British peers by leveraging acquired cultural learnings as an internal compass and subjugating the individual self to the family self.
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4	Model citizens of the Empire: mythology, ethnic identification, and British Indian women	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do migrant consumers interact with mythologies of social essence in order to express personal essence? 2. How can we understand ethnic identification among ‘model minority’ migrant consumers? 3. How can a generational lens help us understand transformation(s) in ethnic identification across migrant generations? 	Social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016)	Consumer acculturation and consumer myth making	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. First-generation British Indian consumers reify and mobilise the model minority mythology in order to express their personal essence, i.e., ethnic identification. 2. The process is more complicated for 1.5-and second-generation consumers whose personal expressions of ethnicity are often incompatible with cultural level enactments. 3. Across generations migrant consumers employ two paradoxical ‘strategies from below’ – ‘educating others’ and ‘othering’ – used here in order to maintain ontological security and a privileged position in society.
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Table 1: Snapshot of the articles presented in the findings section

The first article about ethnic identification among second-generation British Indian women leverages Bourdieu's (1979) concept of cultural capital to discuss how ethnicity is central to second-generation consumers' identity-projects, and their everyday social interactions. Through resources such as Bollywood cinema (Takhar, Maclaran and Stevens, 2012), and Indian schools for language, music, and dance, second-generation consumers acquire, use and (re) produce situationally prized subcultural capital for distinction from other ethnic consumers and members of the white majority group. We show how ethnicity can be considered in uplifting and empowering terms for second-generation ethnic minority women, and how first-generation consumers play a key role in reinforcing this belief.

The second article joins the conversation on 'doing family' (Morgan, 1996) among transnational migrants by examining intergenerational cultural socialisation among middle-class British Indian mothers and daughters. We explore how they navigate intersecting cultural, gendered, and classed identities within a "transnational family habitus" (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). Through this we understand how mothers construct, and daughters negotiate, the rules of engagement around 'ways of being' British Indian. Two salient 'ways of being' are highlighted – a family-first orientation, and white middle-classness. We show how the former schema operates through family obligations across borders, reproducing the transnational family habitus across generations. Additionally, we see how mothers inculcate the latter schema through

flexible boundary-making, and adapting, adopting or rejecting selective ‘British’ cultural practices in the habitus. Our cross-generational data allows us to understand how successful, and often adapted, intergenerational cultural socialisation can operate among professional, middle-class ethnic minority families in Britain. Based on our findings we identify the combination of driving forces that should be analysed for understanding successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minorities.

The final article explores the evolution in ethnic identification and (emic) integration among British Indians, across generations, by leveraging social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016) as an analytical framework. Social anchoring allows us to move beyond the dominant post-assimilationist acculturation paradigm (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard, Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) to understand ethnic consumers’ situational agency in managing their lives in an adopted society. By moving from the structural to the personal and inter-personal emically-significant identifications and practices in consumers’ lives I present an alternative understanding of migrant consumers who do not believe themselves to be marginalised. I explore how these ethnic consumers pursue differentiated ethnic assertiveness (Modood, 2001), de-mythologisation and education, and ‘othering’ in their ethnic identifications. Through this, I contribute a generational understanding of ethnicity to the CCT research on ethnic minority migrants, as well as

an empirically grounded argument for why we need to move beyond acculturation to understanding migrant consumers.

Overall, the three articles combined address the following gaps in literature:

- With respect to post-assimilationist consumer acculturation research, the study redresses previous research's neglect of transnational influences on migrant consumers' lives. Articles one and two (Chapters 2 and 3) in particular explore the salient influences of transnational ties, especially social ties in 'home' country, on the lives of migrant consumers' adaptations to the receiving country. Additionally, article 3 challenges consumer acculturation literature's assumptions of 'locals' as the dominant group and 'migrants' as the dominated group (see Section 1.3).
- With respect to the research on transnational families, this study extends our understanding of the particular gendered and social class-based navigations mothers and daughters make in a 'transnational family habitus' (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). Additionally, this thesis helps us understand the motive driving forces for successful intergenerational cultural transmission among transnational families (see Section 1.4)
- Finally, this thesis extends our understanding of the interrelationship between consumer myth making, ethnicity, and lived experience. By showing how consumers can assert their own meanings on mythologies and how they can

mobilise mythologies for personal advantage, this study joins the wider consumer agency-structure debate within consumer culture theory (Murray, 2002) (see Section 1.5).

In this way, the three articles together contribute to understanding ethnic migrant consumers’ ‘strategies from below’, i.e., not the macro-level institutional, or indeed even meso-level communal struggles (though this is touched upon, of course), but instead we explore the navigations that consumers at an individual-micro-level make in order to manage their lives.

The following sections provide a more detailed discussion of the literatures mentioned above.

1.3 CONSUMER ACCULTURATION

Within consumer research, ethnic minority migrant consumers’ experiences have previously mostly been studied under the post-assimilationist acculturation paradigm (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould, 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). Acculturation is the study of the micro, meso, and macro-level processes influencing individuals who have developed in one particular cultural context and are now living in a different cultural context (Luedicke, 2011). My thesis also investigates these issues of how migrants

manage their lives in a new contextual setting. In particular, I look at consumers' navigations of cultural forms and consumption practices with relation to heritage culture as well as receiving society's culture. This study explores how British Indian consumers negotiate Indian, British, British Indian cultures when interacting with 'acculturation agents' like family, friends, institutions, the local Indian community, the transnational Indian community and white Britons.

Within consumer literature, acculturation studies have focussed on consumers' marketplace interactions in the receiving society. Peñaloza's (1994) seminal paper on understanding how Mexican migrants' consumption practices change/ adapt in USA and how this influences their identity positions, has dominated the conversation on understanding ethnic minority migrant consumers. Through Peñaloza's (1994) study we learnt that consumer assimilation is but one of the possible outcomes of migration, while other outcomes might be maintenance, segregation, and resistance. Later through Oswald's (1999) study of Haitian migrants in the US, we learnt that consumers can be skilled cultural navigators who situationally switch codes and consumption styles as suited to their bicultural selves. While the previous conversations were about migrant consumers' interactions with country-specific acculturation agents, Askegaard et al (2005) identified 'global consumer culture' as an important acculturation agent that could influence consumers' multiple and shifting identity positions.

The discussion then turned from an approach based on Peñaloza’s work to understanding acculturation as a process of domination, structured by power dynamics (Üstüner and Holt, 2007). Research explored how acculturation influences not only migrants but indigenes as well since they have to react and shift consumption patterns to maintain their dominance and distinction from migrant consumers (Luedicke, 2015). More recently, acculturation has been shown to be a strategy through which institutional actors can reproduce neo-colonial power imbalances by shaping ethnic subjectivities through marketplace interactions (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018).

Specific to second-generation British Asian consumers, acculturation research has shown them to be cultural navigators in-between imagined multiple worlds (Lindridge, Hogg, and Shah, 2007) who may experience tension while navigating contradictory cultures (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). Other research has shown that young British Asian consumers construct dual cultural identities due to “consonances with ancestral culture, situational constraints, contextual requirements and conveniences” (Dey, Balmer, Pandit, Saren and Binsardi, 2017: 789).

Consumer research on acculturation has helped us understand that migrant consumers undergo processes of socialisation, which influence their consumption practices, their relationships with members of the majority group, and with institutions. These processes of socialisation are embedded in power structures, shaped by hegemonic ideologies, and determined by socio-historic influences (Üstüner and Holt, 2007).

Specific to second-generation ethnic migrant consumers we have learned that the process of navigating dual cultural influences can cause tensions even when the second-generation ethnic migrants possess the economic, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1979) required to negotiate multiple boundaries. However, many of these studies have:

- Assumed an almost objective, distinct, and unchanging definition of ‘home’ and ‘host’ cultures
- Marginalised intergenerational cultural influences
- Marginalised sending countries’ influence on the everyday lives of consumers in the receiving country
- Equated the ‘local’ group with the ‘dominant’ group and the migrating group with the ‘dominated group’

The three articles in the findings section attempt to address the above-mentioned gaps by looking beyond the acculturation framework. The first article on ethnic identification and distinction explores how subcultural cultural capital like Indian cultural forms can be valorised across fields owing to their mainstream appeal and socio-historic associations. The first article also touches upon social ties from the sending country by exploring the significance second-generation ethnic migrant consumers place on developing social capital in their heritage country. The second article (Chapter 3) focuses on intergenerational cultural influences by exploring successful cultural transmission among British Indian mothers and daughters. Additionally, it also

accounts for transnational influences, i.e. social ties from the sending country, in these consumer lives. Finally, the third article (Chapter 4) challenges our existing understanding of ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’ groups by showing how certain migrant consumer groups can leverage macro-level identity mythologies to maintain and reproduce their dominance over other minority groups. In this way, this thesis moves the conversation about ethnic minority migrant consumers’ lived experiences beyond acculturation by accounting for context and the socio-historic relations between members of the ‘majority’ and ‘minority’ group. It also shows how migrant consumers’ socialisation processes can operate across borders and are not just restricted to influences in the receiving country.

1.4 TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES

Migrant consumers can have multiple belongings (Taylor, 2015) and experience simultaneity in their lives, i.e., “living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally” (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004:1003). Migrants belonging to this group have often been studied in the transnationalism literature. Transnationalism is “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 1). I believe that my

informants belong to this group of transnational migrants because though they live in Britain, their lives are linked to people, places and processes in India through return visits, ICTs, and routine interactions with other co-ethnics in Britain. Among my informants I find some instances of broad transnationalism, i.e., people engaged in material and symbolic practices involving infrequent physical movement between two countries, a low level of institutionalisation, and yet they include both countries as reference points (Itzigsohn, Cabral, Medina and Vázquez, 1999: 323). Other informants are more suitably classified under narrow transnationalism, i.e., “people involved in economic, political, social, or cultural practices that involve a regular movement within the geographic transnational field, a high level of institutionalization, or constant personal involvement” (Itzigsohn et al, 1999: 323). As a result, the acculturation lens was unsuitable for holistically understanding adaptation to Britain, since this lens excluded migrant consumers’ need for staying connected to India. For transnationals, multi-sited relations can result in multidimensional influences, which can have either a supportive and/or challenging influence on intersecting identities. A “transnational lens” (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1003) is useful in understanding such migrants’ strategies for negotiating and resolving intersecting identity tensions that arise out of multi-locational connections, over time.

Previous research has identified British Indians as having transnational connections via social ties, material goods (e.g. property), visits to India, and participation in politics

(Quereshi, Varghese, Osella and Raja, 2012; Taylor, 2013; Vertovec, 2010; Ramji, 2006). My informants participated in many of these activities to varying degrees. Most importantly, transnationalism is linked to ‘ways of being’ and ‘ways of belonging’ (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004), and this has an influence on transnational migrants’ ways of ‘doing family’ (Morgan, 1996). Transnational families are a result of globalisation, and pose interesting questions about “migration, identities, communities, resources and relationships in the contemporary world” (Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos and Zontini, 2010: 3). Previous research has shown how ethnic identity – the main subject under study – is closely linked to ‘doing family’ for Indian migrants (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). Hence, a transnational lens is useful for understanding the interconnections between family, ethnicity, and individual lived experience. Particularly significant for this study is Zontini and Reynold’s (2018) conceptualisation of a ‘transnational family habitus’, which is a “structured set of values, ways of thinking and ‘being’ within the family built up over time through family socialization, practices and cultural traditions that transcend national boundaries” (2018: 418-419). In their study Zontini and Reynolds (2018) elucidate the workings of a transnational family habitus among South Asian, Caribbean, and Italian families in the UK through interviews with young people, and show how children and young people from these cultural backgrounds ‘do family’ differently and transnationally. They find that children raised in a transnational family habitus constituted families as deterritorialised units where presence/absence was normal. The normative way in which they

understood family was based on a shared history and heritage, visits across borders, and a frequent physical absence. Such transnational families are not just symbolic but bound in duty, responsibility, obligation, belongingness, and care (Goulbourne et al, 2010).

Specific to Indian transnational families, research shows that negotiating family relationships and responsibilities while subordinating the individual self to the family unit is a central part of Indianness (Derné, 1999; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Mooney, 2006). Among Indian Americans, Purkayastha (2005) finds that members of family units in different groups negotiate ethnicity, gender regimes, and choice of partners situationally, and together but in different ways. Mehrotra and Calasanti (2010) find that though migration alters family regimes among Indians, gender and ethnic identities are minimally transformed. Negotiations among Indian family members, intersecting with their life course trajectory, also have a bearing on how British Indians define 'home' and belonging (Herbert, 2012; Ramji, 2006). Added to this is the particular complication that women face as culture bearers and transmitters (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016; Jagganath, 2015; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Lindridge, Hogg and Shah, 2004). However, little has been written about this group (Meghji and Saini, 2018; Biswas Sasidharan, 2011; Robinson, 1988) and even less has been said about professional or middle-class South Asian women migrants in particular. Additionally, as Goulbourne et al (2010: 13) postulate "while there is much to be learnt from the many common features that transnational families share, each transnational family and

kinship network must be understood in their own terms or contexts”. This is where my study joins the conversation on transnational families. Article 1 (Chapter 2) extends the conversation on transnational families by exploring how second-generation British Indian consumers mobilise cultural capital resources to form transnational social and kinship ties, which can act as social capital resources. Article 2 (Chapter 3) particularly speaks to the gap of understanding the processes of intergenerational cultural transmission among transnational families. It accounts for mothers’ primary roles as socialisation agents responsible for educating children in not only heritage culture but desired aspects of the ‘host’ culture as well. The article also explores how daughters, who are mostly likely to be disadvantaged by the patriarchal setting of their habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010), navigate ‘doing family’ and ‘being British Indian’ in transnational families. While Article 3 (Chapter 4) does not speak specifically to the literature on transnationalism, the phenomenon under study – British Indians and the model minority myth – arises out of narrow transnational processes that have developed historically between India and Britain, particularly in relation to the professional workforce.

1.5 CONSUMER MYTH MAKING

Within consumer research, “myths are imaginative stories and images that selectively draw on history as source material.. myths are key source material for imbuing personal identity” (Holt, 2006: 359). The body of literature dealing with myth making is concerned with studying consumers’ interactions with mythologies in a marketplace setting as well as marketers’ roles in leveraging myths for brand associations (Belk and Costa, 1998; Holt and Thompson, 2004; Holt, 2006; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler, 2010). The literature relevant to this study falls within the former category, i.e., consumers’ interactions with mythologies in the marketplace and the resulting consumer identity projects. This thesis investigates how macro-level mythologies influence ethnic minority consumers’ identifications. For the purposes of my research, I use the term myth to mean a naturalisation of what is historically constituted (Barthes, 1957).

Belk and Costa (1998) have shown how collective consumption of mythologies can result in the formation of transient consumption communities through transformative play and romanticised beliefs. Through this study we developed a historically contextualized understanding of the consumption of consumer fantasies. Elsewhere, Holt and Thompson (2004) have explored how consumers can leverage mythologies associated with gender to perform and pursue ideological constructs of gender through everyday consumption. This study sheds light on how ideological constructs hold

different meanings for, and are pursued differently by, members of different social classes. Elsewhere, Luedicke et al (2010) show how consumers leverage mythologies in pursuit of moralism and dramatic narratives of identity. They provide a framework for understanding how interrelationships between mythic structures, ideological meanings, and marketplace resources can enhance consumer identity-values. However, not all mythologies are desirable, as shown by Arsel and Thompson (2011) who explore how consumers employ demythologisation practices to protect their acquired field-dependent social and cultural capital from misrecognition. From this we learnt why some consumers refuse to abandon consumption fields even when these might be flooded with undesirable meanings (e.g in this case we learnt how indie consumers resist the ‘hipster’ myth accorder by marketers to their consumption practices).

More specific to research on migrant consumers, Hu, Whittler and Tian (2013) explore how Asian American consumers resist myths imposed on them through everyday consumption. Their study helps us understand how mythologies can reproduce inequalities and how consumers can resist these mythologies to undermine hegemonic state-propagated ideologies. Takhar et al (2012) show how, for British Sikhs Bollywood resolves conflicts between mythologies of romantic love and family values. A part of their study explores how imagined identities and communities form a diasporic consciousness. Elsewhere, a part of Davis’ (2010) paper explores how Indian American migrants are conflicted about their associations with the model minority

myth. Her study shows that while identity myths can be sources for creating identity-value they can also be experienced as oppressive and constraining simultaneously.

My study extends the conversation on how consumers mobilise myths for enhancing their identity-value. The third article (Chapter 4) shows how macro-level ideological forms such as identity myths related to a particular migrant group can be experienced by consumers as consonant with everyday experience, and hence, seen as ‘truth’ rather than mythologies. Through this I show how members of ethnic minority migrant consumer groups can mobilise, reify, and transform identity myths to maintain and reproduce privilege, and distance themselves from other minority groups. By taking a generation lens, the study adds to our understanding of how experiences of interactions with identity myths transform across consumer generations.

1.6 RESEARCH DESIGN

This qualitative study follows the interpretivist tradition in social science research, derived from the Kantian philosophy that posits there can be no meaning without a mind. According to Crotty (1998: 66-67) interpretivism as a theoretical perspective emerged in “contradistinction to positivism in attempts to understand and explain human and social reality”. This interpretivist viewpoint aligns with much consumer culture theory research (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Before further delving into this

theoretical perspective, I present an overview of my research design by applying Crotty’s (1998: 5) framework below:

Crotty’s (1998) Research Design	Application
Epistemology	Constructionism
→ Theoretical Perspective	→ Interpretivism
→ Methodology	→ Existential Phenomenology
→ Methods	→ Semi-structured Interviews

Table 2: Crotty’s (1998: 5) framework of research design

1.6.1 EPISTEMOLOGY – CONSTRUCTIONISM

Epistemology, or the nature of knowledge, is about “how we know what we know” (Crotty, 1998: 8). This study is grounded in the constructionism epistemology, which is in principal in opposition to objectivism – the belief that “meaning, and therefore meaningful reality, exists as such, apart from the operation of any consciousness.” (Crotty, 1998: 8). From this objectivist position, the researcher is thought to be able to discover the meaningful reality that exists ‘out there’. Objectivism is closely linked to positivism as a theoretical perspective and tends to be suited to research based on quantitative methods as opposed to the present study whose approach is based on the collection of qualitative data. Constructionism, or social constructionism to be more precise, in contrast to objectivism posits that “Meaning is not discovered, but

constructed. In this understanding of knowledge, it is clear that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon.” (Crotty, 1998: 9). This philosophical stance is well suited to the type of consumer research in this study where the aim is to understand consumers’ meanings and the related ‘hows’ and ‘whys’ rather than seeking to measure (‘how much’) or verify a phenomenon. In this type of interpretivist research, epistemology and ontology are intertwined since our understandings and interpretations of the world and reality are constructed through shared meanings (Crotty, 1998).

In social constructionist consumer research, the researcher constructs knowledge by interacting with the world. As a result, social constructionism places an importance on the context of the research, i.e., the socio-historic and cultural setting in which the research is undertaken (Hudson and Ozanne, 1998). This is pertinent to the present study since it explores consumers’ ethnic identification and cultural transmission, i.e., issues related to identity-work, which need to be understood by rejecting universalising accounts of lived experiences and instead approached in a way that sufficiently accounts for the socio-historic relations between groups as well as institutional inequalities (Hall, 1996; Grossberg, 2010; Crockett, 2017). Therefore, social constructionism allows us to understand identity-work and its related ‘identifications’ (Rutherford, 1990) as in-process, subjected to radical historicization, and constantly constructed through multiple negotiations often at the intersections of antagonistic

positions, practices, and discourses (Hall, 1996). In this way social constructionism accounts for the shortcomings of subjectivism, which over-emphasises subjectivity, by accounting for inter-subjectivity (Tadajewski, 2006) as well the embeddedness of consumers’ lived experiences within particular contexts.

In the next section I discuss interpretivism as the theoretical perspective employed for this study, which stems from constructionism.

1.6.2 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE – INTERPRETIVISM

The interpretivist approach “looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998: 67). Within consumer research, the ‘interpretivist turn’ (Sherry, 1990) or the ‘post-modern turn’ (Cova and Elliott, 2008) is now an established phenomenon, which arose in opposition to the dominant positivist paradigm (Hirschman, 1986). Considering that marketing as a discipline evolved in relation to economics it is unsurprising that it relied on positivist methods (Hirschman, 1986; Szmigin and Foxall, 2000). However, the ‘interpretivist turn’ foregrounded studies using qualitative methods and though the way in which these studies use the term ‘interpretivism’ may be debated (Goulding, 1999), they share a common goal of understanding “consumers’ experiences in their own terms” (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000: 188; Thompson, Locander and Pollio, 1989).

Interpretivism postulates that researchers construct knowledge by interacting with the informants and interpreting how informants make sense of the world. This interpretation is in turn derived from the researchers' own personal experiences (Hirschman, 1986). This way of constructing knowledge requires an overlap between the researchers' as well as the informants' perspectives (Thompson, Pollio and Locander, 1994). This is particularly relevant for the present study wherein my position as a (relatively) young, middle-class Indian woman and migrant has allowed me to gain a degree of insider understanding of my first- as well as 1.5- and second-generation middle-class British Indian informants. My first-generation informants and I have a shared understanding of Indian cultural meanings and the transformations they undertake as a result of migration. Additionally, my 1.5- and second-generation informants and I have shared understandings of being raised by middle-class Indian parents and the particular expectations and consumption practices that exist in this habitus. Finally, my informants and I share understandings of our lived experiences of being women of colour in Britain. Thus, the interpretivist theoretical perspective allows me as a researcher to draw upon my emic shared understandings of the informants' lived experiences in order to present interpretations that attempt to represent consumers on their own terms.

In the next section I discuss how phenomenological research, under the umbrella of the interpretivist theoretical perspective, is appropriate for the present study.

1.6.3 METHODOLOGY – EXISTENTIAL PHENOMENOLOGY

Existential phenomenology is a widely used paradigm within consumer research that “blends the philosophy of existentialism with the methods of phenomenology” (Thompson et al, 1989: 133). The resulting methodology presents a holistic view of the contextually-embedded experiences of consumers. Phenomenology, as founded by Husserl is a means to describe “what is given to us in experience without obscuring preconceptions or hypothesis speculations” (Barrett 1990: 213). In this way, phenomenology aims to turn to description as a means of investigation, requiring the researcher to disregard previously held assumptions about the phenomenon, and ‘bracket’ everyday knowledge. However, other philosophers like Heidegger and Sartre contested this view of the ‘objective’ researcher (Barrett, 1990). They believed that human beings can only be studied as a part of the world they inhabit (Thompson et al, 1989). In terms of identity-work, this means that consumers can construct meaning only in a “world of pre-existing cultural meanings and social conditions” (Thompson 1994: 389). Thus, researchers must account for their own perspectives while bracketing theoretical concepts arising in the scripts. For this thesis, I have ‘bracketed’ my preconceived notions of how Indian migrant women and their progeny construct ethnic identity projects, while doing my data collection. Instead, any ‘insider’ knowledge was used to develop intimacy between the researcher and informant so as to facilitate a candid conversation.

Existential phenomenology “seeks to describe experience as it emerges in some context(s) or, to use phenomenological terms, as it is "lived." (Thompson et al, 1989: 135). In this way, by accounting for context (Askegaard and Linett, 2011), existential phenomenology overcomes phenomenology’s shortcoming of emphasising only subjectivity. Out of this view emerges a focus on the ‘life world’ or ‘lived experience’, which does not always coincide with pure objective description because pure description assumes events exist separate from their contextual setting (Thompson et al, 1989). Existential phenomenology accounts for understanding meanings of consumer experiences as contextually situated and coherently related to the life-world (Sartre, 1962 in Thompson et al, 1989). These experiences and their meanings might change, however, these changes are organised by context, i.e., consumers’ have agency to change their life-worlds, but these changes are constrained as well as enabled by structures.

For this project, existential phenomenology guided the data collection method in the sense that I focused on understanding informants’ ethnic identities on their own terms, regarding them as the experts (Thompson et al, 1989). During the interviews, knowledge was constructed through the interactions between the researcher and the informants. These stories were then first interpreted at an emic - in world - level and then at an etic level in relation to each other. During the interviews, I minimised any guiding of the informants’ narratives and allowed them to discuss those aspects of

ethnicity and culture that were most salient in their lives. In this way, previous literature and the related theories were disregarded during data collection and only revisited during data analysis (Hirschman 1992). This is discussed further in the following sections.

1.6.4 DATA COLLECTION

1.6.4.1 METHODS – SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

Within consumer culture theory, there is a tradition of using phenomenological interviews as tools for data collection (Arnould and Thompson, 2005; Askegaard and Linnett, 2011). Additionally, South Asian informants in particular have been successfully studied through interviews in previous related research (Meghji and Saini, 2018; Takhar et al, 2012; Lindridge, et al 2007; Smzigin and Sekhon, 2011). The interview lens gave me a wide temporal range “extending into the past and future” as opposed to an ethnographic lens set in an “eternal present” (Warren, 2001:85). I also chose interviews because I foresaw problems with access to an Indian family home for an extended period. In Indian culture (and most others, I suppose) family homes are private spaces where intimate rituals and practices take place, and family members (understandably) are not very open to having these scrutinised (Biswas Sasidharan, 2011). An interview, mimicking an informal and intimate conversation, on the other hand, allowed my informants the space to express themselves and reflect upon their

lived experiences. By interviewing informants individually, there was room for freedom of expression, minimising issues of self-suppression (Hastings, 2000) that might have arisen if I had paired mothers and daughters, or even sisters together.

1.6.4.2 SAMPLING STRATEGY

The aim of this research is to explore rather than measure the phenomenon at hand, and therefore the sample is not representative of the wider population. Instead the sample has been purposefully selected to be theoretically relevant. I have used a combination of purposive, snowball and convenience sampling strategy for this study (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 28). The combination of these sampling techniques resulted in interviews with 17 first-, 1.5- and second-generation Hindu, middle-class British Indian women.

I recruited middle-class British Indian informants because one of the aims of the study was to explore the lived experiences of a minority group that is not necessarily marginalised in the receiving society. My informants fit this group of migrants who are often akin to the ‘model minority’ in Britain. Additionally, informants were sought from a Hindu religious background in order to maintain religious homogeneity within the sample since religious, ethnic, and family identities are often intertwined among South Asians (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). Finally, the study restricted the sampling

to self-identified women since this group is underrepresented in the literature and their voices have often been overlooked (Summerfield, 1987).

I began recruiting informants through my own personal contacts as well as through appeals using Lancaster University's communication channels. I set out the recruitment criteria to be consumers who self-identified as Hindu British Indian women. Initially, the aim was to recruit mother-daughter pairs and use dyads as a unit of analysis (Holt, 1996). To this end, I started recruiting 1.5- and second-generation British Indian daughters into the study, and then asking if they would introduce me to their mothers. However, this quickly proved ineffective since most informants were unwilling for their mothers to be involved in the study after their own interviews had been conducted. I speculate this is owing to the personal nature of the information divulged during the interviews. On a positive side, I take this as a testament to the richness and intimate nature of the data gathered. Nonetheless, I managed to recruit one mother-daughter-daughter triad, one mother-daughter dyad, as well as one mother-daughter-in-law dyad. However, since studying dyads was becoming challenging, and owing to practical time restraints on the duration of this study, I interviewed any individuals fitting the recruitment criteria, disregarding the mother-daughter pair as my primary pursuit. And as you will see in the findings sections, there remain mother-daughter stories in this study since the informants spoke of their own mothers and/ or daughters throughout the interviews.

In addition to recruiting through my personal contacts as well as the university's communication channels, I attended Indian cultural events around Lancaster such as the town's 'festival of culture' and the Hindu Society's Holi celebration in order to reach out to a more diverse sample. Attending these events gave me fleeting experiences of being 'in-world' with my informants.

In the end I recruited 17 informants – six first-generation 'mothers' and eleven 1.5- and second-generation daughters. Next I describe the data collection process.

1.6.4.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

I collected a total of 19 interviews with 17 informants. Two informants were identified as key informants and contacted for follow up interviews. Thus, the study comprises a total of 19 interviews lasting between 30 minutes and over two hours, transcribed to form 518 pages of data. All interviews were conducted in English, however, there were instances of Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati words being spoken during the interview and these were translated by me and their meanings confirmed with the informant. All interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Informants were aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the interviews and belonged to first-, 1.5-, and second-generation migrant groups. I conducted the interviews in informants' homes, or cafes, or my home to provide an atmosphere conducive to an

intimate and informal conversation. I began the semi-structured interviews with grand tour questions (McCracken, 1988) such as ‘where are you from’ or ‘where are your parents from’. I followed important lines of enquiry as they arose in the conversation, with minimal intervention and guidance so as to record the most emically significant narratives.

Being of Indian origin I gained a unique insider-outsider position (Meghji and Saini, 2018) that allowed for identification and interpretation of meaningful insider cultural discourse while maintaining a level of analytical distance. First-generation informants positioned me as an insider to cultural understandings of ‘being Indian’ and ‘doing family’, while simultaneously assuming a student-pupil relationship between us, where they strived to fill gaps in my knowledge. The 1.5- and second-generation informants positioned me simultaneously vis-à-vis commonality and difference throughout the duration of the interviews (Song and Parker, 1995). Many asked whether I understood certain Indian terms for food items, festivals, etc because of our different community backgrounds. Unlike the relationship between a white researcher and ethnic minority informants, most of my informants did not position me with a fixed identification prior to or during the interview. Instead, my position as a researcher was in flux, where informants were constantly repositioning me and redefining our relationship. This might have impacted the type of data gathered, however, this is not necessarily a

hindrance because the data has been analysed while accounting for this dynamic researcher-interviewee relationship (Song and Parker, 1995).

1.6.4.4 INFORMANT PROFILES

All my informants shared Indian origins, class backgrounds (middle-class), gender (women), and religious backgrounds (Hindu). They were aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the interview. Informants were from different generations as well as different Indian communities, i.e., Punjabi, Gujarati, etc. This added to the diversity of the sample while minimising any negative influence on analysis since informants shared cultural practices and values. A table detailing the informants' profiles can be found in Appendix I.

1.6.4.4.1 First-generation Profiles

All first-generation informants resided in England at the time of the interviews. Five out of the six first-generation informants had adult children, while the sixth had teenagers. Five of the informants were currently employed in professional jobs while one had recently retired from her medical practice as a consultant. All of the informants had arranged marriages to men of Indian heritage. Four of the informants migrated to Britain upon marriage. One informant was a twice migrant (Bhachu, 1985), having first

migrated to Uganda and later moved to England for her husband’s career progression as a psychologist. Another informant was a “multiple migrant” (Bhachu, 1985), who had migrated to Abu Dhabi and Nairobi before settling in England. However, neither of these women culturally identified with the previous receiving societies and self-identified as British Indian and Indian respectively.

All informants had the minimum of an undergraduate education with many having postgraduate qualifications. The women had married men who were working in professional services at the time of marriage. Two of the informants’ husbands had recently been made redundant and thus these women had become the ‘breadwinners’ of the household. All informants could be classified as belonging to the middle-class in Britain based on their education and lifestyles. All informants were members of a regional Indian association and somewhat active in the group. Their closest social networks comprised other middle-class British Indians. Additionally, they had friends who were white middle-class British professionals, whom they had met through their own or their husband’s workplace. All women emphasised the importance of ‘being Indian’ as well as maintaining ‘ways of being’ British in their family lives.

1.6.4.4.2 Second-generation Informant Profiles

All eleven 1.5- and second-generation informants resided in England at the time of the interview. All informants had obtained at least an undergraduate degree or were in the process of obtaining this. One out of the eleven informants was married, however, she did not yet have children of her own, hence, all informants believed their identities as ‘daughters’ to be salient. All informants who were employed were working in professional services. All informants, based on their education and/or their parents’ education and lifestyle, could be classified as belonging to the British middle-class.

Few of these 1.5- and second-generation informants belonged to Indian associations, however, all informants emphasised the centrality of their cultural heritage, especially in relation to their families, in their identity projects. Additionally, they also stressed the importance of their ‘English’ identities, which were associated with freedom of expression, gender equality, having manners, and ‘going out’. Finally, the informants predominantly identified with being middle-class and saw themselves as distinct from ‘segregated’ Indians. When asked to choose an identity label all informants chose to identify as British Indians. Their social networks were multicultural and comprised fellow British Indians, as well as white Britons, and fellow ‘second-generationers’ belonging to different ethnic minority groups including Bangladeshis, Sri Lankans, Kenyans and Nigerians.

1.6.5 POSITIONING AS A RESEARCHER

I am an Indian national with Mangalorean and Maharashtrian heritage. My parents practice Hinduism while I would consider myself agnostic. I belong to a middle-class Indian background. My father is employed in a higher managerial position at a pharmaceutical company. My mother is a full-time homemaker. I grew up in several different cities across India and moved to Britain for the first time in 2009 for my postgraduate education. It was during this time that I became fascinated with British Indian identity as a subject of study, as a result of interacting with British Indian friends. After my Masters’ graduation I returned to India to work for five years as a marketing and communications professional. I returned to the UK in 2015 to pursue a PhD.

As a result of my background I am familiar with Indian culture, migrant identity, and life in Britain as a woman of colour – all topics that were investigated in this study. Additionally, during data collection I immersed myself in the life-worlds of my informants by consuming their preferred cultural media forms, sharing meals with them, having informal conversations about their cultural heritage, and celebrating cultural festivals like Diwali with their families. Many women invited me into their homes and our relationships evolved from formal to informal and intimate. This has informed my understanding of the context and guided my analysis. However, I have tried to maintain analytical distance by adopting “analytical naivete” during interviews and recognising the difficulties associated with studying informants similar to one’s

own background (Stephenson and Grier, 1981). While Stephenson and Grier (1981) caution that researchers such as me might fail to recognise ‘cultural patterns’ or face the problem of “ordinariness”, others such as Aguilar (1981) have highlighted that familiarity might aid perception of important lines of enquiry. Additionally, my supervisors have been active collaborators in the process of data analysis in order to minimise any negative influences of being a somewhat ‘native anthropologist’.

1.6.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Each of the three papers presented in this thesis uses a different analytical framework for data analysis. However, they share a common framing – I have taken an ‘asset perspective’ (Roy, 2016) to understanding the phenomenon at hand. As a result, data has been analysed with the view of not only identifying problems and conflicts in identity-work but also how these are overcome by mobilising resources unique to members of the ethnic minority community.

I began analysing data through thematic analysis of the transcripts. Thematic analysis focuses “on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes. Codes are then typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis.” (Guest, MacQueen and Namey, 2012: 9). In this way thematic analysis depends on the

researcher’s ability to identify, define, and explore significant themes. The researcher must identify themes across the dataset regardless of their frequency because “more instances do not necessarily mean the theme itself is more crucial” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 78). Therefore, the researcher must identify crucial themes in relation to the phenomenon at hand, regardless of whether they appear in all data items. In this way the focus is not on “quantifiable measures” but on significant patterns and meanings within the dataset that relate to the research questions.

Since this is an exploratory study and not a confirmatory study I took an inductive approach to thematic analysis wherein “the researcher carefully reads and rereads the data, looking for key words, trends, themes, or ideas in the data that will help outline the analysis, before any analysis takes place” (Guest et al, 2012: 6). I bracketed prior knowledge and let the data guide the conversation. I then applied Spiggle’s (1994: 493) seven steps of data analysis and interpretation – “categorization, abstraction, comparison, dimensionalization, integration, iteration, and refutation” [see Appendix II for details of the steps as well as a worked example of data analysis]. Through this process different stories emerged and they required different analytical frameworks for interpretation. Thus, the three papers as presented in the findings section use three different analytical frameworks – Bourdieu’s concepts of ‘cultural capital’, ‘field’, and ‘habitus’ (Bourdieu, 1979); transnational family habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018);

and social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016). The details of how these were applied to the data are discussed in the papers.

1.6.7 EVALUATING RESEARCH

Studies falling under the quantitative positivistic paradigms might use validity, reliability and objectivity as measures for evaluating research, however, interpretivist studies such as this one require different measures more suited to the nature of qualitative research wherein the researcher is presenting “a reality portrayed through description and conceptually-mediated analysis of social experiences rather than a depiction of reality itself” (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 1993: 598). Therefore, this study employs Golden-Biddle and Locke’s (1993) dimensions for evaluating qualitative research as applied by Hogg and Maclaran’s (2008: 133-134) framework for evaluating qualitative consumer research based on three key criteria – authenticity, plausibility, and criticality.

Authenticity as an evaluation criterion is about “convincing readers, not only that the interpretation is drawn from the data, but also that the researcher has spent time in the field and has really experienced the “lived worlds” of the informants” (Hogg and Maclaran: 2008: 135). I have spoken of authenticity and immersing myself in the life-worlds of my informants in the previous section about ‘positioning as a researcher’. To

reiterate, I have spent time in many of my informants’ homes, I have shared meals with them, celebrated festivals with them, and gone shopping with them. I have also consumed their preferred cultural media forms by following their preferred social media celebrities, and watching relevant movies and TV shows. In this way I have gained familiarity with their language (see for example the use of the term ‘desi’ in paper 1), with their actions (for example the negotiations of beef consumption as explained in paper 2), as well as attempted to portray their thoughts and perceptions (for example the discussion in paper 3 on the prevalence of the post-racial ideology among my informants). I have collected data over a period of three years, and I take the fact that I have been invited into several of their homes after our interviews as testament to how close I was able to get to them. While analysing data, I distanced myself from the field by immersing myself in the relevant literature as well as receiving feedback and comments from my supervisors who were ‘outside the field’ as it were. My supervisors’ feedback was helpful in “qualifying personal biases” (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008) especially in relation to understanding practices of discrimination and othering as employed by British Indians, since these were intertwined with my own learned prejudices. Additionally, my supervisors’ intervention also cautioned me from ‘going native’, i.e., losing my bracketing ability (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Plausibility is concerned with representativeness and “accounting for as much of the information as possible, so that there is some degree of well argued “fit” between the

information (or data), and the explanation offered” (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008: 137). Plausibility is also concerned with ensuring that the study offers a distinctive perspective on something. I have tried to account for this latter evaluation by interpreting the life-worlds of my informants outside of the dominant post-assimilationist acculturation framework in consumer culture theory. Instead, I have accounted for the intertwining of personal and familial identity, and of ‘local’ and ‘heritage’ cultures, and the salience of the ‘home country’ in migrant consumers’ everyday lives by leveraging different analytical lenses. At the same time, these discussions in the three papers, as well as the introduction of this thesis, are linked back to present conversations on ethnic migrant consumers within consumer research and sociology so that the stories make sense to the researcher (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 1993). Additionally, the alternative format thesis has allowed me to account for a range of data in the form of three different papers having separate but related conversations. Even then, it is possible that this thesis overlooks some aspects of the informants’ lives, however, this is the nature of interpretivist research, which can offer a number of alternative interpretations that represent the phenomenon under study and “just as we should be happy to identify the objectivity realities of scientific experimentation, similarly we should be content to see the microcosm of “reality” contained within a novel, a picture or one consumer's shopping experience.” (Szmigin and Foxall, 2000: 195).

Criticality is “the ability of the text to actively probe readers to reconsider their taken-for-granted ideas and beliefs” (Golden-Biddle and Locke, 1993). Criticality is achieved when the study provokes the reader into reflexivity and reconsidering previously-held assumptions about the phenomenon. One of the primary ways this study has achieved criticality is by taking an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding migrant consumers. By doing this, I have challenged our understandings of consumers as marginalised (Üstüner and Holt, 2007), or institutionally shaped (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018), as well as assumptions of who belongs to the ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’ group (see paper 3 specifically for the latter). Specifically, this study encourages readers to reconsider previous representations of British Asian women as unassertive (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016), and how ‘integration’ from a migrant consumer’s perspective, is not always incompatible with maintaining heritage culture.

1.6.8 RESEARCH ETHICS

This study has received approval from the university’s relevant ethics committee (FASS-LUMS Research Ethics Committee). A confirmation of this can be found in Appendix III. Through the approval process, I have carefully considered the ethical issues/considerations that may arise during my research, developed a lone worker plan, and familiarised myself with the university’s ethical guidelines. All research has been conducted in accordance with the university’s guidance on conducting research. All

information has been gathered with informants' consent, and all data has been anonymised in order to protect informants' confidentiality.

1.7 THESIS OUTLINE

Thus far I have given an introduction of the study's context, theoretical conversations, and research design. I have also included a brief author contribution statement in the previous section. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 form the 'findings' section of this thesis and are presented in the style of three journal articles. Chapter 5 concludes the thesis and includes a summary of the study, theoretical implications, limitations, avenues for future research, and concluding remarks. The references cited in Chapters 1 and 5 are provided thereafter, while the references cited in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are presented within these chapters to adhere to the journal style of presentation.

2 Ethnic Identification: Capital and Distinction Among Second-Generation British Indians

2.1 STRUCTURED ABSTRACT

Purpose: This chapter seeks to understand ethnic identification among second-generation consumers by drawing upon the lived experiences of British Indian migrants in England.

Methodology/ approach: We analyse interviews with middle-class, Hindu, second-generation British Indian women through Bourdieu’s key concepts of capital, field, habitus, and distinction.

Findings: Through resources such as Bollywood cinema, and Indian schools for language, music, and dance, second-generation consumers acquire, use and (re) produce situationally prized subcultural capital for distinction from other ethnic consumers and members of the white majority group. Ethnicity is central to second-generation consumers’ identity-projects, and their everyday social interactions.

Ethnicity is considered in uplifting and empowering terms, and first-generation consumers play a key role in reinforcing this belief.

Research limitations/ implications: Due to our small sample size, limited by class, religion, and gender, our findings might not be generalizable to the wider population. Instead, they can be used to develop new theoretical ways of understanding ethnicity in multicultural settings with long-established migrant populations.

Social implications: Ethnicity can play a central and positive role in the everyday lives of second-generation consumers. By investigating this further, we can improve our understanding of contemporary, multicultural societies.

Originality/ value of paper: Prior work in consumer research has focused on understanding first-generation migrant consumers through the lens of acculturation, and foregrounding experiences of stigma and tension. Instead, we foreground the positive and uplifting lived experiences of second-generation consumers in relation to their ethnicity. This article extends the literature on second-generation ethnic consumer identity-work.

Keywords: Bollywood, British Indian women, cultural capital, distinction, ethnic identity, second-generation

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Postassimilationist consumer research has focused on how migrants and consumers interact in the marketplace. These studies have typically analysed the experiences of consumers who have been born in one country and migrated to another, e.g. Mexicans living in the US (Peñaloza, 1994) or Greenlanders in Denmark (Askegaard, Kjeldgaard and Arnould, 2005). However, in a time when countries are rapidly closing their borders, and making mass-migration a historical phenomenon, we seek to understand how migrants' children construct their own identity projects. Our research unpacks strategies of ethnic identification (Rutherford, 1990), structured by economic, social, and cultural capital, among second-generation ethnic consumers.

We draw upon our phenomenological identity interview data conducted around England to understand the lived experiences of second-generation women migrants. We identify forms of subcultural capital, their use/disuse in various fields, the influence of habitus, and the processes of authentication to construct a detailed picture of second-generation migrant identities and, in turn, contribute to post-assimilationist consumer acculturation research.

The extant acculturation literature is replete with stories of problematisation, marginalisation and victimisation. Though our study has elements of these themes, these are not the most salient aspects of our informants' discussions. We focus instead

on the more liberating, emically-relevant nature of ethnic identity performance, and thereby seek to reflect the positive spirit in many of our informants' stories. Our study responds to the following research questions: 1) How can ethnic identification be conceptualised among second-generation ethnic consumers? 2) How do these consumers acquire, use, and (re) produce cultural and social capital for ethnic identification?

2.3 CONTEXT

At the height of the British Empire (between the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century), young members of the nobility, who were future officers in the empire, were encouraged to travel to the colonies to achieve worldliness – a prized quality among the upper classes (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). By visiting colonies like India, and later while working in the East India Company, these young men brought back not only material resources but also cultural resources, and sometimes, brides (Varman, 2016). Over the centuries, we see an amalgamation of cultural symbols and practices, and mythologies of cultural imaginaries where coloniser and colonised have co-constructed each other, and are central to each other's narratives.

In contemporary society, middle-class British Indian women belong to a privileged migrant group in the UK. British Indians are the largest visible ethnic minority group

in the UK (Office for National Statistics, 2011). They are also the largest represented minority in higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations (Office for National Statistics, 2011). British Indians, for example, are the largest ethnic minority among general medical practitioners in the UK (General Medical Council Report, 2014). Owing to Britain’s colonial history with India, Indian food, tea, and cinema are all a commonplace part of everyday life in the UK. Less obvious historic intertwining between Britain and India and their cultures can be observed in linguistic borrowings of thousands of words such as ‘jungle’, ‘shampoo’, and ‘khaki’ for example, from Indian languages.

2.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.4.1 CONSUMER ACCULTURATION

Consumer acculturation literature theorises about what happens when people from one culture move to live in a different dominant culture. Post-assimilationist consumer acculturation literature, beginning with Peñaloza (1994), specifically deals with multiple migrant identity outcomes beyond acculturation, and associated non-linear processes (Luedicke, 2015). Peñaloza’s (1994) seminal study introduced consumer research to the idea that not all migrants choose to assimilate into the host culture – a notion adapted from Berry’s (1997) extensive work in cross-cultural psychology.

Among US Mexicans, Peñaloza found consumption practices of resistance, acculturation (integration), segregation and assimilation. She theorised these as being dependent on institutional factors such as class, gender, etc, and the acculturation agents that the new migrants encountered. Peñaloza conceptualised an empirical framework to better understand the movement, adaptation and translation process that migrant consumers experience in a new host country. From her study we learned how structures influence migrant consumers' lived experiences. Later, Oswald (1999) focussed on a performative model of culture swapping dependent on situational variables. Oswald's project conceptualised a more agentic view of migrant consumers, viewing them as able to change ethnicity like changing clothes. Later still, Askegaard et al (2005) reviewed post-assimilationist theories in a non-US context by studying Greenlandic migrants in Denmark. They found that migrant identities are not stable over time, but migrants occupy different, non-homologous identity positions, situationally and temporally. They also questioned the idea of clear-cut boundaries between home and host culture; conceptualised ethnicity as an outcome of consumption rather than as an antecedent; and identified global consumer culture as a third acculturating agent. This study updated Peñaloza's (1994) empirical framework in order to account for temporality, global structures, and reconceptualised identity outcomes. Üstüner and Holt (2007) provided the next step in developing acculturation theory by studying a non-western context (Turkey) where they identified the socio-historic patterning of acculturation. They brought class and economic, social, and cultural capital to the forefront as leading

influencers of cultural identity performance. Their story paints a rather bleak picture of migrants with shattered identities. In drawing on Bourdieu, their study provides us with a framework for understanding postmodern consumer acculturation in a non-US context. Luedicke (2015) reconceptualised acculturation as a non-bracketed phenomenon - one that involves not only migrants but also locals, and the locals’ adaptation processes. Luedicke emphasises the recursive nature of acculturation processes, showing how migrant and indigene consumption practices react in relation to each other and are in flux. Taking a market-level view, Veresiu and Giesler (2018) propose acculturation processes, under the guise of multiculturalism, reproduce neo-colonial imbalances in Canada.

Through postassimilationist theories of acculturation we have come a long way in understanding how migration shapes consumption practices and consumer identities. However, we have yet to understand what happens when the act of migration itself is no longer the dominant feature of interactions between migrant and local consumers in the marketplace. In populations where mass migration is a historical phenomenon (owing to immigration policy changes), long-established migrant populations exist and are usually integrated into the fabric of society. Here we find a multicultural context ripe for exploring the processes that shape migrants’ children’s (hereafter known as G2s) identity projects. Other research on ethnic consumers and their identity projects, that lies outside the acculturation paradigm, calls for a focus on researching wellbeing

and the role of place, and for a shift to employing the mobilities outlook (Jafari et al, 2015; Jafari and Visconti, 2015; Demangeot, Broeckerhoff, Kipnis, Pullig and Visconti, 2015). The idea is that, by understanding the temporariness of place, and the constant evolution of ethnic identities, we can arrive at a theoretically robust representation of ethnic consumers. This agenda is well suited to the current global-ethnoscape (Appadurai, 1990). Our study responds to this call by focusing on consumers' positive and uplifting experiences of ethnicity, moving away from the acculturation paradigm. Through our research we aim to broaden our understanding of the centrality of ethnic identification firstly, in the everyday lives of ethnic consumers and, secondly, in their social interactions. Of particular relevance is Tambyah and Thompson's (2012) work on conceptualising 'symbolic ethnicity' among Italian Americans. They propose that postmodern ethnic identification is about 'feeling ethnic' through symbolic associations – symbolic ethnicity – rather than 'being ethnic' through a connection to place and history. Italian Americans employ a mythic construction of authenticity legitimised by the imprimatur of family elders. They believe they have access to a rich heritage that is generally not available to non-Italians in the identity marketplace. Our informants echo these views of Italian-Americans, and believe that aspects of their symbolic ethnicity are what distinguish them from the mainstream population. Our study seeks to tease out these aspects of, and processes behind, British Indian G2s' symbolic ethnicity.

2.4.2 BRITISH ASIAN IDENTITY-WORK

Previous research has often considered British Asians as a homogeneous group that embraces those of Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Sri Lankan heritage. These studies, like early acculturation research, repeat the depiction of ethnic consumers as straddling two worlds (Oswald, 1999), and managing performances through identity navigation (Askegaard et al, 2005). Vadher & Barrett (2009) argue that British Asians navigate, and draw upon, various boundaries of Britishness (racial, civic/state, instrumental, historical, lifestyle and multicultural) depending on the context. They highlight the significance of the situational nature of ethnicity, and see migrants' employing agency within the context of a limited number of choices available to them. Similarly, Lindridge, Hogg & Shah (2007) conceptualise young second-generation British Asian women as navigators of two worlds, and various identities, as their informants manage themselves through various potential conflicts. Sekhon and Szmigin (2011) also find that British Indian Punjabis negotiate between two cultures, however, they propose a processual in-between identity project rather than assimilation into any particular group. These studies help us conceptualise ethnic consumer identity as shifting between and between categories. Our research aligns with these conceptualisations in terms of focussing on the centrality of ethnic heritage to consumers' everyday lives. We extend this line of enquiry using a Bourdieusian lens and unpack how habitus, fields, and economic, cultural and social capital interact in the

construction of second-generation identity projects in ways that are different from those of first-generation migrants (G1s).

2.5 OVERVIEW OF KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In this study, we draw on Bourdieu's key concepts of capital, habitus, field, and distinction, and we provide an overview of these concepts here. Bourdieu (1979) conceptualises a field as a setting where individuals are located in various social positions resulting from a particular set of power dynamics, and acted upon by a particular configuration of structures. An individual's habitus, the volume and composition of their capital, and the specific rules of the field, determine the position they occupy within a given field. Rather than emphasising structure *or* agency, Bourdieu suggests that a structure-agency struggle is always in process, as individuals play the game according to the rules of a field, in order to gain social distinction. An individual's habitus – an acquired and embodied schema of dispositions resulting from socialisation - plays a key role in this struggle. The structuring of an individual's habitus may or may not match that of the social field and individuals often gravitate towards fields that fit with their dispositions (Allen, 2002). Individuals experience hysteresis when their habitus does not match the social field. The four major kinds of capital referred to by Bourdieu include cultural (e.g. skills, knowledge, language and competencies of culture), social (e.g. inter-personal relationship networks), economic

(e.g. monetary resources and assets) and symbolic capital (e.g. prestige, recognition and respect). In addition, capital can also exist in different forms: it can be *objectified* through having and displaying various artefacts, or can be *embodied* through body language and lifestyle choices. Capital can also be *generalized* (Bourdieu, 1979), *subcultural* (Thornton, 2003) or *field-dependent* (Arsel and Thompson, 2011); and it can come in *dominant* or *subordinate* forms. Consumers accumulate field-dependent capital by making identity investments in distinct social and consumption fields (Arsel and Thompson, 2011). Consumers not only accumulate capital but they also exchange capital for alternative forms in order to maximize and improve their position within a field. For instance, cultural capital can be converted into social, economic, and symbolic capital.

In our findings, we focus particularly on the role of social and cultural capital. We distinguish between resources and capital as follows - resources have the potential to be valourised as capital when they are deemed convertible i.e. can be converted from one form of capital into another. We next provide an overview of our methods.

2.6 METHODS

We gathered data using a combination of ethnographic tools including interviews, observations, participation, and netnography. We conducted interviews with first- and

second-generation British Indian women as a part of a wider study to understand consumer ethnicity in multicultural Britain. In this chapter we present data from five key second-generation informants. Our findings are also informed by observing events such as Diwali celebrations, and netnographic data like YouTube videos. The phenomenological identity interviews (Üstüner and Holt, 2007) were conducted with self-identified second-generation Hindu/Sikh middle-class British Indian women (see Table 3 below for informants' demographic profiles). Informants were recruited through a combination of theoretical and snowball sampling (Miles and Huberman, 1998). Interviews took place in informants' homes, or at cafes or meeting rooms of their choice, and lasted between forty-five minutes and two-hours in length. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The first author who conducted the interviews is an Indian woman, while the second and third authors are British women. Our cultural backgrounds meant that we were simultaneously insiders as well as outsiders to the culture under investigation. We believe, rather than constraining our analysis, this has guided us to identify and investigate particularly important points of enquiry that might otherwise have been overlooked.

As with the CCT tradition (Thompson, 1997) we undertook the iterative process of moving back-and-forth and part-to-whole while analysing the text to understand emic meaning and apply etic interpretation. Bourdieu's (1979) key concepts of capital,

habitus, field, and distinction guided our interpretations since these emerged as being most relevant to the phenomenon under investigation.

Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Community
Sneha	21	Account manager	Punjabi
Anousha	21	Digital retail buyer	Gujarati
Roshini	19	University student	Telegu
Amruta	25	Doctor	Maharashtrian
Samyuktha	19	University student	Tamil

Table 3: Informants’ demographic profiles

2.7 FINDINGS

From our informants’ stories we identify three key themes, which illustrate different aspects of their experiences when viewed via the Bourdieusian lens. The first two sections focus on the positive and uplifting experiences of second-generation ethnic consumers in their identity performances while the third and final section critically examines the tensions involved in some of the identity-linked activities. We first discuss how ethnic identification interacts with cultural capital by examining Bollywood (Indian cinema) as a prized form of subcultural capital that “confers status on its owner

in the eyes of the relevant beholder” (Thornton, 2003:27). We then highlight the processes behind symbolic ethnicity, notably the role of institutions like Indian schools in generating subcultural capital, and authenticating ethnic identification. In these sections we also show how cultural capital is converted into social capital. Finally, we discuss the struggles involved in ethnic identification, especially at the intersection of gender and ethnicity. Through these themes we capture the nuanced lived experiences of second-generation ethnic consumers in the marketplace, and show the centrality of ethnicity in their identity performances and everyday lives.

2.7.1 BOLLYWOOD CINEMA AS PRIZED CULTURAL CAPITAL

In our study, consuming Bollywood movies and music emerges as a way for G2s to achieve multiple goals of ethnic identification (and thus symbolic ethnicity). Takhar, Maclaran and Stevens (2012) find that Bollywood allowed third-generation British Sikhs to become aware of their diasporic consciousness and supported them in the construction of a hybrid British Indian identity. These third-generation Sikh consumers drew on Bollywood in order to learn about the Indian culture and incorporate this into their identities. Supporting Takhar et al’s (2012) findings and extending them to second-generation British Indians, we find that G2s use Bollywood movies and music as a way of connecting with their Indian heritage and constructing a hybridized identity. Amruta explains why she values Bollywood:

“I like stuff like Bollywood and my Indian dancing, music, and kinda going to India, because I feel like it forms part of my identity. I had this discussion with someone last weekend and it was a very interesting topic because we were talking about what it means to be British Indian and it’s difficult because you don’t fully identify as British - you are not British, you are not like the other English people in this country. But you can’t fully commit to being 100% Indian either because you are not from India and somehow because you are not speaking language fluently or so. I think what I like about Bollywood and all the rest is that I can keep it as a part of my identity and it makes me different. My interest in it makes me different from others, which I quite like.”

Amruta (in her mid 20s)

Amruta describes how she does not fully identify as British or as “100% Indian”. She draws on Bollywood to help construct a hybrid identity with Bollywood helping to reaffirm the Indian aspect of her British Indian identity. Amruta goes on to describe Bollywood as something that makes her different and makes her stand-out, thus offering her distinction within the broader field of British culture – a field which she feels is more dominant than the Indian cultural field. G2s like Amruta, believe that despite being British, they are different from the white British majority. As such, everyday practices such as watching Bollywood movies with fellow British Indians become, upon reflection, celebrations of difference. Growing up in white British society, G2s

cannot help but be aware of being different. They ascribe meanings of pride and celebration to the distinct cultural capital they have acquired as a result of their Indian heritage. The white majority group authenticates this capital, finding Indian cinema “cool”. This plays out at the intersection of British and Indian cultural fields, turning G2 differences into distinction (Bourdieu, 1984). Much like Tambyah and Thompson’s (2012) informants, the G2s in our study believe that their heritage allows them privileged access to ethnic identity investments, which are prized in a cosmopolitan society, gaining them distinction.

Our findings also suggest that G2s believe Bollywood movies depict cultural codes of what it is to be Indian and how Indians in India perform ethnic identity. Since many G2s may not visit their country of heritage regularly, their knowledge of these cultural codes is gained largely at second-hand. Bollywood, part of the global mediascape, becomes an easily accessible resource for constructing the imaginary of Indian identity performance. Takhar et al (2012) refer to Bollywood as conveying the “Indian imaginary” – a view of India and “Indian-ness” that is more about an imagined, idealistic and romanticised version of the Indian identity (p. 5). Bollywood’s mythologised portrayals of Indian society become naturalised (Barthes, 1957; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006) in the imaginations of G2s. During conversations with fellow British Indians and through retellings, these mythologies lose their mythical aspect, gain authenticity, and become collectively legitimised. Similar to Holt &

Thompson (2004), we see how consumers use myths derived from popular media to make sense of everyday social phenomenon.

Earlier research on the role of Bollywood in the lives of those with a hybridized British Indian identity, found that Bollywood not only facilitates a process of ‘reacculturation’ (Takhar et al, 2012) to the Indian culture, but also plays a key role in bringing the family together. For the G2s in our study, Bollywood becomes a ritualized event that they engage in with family members. Rituals create, reinforce, and pass on family identity (Epp & Price, 2008). For example, Amruta discusses watching Bollywood movies with her mother-in-law:

“Sometimes I have ladies nights with my mother-in-law. We watch Hindi films together, so it’s nice, it’s really good.” Amruta (in her mid 20s)

For Amruta, watching a Bollywood movie with her mother-in-law becomes a way of feeling accepted into an unfamiliar family. We see another case of how G2s can leverage subcultural capital to acquire social capital. Bollywood cinema becomes a symbol of Indianness, signifying shared values, beliefs and heritage, and is valuable in strengthening intra-group ties and drawing boundaries. Amruta and her mother-in-law ritualise movie nights and draw upon Bollywood as a marketplace resource to privilege their Indian family identity performance, and mark their heritage (Epp & Price, 2008). Similarly, Anousha describes her family’s relationship with Bollywood:

“One of my kakis (aunts) is really into Bollywood. She’s met Shahruk Khan (a popular Indian actor) seven times... And whenever I am at her house she always plays music really loud, it’s so much fun, it’s really fun... I watch Bollywood movies with my Dad, he loves it” Anousha (in her early 20s)

Anousha finds her aunt’s practice of playing Bollywood music loudly as uplifting and celebratory. She says, *‘it’s so much fun, it’s really fun’*. Indian cinema and music can strengthen family identity overall, and also relational identities between individual members. For Anousha this happens when she listens to Bollywood music with her aunt, and watches Bollywood movies with her dad. Her enjoyment might not be directly from the movies or music themselves but in seeing how much her aunt and dad enjoy them. G2s grow up watching Bollywood movies and listening to Bollywood music or interacting with other individuals who enjoy this practice. For some within the British Indian and Indian communities being ‘in the know’ about popular Bollywood movies and music can act as a marker of embodied subcultural capital. This practice becomes a signifier of authenticity, legitimising British Indian ethnic identification.

Bollywood movies and music can also cause conflict for G2s’ sense of identification, as we see here in Samyuktha’s case:

“[The university Indian society] play like lots of Indian music, like everyone knew the lyrics and I was there just like ‘I don’t know the lyrics’... I think in situations like that, I feel really uncultured.” Samyuktha (in her early 20s)

Above, Samyuktha describes attending a dance party with members of her university’s Indian society. Not knowing the lyrics to the Bollywood music that is playing dampens her enjoyment of the evening. Samyuktha describes herself as ‘uncultured’, a term used to mean lacking Indian culture. She doesn’t speak or understand Hindi, and so can’t sing along with her friends to fully participate in the celebration. Consumption of Bollywood movies and music can situationally threaten ethnic identity when British Indians do not understand Hindi (the language spoken in the movies) and have to watch the movies with subtitles or are unable to follow the lyrics to the songs. Lacking the requisite linguistic capital (a form of cultural capital), the resulting hysteresis, and feelings of inauthenticity cause tensions in identification, and isolation. Those who understand Hindi occupy higher social positions in the field of Indian culture. G2s might marginalise this conflict by associating with others who do not understand Hindi either. As an alternative strategy, G2s abandon the field where they lack capital and find elevated distinction by focusing on the difference between themselves and members of white British society, who cannot have a claim over their celebrated Bollywood movies.

2.7.2 PERFORMING ARTS AS INSTITUTIONAL CAPITAL

Members of Indian communities have established schools for Indian language, dance, and music across the UK. These community institutions (Modood, 2004) are either formal and institutionalised or informal, depending on the availability of resources and the ethnic makeup of the local population. For example, if an area is dominated by British Gujaratis, there is likely to be a Gujarati school in a nearby community centre where G2s can learn the language. These community institutions are more likely to be found in areas with large British Indian populations. They might often be a part of a local temple or associated with one – intertwining linguistic, artistic, and religious education. Such schools are not unique to Indian communities and similar community institutions can be found among other ethnic minority groups. However, these schools, as part of the processes behind symbolic ethnicity, have received little attention in consumer research though they are central marketplace sites where consumption and culture interact for ethnic consumers. In this section we briefly unpack Indian schools' centrality to producing institutionalised subcultural capital, their influence in constructing imaginaries (Appadurai, 1996) of India, and their role in according authenticity to ethnic identification.

It has been well documented in the sociology of education literature that middle class parents enrol their children in extra-curricular activities, as a part of their parenting styles (Vincent, Rollock, Ball & Gillborn, 2012). British Indian G2s' parents also enrol

their children in Indian schools for language, music lessons, dance classes, or similar, from an early age, providing them with the habitus to build embodied subcultural capital resources. These activities often run in parallel to participation in activities such as violin lessons and martial arts classes, prized by the dominant white middle class. Some G2s partake enthusiastically in these classes and activities, while others consider it a burden, especially during their teenage years when they are usually very keen to pursue similarity to, rather than difference from, the majority culture. Regardless of their attitudes during adolescence, all our informants universally expressed appreciation for these activities retrospectively. As adults trying to understand and perform heritage cultural codes G2s express either a desire to continue these artistic pursuits or regret not taking advantage of the opportunity when they were younger. Below Roshini talks about her experience with learning South Indian music and dance:

“So, I did [traditional South Indian music lessons] up to grade six. I didn't do my grade seven exams because I came to uni at that time. But I enjoyed singing much more than I enjoyed dance. We'd [my sister and I] perform it at the Town Hall for Diwali., They always ask us to perform and we did regional competitions and things for Bharatanatyam [traditional South Indian dance].” Roshini (in her early 20s)

Roshini's mother enrolled her and her younger sister in music and dance classes. Roshini recalls enjoying singing, and feeling pride in performing at the Town Hall and

competing in regional competitions. Performing arts skills, though not practiced every day, are stored embodied subcultural capital resources. In the field of Indian culture, this capital is displayed to families and communities at cultural events and celebrations (like Diwali i.e. the festival of light) in order to build social capital, and secure in-group status, while simultaneously elevating and distinguishing them from those British Indians lacking such capital. Performing arts skills are gained via legitimate, institutionalised means, and involve aspects of production and reproduction. As a form of embodied subcultural capital, this has a higher conversion rate, and is valued more than forms of embodied subcultural capital such as displaying knowledge of Bollywood (Holt, 1997, 1998).

Rohini goes on to discuss how her dance and music teachers would share interesting stories of their lives in India. She believes these stories helped her in understanding the struggles of women in India, and in valuing her experiences as a British Indian woman. As discussed in the section on Bollywood, G2s often have fleeting and romanticised encounters with their country of heritage. These encounters result in an imaginary and mythologised construction of place – an imaginarie with collectively imagined as well as real dimensions mediated through different scapes [see Appadurai, 1996 for more]. Three principal [acculturation] agents – family members, Bollywood cinema, and teachers at Indian schools - form these constructions of place. The teachers at Indian schools are often G1s who have grown up in India. During classes, and in informal

conversations, these G1s recount stories of their lives in India – becoming source material for G2’s imaginaries of India. Takhar et al (2012) propose that Bollywood plays a central role in the construction of, what they term the ‘Indian imaginary’. Through this, young British Sikhs reconcile oppositional cultural discourses. While Bollywood plays a similar role for our informants, we also found that family discourse and G1 teachers’ stories also play a key role in constructing imaginaries of India. These acculturation agents, working together, construct an imaginarié that makes a distant, and intangible country of heritage seem real and accessible in everyday ethnic identification.

When our G2 informants were faced with real encounters with India, institutionalised subcultural capital could help in minimising feelings of hysteresis. Below, Amruta recounts one particularly memorable instance of performing Indian dance at a wedding in India:

“I performed [at her husband’s cousin’s wedding in India] at the Sangeet (dance ceremony) and it was nice because I think when I arrived there, you know I was in jeans and I had this accent and I was very, I probably came across as very British but then they realized that I love Bollywood and I was dancing and singing to Hindi songs and everything, so there was like stuff in common that we had and I got along really well with all the cousins and even

the older generations, I still keep in touch with them on Whatsapp.” Amruta
(in her mid 20s)

This performance takes place at the wedding of one of Amruta’s husband’s cousins in India. It is common for friends and relatives to perform rehearsed choreographed dances at weddings. Indian weddings comprise multiple ceremonies generally taking place over the course of a few days. The ‘*sangeet*’ (*literal translation meaning singing together*) ceremony is a platform where friends and family perform rehearsed music and dances. Performers may spend a few days or weeks in preparation. At times, professional dance choreographers are hired for training. Other times, professional singers and musicians may be added to the schedule of performance. We see above how Amruta initially experiences hysteresis, feeling like an outsider among her husband’s relatives in India because she is in an unfamiliar field where she requires vast knowledge of Indian cultural codes. Her accent and manner of dressing—signifiers of her Britishness, and objectified British cultural capital—are not easily changeable to her. However, through dance and music, Amruta displays embodied Indian subcultural capital to acquire in-group status and authenticity as an Indian among Indians from India. The contemporary global ethnoscape presents Amruta with an opportunity to convert embodied cultural capital acquired from the UK into social capital in India. Not only does she connect with her husband’s cousins but also with ‘the older generation’ who are considered more authentically Indian. Their approval of Amruta validates her

ethnic identity and legitimises her identification, resolving the field-habitus mismatch, and minimising feelings of hysteresis. She takes this newly acquired social capital back to the UK and continues to draw on it as a source of legitimisation for Indian identity, by staying in touch with the Indian relatives. Through them she learns of life in contemporary India, what’s in fashion and what’s not – increasing her stock of Indian cultural capital. Similar to Üstüner and Holt (2007) and Askegaard et al. (2005), we posit that owing to the global ethnoscape, fields are not bound by borders but have trans-national links.

2.7.3 HYSTERESIS, GENDER, AND ETHNICITY

Though the focus of this study so far has been on the positive and uplifting experiences of G2s, we must offer a caveat to these stories by making mention of G2s’ struggles in relation to ethnic identification. During the interviews G2s often marginalised their negative experiences, or avoided speaking of them entirely. All informants explicitly stated their pleasure at being provided with a platform (via these interviews) to reflect upon and celebrate their ethnicity. They chose to emphasise the empowering aspects of identifying with Indian culture. However, they also mentioned some struggles that frame their everyday lives. On most occasions second-generation British Indians believe they avoid the ethnic penalty owing to their religion (non-Muslim), class status, national identification (British-born as opposed to naturalised), and Britain’s historic

associations with Indians. They also believe the state's efforts at multiculturalism are successful, and those who have racist beliefs are in the minority. Instances when they experience hysteresis and struggle are almost always at an intersection of gender and culture.

Sneha recounts one such experience at a family gathering where a cousin refused her a drink because her parents were around. She would not have been refused had they not been present. This encounter leads Sneha to reflect upon how British Indians can follow modern practices but not at the expense of traditional and at times discriminatory values. She feels women can work and go out drinking but only after first mastering heteronormative female gender roles such as learning to cook and clean. She believes that British Indian men in her social circle are particularly judgemental, and expecting to only marry girls who will take care of their mothers above everything else.

G2s experience two competing ideologies of gender performance in their habitus. At school and through the mediascape, they are taught values of gender equality. However, occasionally at home, and often at family gatherings and community events, G2 women not only witness sexism directed towards other female family members but at times face it themselves. Indian culture is largely patriarchal and G2 women express frustration with this. Our informants report instances of experiencing sexism from men and women outside of their immediate families. They employ one of two strategies in reaction to this – a) engaging the discriminator in a dialogue, and leveraging cultural

resources acquired at school (arguments for gender equality) or b) marginalising the seriousness of the offence and ignoring it, especially in the case of older relatives, drawing upon Indian cultural codes of respecting your elders. More often, however, G2s are spared the need to adopt these strategies because their G1 parent acts as their champion – drawing on some of their own acquired British cultural capital, but largely foregrounding their identities as caretakers.

Our conceptualisation of G2s’ ethnic identification might appear performative and overly agentic, however, we are aware of the structures and social patterns (Üstüner and Holt, 2007) that organise their lives. This is why we emphasise the usefulness of a Bourdieusian analysis of second-generation ethnic identification. As seen in the previous sections, our informants are able to have largely uplifting experiences of ethnic identification owing to them possessing the required stocks of cultural, social, and economic capital. We have seen how lacking embodied subcultural capital (knowledge of Bollywood cinema) or institutionalised subcultural capital (instruction in Indian languages, music, dance, etc) may incur an in-group penalty and result in tension. However, we did find instances where embodied cultural capital results in hysteresis and these highlight the situational nature of agency experienced by G2s. Anousha’s story below is useful in understanding this:

“Oh yeah, so many of like these “Mas” (aunties) that I don’t even know like distantly related ... my Mum got a lot of crap like... my hair colour, my

piercings , tattoos and like, so if you wear a Sari (traditional Indian dress) you can see tattoos if you have them like around here (points to midriff) and I have one here. It was on display and I got a lot of crap for it and I felt really bad cause it's my decision and ... they don't come to me and say it. They go to her and go "Why did you let her do that?" So I have to be really careful about things that I do cause I don't want ... the reason I keep myself composed is cause I don't want my parents to get it cause it's not fair but at the same it's a flaw in our culture. It's not really that [it's] my fault or my parents' fault, like I get it, I get why they have this opinion because we still live in a world where people judge [you by] the way you look" Anousha (in her early 20s)

Anousha's tattoos are embodied markers of her being a part of the 'alternative' crowd. She expresses this through her alternative taste in music, her body piercings and her avant-garde sense of style. This also represents her Britishness while her Indianness is embodied in her skin colour. The above incident took place at an Indian wedding in Canada – a field where rules are primarily governed by Indian cultural values and norms. Though Anousha wore a sari as a display of objectified Indian subcultural capital, her tattoos – a form of embodied British subcultural capital - undermined the authenticity of her performance as judged by community gatekeepers – the 'mas' (literal translation meaning 'mothers' but used here to refer to all middle-aged female relatives) who were in higher social positions than her. Anousha experiences a habitus-

field mismatch because she is drawing upon her social experiences with her alternative friends, where the juxtaposition of her sari and her tattoos would probably be seen as aesthetically pleasing. Her feelings of injustice, feeling judged, and anger are dominated by a desire to perform Indian identity in her own way – by composing herself so her parents don’t suffer the othering she has experienced from the group. In situations where G2s lack agency, they experience tensions with identification. They draw upon their habitus, in this case Indian cultural values, to manage their identity tensions, marginalise them, and continue to self-select different aspects of their migrant-related identity projects while paying their own ethnic penalties.

2.8 DISCUSSION

In this chapter we have unpacked the strategies of ethnic identification among second-generation British Indian women, and extended understanding of the evolution of ethnicity (Demangeot et al, 2015). We find that, in the case of second-generation ethnic consumers, acculturation processes are taking place, and these are different from those experienced by the first-generation. We show the centrality of ethnic identity in G2s’ everyday lives. We see how, with sufficient cultural, social, and economic capital, G2s leverage ethnic identification for distinction. By ascribing meanings of empowerment, pride, and happiness to the term ‘British Indian’, G2s marginalise any dominant

prejudicial associations. These meanings are often a result of internalised habitus – a celebration of culture initiated by G1 parents and through the wider British Indian community. These strategies of identity politics and distinction, however, are not without struggle, especially when lacking a prized form of capital or more often, at the intersection of gender and ethnicity.

Acculturation theory has given us a useful foundation to understand how migrants build their lives in a dominated cultural context (Üstüner and Holt, 2007), however, it does not sufficiently emphasise and unpack the centrality of ethnic identification in the everyday lives of consumers, especially second-generation ethnic consumers. For our informants, multiple identifications are in competition depending on the field encountered. However, ethnic identity remains central, constructed through economic, cultural, and social capital, and influenced by the mediascape. Previous studies have focussed on the struggles and tensions migrants face, (Peñaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al, 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; and Luedicke, 2015) and this has progressed our understanding of the power imbalances and reproduction of neo-colonial power structures (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) in mostly western countries. These representations are useful in critically understanding ethnic consumers' experiences of marginalisation and discrimination. However, little attention has been paid to the theoretically relevant implications that flow from the uplifting dimensions of consumer ethnicity. In the case of our second-generation informants, they all reported a sense of

wellbeing resulting from a strong connection with their heritage and ethnicity. Being raised in a middle-class habitus where ethnicity is positively regarded has implications for consumers' wider identity projects and strategies of distinction. By emphasising these strategies we contribute to representations of ethnicity in consumer research. By briefly highlighting a few processes of acquisition, conversion, and authentication of capital, we begin to identify how these ethnic identity investments (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) are distinct and require further investigation.

Previous acculturation studies have discussed the various possible identity positions migrants might take up in their host country (Peñaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al, 2005) or how they may navigate between cultures (Oswald, 1999). G2s, depending on the field and life stage, draw upon different subcultural capital resources to navigate various fields. There are instances where, what we might consider, non-dominant cultural capital like knowledge of Bollywood cinema or Indian cooking are prized in a dominant field, owing to socio-historic relations and the global ethnoscape. In these fields, it is possible for ethnic consumers to occupy higher social positions than those from the dominant group. We have investigated some of these instances in our findings and call for further research on the processes of non-dominant capital becoming prized by the dominant group.

We extend the consumer research and marketing literature on the central role of Bollywood cinema and music in British Asians' ethnic identification and construction

of imaginaries of India (Takhar et al. 2012). We also contribute to this literature by looking beyond the consumption of Indian music and movies to the production of Indian dance and music, and highlighting the strategies of distinction and the role of linguistic capital as an enabler or a threat to ethnic identification.

We offer a caveat to our discussion by restating that our intention is not to ignore the tensions and struggles involved in ethnic consumers' lives. We briefly touch upon these in our section on hysteresis, gender, and ethnicity. However, these have not been our focus since a) our informants explicitly chose to marginalise these instances, instead emphasising a desire for a more well rounded representation of ethnicity (see Crockett, 2017 for an example), b) these processes have been extensively documented elsewhere in consumer literature, and c) by taking a different focus, we foreground what second-generation consumers' consider to be ethnic identification in a successful multicultural environment.

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3 Rules of Engagement: Intergenerational Cultural Transmission among Middle-Class British Indians

3.1 ABSTRACT

We join the conversation on ‘doing family’ (Morgan, 1996) among transnational migrants by examining intergenerational cultural socialisation among middle-class British Indian mothers and daughters. Using interview data, we explore how they navigate intersecting cultural, gendered, and classed identities within a “transnational family habitus” (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). Through this we understand how mothers construct, and daughters negotiate, the rules of engagement around ‘ways of being’ British Indian. Two salient ‘ways of being’ are highlighted – a family-first orientation, and white middle-classness. We show how the former schema operates through family obligations across borders, reproducing the transnational family habitus

across generations. Additionally, we see how mothers inculcate the latter schema through flexible boundary-making, and adapting, adopting or rejecting selective ‘British’ cultural practices in the habitus. Our cross-generational data allows us to understand how successful, and often adapted, intergenerational cultural socialisation can operate among professional, middle-class ethnic minority families in Britain. Based on our findings we conceptualise a ‘motor’ (Modood 2004), encompassing a combination of motive forces, for understanding successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minorities.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

“We’ve got a really specific cultural heritage but we’re also part of a multicultural society. We have to be separate and we have to be together.”

British Indian jazz musician Arun Ghosh (Kalia, 2019)

As a result of the United Kingdom’s long history of migration, British society includes a large number of visible ethnic minority communities. Many of these groups reflect the U.K.’s past policies of colonisation. However, with the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 and the Immigration Act of 1971, the government considerably restricted the freedom of movement and settlement of Commonwealth migrants into the U.K, making primary migration for these groups a somewhat historical

phenomenon. Nevertheless, skilled migrants from countries like India continue to emigrate to the UK, though at a lower rate than before (ONS, 2015). Indians, for instance, are particularly noticeable in the NHS staff figures since they are the largest ethnic minority among general medical practitioners in the UK (Integration Hub n.d.).

According to the 2011 census, in England and Wales, only 86% of the population identified as White while Asians formed the largest ethnic minority group at 7.5% of the population (ONS, 2015). Britain's historical motives for imperial expansion and beliefs about differences between races, all mean that whiteness has been central to the socio-historic construction of British cultural identities (Hall, 2001). However, despite prevalent anti-migrant macro-level ideologies like those fuelling Brexit – symbolic of a mythologised and glorified colonial dominance - at the level of everyday experiences not all migrants experience problematisation of their ethnicities in similar ways. In this paper we study one of the long-established ethnic minority groups – British Indians. At a macro level, British Indian cultural identities are authenticated by institutions like the state-sponsored British Asian Network, the Prime Minister broadcasting Diwali wishes, and community stereotypes of the Indian Doctor. This is not to say that British Indians live problem-free lives, they also face challenges similar to other ethnic minority groups in the UK such as Polish migrants (Pustulka and Trąbka, 2018), highly skilled French migrants (Ryan and Mulholland, 2015), and Caribbean families (Reynolds, 2015). Additionally, British Indian women, like other Asian women migrants, experience and

overcome challenges that are unique to their particular configuration of culture, gender, and social class (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017). Thus, migrant identity is but one of multiple intersecting identity tensions experienced by incomers to a host society. One way of understanding these tensions is by examining the various social fields occupied by these migrants – as is done in transnationalism research, wherein we situate this study. We use Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton’s (1992:1) conceptualisation of transnationalism as “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.”

Indian diasporic groups (such as British Indians) are known to have particularly strong links to their country of origin and many lead transnational lives (Taylor, 2015). India receives the largest inflow of remittances in the world, and this figure reached \$786 billion (USD) in 2018 (Worldbank, 2018). Previous research has identified British Indians as having transnational connections via social ties, material goods (e.g. property), visits to India, and participation in politics (Qureshi, Varghese, Osella and Raja, 2012; Taylor, 2013; Vertovec, 2001, Ramji, 2006). Our informants are a part of this group that maintains transnational relations, particularly kinship ties, and believes ‘India’ to be a part of their identifications i.e. their ‘ways of belonging’ (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Additionally, regular conversations with family members in India via letters, telegrams and phone calls, and more recently via ICTs (e.g. emails, skype,

Facebook, WhatsApp), as well as the consumption of transnational media such as Bollywood, and cultural celebrations, are practices that make 'India' and 'being Indian' a part of their everyday 'ways of being' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004). Thus, we believe our informants belong to a group of migrants who are 'transnationals', i.e., migrants with multiple and simultaneous kinship, economic, social, institutional, religious, and political links across countries. For transnationals, multi-sited relations can result in multidimensional influences, which can have either a supportive and/or challenging influence on intersecting identities. A "transnational lens" (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1003) is useful in understanding such migrants' strategies for negotiating and resolving intersecting identity tensions that arise out of multi-locational connections, over time.

Transnationalism research has helped us understand the dynamics of capital in the fields of work, family, and citizenship (Erel and Ryan, 2018); the way gender norms and ideologies of 'here' and/or 'there' mediate transnational women's experiences (e.g. of binational marriage, Fresnoza-Flot, 2017, or of space Ryan, 2012); and migrant women's experiences of mothering in relation to empowerment, citizenship, and cultural capital (Pustulka and Trąbka, 2018; Dyck, 2018; Erel, 2012). For this study we are particularly interested in understanding the gendered and classed interplay between mothering, 'doing families' (Morgan, 1996), and cultural transmission among British Indian transnationals. Therefore, especially significant for our research is Zontini and

Reynold’s (2018) conceptualisation of the “transnational family habitus”, defined as a “structured set of values, ways of thinking and ‘being’ within the family built up over time through family socialization, practices and cultural traditions that transcend national boundaries” (2018: 418-419). In their study Zontini and Reynolds (2018) elucidate the workings of a transnational family habitus among Caribbean and Italian families in the UK through interviews with young people, and show how children and young people from these cultural backgrounds ‘do family’ differently and transnationally. We extend this conversation by accounting for mothers’ experiences of planning and negotiating cultural socialisation, as well as adult progeny’s adaptation and internalisation of this socialisation. Through this we can understand how diasporic migrant women, even when belonging to ‘progressive’, professional groups, make sense of, and navigate, the burdens of transmitting and navigating culture in a transnational family habitus, in their roles as mothers and daughters. Since our informants belong to a group that considers particular ways of doing family as a significant distinction of their cultural identity (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010), we add to the conversation on how cultural identity is constructed in a ‘transnational family habitus’. Following this line of inquiry, we analyse interview data with middle-class British Indian mothers and daughters. We aim to answer the following research questions - 1) How do migrant women negotiate intergenerational cultural socialisation around ‘doing family’? 2) How do they navigate reflexively constructed ‘rules of engagement’ of cultural identity particular to their gender and class? We find that

middle-class British Indian mothers who are raising children in areas of low ethnic specificity reflexively construct a transnational family habitus to transmit Indian cultural values and practices to the next generation. In this environment, migrant mothers and daughters negotiate complex family obligations and middle-classness as ‘ways of being’ while navigating contradictory value systems in their habitus. Building on our findings we then conceptualise a motor for successful intergenerational cultural transmission that takes inspiration from Modood’s (2004) motor for understanding educational success among ethnic minorities. With this contribution we develop a more nuanced understanding of mothers’ roles in producing identities (O’Donohoe et al, 2013), and doing family, and daughters’ receptions and adaptations of these. We also add a brick to the growing wall that explores women’s varied and overlooked voices (Summerfield, 1987) from a perspective that does not focus solely on their marginalisation and oppression (Pustulka and Trąbka, 2018).

3.3 TRANSNATIONALISM, GENDER, AND SOCIAL CLASS

Researchers argue that postmodern conditions have made mobility a more accessible and widely experienced phenomenon (Urry, 2002; Bauman, 2004, Appadurai, 1990). Migration, as a part of mobility, can destabilise migrants’ ontological security, i.e.,

confidence, maintained by predictable routines, that the natural and social world is as it appears (Giddens, 1984). One of the ways in which migrants might choose to restore a sense of social order is by maintaining transnational links with kin and social relations in their ‘home’ country. These experiences have been studied by researchers interested in transnationalism as an empirical phenomenon as well as an analytical lens. The scholarship relevant to this study emanates from Glick Schiller et al’s (1992) conceptualisation of transnationalism that is useful in understanding how migrants establish and maintain social fields across national borders, the relations involved, and the resulting processes of identity work. Transnationalism as an analytical framework allows us to understand the fluid empirical phenomenon of sustained multi-locational relations, engagements, and belongings (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017: 875). By studying migrants who sustain multi-locational economic, social, cultural, and institutional relations long after ‘settlement’ we develop a more holistic view of how individual, family, as well as group, identities are influenced by/ have implications for actors across borders. Thus, transnationalism is a lens by which we can understand migration as an ongoing influence in not only transnational migrants’ lives but also non-migrants’ lives, and an influence that endures long after the act of migration has occurred.

Research has acknowledged that migration affects women in gender specific ways (Ryan et al, 2009). It is often the mothers’ responsibility to restore the family’s

ontological security by managing the family's household strategies, children's care and cultural education, and maintaining transnational links post migration (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Dyck, 2018; Jagganath, 2015; Ryan et al, 2009; Ryan, 2007; Raghuram, 2004). This can be especially difficult for migrant women who are 'trailing wives' because they can face social exclusion and isolation in the receiving society (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2018; Raghuram, 2004). These women are often disadvantaged due to the lack of language skills and exclusion from the labour market owing to deskilling. Though they are often able to form ties with other co-ethnics, these ties have previously been under-valued in what sociology has termed "bonding capital" (Putnam, 2000). However, more recent research has recognised the value of bonding ties (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2018), and studies have also shown that migrant women's social networks and ties do not remain static, instead they evolve over time, especially on becoming mothers (Ryan, 2007). Additionally, research has acknowledged how migrant mothers' quotidian activities influence the development of a new generation of citizens (Dyck, 2018), how highly skilled transnational migrant mothers practice capital speculation for their children's advancement (Erel, 2012), and how some transnational migrant mothers might retain empowerment in the private sphere even when seemingly disempowered in the public sphere (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2018).

Research into migrant daughters has shown how the burden of being 'carriers' of tradition and culture causes tensions and conflicts in their identity formation (Üstüner

and Holt, 2007; Kallis, 2016; Kerrane, 2017; Das Gupta, 1997). Among ethnic minorities migrant daughters are often subject to greater policing than their male siblings (Kerrane, 2017; Bagguley and Hussain, 2016; Lindridge and Hogg, 2007). Migrant daughters are expected to maintain transnational links and be primary caregivers for ageing parents across borders as a part of their gender performance (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017). In America, research has found that second-generation Indian women are exposed to messages depicting their subordinate status in the family and community (Purkayastha, 2005) despite them carrying the burden of cultural maintenance. However, research has also shown that not all migrant daughters face policing and subordination, with some receiving support from their families in ignoring the community’s hegemonic patriarchal and orthodox ideologies (Purkayastha, 2005). Among second-generation British Bengali women, research has shown that though they face ‘traditional’ pressures such as obligations to marry, they possess the agency to choose their own partner, control their bodies, and privilege education above traditional hegemonies (Biswas Sasidharan, 2011). Elsewhere, studies report transnational daughters can leverage their ethnic identities for social distinction (Pradhan, Cocker and Hogg, 2019) and use their ‘western’ citizenship for gender transformation and family reunification overcoming restrictive immigration policies (Mooney, 2006).

From the previous studies we surmise two key points – 1) migrant women are often at the centre of ‘doing family’ and negotiating families’ lived experiences, especially

transnationally, and have differentiated agency in these situations, and 2) that the focus of scholarship has shifted from understanding all migrant women as marginalised to exploring the creative ways in which they negotiate their disadvantages (if any).

An increasing base of scholarship is also exploring the influence of social class on migrant women's gendered experiences (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Pustułka, 2016; Erel, 2012; Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). Research shows that social class has different implications for different maternal identities among migrant women (Pustułka, 2016). Social class also mediates mothers' positions of power and transnational mothering practices (Fresnoza-Flot, 2017). Middle-class migrant mothers have wider access to resources (Erel, 2012), which in turn enables them to develop their children's transnational ties with kin 'back home' (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). This literature links into studies exploring the varied experiences of highly-skilled migrant mothers and women whose concerns and struggles do not necessarily relate to exclusion from society (Raghuram, 2004). However, migrant women often struggle to find a balance between their lives as individuals, professionals, mothers, and wives (Jagganath, 2015). We classify the middle-class British Indian informants of our study as a part of this group of migrant women.

Overall, research suggests that migrant women's experiences can involve managing gendered struggles and problems owing to the configurations of the power relations,

institutional dominations, and capital resources in multiple transnational and translocal social fields. However, the ways in which women manage these problems, leveraging resources that are unique to their situation and social class, are varied and need to be understood in their own particular contexts. This is resonant of the call by transnational family researchers who believe that though transnational families have many commonalities it is essential for us to understand each transnational family or kinship network on its own terms (Goulbourne et al, 2010) embedded in a particular configuration of socio-historic developments. In order to understand the implications of this for our empirical phenomenon, we first turn our attention to the context of the Indian diaspora in Britain and the pertinent literature on this, and similar groups.

3.4 THE INDIAN DIASPORA AND THE FAMILY PROJECT OF CULTURAL MAINTENANCE

Indians have been migrating to Britain since pre-colonisation and have continued to do so post-Indian independence [see Ballard, 1994 for a detailed overview of their journeys]. For most Indians, the decision to migrate is not taken on an individual basis but is rather, collectively informed and influenced by considerations of their current or future children’s educational opportunities, extended family’s pride, and a desire to financially support immediate family members (Bhattacharya, 2008; Ballard, 1994; Gallo, 2019). Indian migrants are the largest visible ethnic minority in Britain, meaning

that Indian faces are a physical commonality in many parts of the country. Post Brexit, the environment in Britain might not be hospitable to migrants in general, however, not all Indian migrants seem to experience racialised backlash (Meghji and Saini, 2018). British Asians' ethnic and cultural identity projects have been state-authenticated (Bouchet, 1995) (e.g.: BBC Asian Network, celebration of Diwali, etc) re-appropriated by the wider community (Alexander, 2018), and are clearly present and recognised in the mainstream imagination (Dey et al, 2017). There is a permanency to the South Asian settlement in Britain, and this can be comforting to newcomers, like our informants, who have joined this diaspora.

The term diaspora is particularly salient in our context since we are investigating a group whose members often shun assimilationist identity-projects for ones that embrace local culture while maintaining their “home” culture as a part of their core identities (Bhatia, 2002; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2011; Sharma, 2012). In terms of adaptation, Indians, compared to other minority groups, have been found to have the highest adaptation scores for socio-economic adaptation, while having low scores for cultural adaptation (Lessard-Phillips, 2015), reaffirming the idea of differentiated adapting. As demonstrated in the opening quote by British Indian jazz musician Arun Ghosh, Indians are willing to “integrate”, but on their own terms. Researchers have explored British Asians' negotiations of differentiated adaptation and integration in relation to team sports support (Fletcher, 2011; Burdsey, 2006),

professional advancement (Meghji and Saini, 2018), cultural celebrations (Alexander, 2018; Khan, Lindridge and Pusaksrikit, 2018), material ownership (Taylor, 2013; Taylor et al, 2007; Ballard, 1994), educational pursuits (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016) and engagement in arts (Netto, 2008). They have found that South Asians’ cultural values and relational decision-making have significant influence in most life settings. Additionally, studies have shown that middle-class Indian migrants navigate class-consciousness as an additional dimension in their adaptations to new life settings (Jagganath, 2015; Jones, 2013). These cultural negotiations and navigations can often cause ambivalence, especially among middle-class Indians whose racial and cultural backgrounds, and history of migration, can exclude them from ‘authentic’ middle-class participation in Britain, which is associated with ‘whiteness’ (Archer, 2011). Even elite British Indian migrants such as medical professionals find that certain avenues of progression are closed to them while others can only be accessed through non-migrant social networks (Raghuram, Henry and Bornat, 2010). Hence, the diaspora maintains its culture while some members pay a price akin to the ethnic penalty (Hasmath, 2016). Research also finds that South Asian women face further complexities of being culture bearers and transmitters (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016; Jagganath, 2015; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Lindridge, Hogg and Shah, 2004) at the intersection of a patriarchal family setting in relation to a somewhat-less patriarchal public setting. However, little has been written about this group (Meghji and Saini, 2018; Biswas Sasidharan, 2011;

Robinson, 1988) and even less has been said about professional or middle-class South Asian women migrants in particular. Given that professional migration remains the only acceptable (in British public discourse) and available route for most first time Asian migrants, and particularly Indian migrants, we must turn our attention to this growing group. By understanding how this new group of professional migrants negotiates differentiated adaptation and integration we can develop a more up-to-date understanding of the contemporary Indian diaspora in Britain and what ‘being British Indian’ and ‘doing family’ means to them.

Previous research has found that ‘being Indian’ is defined by the Indian family system (Uberoi, 1998). Negotiating family relationships and responsibilities while subordinating the individual self to the family unit is a central part of Indianness (Derné, 1999; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Mooney, 2006). Hence, understanding cultural identity among British Indians involves understanding ‘doing family’. However, there are differences in ways of doing family-work and performing Indianness among the diaspora. Among Indian Americans, Purkayastha (2005) finds that families belong to either the “essential ethnicity group” or “bounded ethnicity group” or “previous ethnicity group”. Members of family units in different groups negotiate ethnicity, gender regimes, and choice of partners situationally, together but in different ways. Mehrotra and Calasanti (2010) find that though migration alters family regimes among Indians, gender and ethnic identities are minimally transformed. Negotiations among

Indian family members, intersecting with their life course trajectory, also have a bearing on how British Indians define ‘home’ and belonging (Herbert, 2012; Ramji, 2006). Like Zontini and Reynolds’ (2018) Italian and Caribbean migrants, Indian migrants are also socialised into ‘doing family’ across borders. Jagganath (2015) finds that middle-class Indian women in South Africa instil Indian cultural values among their children in an attempt to replicate their sense of self that is anchored in the construct of the Indian family.

Our study builds upon this literature wherein family and culture are intertwined, and primarily managed by women through complex navigations and negotiations. Since mothers bear the burden of cultural transmission, and are hence responsible for socialising their children into ‘being British Indian’, we explore how they negotiate and navigate rules of engagement for their children. We supplement our understanding by accounting for daughters’ particular experiences of this cultural reception of ‘being British Indian’ since previous research has shown they are mostly likely to be disadvantaged by the patriarchal setting of their habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). In the next section we detail our methods of data collection and analysis for this study, and our findings are presented thereafter.

3.5 THE STUDY

In line with previous research on British Asians our qualitative study leverages interviews as the method of data collection (Meghji and Saini, 2018; Alexander, 2018; Näre, 2017; Bagguley and Hussain, 2014; Ramji, 2006; Burdsey, 2006). We interviewed 17 informants between 2016 and 2019 who were recruited using a combination of snowball and convenience sampling starting in a city in the North of England and expanding south to London. We identified two of our second-generation informants to be particularly reflexive and insightful, and as a result we conducted follow up interviews with these key informants. We carried out 19 interviews in total and these were transcribed verbatim for analysis. We began recruiting informants by asking people who self-identified as Hindu British Indian women to participate in the first author's PhD research project. Due to the non-random nature of the sampling technique we wound up primarily with women of middle-class social backgrounds. The women in our study were aged between 18 and 60 years at the time of the study, had lived in the UK for a minimum of 15 years, and are British citizens either by birth or marriage or naturalisation. All the first-generation women in our sample are working mothers, with the exception of one who is a recently retired medical doctor. The 1.5 generation and second-generation informants in our sample are either working or in full time higher education. One of these women is married, though not yet a mother, hence, identities as 'daughters' were salient among all 1.5 and second-generation informants.

We did not restrict our sample to any particular Indian community (like Punjabis or Maharashtrians) because we were interested in understanding relational and familial practices and performances, and previous research has shown that these are similar across Indian communities (Derné, 1995). Previous research has also shown the significance of Islamic capital in family life (Franceschelli and O’Brien, 2014), so we were interested in understanding whether, similarly, Hinduism as a religion and the resulting capital had a particular influence on family life, and consequently we only recruited Hindu women. Our analysis did not show any overt evidence for ‘Hindu capital’, however, informants believed themselves to be less stigmatised than their Islamic peers in society, and this has implications for our study, as will be seen later.

All interviews were conducted by the first author who is Indian and was able to develop an easy rapport with the informants owing to her cultural background. However, being Indian and not British Indian gave her a unique insider-outsider perspective (Meghji and Saini, 2018) that enabled access to privileged insider cultural information, while maintaining a degree of analytical distance. The interviews lasted between 30 minutes and two hours, and were supplemented with detailed fieldwork to record body cues and expressions. The interviews were conducted in comfortable settings such as the informants’ or researcher’s homes or cafes, and this allowed a greater level of intimacy and willingness of informants to discuss sensitive and private issues. The interviews

that were conducted in informants' homes allowed the researcher to observe family dynamics as well.

The interviews started with some grand tour questions (McCracken, 1988) such as 'where are you from' and 'where is your family from'. The first author followed a semi-structured interview schedule to mimic the comfort of a casual yet intimate conversation. The transcribed interviews were thematically analysed (Miles and Huberman, 1994) using the transnational family habitus (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018) as a framing lens. Among our sample we had three pairs of mothers and daughters, as well as a mother and daughter-in-law pair. However, since we were interested in understanding overall mothers' influences of, and daughters' experiences of, a transnational family habitus, we conducted a cross-generational analysis (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2018) rather than a dyadic data analysis. Our findings, based on this analysis, are presented in the following sections.

3.6 MAINTAINING A FAMILY-FIRST ORIENTATION THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

Previous literature has underscored the importance that the Indian diaspora places on kinship and family, and how the term 'family' is understood to be fluid and extends beyond the nuclear unit and across borders (Jagganath, 2015; Derné, 1999; Mehrotra

and Calasanti, 2010; Mooney, 2006). The British Indian mothers we interviewed also emphasised the importance of the Indian family system in structuring their lives, and the necessity of transferring this ‘way of being’ to their children. We find that the most significant means that mothers’ employ in pursuing this goal is by socialising their children into their duty of fulfilling family obligations, often across borders. Mothers see this as a particularly Indian way of ‘doing family’. The daughters in our sample mentioned the significance of family life throughout their interviews and appear to have internalised this value system that prioritises family goals over individual pursuits. However, unlike the mothers, the daughters can experience ambivalence as a result of internalising family values that can sometimes contradict community and wider societal discourses. Below we discuss first how mothers manage obligations and attempt to transfer them to children; and then discuss the daughters’ experiences of this aspect of ‘doing family’.

3.6.1 MOTHERING, DOING FAMILY, AND RETURN VISITS

All our mother informants clearly prioritised the family unit over the individual self. We see this in Jaya’s example below, where she discusses her choice of husband via the arranged marriage system, and the reasons she migrated to the UK from India:

“My sister came [to England] a few months before me. She was asking me, ‘You have to come, I’m alone’. She fell pregnant at that time so I have to come and help her out with things. I didn’t want to leave [India]. I was very well paid, and electricity was free, free housing... all the comforts in the house. And the weather was good, and my relatives were there. I said I’m going to marry someone and stay near my parents. [My husband’s] proposal came and I said no until the last day but my sister said yes. So okay, I thought I got someone like her here, I’m not going to be alone so okay it’s not going to be that bad. If it’s that bad, then I’ll go back, get one-way ticket and go” (Jaya, first-generation informant, mid 40s)

Jaya’s sense of obligation and duty towards her sibling resulted in giving up a comfortable life and imagined future in India in favour of the unfamiliarity and uncertainty of life in Britain. Regardless of her own ambivalence or opposition to migration, it appears that her sister had the final say on the matter. Though Jaya’s is an extreme case, we found a similarly overwhelming sense of obligation towards family among our other mother informants. They viewed ‘doing family’ as involving the fulfilment of obligations. Doing family this way was seen as inseparable from being Indian (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010) and a part of their core identities. Having learned this ‘way of being’ from their mothers, our informants believed that a part of their own mothering responsibilities included transferring this family-first orientation to their

children. Since many of their family members were in India, return visits had become a key practice through which to socialise children into this way of doing family. Our transnational migrants visit India frequently, with most making annual trips funded by their middle-class economic capital (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). All of our informants, except for two live, in parts of England with little ethnic minority specificity, i.e., they are usually one of the few ethnic minority families in their neighbourhoods. In such situations, return visits become even more significant, as substitute sites for cultural socialisation. By exposing children to a place dominated by Indian cultural values, mothers are fulfilling their duties as ‘good Indian mothers’ and raising “good Indian sons and daughters” (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010: 785). The fulfilment of these duties takes precedence over any objections from the children. Sarita and Simran discuss this below:

“[Kids] like [visiting India]. There's no choice. It's your family... There's no choice. They know that much. They don't moan or something. They feel bored sometimes because there's nothing to do. In Patna the internet connection is not very good. They put up with all those things and we'll say it's family. You can't do anything about it.” (Sarita, first-generation informant, mid 40s)

“I made sure that I should take [my daughters to India] because if I don't take them, they wouldn't be exposed, they wouldn't want to go back. Even now,

they'll go when I'm here. After that, they may go, not go, I don't know because that's not their roots." (Simran, first-generation informant, late 60s)

As an Indian mother Sarita is expected to take her children to visit their grandparents, cousins, uncles, and aunties in the 'home' country. Owing to her own transnational family habitus, her family obligations are spread across geographies and she socialises her children into these cross-border responsibilities as well. Thus, return visits help her in teaching her children to do family across borders, irrespective of the frequent 'presence' of the Indian family members in England (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Haikkola, 2011). Similarly, Simran speaks of her efforts at constructing a transnational family habitus for her children when they were young, out of a desire to develop their connections to her roots and share her 'way of belonging' (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004; Zontini, 2015) with them. Her now adult daughters continue to visit India, though she believes this is out of a sense of obligation to her, and internalisation of her prescribed way of doing family and 'way of being', rather than any 'real' sense of belonging or choice (Kerrane, 2017). Regardless, Simran finds this compromise acceptable because it is a marker of successfully raising 'good Indian daughters'.

Among our informants, British Indian mothers and daughters carried out their commitments towards family obligations, across borders even when it was inconvenient. Mothers did not have any negative or resentful feelings about any

inconveniences resulting from prioritising the ‘we self’ over the ‘I self’, and instead believed that this was the natural way of doing things. Some Indian mothers constructed a ‘forced transnationalism’ (Al-Ali, 2002; Haikkola, 2011) for their children, subordinating any ambivalence experienced by their children to the importance of kin work and the family-first orientation. In this way, family obligations, foregrounded on return visits, become strategic tools for cultural socialisation and ‘good Indian mothering’ practices. And return visits become not only key drivers of a transnational family habitus, but also propellers of its maintenance.

3.6.2 BEING ‘GOOD INDIAN DAUGHTERS’

We now look at the daughters’ experiences of being socialised into a way of being that prioritises family. The daughters made sense of their cultural identities through ‘ways of being’ and ‘ways of belonging’ associated with doing family. Any tensions or conflicts experienced as a result of this were generally understood through their gender identity positions in the patriarchal Indian cultural system.

Below are two experiences that exemplify the contradictory nature of the family-first orientation as experienced by Samira and Pooja:

“My Mum went to work in London part time, so she would be away most of the week and then I would have to sort of take over as mini-Mum. I was only

13 or 14 at the time but I was doing all the cooking, I was doing all the cleaning and like my Dad did nothing... I think as unfortunate as it is when we go to India, the domestic role was always taken up by the wife or the mother or just the female. I'm not used to having to be domesticated but then if I go to India, I do sort of have to like assume that role.” (Samira, second-generation informant, early 20s)

“I've never missed Raksha Bandhan¹ with my brother, so either he will come to me or I will go to him. And I'll try not to miss it with some of my cousins. This one time I was to catch a flight and we didn't have much time so my brother drove me to the airport and I tied him a rakhi there and then got on the flight... I'm really close to my brother and the guys in my family in general.” (Pooja, second-generation informant, early 20s)

As seen above the family-first orientation can be a source of strength as well as a source of conflict. Similar to Aarseth, Layton and Nielsen (2016) we find that conflicts arise out of interactions with significant others and the way the habitus is produced in such

¹ On the annual festival of Raksha Bandhan women tie *rakhis* (amulets) on to male members of the family to symbolise giving them the responsibility for protection and care.

interactions, rather than being generated by any structural level conflicts. As exemplified by Samira, the daughters resented the patriarchal consequences of the family-first orientation, since they were expected to take on domestic roles and maintain family ties while the male family members were excused from such responsibilities. Even though the mothers among our informants socialised male and female children into a family-first orientation, it appeared that daughters particularly felt compelled to perform what they saw as the disadvantaged gendered roles that arose as a result of women’s responsibilities within Indian family life. This was a source of conflict for them since they had internalised gender equality from the British education system, as evidenced by Ash, who said *“I have always been brought up in an education system that says women are equal to men. My parents practice that, my grandparents now practice that but they used to be really sexist.”* Additionally, daughters’ parents had emphasised the need to excel in education (Herbert, 2012), to be financially independent, and strive for a successful career. However, at the same time they were exposed to Indian community discourses that seemed to value women only for their domestic and reproductive capabilities. The daughters were thus faced with having to navigate contradictions between family interactions and expectations in their habitus, community discourses, and the wider societal ideologies of gender equality.

Nonetheless, as is seen from the second example, not all experiences of the family-first orientation are necessarily negative or a source of conflict. Pooja’s experience shows

how close British Indian daughters can be to family members, and how a family-first orientation can result in a sense of pride in cultural identity. Pooja talks of never missing the celebration of Raksha Bandhan with her brothers, and the significance of this. For Pooja, this is an important ritual through which to re-enforce the importance of her relationships with the male members of her family, including her cousins. Shilpa and her brothers (including cousins, whom she considers ‘brothers’) go to great lengths to ensure this is performed annually, disregarding any inconvenience to the individual self. All the daughters were reflective about such burdens that family obligations brought. However, they derived a sense of self from the transnational and translocal family relations out of which these obligations arose. They appreciated the family-first orientation as unique to their culture (Pradhan et al 2019) and the Indian ‘way of being’. Thus, though the transnational family habitus could at times be a source of conflict for daughters, having internalised a family-first orientation, they could also derive a sense of ontological security and cultural identification from it.

Previous research on British-born Indians has similarly highlighted how they expertly navigate between contradictions among Indian and British cultural values and practices through their multiple situational identities or by harnessing economic, cultural and social capital resources (Lindridge, et al, 2004; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). Among Sikh members of the Indian diaspora, the concept of Izzat (honour) has been understood as a lens through which they make sense of the contradictions in their lives (Taylor,

2013; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). We find that in the case of our British Indian daughters, being socialised into a family-first orientation and consequently internalising this value system, gives them the tools to understand the rules of engagement in different situations that often conflict. They marginalise any feelings of ambivalence and perform gendered duties without voicing their dissent to family members, as they believe this is what was expected of ‘good Indian daughters’. We believe that by subordinating their opinions to what they believed is the accepted ‘way of being’, arising out of their transnational family habitus, daughters demonstrate the successful transmission of intergenerational cultural learning of the rules of engagement. They have internalised the particular schemas that their mothers hoped would help them navigate transnational and translocal Indian fields where ‘family’ involves members beyond the nuclear family often extending across borders, and family is prioritised over the individual self.

3.7 SHIELDING, INCORPORATION, AND MIDDLE-CLASSNESS – CONFLICTS AND NEGOTIATIONS IN HABITUS

In the previous section we discussed the dynamics of a family-first socialisation in a transnational family habitus. In this section we discuss how our British Indians make sense of competing and contrasting cultural values in their habitus by drawing on social

class. Previous research has shown that among Indian migrants, mothers are responsible for children's cultural education into their heritage culture as well as into the adopted society's culture (Jagganath, 2015; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). In addition to this, we find that our British Indian mothers are also responsible for educating children into 'middle-classness', which results in mothers having to negotiate between different cultural capitals (Erel, 2010) operating in the transnational family habitus. Below we discuss how, in order to successfully socialise children into the middle-class British Indian schema, mothers incorporate pragmatism and fluidity in their mothering practices to 'bring the outside in', i.e., instil in their children an Indian core self through which to interpret the outside world. We find that the British Indian daughters in our sample have successfully internalised this Indian core self while possessing the schema to succeed in white middle-class settings. We explore the daughters' experiences of this in the second part of this section.

3.7.1 MOTHERS' DISCURSIVE SENSE-MAKING AND CULTURAL CAPITAL NEGOTIATIONS

We find that British Indian mothers discursively distinguish between British and Indian culture. All of the mothers in our sample have reflected on this in their roles as migrants but also as mothers. Previous research has shown that certain Indian migrant groups choose to integrate into the mainstream while maintaining their own culture population (Qureshi et al, 2012; Rugunanan, 2017; Robinson, 1998). Our mothers expressed

similar desires for their own children to integrate into mainstream society while maintaining a core Indian value system. Simran’s and Rhucha’s experiences of this are below:

“The culture is different in a sense that you've got to be very careful of your kids here because they are struggling between the two cultures, British as well as Indian. We want them to be Indianized. At the same time, they are among their friends. There is lot of peer pressure from that. We have to have a balance because it's very crucial when they're growing up from the age 16 to 18. So I was very protective of them at that point, but you can't be overprotective. If I had a boy, I wouldn't have been that worried, but because of the daughters, I was worried.” (Simran, first-generation informant, late 60s)

“I think Indians have got a very sacrificing culture. Parents will always sacrifice their time, their money, their emotions for children. But I think my experience with British people is they come first. They are selfish first. I don't think they would sacrifice that much for their children. They will say you are now 16, 18 I think you better look for a job or go out and do something. They probably won't be happy if their children live with them after a certain age. But I think it would never happen in Indian families even in Britain. It would never happen that parents are saying to a child that you go away because you are of a certain age. They will always support him, they will provide his needs

and things like that, there is a big difference in culture.” (Rhucha, first-generation informant, late 50s)

The mother informants considered drinking, individualisation, partying, and being disrespectful to parents as some of the undesirable British cultural practices from which they wanted to protect their children. These practices are positioned as opposite to Indian sensibilities of family centralism, modesty, and reverence. In this way, mothers were able to separate their lives into ‘Indian’ and ‘internal’, and ‘British’ and external’ (Qureshi et al, 2012). They believe Indian ways of doing family and mothering are superior to British ways, owing to the sense of sacrifice and moral virtues of parents. Much like Pustulka and Trąbka’s (2018) Polish mothers, our Indian mothers pride themselves on their sacrifices and intensive mothering, drawing a sense of empowerment from this. However, unlike the Polish mothers, our British Indian mothers do not believe that integration and the maintenance of cultural identity were necessarily mutually exclusive. They want their children, and daughters in particular, to internalise an Indian value system, via their transnational family habitus, and use this as a lens to interpret the “outside” world. Thus, British Indian mothers were pre-occupied with socialising children into ‘superior’ Indian ‘ways of being’ and shielding them from ‘inferior’ British ‘ways of being’, however, it was equally important for them to incorporate certain ‘desirable’ British ‘ways of being’. We believe these ‘desirable’ British ‘ways of being’ are linked to middle-classness and we discuss this later on.

Mothers were particularly concerned about protecting daughters from ‘immoral’ influences because they believed daughters are the bearers of culture (Bagguley and Hussain, 2016; Jagganath, 2015; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Lindridge et al, 2004), and so the rules of engagement and ‘ways of being’ Indian that applied to daughters were less open to interpretation and negotiation, unlike sons who were just ‘being boys’. Some of the mothers in our sample were more liberal and progressive in their values than others, however, all to a certain degree, constructed a gendered transnational family habitus for their daughters (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Kallis, 2016) encouraging them to integrate while being subject to some sort of policing. Since the policing of women within the South Asian community has been well documented elsewhere (Lindridge and Hogg, 2006; Lindridge et al, 2004; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011), we instead focus on the ‘integration’ aspect of socialisation, achieved through a different strategy employed by mothers – bringing the outside in. Previous research has shown that ethnic minorities believe maintaining a hyphenated or hybrid identity is not a contradiction of, but in fact is, a form of Britishness (Modood, 2008). In our study, we find that British Indian mothers react pragmatically to those practices and values that children encounter in the public sphere, which might be considered either unfamiliar or undesirable and ‘British’ in nature. Mothers adjudicate and creatively incorporate some of these or variants of some of these practices and values into their own ways of ‘doing family’ by infusing them with preferred values and performances, so that children do

not feel ‘out of sync’ with the field (Bourdieu, 1977) and possess cultural capital valorised by wider middle-class society.

Thus, though mothers are gatekeepers they are fluid and pragmatic in their mothering practices to help children navigate competing and contradictory cultural influences. They do this by ‘bringing the outside in’, i.e., British Indian mothers reflexively incorporate selective ‘external’ practices and traditions into the transnational family habitus in order to assert agentic control over their daughters’ performances of these practices. Simran, who earlier spoke of being “*very careful*” of her daughters when they were teenagers, describes this process below:

“When they were growing up, they would want to go to pub. If I don't allow them, then they will tell me lies and go, but I made sure that whatever they did they did it from home. They can bring friends, I don't mind. We used to drop them, pick them up so that we know what is happening. We had to work hard for it, but that way you're protecting them at the same time, giving them freedom.” (Simran, first-generation informant, late 60s)

Simran is aware that her daughters are likely to experience peer pressure in relation to drinking, especially during their later teen years. Rather than forbidding them from drinking, she practices intensive mothering (Hays, 1996) by giving up her time and investing emotionally in significant efforts in order to construct a controlled space

where her daughters can partake in these ‘undesirable’ cultural practices. Simran is motivated by a desire for her daughters not to feel left out and also, at the same time, by her wish for them to be able to develop social capital via their friends from their white peer groups. Similarly, other instances of ‘bringing the outside in’, reported by mothers and daughters, include celebrating Christmas with Indian families while decoupling it from religion, incorporating (at times ‘Indianised’) English cuisine into meal schedules, throwing parties for their young adults at home so that any drinking is supervised, and exposing children to the consumption of beef in the home environment. The negotiations between family members involved in these practices are complicated and often involve aversion to stigma, concealment, and managing feelings of guilt associated with going against ‘authentic’ Indian ‘ways of being’. These are foregrounded especially when mothers discuss daughters’ lives with conservative family members such as grandparents in India, who have to be shielded from learning about activities they might not consider very ‘Indian’. Mothers also use this strategy while interacting with conservative members of the translocal family. On occasions when they are confronted by family or community members about their daughters’ ‘western ways’, mothers reported defending their daughters, and the daughters relayed their pride in such experiences. Ash exemplifies this below:

“I think that's kind of in Indian communities. Wherever you go, there's always that slight little backstabbing, taking delight in seeing someone's

granddaughter being out with a boy and that kind of thing. It gives my mom a lot of joy to have someone report to her that, "I saw your daughter in town with a boy." My mum says, "Yes, I know. That's her boyfriend." She takes a lot of joy in that.", (Ash, 1.5-generation informant, early 20s)

Our middle-class British Indian mothers choose to selectively ‘bring the outside in’ and socialise their children into certain British ‘ways of being’ in order for them to get on well in life. At times this involves devising rules of engagement that might not be ‘authentically’ Indian and might attract disapproval from members of the transnational family habitus, and subverting traditional, submissive gender norms while defending daughters’ choices. We find that, similar to Caribbean transnational migrant mothers (Goulbourne et al, 2010), British Indian mothers practice intensive mothering for an extended period well into their offspring’s adult lives. In this way, reflectively constructing a transnational family habitus requires intensity of effort (Hays, 1996), emotional labour (Hochschild, 1983), and active involvement on the part of mothers. The Western critique of intensive mothering (Elliott, Powell and Brenton, 2013) would make our informants seem oppressed and overly self-sacrificing, however, we did not find this in the mothers’ narratives. Instead, our British Indian mothers found satisfaction in their role as intensive mothers since these practices stemmed from their ‘we self’ and aided in their project of cultural transmission. Unlike Pustulka and Trąbka’s (2018) ‘Mother Poles’ who authoritatively protected their children from

foreign influences, we find that by incorporating ‘foreign’ practices into the transnational family habitus, British Indian mothers display flexibility and creativity in their boundary-making. While ‘bringing the outside in’ we find that British Indian mothers draw upon their knowledge of Indian mothering styles and creatively adapt them to situations in the receiving society. These findings are in line with Erel’s (2010) proposition that migrants do not bring a rucksack of ethnically bound capital resources with them but instead, produce cultural capital in new ways, distinct from home and host cultures. We next discuss how daughters experience ‘bringing the outside in’ as a mothering practice, as well as their socialisation into middle-class British ‘ways of being’.

3.7.2 DAUGHTERS’ INTERPRETATIONS OF MIDDLE-CLASS BRITISH INDIAN ‘WAYS OF BEING’

The British Indian daughters we interviewed were aware of their parents’, and particularly their mothers’, efforts towards socialising them into Indian as well as British cultures. They identified their mothers as cultural gatekeepers, had accepted ‘bringing the outside in’ as a schema of their habitus and reproduced this themselves. We explore this below through Neha’s (second-generation daughter) experience of the complicated process of beef consumption:

“My Mum doesn’t like us cooking [beef] in the house. We are allowed to eat it. My Dad will cook when we have a barbeque or something just not in my Mum’s pots and pans. My Mum will eat it, she will buy it, she won’t cook it. God forbid if [my grandparents] ever found out, oh my god... My grandmother would have a fit!”. (Neha, second-generation informant, early 20s)

Neha’s mother introduced beef into her and her siblings’ diets from a young age so they would not find it unfamiliar at school or suffer any stigma from non-consumption in wider social settings. Her experience above is typical of the conflict and concealment involved in such cultural education. Neha is aware and respectful of her mother’s conflicting feelings about beef consumption. Her grandmother, who resides in India, is an active agent who influences this consumption across borders. In this way, three generations are involved in constructing and maintaining the rules of engagement around this ‘British’ cultural practice of beef consumption. Like Neha, all daughters in the sample were aware of the rules of engagement around ‘British’ cultural practices. Some of them expressed resentment at the complications or lack of clear logic in these interactions. However, having internalised an Indian value system, all daughters followed the rules of either concealment or aversion, sacrificing their own self-interest or subjugating individual feelings to this British Indian ‘way of being’. Daughters’ experiences of their mothers’ flexibility and incorporation resulted in an environment where the transnational family habitus was not incompatible with integration (Zontini

and Reynolds, 2018). Additionally, daughters internalised ‘incorporation’ as a ‘way of being’ and used this schema to make their own moral judgements about different cultural influences in the field.

In addition to understanding the rules of engagement around British ‘ways of being’, daughters were aware of being particularly socialised into white British middle-class ‘ways of being’. A majority of the daughters in our sample have attended private schools where they were one of the few ‘brown’ students. Thus, their parents believed it was necessary to include socialisation into British middle-classness as a part of their habitus, in addition to the cultural education they received in school. For the few who attended state schools, in areas of ethnic specificity, parents deemed middle-classness as an even more important form of distinction. Overall, regardless of their class-based resources, our first-generation British Indians had been subject to race-based scrutiny and hence had to work harder to distance themselves from ‘traditional’ and ‘working class’ representations and members of their ethnic group (Biswas Sasidharan, 2011; Archer, 2010). Below is Pooja’s experience of being socialised into this ‘way of being’:

“I grew up in the same area with a lot of like British-Pakistanis and they were all lovely but we don’t talk alike at all. Me and my brother don’t speak in slang, because we have always had middle-class English tutors so we learnt how to speak properly. As soon as I start speaking, people go “Oh, you’re not a doctor?” and it’s almost like their perception changes because it’s like “Oh

you're not just a taxi driver's kid, you're almost like a doctor's kid ,” which is a better British-Indian. Even in school, my teacher used to say, “oh you guys are so rich, you get a taxi to school every day and you only live down the road”. No one thought the guy dropping us off was our Dad. Even when my dad came in school, he would always wear shirt and trousers, and people just assumed that he was either a really good business man or they assumed he's a doctor... I always got that, “you are different, you are chilled” because I was allowed to go out drinking it's like “You are different you can drink, you are not like bounded by all these backwards traditions”. (Pooja, second-generation informant, early 20s)

Pooja's father started off as a taxi driver when he arrived in England but eventually owned his own taxi business by the time of her birth. Having experienced upward social mobility, Pooja's parents were keen on their children not suffering any ethnic penalties, and incorporated white 'intellectual' middle-class 'ways of being' into their habitus. They were conscious of 'pronunciation' and 'dressing' as markers of social class – embodied and objectified cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2002) - and invested capital resources to ensure their children possessed the right types of middle-class cultural capital, and were consequently perceived as the 'right kind' of Indians (Biswas Sasidharan, 2011). Like Pooja, the other daughters we interviewed received cultural capital resources and education to develop a middle-class sense of self. Their parents

emphasised the importance of particular middle-class ‘ways of being’ and possessing forms of cultural capital that could be converted into bridging social capital (Putnam, 2007). Most daughters received middle-class academic capital by attending private schools. Additionally, daughters mentioned taking extensive after-school education in western classical music, sports and creative-classes, and attending theatre as other ways by which mothers strategically constructed a middle-class habitus for them. As with Mooney’s (2006) Canadian Indians, our British Indian informants prioritised middle-class progress. Mothers were keen on constructing a habitus that would perpetuate the “circuit of cultural reproduction” (Bennett et al., 2009: 13) and be most advantageous for their children to place themselves in privileged positions later in life. The daughters were appreciative of the advantages afforded to them especially in contrast to transnational and translocal family members who had not received the same privileges.

As a result of internalising middle-classness as a ‘way of being’, daughters were selective about their identifications. They distanced themselves from Asians who live in areas of ethnic specificity, from stigmatised Muslims, and instead identified with members of the middle-class intelligentsia, regardless of race. This resulted in daughters often reproducing mainstream discourse that was Islamophobic and discriminated against South Asians, while also contradictorily voicing a belief in post-racial ideology. The daughters’ social networks comprised friends of various ethnic backgrounds, all sharing the same middle-class sensibilities, much like Goulbourne et al’s (2010: 78)

British Caribbean informants who attended private schools. Daughters were comfortable in white middle-class settings, never feeling out of place or discriminated against. At the time of the interviews, the daughters were aged between 18 and 25, and thus either preparing to enter or had just entered the workforce. We speculate their elite educational backgrounds coupled with an internalised white middle-class schema had resulted in minimal difficulties in the job market. Hence, all the British Indian daughters except one expressed a strong belief in a post-racial ideology, much like Meghji and Saini's (2018) South Asian informants. The one daughter who expressed dissent had worked part-time in the service sector and had experienced micro-aggressions from customers on a regular basis, and this framed her experience of white British society.

Overall, white middle-classness prevailing in a habitus as a 'way of being' appeared to give the daughters the advantages their mothers desired for them in the workforce. It remains to be seen whether or not these daughters experience the glass ceiling later in their professional trajectories (Raghuram et al, 2010) and if their discourses around the post-racial society change.

3.8 THE MOTOR FOR SUCCESSFUL INTERGENERATIONAL CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

So far, we have discussed how two important ‘ways of being’ – a family-orientation and white middle-classness – influence cultural identity and doing family among British Indians. Our data has shown instances of successful intergenerational cultural transmission via mothers’ and daughters’ efforts and negotiations within a transnational family habitus. Reflecting upon this key finding, we propose that there exists a motor, based on a combination of motive forces, for intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minority migrants, which can be conceptualised in a similar way to Modood’s (2004) ‘motor’ for understanding how ethnic minorities such as South Asians are able to successfully negotiate ethnic disadvantages and achieve educational advancement and upward social mobility in Britain. Modood speculates the reason why certain ethnic minorities are over-represented in education “might lie in their families and communities.” (2004: 95). He proposes that a triadic motor of “*familial adult – child relationships, transmission of aspirations and attitudes, and norms enforcement*” (2004:100 emphasis added) works as a ‘strategy from below’ to negate ethnic disadvantages. To expand, Modood (2004) believes that family and community members share ambitions for upward social mobility for their own generation as well as the next, and thus prioritise the acquisition of higher education. This norm is transmitted to children, who internalise it. The parents leverage this instilled norm and enable its practice by providing the required capital resources (tuition, fees, etc), and

use their authority and power over children to reinforce the importance of qualifications, and this results in the group's upward social mobility. We find evidence for this in our data as well. All mothers prioritised educational advancement for their children, including daughters, over traditional patriarchal expectations such as getting married and being domesticated. The daughters believed that higher education was not an option but a natural expectation arising out of their middle-classness.

Based on our findings we adapt Modood's (2004) triadic 'motor', and propose the following 'motor' for intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minorities:

- 1) The mother-child relationship – Our data shows the key role that mothers play in transmitting cultural practices, values and norms, and negotiating these when/if they are at odds with white middle-classness. We show how through intensive mothering, mothers influence their children's cultural and class-based identities well into their adult lives. Thus, we believe that the most important relationship for successful intergenerational cultural transmission, as evidenced by our data in our context, is the mother-child relationship
- 2) Transmission of classed, gendered, and cultural 'ways of being' – In our case the transmission of particular 'ways of being' from one generation to the next, particularly from mothers to daughters, is a skein of successful intergenerational cultural socialisation. Though these ways of being involve multiple actors

within the family and community, it is the mothers who bear the responsibility of transmission and the daughters who bear the responsibility of reproduction. By negotiating ‘ways of being’, mothers and daughters engage in the process of devising and following the rules of engagement around ‘doing family’ and ‘being British Indian’

- 3) Enabling performances – We find that the mothers in our group choose to enable children to internalise and perform desired ‘ways of being’ through a) return visits, b) creating a sense of family obligations, and c) by equipping them with relevant cultural, social and economic capital resources. Mothers’ practices of incorporating selective British cultural practices as a part of the family habitus sets a precedent for creative negotiations in daughters’ interpretations of ‘ways of being’. Though the daughters are subject to some policing, this is minimal as compared to previous accounts in the literature on South Asians. Hence, the enabling environment constructed by mothers, allows daughters to experience a habitus where ‘ways of being’ British Indian are not incompatible with integration.

Thus, we believe that we can understand successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minorities by analysing the triadic ‘motor’ of the mother-child relationship, transmission of ‘ways of being’, and enabling performances of ‘ways of being’, as we have done through our findings.

3.9 DISCUSSION

In this paper we set out to explore how family is done and what are the rules of engagement around doing family among British Indians, particularly transnational British Indian mothers and daughters. As with previous research we find that doing family is inseparable from cultural identity for members of the Indian diaspora, and that the family system structures their lived experiences (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). Therefore, our study has explored what it is to be British Indian among professional middle-class migrants and their children. In our paper we have leveraged the ‘transnational family habitus’ (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018). Previous research has shown the dynamics of children and young people’s experiences of growing up in a transnational habitus, including the gendered and at times the discrimination experienced by these women (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Levitt, 2009; Haikkola, 2011; Kallis, 2016; King, Christou and Teering, 2011; Ruting, 2012; Soehl and Waldinger, 2012). We extend this conversation by taking a cross-generational lens in exploring migrant mothers’ significant roles as key actors responsible for constructing a ‘transnational family habitus’ and transmitting this responsibility to the next generation, particularly daughters (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2018; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017; Erel, 2012). Because the daughters are carriers of the responsibilities to follow the prescribed rules of engagement and maintain a transnational family habitus, we have also explored daughters’ navigations of these

‘ways of being’. Our cross-generational lens has allowed us to understand ethnic migrant women’s motivations and creative negotiations in doing family, the inter-generational transmission of these, and the forms in which these are manifested in successive generations.

We find that like Polish migrant mothers (Pustułka and Trąbka, 2018), and Italian and Caribbean migrant mothers (Goulbourne et al, 2010) in the UK British Indian mothers are concerned about the nature of the host society and its associated social and cultural environments in which they are raising their children. In reaction to this, British Indian mothers act as gatekeepers, educators, adjudicators, and enforcers responsible for socialising their children into particular ‘ways of being’ such that their children internalise a core Indian value system. Mothers want this value system to act as schema for their children to draw upon as their children encounter and interpret the outside world. Particularly central to this schema is a family-first orientation as a ‘way of being’, fuelled by family obligations. We show how the family obligations arising out of the first generations’ transnational family habitus envelope the next generation and reproduce obligations and transnationalism.

The British Indian daughters among our informants have internalised a family-first orientation, and this can be a source of strength in terms of finding ontological security, however it is also at times a source of conflict, especially in relation to gender identity. Some of these tensions have been explored in previous literature as navigating between

two cultures (Lindridge et al, 2004; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). Among our informants, the family-first orientation, transmitted from mother-to-daughter, is the foremost schema that guides their sense-making in such conflicting situations. By subjugating the individual self to the family self, daughters perform their roles as ‘good Indian daughters’ demonstrating successful intergenerational learning of the rules of engagement.

We also find that middle-classness is an important ‘way of being’ among our British Indian informants. Mothers strategize to perpetuate the “circuit of cultural reproduction” (Bennett et al., 2009: 13) by educating children selectively into Britishness and in particular, into white middle-class Britishness so they don’t suffer any ethnic penalties (Hasmath, 2016) and are able to benefit from diverse middle-class social networks. When navigating unfamiliar or undesirable British cultural practices mothers employ the strategy of ‘bringing the outside in’, i.e., they selectively incorporate these practices into the transnational family habitus in order to assert control over the performance of the practice, and prevent their children from feeling ‘out of sync’ with the field (Bourdieu, 1977). In this way, British Indian mothers construct fluid boundaries around ‘ways of being’ for their children in the hopes of transmitting hybrid or hyphenated cultural identifications as a particular ‘way of being’ British Indian. Thus, unlike Lessard-Phillips (2015) we find instances for (differentiated) adaptation among our British Indian informants.

Our British Indian daughters reproduce creative navigations, learnt from their mothers, in situations where Indian cultural values might be in conflict with their preferred British practices. This ‘way of being’, coupled with a family-first orientation, equips our British Indian daughters with schema to negotiate cultural identity tensions in various fields and operate comfortably in multiple white middle-class fields, thus giving them an advantage in the workforce. Thus, from our informants’ narratives we conclude that middle-classness has been successfully transmitted, from mother-to-daughter, as another significant ‘way of being’ British Indian.

Our study has extended Zontini and Reynolds’ (2018) conceptualisation of a ‘transnational family habitus’ by developing a transferrable ‘motor’ for understanding successful intergenerational cultural transmission. We build on Modood’s (2004) motor, and thus contribute to the conversation about how ethnic minorities use strategies from below to manage their lives. We have shown mothers’ motivations, and their consequential central role the construction of a ‘transnational family habitus’ (Erel, 2012; Dyck, 2018). We have also explored daughters’ classed and heterogeneously gendered experiences (Fresnoza-Flot and Shinozaki, 2017; Fresnoza-Flot, 2017; Mooney, 2006) of negotiating the influences of a transnational family habitus. Together, our mothers’ and daughters’ narratives add to the conversation on ‘doing family’ among transnational migrants (Goulbourne et al, 2010; Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010; Ryan et al, 2009; Qureshi et al, 2012) and the gendered experiences of this family-work (Mahler

and Pessar, 2001). We contribute to the growing body of literature on middle-class Indian migrants (Meghji and Saini, 2018; Raghuram et al, 2010; Ramji, 2006; Jagganath, 2015; Jones, 2013, Gallo, 2019) and professional middle-class Indian migrant women in particular (Raghuram, 2004; Rugunanan, 2017) by showing the dynamics of intergenerational transfer (Soehl and Waldinger, 2012) and the reproduction of ‘ways of being’ among this group. The cross-generational nature of our research has uncovered some of the complexities of mother-daughter relationships. By exploring a relatively non-marginalised group we have added to non-victimised understandings (Roy, 2016; Ballard, 1994) of members of minority groups such as British Indians.

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4 Model Citizens of The Empire: Mythology, Ethnic Identification, and British Indian Women

4.1 ABSTRACT

This paper explores the interplay between macro-level mythologies, ethnic identification, and lived experiences by using social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016) as an analytical framework. Through interviews with first, 1.5 and second-generation British Indian women, I unpack how the ‘model minority’ myth interacts with their hybrid ethnic identifications and how this process transforms across generations. I find that first-generation British Indian consumers reify and mobilise this mythology in order to express their personal essence, i.e., ethnic identification. The process is more complicated for 1.5-and second-generation consumers whose personal expressions of ethnicity are often incompatible with cultural level enactments, especially when in interstitial spaces. I also explain two paradoxical ‘strategies from below’ employed across generations – ‘educating others’ and ‘othering’ – used here in

order to maintain ontological security and a privileged position in society. This study contributes to understanding how ideological mythologies can manifest as consonant with consumers’ lived experiences, and challenges our current understandings of ‘dominant’ and ‘dominated’ groups as represented by consumer acculturation research.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

“Wishing everybody a very happy Diwali... this really is a festival that can bring all of us together. And to British Indians... I want to express my personal admiration and respect for everything you do for our country. Quite simply Britain would be a lesser country without your contribution. From running our most successful businesses to leading scientific research, serving the public in our NHS, our police, our Armed Forces, at every turn making our country more prosperous, healthy, generous and secure.” Boris Johnson, Prime Minister (Johnson, 2019)

The British Prime Minister shared this message on 28th October 2019. Prime ministerial messages have become an annual tradition during Diwali in Britain. They exemplify how British Indians are present in the public imagination as a group whose culture is familiar and interwoven within the fabric of British society. The particular colonial relationship between India and the Empire, the popularity of Indian food such as

‘curries’ (Varman, 2017) and Bollywood movies, the prominence of British Indian billionaire businessmen like Lakshmi Mittal (Mittal Steel), and of celebrities like Meera Sayal, make certain types of Indian cultural products, practices, and identities not only seemingly acceptable but also welcome in Britain. This type of Indian identity is represented in discourse as well as the media by the ‘British Indian doctor’ stereotype (Francis, 2018) who is politically passive and serves the British community while receiving their admiration and gratitude. On an ideological level this group is seen as the ‘model minority’ in Britain (Lee, 1996). In this paper I explore how macro-level identity myths (such as the model minority) manifest, and influence the lived experiences of consumers who identify with and are identified by such myths. I do this by analysing interviews with professional middle-class first, 1.5, and second-generation Hindu British Indian women who belong to this group of ‘successful’ migrants. Among these consumers, the ‘model minority’ myth is interwoven with their ethnic identifications as British Indians. Therefore, by understanding the interplay between macro-level ideology, ethnic identification, and lived experience I seek to 1) extend our theorisation of ethnic identification across migrant generations, and 2) challenge the existing view of all migrant consumers as lacking agency. Through this the paper aims to answer the following research questions, 1) how do migrant consumers interact with mythologies of social essence in order to express personal essence? 2) how can we understand ethnic identification among ‘model minority’ migrant consumers? and 3)

how can a generational lens help us understand transformation(s) in ethnic identification across migrant generations?

Ethnic migrant consumers have often been studied from a deficit perspective (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018; Luedicke, 2015), i.e. migrants are defined in terms of their problems and vulnerabilities, with researchers often marginalising the positive aspects that derive from their intersectionality or researchers failing to acknowledge assets that are unique to these communities (Roy, 2016) with the result that whole communities can end up being seen in a negative light. My aim is to take an asset perspective (ibid), similar to Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) who studied not only the power structures within which migrants were situated but also how they successfully navigated these, in understanding how migrant consumers with situational agency adapt to/ live in the receiving society. In order to do this, I use social anchoring theory as an analytical framework (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016).

Social anchoring, according to Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016: 1131) is the “process of finding significant reference: grounded points which allow migrants to restore their socio-psychological stability in a new life setting”. Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016, 2018) proposes social anchoring as a useful analytical tool for understanding migrants’ emically significant lived experiences, and she develops different types of anchors in her research. I leverage social anchoring theory because it allows us to better understand migrants’ emically significant identity-work and avoids over-emphasis on a false

consciousness beyond the dominant acculturation paradigm. By leveraging social anchoring theory to understand British Indians' lived experiences, I extend its application to "settled" migrants with situational agency, conceptualise 'construction' as a process within social anchoring, and identify 'othering' as a salient social anchor influencing ethnic identity-work among some migrants.

In the following sections I first provide an understanding of the contextual setting of this study. This is followed by a discussion of the relevant consumer literature on ethnic consumers as well as literature on social anchoring. The methods section then discusses procedures for data collection and data analysis. The findings are presented thereafter, and finally followed by a discussion.

4.3 CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE

Indian explorers began making their way to Britain as early as the seventeenth century, and they were followed by migrants once the Empire was born (See Ballard, 2003 for details). Those migrating from the rural and economically poorer parts of India have managed to do so despite the racism, discrimination, and othering encountered in the host society (ibid). However, it is important to note there has also been a steady immigration of members of another type of Indian group – previously the elites who were high-ranking employees of the Empire. Post Indian-independence (1947), 'highly-

skilled’ migrants have been recruited as medical doctors into the NHS, as scientists and as successful businessmen. I classify this group as Britain’s version of the ‘model minority’ (Lee, 1996). Members of this group are portrayed as the ‘good’ kind of immigrant, those who evoke imaginaries (Appadurai, 1990) of the ideal citizen of the Empire – the educated, economically-successful British Indian.

As evidenced by the opening quote from Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s speech, the ‘British Indian’ identity-position is state authenticated and encouraged. The British state, by invoking images of British Indians as a model minority, encourages this group in their hybrid identifications and urges them to contribute to ‘their’ nation through cultural production (eg: cuisine) as well as intellectual service (eg: as doctors). The Prime Minister in his speech goes on to encourage participation in Diwali through market-mediated interactions (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) such as “celebrating in Soho Road, Birmingham, enjoying a ride on the Wheel of Light in Leicester” (Johnson, 2019). A critical yet Western reading of this might come across as commodification of a minority group’s culture. However, by understanding Diwali as it has been celebrated in contemporary India, i.e., through public and private displays of consumption, Mr Johnson’s appeal, at the level of lived experience, becomes less about strategic commodification of culture and more about leveraging a discourse in consonance with celebrations in India in order to provide the British Indian diaspora with a public space in the host society in which to display culture.

A 2017 British government report has shown that people of Indian backgrounds in the UK reported the highest wellbeing scores, performed better than white peers at school, and worked in the highest-skilled occupations (Great Britain Cabinet Office, 2017). There has been a generally positive representation of British Indians in the press (Sinha, 2015). A particularly enthusiastic article in *The Guardian* reads, “British Indians, quite simply, are among the most industrious, accomplished and creditable among us – the best of British, if you like... For such reasons, some Conservatives see British Indians as natural Tories.” (Kirkup, 2015) Though the sentiments are exaggerated, the author accurately portrays the existence of superior and conservative sentiments among the British Indian community. In the 2017 elections, the conservative party “enjoyed an eight-percentage point advantage over Labour among Britain’s Hindu and Sikh communities” (Ehsan, 2017), a sign suggesting ‘integration’.

In Britain, Asian migrants are represented by two polarising stereotypes – the uneducated convenience store owner and the educated doctor or engineer (Prasad, 2003). Our informants identify and believe themselves to be identified with the latter stereotype stemming from the model minority myth. I use the term myth here to mean a naturalisation of what is historically constituted (Barthes, 1957). Informants echo their belief of being a part of a model minority and being ‘integrated’ into the British context, based on their lived experiences. Though first-generation British Indians might have

struggled in their upward social mobility, they believe their success is due to hard work and the existence of a meritocracy in Britain.

While the American myth of the model minority accorded to Asian Americans acts as a hegemonic device to disguise racial inequality (Hu, Whittler and Tian, 2013), I believe the British version of this myth seeks to perpetuate the colonial belief that members of the Commonwealth are a part of the Empire and there is a place in Britain for those who are willing to ‘succeed’ in the way dictated by the state. This dormant ideology is once again gaining prominence in the public imagination through 2019 Conservative government ministers like Priti Patel who are leveraging the commonwealth rhetoric and championing a points-based immigration system to recruit ‘highly skilled’ migrants. I believe that in this context some migrant consumers like my informants do not view the colonial project of ‘Citizens of the Empire’ as incompatible with their identity-projects because they have not phenomenologically experienced any inequality resulting from this.

In the face of the overwhelmingly xenophobic post-Brexit environment, we are yet to understand how these migrants perform identity-work to maintain their sense of superiority and privilege, and how they react to the ‘model minority’ myth of being ideal ‘Citizens of the Empire’. Thus, in this paper I take a generational lens to understand how ethnic identity-work among those with ‘hybrid’ or ‘hyphenated’ identifications in conjunction with the seemingly ‘positive’ macro-level identity myth

(model minority) perpetuates privilege as well as problems. I present an overview of the relevant consumer literature on ethnic migrants in the following section.

4.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

4.4.1 CONSUMER RESEARCH ON ETHNIC MIGRANTS

In the consumer literature, studies of migrant consumers have largely used post-assimilationist consumer acculturation as the primary analytical framework (see Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard et al, 2005; Üstüner & Holt, 2007; 2010; Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu & Giesler, 2018). These studies have focussed on understanding what happens in marketplace interactions when people from one cultural context live in a different cultural context. Research has explored a wide range of issues including how migrant consumption practices influence multiple identity outcomes beyond assimilation (Peñaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al, 2005), how migrant consumer identity is situational and performative (Oswald, 1999); and how acculturation is socio-historically patterned, looks different in a non-Western context and has trans-national influences (Üstüner & Holt, 2007; 2010). More recently consumer acculturation's phenomenological boundaries have been challenged (Luedicke, 2011; 2015) since many of the previous studies marginalised the influence that migrant/subordinate groups can have on the consumption practices of local/dominant groups. Consumer

acculturation is now viewed as a non-bracketed phenomenon whose processes are recursive in nature, and constantly changing as groups react to one another. From a market-level perspective acculturation additionally involves institutional actors across different fields that shape the ethnic consumer subject (Veresiu & Giesler, 2018).

Post-assimilationist acculturation studies have helped us understand the nature of interactions between recent migrants and locals, and between vulnerable groups and dominant groups and their associated consumption practices and emergent identities. However, these studies, similar to some earlier work in the sociology literature (Putnam, 2000), have viewed migrant groups from a deficit perspective (Roy, 2016) i.e. associated with problems and issues. As a result, within recent consumer acculturation literature we have largely seen stories of marginalisation and stigmatisation. This study aims to contribute to migrant consumer research from an asset perspective by focussing on emically meaningful and theoretically relevant social anchors that provide consumers with psycho-sociological stability (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016).

Additionally, few studies in consumer research consider second-generation migrant consumers and their unique lived experiences. Studies show how subsequent-generations of ethnic migrant consumers are cultural navigators (Lindridge, Hogg and Shah, 2007; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011), how they negotiate and construct cultural identity through media (Takhar, Maclaran, Parsons and Broderick, 2010), and how they use subcultural capital resources for distinction (Pradhan, Cocker and Hogg, 2019).

Using the acculturation perspective, research has shown that second-generation ethnic migrant consumers construct dual cultural identities and display attributes of ancestral as well as ‘host’ cultures (Dey, Balmer, Pandit, Saren and Binsardi, 2017). Studies also show the centrality of family, especially parents, among second-generation ethnic migrant consumers (Lindridge and Hogg, 2006; Pradhan, Hogg and Cocker, 2019). I join this conversation by exploring the processes of ethnic identification among an understudied group (Meghji and Saini, 2018) – economically privileged British Indian women. In order to do this, I employ social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016), which is discussed below.

4.4.2 SOCIAL ANCHORING

Social anchoring, according to Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016) is a process through which migrants restore their ontological security and a sense of self when these are disturbed in a new life setting. Social anchoring has been conceptualised as an analytical framework to understand identity among immigrants in contemporary superdiverse ‘fluid’ societies (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016). The current political climate in Europe has led to a falling away of multicultural policies though many places have already become ‘superdiverse’ owing to the transnational flows of people, reinforced by media and cultural transmission (Appadurai, 1991). Understanding migrants in these contexts through the concept of “integration” is limiting since this perspective also robs us of a

more nuanced understanding of which social units migrants are being integrated into and how this influences their wellbeing (Wessendorf and Phillimore, 2018). Additionally, “integration” as used in acculturation tends to view integration into mainstream society from the perspective of the host community, and integration into society is thus seen as the most beneficial outcome for migrants (Berry, 1997). However, this interpretation privileges the views of the host community over those of the migrants, who have their own lived experiences and desires. Finally, the “integration” paradigm does not sufficiently encompass issues of psycho-social adaptation, such as ‘identity’, and a need for stability. Social anchoring, as an alternative lens, allows us to understand migrants’ lives in ways that are most salient to them and their narratives. The social anchoring framework conceptualises identity as a sphere of problems to be solved rather than as a well-defined concept (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016). It aims to overcome some of the weaknesses of subjectively defined identity by including objective and external aspects like appearance, material goods, etc which are conceptualized as social anchors. Social anchoring theory proposes that, by finding significant reference points, i.e., social anchors, migrants are able to restore their ontological security. Some of the types of social anchors conceptualised by Grzymala-Kazlowska (2016), along with examples, are presented in the table below:

Type of anchor	Example
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Subjective and internal	National identification
Objective and external	Citizenship
Institutional	Legal status
Economic	Goods
Environmental	Place of residence
Material objects of personal meanings	Family photos
Body and practices	Dress and manners
Social	Family Roles
Occupational	Professional Roles?
Cultural	Festivals
Group belonging	Local ethnic group

Table 4 – Examples of types of social anchors

In Grzymala-Kazłowska's (2018) later work, she classifies types of anchors into categories so as to curtail their endless possibilities. She also presents empirical evidence for how social anchoring works among recent Polish migrants in the UK. In this study I look at a different community (middle-class British Indians) because this group has a longstanding historical relationship with Britain, and is a well-established professional migrant group in the UK, and hence can be characterized differently from Polish migrants.

The Indian community, as a part of the wider Asian community, is now long-established and publicly visible in the UK through food, media, cultural celebrations, and celebrities, amongst other cultural markers. My first-generation middle-class British Indian informants have all been here for many years now. And even when they initially migrated, they did not experience de-stabilisation in the same way as that experienced by Grzymala-Kazłowska’s (2018) Polish informants. However, I believe social anchoring theory is relevant to my context because its agentic conceptualisation is better suited to helping understand informants’ lived experiences (as opposed to acculturation theory with its emphasis on integration), and makes it suitable for to settled migrants. Additionally, I show how 1.5- and second-generation migrant consumers can also be understood through social anchoring when ethnic identity and ontological security are destabilised in environments outside the home.

British Indians have been shown to have multi-sited belongings (Taylor, 2013), and particularly strong transnational links (Vertovec, 2001). Members of such groups might appear outwardly embedded in the receiving society, yet their narratives, as is the case of my informants, might be better understood through the metaphor of ‘anchoring’ since it allows us to accord their multi-sited belongings the significance that migrants psychologically place in these belongings.

Social anchoring theory connects the concepts of identity, (emic) integration, and social networks to form a lens that captures internally significant as well as externally

prevalent influences on migrants' lives. It emphasises migrants' agency in the face of constraints, and allows for possibilities of connection or disconnection. This study draws on social anchoring theory to understand the transformation(s) in ethnic identity construction among first-generation, and 1.5- and second-generation ethnic migrants. By exploring these differences, we develop a better understanding of how generation acts as a boundary marker among ethnic minorities (Elrick, Schneiderhan and Khan, 2014). We also extend our understanding of how members of privileged ethnic migrant groups make sense of their place in the receiving society in relation to other ethnic groups as well as white members of society. By using a social anchoring lens, we can see how macro-level constructs such as the model minority myth interact with micro-level, individually significant process such as ethnic identification. In the following section I discuss the methods employed for this study.

4.5 METHODS

I draw upon in-depth qualitative interviews with 17 Hindu middle-class British Indian women. Two informants were identified as key informants and contacted for follow up interviews. Thus, the study draws upon a total of 19 interviews lasting between 30 minutes and over 2 hours, transcribed to form 518 pages of data. Participants were recruited through a combination of snowball and convenience sampling (Miles and

Huberman, 1994) to participate in my PhD study on ethnic consumers’ consumption, culture, and identity-work.

Informants were aged between 18 and 60 at the time of the interviews and belonged to first (migrated from India as adults), 1.5 (migrated from India as children), and second (born in Britain to Indian parents) generation migrant groups. Upon analysing the narratives of the informants for ethnic identity-work, I found that the 1.5-generation and second-generation informants shared similar struggles and successes, and these were different from those experienced by members of the first-generation. Hence for the sake of simplicity 1.5-generation and second-generation informants are referred to as G2s while first-generation informants are referred to as G1s.

I conducted the interviews in informants’ homes, or cafes, or my home to provide an atmosphere conducive to an intimate and informal conversation. I began the semi-structured interviews with grand tour questions (McCracken, 1988) such as ‘where are you from’ or ‘where are your parents from’. I followed important lines of enquiry as they arose in the conversation, with minimal intervention and guidance so as to record the most emically significant narratives. Being of Indian origin I gained a unique insider-outsider position (Meghji and Saini, 2018) that allowed for identification and interpretation of meaningful insider cultural discourse while maintaining a level of analytical distance. I employed thematic analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) and leveraged social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016) as an analytical lens.

This involved identifying significant social anchors for each informant and then looking across informants' stories for relevant themes and processes. I interpreted the data using a hermeneutic technique (Thompson, 1997) of going back and forth between emic meanings and etic concepts, consistent with consumer culture theory tradition. The findings, based on these interpretations, are presented next.

4.6 SOCIAL ANCHORING ACROSS GENERATIONS

From the informants' narratives it appears that many social anchors that influence and interact with ethnic identifications transform across generations. G1s find ontological security in their family ties and particularly children, transnational family relations, India as a physical place, social class (middle-classness), British citizenship, 'British' manners, British Indian community institutions, friendship ties, religion, and neighbourhoods. Together, these social anchors underpin their sense of self as British Indians. G2s' ethnic identifications are first and foremost rooted in family ties – this is the lens through which they make sense of their ethnic selves (a detailed discussion can be found in Pradhan et al, 2019). In addition, transnational family ties, friendship ties, India as a cultural imaginare, and social class (middle-classness) play a role in G2s' ethnic identity constructions. Therefore, across generations, consumers' ethnic identifications remain rooted in family and transnational family ties. However, they evolve from India as a physical place to India as a cultural imaginare and from public,

community institutions to private, social networks. Additionally, while G1s ‘adapt’ to some of the practices of white British society, G2s find themselves identifying with the practices of the white group, while educating its members about their cultural heritage, as well as finding their place among groups whose members are of Indian heritage.

In the following sections I discuss 1) how ethnic identification manifests as ethnic assertiveness, and how this looks different across generations, and 2) how members of ethnic minority groups engage in educating others about their hybrid identities and 3) how othering is a salient part of ethnic identification.

4.7 ETHNIC IDENTIFICATIONS AND ASSERTIVENESS

Ethnic identity as a subjective and internal social anchor is a source of pride for our first-generation British Indian informants. Many are proud of their hybrid ethnic identities, which have resulted from carefully constructed bricolages (Bouchet, 1995). For most G1s, the “British Indian” label has been acquired through struggle, sacrifice, and citizenship. In their lived experience, it has an equivalence to the model minority identity. For many G2s on the other hand, ethnic identity is a source of strength in relation to family but also a source of conflict and tension as it relates to performance outside of the lens of family. Though ethnic identity is a significant social anchor, it is one that is in construction. All our G2 informants were between the ages of 18 and 25

at the time of the interviews and were in the process of constructing an ethnic identity in this crucial stage of their lives when they were geographically distanced from their families for the first time owing to work or education. Below I first explore how ethnic identity as a social anchor helps G1s assert their hybrid identities as British Indians and how the model minority myth influences this, and then discuss the complicated process of ethnic identity construction among G2s and the role that this plays in the process of social anchoring.

4.7.1 G1S AND ETHNIC ASSERTIVENESS

My G1 informants proudly emphasise the centrality of ethnic identification and culture in structuring their everyday lives. They believe themselves to be integrated into British society and from their narratives below we can see the reflexive identity-work that has gone into establishing and maintaining ethnic identity as a social anchor.

“How would I identify myself? I would identify myself as British Indian, very strong British Indian. I have my own personality, my own Indian culture and own British culture... Society identifies us as 'the other colleagues'. They don't say you're an Indian. No. It's not like that.” Simran, first-generation informant (in her late 60s)

“I call myself British Indian. I am proud to be a Hindu but I am also proud to be a British because wherever you live you have to adjust and accommodate. You can’t say that this is the way I live and this is the way I am going to live, that’s not right. You can’t impose on anybody. I like wearing Saris on special occasions. I have that kind of freedom. If you are not comfortable that’s your problem not my problem... When I mingle in society and get to know different [British] people I think I am part of them. And when I talk about my culture and create awareness then I think I am Hindu. You take two hands to clap, that’s life.” Neema, first-generation informant (in her mid 60s)

“I started working [in England]. It was a good change for me. Patna is home, but here, our lives changed. It has given a very new meaning to everything. We got so many things in prosperity and every aspect personality evolved. We got everything what we tried for. We worked hard. I will call myself British Indian, yes, because ethnicity is always there. I am not going to be white anytime but yes, I would like to call myself British Indian. And for my children and for my children I would like to be British Indian”, Nandini, first-generation informant (in her early 40s)

All our G1 informants except one (who identified as Indian) proudly identified as British Indian and expressed the ontological significance of this. In Neema’s above narrative she identifies as Hindu as well as British, and while she emphasises her

religious identity here, through the interview it was clear that she believes this to be synonymous with her Indian identity. Above we see some of the reflexive negotiations that are a part of hybrid identity work, which result in an assertive ethnic identification (Modood, 2004). Upon migrating to Britain these G1s have found an environment where they have been able to selectively acquire and incorporate “British” traits and practices into their identities, thus transforming ethnicity as a social anchor from ‘being British’ to ‘being British Indian’. Our informants migrated as a result of arranged marriages to their spouses who were already residents of Britain and working in skilled or highly skilled managerial professions. As a result, our informants possessed the cultural, social, and economic capital to consciously leverage the ‘model minority’ myth that was starting to form in Britain at that time. Above both Nandini and Simran draw on ‘working hard’ and foregrounding their identities as ‘colleagues’ – tenants of the ‘model minority’ myth– because in their experience this has consonance (Dey et al, 2017) with their lived experience.

As expressed by Neema, the themes of ‘adjusting’ and ‘accommodating’ were present among all our G1s narratives. They were motivated to adjust their lifestyles and practices in order to fit in to the receiving society as well as marginalise any effects of the ethnic penalty (Hasmath, 2016) on their children [see Pradhan et al, 2019 for details of the latter]. However, as Neema mentions this does not mean hiding or abandoning Indian identities, but instead, recalibrating and reproducing ethnicity as a hybrid that

works in her context, while still maintaining its internal significance as a social anchor that provides a sense of self. This way of understanding ethnic identity for G1s gives us a glimpse into the motivations behind adaptations for G1s like Neema, as well as helps us see the difference between migrants’ externally adapted performances and their internally significant identifications.

I find that ethnic assertiveness is present and conscious among G1s and not only among G2s as claimed in previous research (Modood, 2004). However, among my informants assertiveness is not about asserting either Indian or British identity individually, but rather their hybrid British Indian identities. Additionally, migrant consumers can be motivated by individual as well as relational concerns (eg children’s future success) to adopt a hybrid identity, and have agency in constructing this social anchor. This reading is in contrast to previous research that has presented ethnic consumer subjectivities as products of institutional will (see Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). In this instance my G1 informants’ identity-management strategies are similar to Gavia, Cardoso, Scaraboto & De Araujo Gil’s (2018) migrant mothers who employ compensatory compensation and outsourcing in pursuit of their children’s success in the ‘host’ culture.

My informants maintain ties to home through ICTs, return visits, consumption of cultural objects and goods while also participating in seemingly ‘integrated’ consumption activities in Britain like celebrating ‘local’ festivals, consuming ‘British’ cuisine, and following ‘local’ fashion. Therefore, their consumption practices could be

understood as similar to those of Peñaloza's (1994) Mexican migrants in the US who occupied the 'maintenance' identity position or Askegaard et al's (2005: 167) "best-of-both-worlde" Greenlandic migrants in Denmark. However, doing so would again marginalise their agency, their relational motivations like adapting for their children, and the significance that 'earned' labels like 'British' have in these consumers' identity-work. Overall, among my G1 informants the 'model minority' myth manifests in the form of their hybrid identification as British Indians. Through Neema, Simran, and Nandini's narratives I have shown how salient this ethnic identity-work is to their sense of self, and how this social anchor, because of consonance with the 'model minority', can result in ethnic assertiveness as well as reification of a macro-level myth (Hu et al, 2013) through everyday lived experience.

4.7.2 G2 ETHNICITY – FROM PUBLIC TO PRIVATE

For G2s, much like G1s, ethnic identity can be a source of pride (Pradhan et al, 2019) as well as ontological security. However, it is something to be reflexively constructed upon starting university. I believe this is owing to some of the spaces that the university environment provides G2s for ethnic and cultural expression, as well as university itself being an in-between space or interstices (Bhabha, 1994; Asher, 2008). Additionally, this is usually the first opportunity G2s get to reflect on an individual ethnic self, to be

constructed from their own efforts as bricoleurs, independent of their families. Below Kareena and Tara describe how ethnic identity is unsettled or challenged at university:

“When I first started filling in forms for university, the notion of ethnic background and nationality was confusing, so I double checked with my dad like, “Am I British or Indian?”...It wasn't until I went to uni that I started understanding who I was... I think when it comes to being an immigrant, it massively delays the discovery of yourself, and the understanding of yourself, and finding peace with yourself as well because you're so busy trying to find the way to exist between two cultures [during school] that you forget about yourself, basically. You don't get to express the real you until you hit uni, which I'm sure so many students across the country feel that, but this is a whole other level of re-discovering who you are as well. There's re-discovery going with discovering, basically... It's very lonely and a very challenging thing to do.”

Kareena, 1.5 generation informant (in her early 20s)

“I tried to join the Indian society last year which is really good like I did meet some like really nice people. It was nice to have that sort of like Indian solidarity. I went to Holi², which was amazing. But I just felt like I couldn't

² Festival of colours

really get that close to them just because I know they all have these inside jokes. I can't speak Hindi and like they could all speak Hindi. I think there should be a second-generation Indian society." Tara, second-generation informant (in her early 20s)

Kareena's and Tara's narrative echoes the tensions and conflicts G2 consumers experience in cultural and ethnic identity-work in interstices. Previous research has explored these as navigation between two cultures or a private Indian world and a public British world that are in conflict owing to contradictory values and practices (Lindridge, Hogg and Shah, 2007; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). However, taking a social anchoring lens we see that the conflict is not necessarily between two cultures but between differentiated interpretations (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006) of a significant social anchor, i.e., a performance of Indianness that is different to the one that is dominant among Indians from India, different to G1 Indians as well as different to 'traditional' G2 Indians. All G2 informants were comfortable in the 'British' aspects of their identities, and associated these mainly with consumption activities such as drinking, partying at clubs, and eating a Sunday (beef) roast. Hence, they were primarily concerned with finding and asserting 'authenticity' in their particular Indian performances. G2s continued to identify with the 'educational achievement' aspect of the model minority myth at university, however, failed to perform the particular cultural styles of expressions associated with the same myth.

While all our G1 informants enjoyed being a part of local or regional Indian community organisations, most of the G2 informants did not hold such institutions as internally significant to being socially anchored in Indianness or British Indianness. As mentioned by Tara above, it was difficult for some consumers to identify with the particular expressions of ethnicity performed in such spaces especially when they lacked the dominant linguistic subcultural capital, i.e., Hindi, required for social interaction. This was a cause of tension for some who regretted the loss of opportunities for cultural celebrations as provided by these organisations.

Additionally, as I have emphasised elsewhere (Pradhan et al, 2019) consumers’ ethnic and cultural identities are closely interlinked with family, and the above narratives show how the absence of a key social anchor like family causes tensions in understanding identification. The absence of family also causes a disconnect from the ‘model minority’ myth, which is perpetuated by G1 family members. At university social anchors such as local community organisations or routine family meals, that represented ethnic identity at home, are absent. As a result, many informants feel anchorless and in possession of an ‘in-process’ identity whose individual enactment is not altogether compatible with cultural level enactment (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006).

While a majority of my informants found themselves conflicted in their ethnic identifications away from home, some of them thrived and found co-ethnic friend networks (see Pradhan et al, 2019 for their stories). These consumers found friends

through shared love of Indian cultural forms such as food, media, and dance. However, other informants like Tara or Kareena, who did not always publicly consume markers of ‘Indian’ ethnicity found themselves unanchored in an environment where hegemonic cultural consumption was the dominant expression of ethnicity. Thus, consumption mediates their ‘in-process’ identity and in conjunction with consumers’ reactive reflexivity (Thompson, Henry and Bardhi, 2018) results in un-anchoring from community and institutional cultural organisations as a source of ontological security. Though these consumers find fewer avenues for public displays of ethnicity, their ethnic identity remains personally significant as Tara describes below:

“On my desk I’ve got this headboard and it’s got a person with all the chakras³ in it, and this is like my cultural section in my room because I have a photo frame and it’s got some of the Hindu deities and then a little snow globe type of thing that lights up and I think it’s of Ganesh⁴, and that’s the section that I use for my spirituality... I’m a spiritual person and I know that’s because of my grand-dad because he taught me reiki⁵. And that’s been a big part of my experience of being Indian because every time I went to India my grand-dad

³ Focal energy points in meditation

⁴ Hindu deity

⁵ A form of alternative medicine based on energy healing

would teach me a new mudra⁶. Last time we went to see my grand-dad we were only going to stay for two weeks and he was really upset so that just broke my heart. So, I was like no, I’ve got nothing going on, I’m staying, and I stayed for nine extra days. And one of the things we did was go to a temple.. and they gave me a shawl in the prasad⁷.. and so nice because it’s a true, authentic Indian shawl. I’ve got that with me at uni, it goes at the end of my bed and that’s another little thing that makes me feel happy. My bed feels empty without the shawl.” Tara, second-generation informant (in her early 20s)

As seen above, Tara’s ethnic identification and the encompassing cultural heritage are significant reference points, i.e. social anchors, that help her construct a sense of self. Rather than through public displays or organisational membership, she anchors her ethnicity privately in material goods – a form of self-extension (Belk, 1998), local and transnational family ties, and ‘return’ visits to India. Other informants similarly spoke of ethnicity anchored in material goods or private displays of cultural consumption with close friends (including white friends) such as eating Indian food. Thus, for some G2 consumers ethnic identity is not something to be ‘acculturated to’ or ‘navigated’ but instead, a social anchor that plays a significant role in ontological security and whose

⁶ Symbolic gesture

⁷ Hindu material offering first presented to a deity for blessing and then consumed by worshippers

construction moves from the public domain to the private domain, as a result of a dearth of avenues for their particular expression style, i.e. ethnic performance. In this way, social anchoring helps us understand that some G2 consumers maintain and construct a hybrid identity position like 'British Indian' even when outward experiences may appear otherwise. In other words, migrant consumers whose public consumption styles might reflect an 'assimilated' ethnic identity could be performing a hybrid identity in private spaces and through private consumption as well as practice-based identity work (Modood, 2001).

4.8 DEMYTHOLOGISATION, DISCRIMINATION, AND EDUCATION

G2 informants voiced their belief that there existed identity myths (Holt, 2006) of what British Indian women were like, and misinformation about Indian culture among their social networks at university. Upon analysis, it appears that these myths stem from the 'model minority myth', and Anita and Maya describe this below:

“[My flatmates] think of British Indians as being quite traditional, don't really go out much, not that much fun, likes to cook. They thought that a lot because my mum brought in a lot of food, like a bag of rice and stuff from when I moved in. They didn't think I would be this outgoing. I had to make them get rid of

that stereotype. I want to go out, I want to like have fun, I didn’t want to be that quiet one.” Anita, second-generation informant (nearly 20-years-old)

“My friends have blatantly said that you worship an Elephant, and I’m like guys come on he is a God, don’t degrade it. Or they kind of just think Henna, Indian food, Saris, weddings. I don’t think they can distinguish between religion and culture.” Maya, second-generation informant (in her early 20s)

In both narratives, informants feel stigmatized (Goffman, 1963) and frustrated (Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013) at the misinformation in public discourse regarding their ethnic and cultural identities, which are significant social anchors for them. In Anita’s case, she feels frustrated that her flatmates draw on their cultural logics (Crockett, 2017) of what they believe to be the ‘good Indian girl’ from the ‘model minority’ and think of her as demure and traditional as opposed to outgoing and fun – qualities that she associates with the ‘British’ aspect of her hybrid identity (Pradhan et al, 2019). Maya on the other hand, is upset that indigenes confuse Indian cultural and Hindu religious identities, which are both internally significant social anchors for her but have clearly been misidentified publicly, similar to Arsel and Thompson’s (2011) indie informants who are mislabelled as hipsters in the marketplace.

Anita and Maya, along with the other G2 consumers’ experiences of encountering such identity myths can cause conflict and tension because they are socio-historically rooted

in the “cultural logic of natural hierarchy” (Crockett, 2017: 4), i.e. the differences between races. G2 ethnic migrant consumers see this misinformation as an extension of the ‘model minority myth’ where migrants are expected to be integrated while also apolitical and docile (Lee, 1996). In reaction to this, G2 consumers pursue a micro-level strategy of educating others through everyday interactions. This strategy is similar one pursued by DeBerry-Spence and Izberk-Bilgin’s (2019: 13) African-American informants who use “educating one’s own” in order to authenticate African clothing. However, my informants are concerned with educating members of white ethnic groups in their social networks rather than co-ethnics. By educating white friends about the existence of multiple expressions of hybrid identities, G2 consumers authenticate their version of ‘British Indianness’ in resistance to the ‘model minority myth’ as well as hegemonic expressions of ethnic identity. In addition, they practice their own version of ethnic assertiveness (Modood, 2004) through education.

Most G1 informants did not make any explicit references to disconnections between personal essence (identity) and social essence (macro-level mythology). Following the ideal types of members of the ‘model minority’ most chose to not to engage in discussions about conflicts with the state or members of the white public (Lee, 1996). Two informants spoke of experiencing racial abuse but were quick to point out that these were not representative of their overall experiences in Britain. One informant among these is a community activist who engages in education about Indian culture

through public lectures and cultural celebrations. She talks about the annual cultural festival she organises in a small Northern English city below:

“I often think that if we can make school children aware about our culture and let them know little bit about the facts... Like if you are moving into a new area, you make yourself friendly with your neighbours slowly they get to know you and that’s how I took it. So, I involved the school children and then University and it started like that. There was a first event in in the Town Hall and it got a good support of Chief Executive at that time... It’s all about making the bridges, buildings the bridges and building the society... I always say that if I am elderly and sitting in the bus and there is a younger person who is sitting next to me, at least if he feels comfortable sitting with me, knowing my culture, knowing me, I achieved something. If he feels uncomfortable and doesn’t know who I am culturally then it’s sad” Neema, first-generation informant (in her mid-60s)

Neema believes that not only do migrants have to ‘adapt’ or ‘adjust’ to ‘locals’ but ‘locals’ also have to adapt and adjust to migrants (Luedicke, 2011). She has received several awards for her community work involving ‘building bridges’ as she calls it, between different ethnic groups in her city. The festival she discusses above has been lauded by the city Mayor for its efforts in bringing communities together and creating a space for public ethnic performance.

Like the G2 informants discussed above, Neema engages in the strategy of ‘educating others’ but at a wider, meso-level. The above narrative represents her desire for her ethnic identity (a salient social anchor) to be understood by society and shows how she engages in ‘strategies from below’ (Modood, 2004) in pursuit of this. Other G1 informants mention micro-level strategies (similar to those employed by G2s) such as inviting white friends to dinner where they cook Indian meals or sharing sweets with them on Diwali as some of the ways in which they ‘educate’ others. By understanding these ‘bridging’ acts as ‘strategies from below’, and not as institutionally controlled (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018), we acknowledge migrant consumers’ agency in public and private displays of ethnicity, as well as de-fetishize false notions of ‘Non-Western’ cultures being ‘pure’, ‘non-commercialised’, and ‘devoid of consumption’. In postmodernity, when consumers are discursively encouraged (especially through marketing messaging) to establish identity, educating others at micro- and meso-levels becomes a strategy for communicating migrant consumers’ personal essence (ethnic identification) by mobilising, reifying or resisting mythologies of ethnicity (the idea of social essence).

4.9 OTHERING AS A SOCIAL ANCHOR

Many G1 as well as G2 informants engaged in ‘othering’ as a part of their ethnic identity-work. While ethnic consumers’ ‘othering’ in relation to members of white

British society is based on difference, their ‘othering’ in relation to Islamic migrants or black British persons is based on a sense of superiority as seen below:

“I feel like Indians in Britain, we are a lot more accepted than say other people of our similar skin tone to us 100 %. But that’s because I feel like there is an understanding within our culture just to be happy and I really like that. As in there are some rules and regulations, and some people are quite traditional but even when they’re traditional it’s not so bad that people don’t want to chat. Not so bad like you can’t just like get on with everyone and that’s what I like. It’s like everything about all of our festivals are just happy” Ananya, second-generation informant (in her early 20s)

“Unfortunately, as much as I don’t want to say it, my parents would not want me to be with a black guy or even a Muslim guy. My parents are always talking about how different Islam and Hinduism are, and they just think it would be a major religion clash I mean what if like the Muslim boy would want me to stop wearing dresses or something? I would not be fine with that. Or what if he wanted to move us out to Pakistan or something? I would not be fine with that either. I think just cultural clashes are there and like with a black guy, a lot of them obviously do eat a lot of meat like meat is like a big part of their diet. And my parents and I are vegetarian and I think they just won’t feel comfortable...

I feel like white guys are a bit more like flexible like they just sort of go with what's happening.” Tara, second-generation informant (in her early 20s)

The above narratives represent the role of cultural superiority in ethnic identification. Many G1s and G2s believed they belonged to minority groups that were culturally superior to Others. These prejudices are reified by the earlier mentioned portrayals of British Indians in the media as the ‘preferred’ ‘model minority’. Many of my British Indian informants’ discourse was coloured with Islamophobic views dominant in Indian as well as British society (Hargreaves and Staetsky, 2019). From Ananya’s narrative in particular we see the role that ‘othering’ through the “deployment of antagonistic discourses of power” (Johnson, Thomas and Grier, 2017) plays in constructing a sense of self and a place in society. This is representative of many of the other informants’ narratives and thus I identify ‘othering’ as an ideological social anchor that plays a significant role in ethnic identity construction.

Research has shown how some South Asians in Britain, via their belief in post-racial ideology, rationalise societal inequality (Meghji and Saini, 2018). I see a similar understanding among my informants based on a belief in the superiority of their culture as well as a colour-blind meritocracy, arising from their lived experiences of individual difference and their groups’ cultural successes. Members of G1 as well as G2 groups believed ‘getting along’ with members of white British society was easier for them owing to fewer ‘cultural clashes’ between these groups. Members of Muslim groups

were ‘othered’ for their orthodox and inflexible cultural practices as well as media representations.

Thus, I stress that not all minority consumers believe themselves to be marginalised (Üstüner and Holt, 2007), dominated (Üstüner and Holt, 2010) or inferior. Instead, these consumers can be complicit in naturalising ideological inequality based on their phenomenologically experienced economic and cultural success as ‘model minorities’. In this way, we see that migrant consumers can mobilise macro-level ideologies such as the model minority myth, in order to discursively perpetuate their privilege.

4.10 DISCUSSION

In this paper I have explored the interplay between macro-level identity myths, ethnic identification and lived experience. In particular I have examined how the ‘model minority’ identity myth manifests and influences hybrid ethnic identifications and the transformations of these across generations among British Indian women. In doing so, this paper highlights the salience of 1) looking beyond the dominant acculturation paradigm in order to understand ethnic migrant consumers and 2) taking a generation lens to understanding the interactions between different generational cohorts of ethnic consumers and the identity myths.

I find that in Britain certain ethnic minority consumers, such as British Indian women, are able to mobilise mythologies such as the ‘model minority’ myth in order to express ideas of their personal essence, i.e., their British Indianness. This British Indianness as ethnic identification transforms across migrant generations. In the experience of G1 consumers in particular, the mythology of the ‘model minority’ is consonant with lived experiences like economic success and cultural ‘integration’, and hence they mobilise and reify this mythology to maintain and assert important social anchors, i.e., internally significant reference points, such as hybrid ethnic identification. However, the process is not so straightforward with G2 consumers whose personal expressions of ethnicity are incompatible with cultural level enactment (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006) when in interstices (Bhabha, 1994) such as at university or in the workplace. As a result, my G2 consumers were ‘in-process’ of constructing ethnic identity as a social anchor away from the public sphere and through private consumption styles.

By extending the application of social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016, 2018) to settled migrants we are now able to account for “simultaneity”, i.e., “living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally” (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004:1003). Additionally, we can understand how identifications with ‘home’ remain psychologically significant for the ontological security of some migrant consumers and of successive migrant generations. While acculturation theory helps us understand

migrants in the receiving society, migrant experiences continue to be studied as a bracketed phenomenon that play out within the borders of the receiving society, i.e., host. Social anchoring theory on the other hand, as used in this paper, helps us account for the lived experiences of migrants, like middle-class British Indian consumers, who are embedded in one context and yet maintain ties to, and are anchored in, other contexts like ‘home’. Additionally, by exploring how a sense of self is disrupted in interstitial spaces like university environments, and the consequential identity-work done to restore it, I have identified ‘construction’ as a process in social anchoring that can work simultaneously alongside other processes identified by Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016) – establishing, maintaining, transferring, reinstilling, transforming, or quitting. Finally, this study has also identified that ‘othering’ can be a salient social anchor for some migrant consumers in their construction of a sense of self. By understanding ‘othering’ as a cornerstone for maintaining privilege and distance not only for white members of local groups but also for some ethnic members of migrant groups (such as these British Indian women), I challenge our current understanding of ‘dominant’ as well as ‘dominated’ groups as represented in consumer research (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). Previous research has shown that ethnic subjectivities are shaped by institutional actors in order to sustain neo-colonial power imbalances (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) between members of the ‘ethnic migrant’ and ‘local’ group. However, by accounting for the discursive dynamics of difference, and ‘othering’ in particular, between ethnic migrant groups, as I have done in the findings, we see that all ethnic migrant groups are not

necessarily homogenous and allied together against 'locals'. Therefore, future research could explore the dynamics of power imbalances within ethnic minority groups in receiving societies in order to develop a more nuanced understanding of the different subjectivities occupied by members of these groups.

This study extends our understanding of ethnic identification across migrant consumer generations by identifying two aspects of this identity-work that are maintained across generations – educating others and othering. Through these paradoxical 'strategies from below' I have also extended our understanding of research on consumer identity myths (Hu et al, 2013; Holt, 2006; Holt and Thompson, 2004; Arsel and Thompson, 2011) by showing how migrant consumers can exert control over the model minority mythology and can mobilise it to maintain their ontological security as well as their claims to privileged positions in society. Previous research has shown how consumers mobilise identity myths in pursuit of resolving tensions in masculinity (Holt and Thompson, 2004), in order to demythologise their consumption practices from undesirable mythological associations (Arsel and Thompson, 2011), to resist myths through everyday consumption (Hu et al, 2013), and how relationships between mythic structures, ideological meanings, and marketplace resources can enhance identity-value (Luedicke, Thompson and Giesler, 2010). This study extends the preceding conversation by identifying how consumers can experience ideological mythologies as consistent with lived experiences (Meghji and Saini, 2018) and therefore provide

confirmation of their privileged position in society. In such cases consumers belonging to one generation might attempt to mobilise and reify ideological mythologies through consumption as well as discourse, while successive generations might contextually resist such mythologies especially when they are inconsistent with personally significant meanings. Therefore, we see that the processes of interactions between mythologies and personal essence, i.e., identity-work transform and change across migrant consumer generations.

Additionally, I have shown how identity positions such as those conceptualised in previous post-assimilationist acculturation research (Peñaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al, 2005) might not sufficiently capture the emically meaningful identity-work undertaken by ethnic minorities in order to maintain a sense of self. Instead, by taking a social anchoring lens we can understand how internally significant processes of identification and (emic) integration, are undertaken by some ethnic minorities as a part of ethnic assertiveness (Modood, 2004) or motivated by relational concerns (Botterill, 2014; Gaviria et al, 2018) as opposed to any consideration of state-sponsored or institutionally-instigated integration (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). In this way migrant consumers’ hybrid ethnic identification becomes symbolic of the resources invested in successfully mediating complex cultural oppositions (Murray, 2002) in the receiving society.

Previous research has found that ethnicity manifests as public and assertive among second-generation British Asians (Modood, 2001; 2004). Other studies have found that ethnicity becomes symbolic (Tambyah and Thompson, 2012) or associational (Modood, 2001) or dependent on parents' socialisation (Goulbourne, Reynolds, Solomos, Zontini, 2010; Pradhan et al, 2019) among successive generations. Research has also shown that ethnicity can cause generational tensions (Lindridge and Hogg, 2006), and that successive generations might not be as interested in their heritage culture (Sharma, 2012). I find that among G2 informants, ethnicity and heritage culture appear to remain salient, however, for some the performance of ethnicity, through practice as well as consumption, moves from the public domain to private domain. Hence, though outward appearances might suggest a dilution of ethnic identification across successive migrant consumer generations, I believe that by understanding what is internally significant to these consumers, we find that they remain vested in heritage culture as well as 'local' culture. Therefore, I find that for some consumers the performance of ethnicity transforms across generations, however, ethnicity itself continues to be a source of ontological security for second generation migrants similar to members of the first-generation.

Finally, while previous consumer research has represented ethnic migrant consumers as vulnerable, colonised, and discriminated (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018; Luedicke, 2015) this study contributes to the research in consumer culture theory

that take an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding members of minority groups not as unwitting consumers without power or agency but as reflexive members of society with means and capabilities to influence change in their own lives as well as in society (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Coskuner-Balli and Thompson, 2013; Gaviria et al, 2018). For example, in this study I have shown how ethnic minority consumers can mobilise, reify, and transform mythologies by imbuing them with personal meanings and in this way gaining control over their societal narrative. By taking an asset perspective I have underscored the importance of understanding that not all ethnic migrant groups feel stigmatised and that situational agency can be available to members of these groups. In situations where hegemonic ideologies seek to maintain power imbalances, I find that some ethnic migrant consumers can assert personal meanings on these ideologies and mobilise them in order to a) transform what they symbolise, and b) gain distinction in society. Additionally, even when ethnic migrant consumers experience tensions in interstitial spaces, they do not abandon heritage cultural practices and values. Instead these are transformed and expressed in new ways. This reading of ethnic migrant consumers allows us to understand that members of these communities can be resilient and successful in ways that are personally significant to them.

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5 Discussion

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the three articles (Section 5.1), followed by a discussion of the contributions and implications of this study (Section 5.2). I then consider the limitations of the study (Section 5.3) as well as avenues for future research (Section 5.4). Thereafter, I make brief concluding remarks in the final section (Section 5.5).

5.1 SUMMARY

Overall, this study explores how ethnicity can be central to migrant consumers' lives and how for some migrant consumers their heritage cultural practices and their related consumption activities can be a source of empowerment and pride in the receiving society. Theoretically, this means we might usefully rethink whether ethnicity and culture are aspects that consumers need to 'manage' or rather that ethnicity and culture should be seen as resources upon which migrants can draw in order to better manage other aspects of their lives. Additionally, this thesis posits that maintaining heritage culture and being 'integrated' into the receiving society are not mutually exclusive. In some societies, like Britain, hybrid cultural identities like 'British Indian' can exist as a

form of expected and even accepted national identification, i.e., Britishness. Finally, my thesis shows how maintaining culture is an intergenerational and dynamic process that needs to be explored in order to understand ethnic minority migrant consumers’ individual as well as family identities. In this way this thesis falls within the growing body of research (Baldassar, Baldock and Wilding, 2007; Goulbourne et al, 2010; Ryan et al, 2009; Botterill, 2014) that abnegates the individualisation thesis (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). Beck and Beck-Hernsheim’s (2001) postulate that as an outcome of globalisation, individuals are left to build their own identities and undertake the project of the self at the expense of traditional family life. However, as demonstrated in this thesis (Chapters 2 and 3 in particular) individuals do not always prioritise the individual self over the family self, and for particular groups such as British Indians, negotiating family relationships and responsibilities while subordinating the individual self to the family unit is a central part of Indianness.

Below I summarise the key findings from the three articles presented in the findings section of this thesis. This provides the context for my discussion of the contributions of my study in the next section (5.2).

5.1.1 ETHNICITY AS CENTRAL AND EMPOWERING FOR SECOND-GENERATION MIGRANT CONSUMERS

The first article investigates the strategies of ethnic identification among second-generation British Indian women, and extends our understanding of the evolution of experiences and constructions of ethnicity (Demangeot et al, 2015). It posits that ethnic identity is central to second-generation migrant consumers' everyday lives. With sufficient cultural, social, and economic capital, second-generation migrant consumers leverage ethnic identification for distinction. These consumers draw upon knowledge of Bollywood cinema as prized subcultural capital, and mobilise acquired institutional cultural capital, such as Indian dance performance skills, in order to build social capital, secure in-group status, and to distinguish themselves situationally from British Indians lacking such capital, as well as from white British members of society. By ascribing meanings of empowerment, pride, and happiness to the term 'British Indian', second-generation migrant consumers marginalise any prejudicial associations about migrants which might be circulating in British society's dominant discourse. These meanings of empowerment, pride and happiness are often a result of internalised habitus – a celebration of culture initiated by first-generation migrant parents and through the wider British Indian community. Second-generation British Indian women's strategies of identity politics such as mobilising ethnicity to distinguish themselves from the mainstream population, and strategies of distinction, such as leveraging knowledge of Bollywood as a status marker, however, are not without struggle. These women

experience tensions especially when lacking prized forms of capital (e.g. linguistic capital like speaking their language of heritage) or more often, when experiencing sexism at the intersection of gender and ethnicity.

Second-generation informants mostly reported a sense of wellbeing resulting from a strong connection with their heritage and ethnicity. Being raised in a middle-class habitus where ethnicity is positively regarded has implications for these second-generation consumers’ wider identity projects and strategies of distinction. By emphasising these strategies, the article contributes to understanding representations of ethnicity in consumer research. By highlighting some of the processes around acquisition, conversion, and authentication of capital, the chapter begins to identify how these ethnic identity investments are distinct from other cultural identity investments such as knowledge of the indie music scene (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) and require further investigation in order to better understand the relationship between ethnicity and distinction (Bourdieu, 1979).

5.1.2 FAMILY, CULTURE, AND MIDDLE-CLASSNESS AS INTERGENERATIONAL, TRANSNATIONAL PROCESSES

The second paper explores how family is done (Morgan, 1996) and what are the rules of engagement around doing family among British Indians, particularly transnational British Indian mothers and daughters, in a ‘transnational family habitus’ (Zontini and

Reynolds, 2018). As with previous research (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010) this study finds that doing family is inseparable from cultural identity for members of the Indian diaspora, and that the family system structures their lived experiences. Therefore, this study has explored what it is to be British Indian among professional middle-class migrants and their children.

First-generation British Indian mothers are concerned about the nature of the host society and the associated social and cultural environments in which they are raising their children. In reaction to this, British Indian mothers act as gatekeepers, educators, adjudicators, and enforcers responsible for socialising their children into particular ‘ways of being’ such that their children internalise a core Indian value system. Mothers want this value system to act as a schema for their children to draw upon as their children encounter and interpret the outside world. Particularly central to this schema is a family-first orientation as a ‘way of being’, fuelled by family obligations. The article shows how the family obligations arising out of the first generation’s transnational family habitus envelop the next generation and reproduce obligations and transnationalism.

The 1.5- and second-generation British Indian daughters among the informants have internalised a family-first orientation, and this can be a source of strength in terms of finding ontological security, however, it is also at times a source of conflict, especially in relation to gender identity. Among the daughter informants in this study, the family-

first orientation, transmitted from mother-to-daughter, is the primary schema that guides their sense-making in the conflicting situations that arise out of interactions with their ‘extended’ family members in the transnational family habitus. By subjugating the individual self to the family self, daughters perform their roles as ‘good Indian daughters’ demonstrating successful intergenerational learning of the rules of engagement around British Indian family life.

The study also explores middle-classness as an important ‘way of being’ among British Indians. Mothers strategize to perpetuate the “circuit of cultural reproduction” (Bennett et al., 2009: 13) by educating children selectively into Britishness and in particular, into white middle-class Britishness so their children do not suffer any ethnic penalties (Hasmath, 2016) and are able to benefit from diverse middle-class social networks. On seeing their children navigating unfamiliar or undesirable British cultural practices, mothers employ the strategy of ‘bringing the outside in’, i.e., they selectively incorporate these practices into the transnational family habitus in order to assert control over the performance of the practice, and prevent their children from feeling ‘out of sync’ with the field (Bourdieu, 1979). In this way, British Indian mothers construct fluid boundaries around ‘ways of being’ for their children in the hopes of transmitting hybrid or hyphenated cultural identifications as a particular ‘way of being’ British Indian.

British Indian daughters reproduce creative navigations, learnt from their mothers, in situations where Indian cultural values might be in conflict with their preferred British

practices. This ‘way of being’, coupled with a family-first orientation, equips British Indian daughters with schemas to negotiate cultural identity tensions in various fields and operate comfortably in multiple white middle-class fields, thus giving them an advantage in the workforce. Thus, from the informants’ narratives it can be seen that middle-classness was successfully transmitted.

Finally, the paper proposes a ‘motor’ (Modood, 2004), i.e., a combination of motive driving forces, for understanding the ‘strategies from below’ employed by migrants in order to successfully transmit cultural values and practices between the generations. This ‘motor’ builds upon Modood’s (2004) ‘motor’ for understanding how ethnic minorities such as South Asians are able to successfully negotiate ethnic disadvantages and achieve educational advancement and upward social mobility in Britain. The ‘motor’ conceptualised in my paper comprises three key driving forces – the mother-child relationship, transmission of classed, gendered, and cultural ‘ways of being’, and the presence of an environment that enables offspring to internalise and perform desired ‘ways of being’. It is proposed that by analysing the workings of this combination of driving forces, we can understand instances of successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minority migrants.

5.1.3 MYTHOLOGY, PRIVILEGE, AND MIGRANT CONSUMER EXPERIENCES

The third article examines how the ‘model minority’ identity myth is manifested and how it influences hybrid ethnic identifications and the transformations of these hybrid ethnic identifications across generations among British Indian women. In doing so, this research highlights the salience of 1) looking beyond the dominant acculturation paradigm (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard et al, 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Luedicke, 2015) in order to understand ethnic migrant consumers and 2) taking a generation lens to understanding the differences in interactions between generational cohorts of ethnic consumers and identity myths (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Elrick, Schneiderhan, and Khan, 2014).

The article posits that in Britain, certain ethnic minority consumers, such as British Indian women, are able to mobilise mythologies such as the ‘model minority’ myth in order to express ideas of their personal essence, i.e., their British Indianness. This British Indianness as ethnic identification transforms across migrant generations. In the experience of first-generation migrant consumers in particular, the mythology of the ‘model minority’ is consonant with lived experiences like economic success and cultural ‘integration’, and hence they mobilise and reify this mythology to maintain and assert important social anchors, i.e., internally significant reference points, such as hybrid ethnic identification. In this way, first-generation British Indians express ethnic assertiveness (Modood, 2004) and claim, what they believe to be, the positions that they

have earned in British society. However, the process is not so straightforward with 1.5- and second-generation migrant consumers whose personal expressions of ethnicity are incompatible with cultural level enactment (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006) when in interstitial spaces (Bhabha, 1994) such as at university or in the workplace. As a result, these consumers were ‘in-process’ of constructing ethnic identity as a social anchor away from the public sphere and through private consumption styles.

By extending the application of social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazlowska, 2016) to settled migrant consumers this third article accounts for “simultaneity”, i.e., “living lives that incorporate daily activities, routines, and institutions located both in a destination country and transnationally” (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004: 1003). Additionally, we can understand how identifications with ‘home’ remain psychologically significant for the ontological security of some migrants and successive generations, even when they never plan on permanently returning to this ‘home’.

5.2 CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In this section, the theoretical contributions and implications of the thesis are discussed first, followed by a brief consideration of the social policy implications of the study.

5.2.1 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This section reiterates the theoretical contributions and implications of this thesis. I begin by discussing two overarching contributions of this thesis – taking an asset perspective to understanding ethnic minority migrant consumers (Section 5.2.1.1), and extending our understanding of experiences of the evolution of ethnicity amongst migrant groups (Section 5.2.1.2). I then discuss the individual contributions of each of the three research articles (Chapters 2, 3, and 4) in the sections that follow, i.e., the contributions of Chapter 2 are discussed in Section 5.2.1.3, the contributions of Chapter 3 are discussed in 5.2.1.4, and finally the contributions of Chapter 4 are discussed in 5.2.1.5.

5.2.1.1 THE ASSET PERSPECTIVE

This thesis has taken an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding ethnic migrant consumers. The asset perspective on understanding minority groups urges us to reconsider whether all minority groups are disadvantaged and how members of these groups can draw upon resources uniquely available to them in order to overcome any challenges. Previous consumer research has shown how institutions construct ethnic subjectivities in a way to maintain neo-colonial power imbalances (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018), how conflicts between indigenes and migrant consumers play out in the marketplace (Luedicke, 2015), how migrant consumers might lack the cultural capital

resources to successfully ‘integrate’ into ‘host’ society and as a result experience shattered identities (Üstüner and Holt, 2007). However, much of this research has marginalised consumers’ agency in adapting to their new life settings (especially Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) and as a result consumer research on ethnic migrant consumers has been dominated by stories of victimisation and marginalisation. My thesis has attempted to redress this rather unbalanced representation of ethnic migrants, similar to Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999), by focussing on consumers’ agency in navigating cultural performances (Chapter 2), cultural socialisation (Chapter 3), and mythologies of ethnicity (Chapter 4). This research has showcased a context wherein migrant consumer women are not necessarily victims, but instead, believe themselves to be privileged and integral to the skein of the receiving society. In this way, this study has contributed to a more diverse representation of ethnic minority migrants in consumer literature. These representations are important because they help us understand theoretically relevant implications that flow from the uplifting dimensions of consumer ethnicity such as consumers’ wellbeing in the receiving society (Chapter 2), sense of belonging to, and ethnic assertiveness in the receiving society (Chapter 3), and feelings of privilege and superiority in the receiving society (Chapter 4), as in the case of my informants.

5.2.1.2 EXPERIENCES OF THE EVOLUTION OF ETHNICITY

This thesis extends our understanding of the evolution of experiences of constructing and performing ethnicity (Demangeot et al, 2014). Previous consumer research has focused on exploring how ethnic migrant consumers’ interactions with the marketplace influence their consumption practices, identity positions, self-concepts, and subjectivities (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999; Askegaard et al, 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). This earlier research has helped us understand ethnic migrant consumers’ experiences of adaptation, code switching, shifting identifications, and power imbalances. However, since all of these studies except for one (Üstüner and Holt, 2007) have accounted for the experiences of only the first-generation of migrant consumers, they are unable to speak about the evolution of experiences of ethnicity among the members of later generational groups. This study has contributed to this gap by accounting for the experiences of not just the first-, but also the 1.5-, and second-generation migrant consumers with respect to consumption as well as the production of Indian cultural forms such as Bollywood music (Chapter 2), intergenerational navigations of cultural transmissions such as prioritising the family unit over the individual self (Chapter 3), and different interactions (e.g. ethnic assertiveness) with identity mythologies such as the model minority myth. In this way, the thesis contributes to our understanding of the evolution of ethnicity by showcasing transmissions, acquisitions, constructions, and performances of culture and ethnicity as changing and fluid, dependent on context and situation, and often differentiated based

on ‘generation’ as a boundary marker. While consumer research has been dominated by conversations around first-generation migrant identity-work, this thesis joins the body of consumer literature that shows the value of exploring identity-work amongst subsequent generations of individuals whose family histories include narratives of migration (Lindridge et al, 2007; Takhar et al, 2010; Takhar et al, 2012; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011; Dey et al, 2017).

5.2.1.3 CHAPTER 2 – ETHNIC IDENTITY INVESTMENTS AND CULTURAL CAPITAL

Chapter 2 explores how second-generation British Indian women consumers acquire, mobilise, reproduce, and convert cultural capital associated with ethnic identity, into other forms of capital such as social capital (Bourdieu, 1979). Previous research has shown how consumers acquire, value, and protect identity investments in various fields of consumption (Arsel and Thompson, 2004; Luedicke et al, 2010; Scaraboto and Fischer, 2013; Skandalis, Banister and Byrom, 2019). We know that some fields of consumption can hierarchically precede other fields, and hence some forms of cultural capital are valued over other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1979). This study extends this conversation by exploring how ethnic identity investments in the form of subcultural capital can find value and can be valued in dominant fields owing to the prevalence of the global mediascape (Appadurai, 1990) and particular socio-historic conditions. In

these fields (e.g. the field of British cuisine), it is possible for some ethnic consumers to occupy higher social positions compared with members of the dominant group, as shown in Chapter 2 (summarized in Section 5.1.1 above).

Additionally, previous research has shown how return visits can shape young second-generation migrants’ understandings of their ‘homeland’ (Zontini and Reynolds, 2018), how Bollywood can construct imaginaries of ‘India’ among young British Indians (Takhar et al, 2012), and how young Italian Americans employ mythic constructions of ‘authenticity’ from their heritage culture that sets them apart from non-Italian Americans (Tambyah and Thompson, 2012). Chapter 2 extends this conversation by showing how Indian schools of culture in Britain produce institutionalised subcultural capital, the influence that teachers in these schools have in constructing imaginaries of India, and the role of these institutions in according authenticity to ethnic identification. While previous research has focussed on the consumption of cultural forms such as Bollywood cinema (Takhar et al, 2012), Chapter 2 also contributes to this literature by looking beyond the consumption of Indian music and movies to the production of Indian dance and music, and highlighting the strategies of distinction and the role of linguistic capital as an enabler or as a threat to ethnic identification.

5.2.1.4 CHAPTER 3 – INTERGENERATIONAL CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

Zontini and Reynolds (2018) conceptualised the ‘transnational family habitus’ as a “structured set of values, ways of thinking and ‘being’ within the family built up over time through family socialization, practices and cultural traditions that transcend national boundaries” (2018: 418-419). This conceptualisation helps us understand the unique dynamics of cultural socialisation within transnational families. In their paper, Zontini and Reynolds (2018) elucidate the workings of a transnational family habitus among Caribbean and Italian families in the UK through interviews with young people, and show how children and young people from these cultural backgrounds ‘do family’ differently and transnationally. Chapter 3 extends this conversation by accounting for British Indian mothers’ experiences of planning and negotiating cultural socialisation, as well as adult progeny’s adaptation and internalisation of this socialisation. Through this the article has shown how diasporic migrant women, even when belonging to ‘progressive’, professional groups, make sense of, and navigate, the burdens of transmitting and navigating culture in a transnational family habitus, in their roles as mothers and daughters.

While Zontini and Reynolds (2018) explore how young migrant children internalise cultural practices and particular ‘ways of doing family’, Chapter 3 extends the conversation by contributing to our understanding of cultural and ethnic identity formation among transnational ethnic minority migrant consumers and developing a

‘motor’ (Modood, 2004) for understanding successful intergenerational cultural transmission (see Chapter 3, summarized in Section 5.1.2 above). This ‘motor’ is a combination of driving forces that highlights the relational nature of ethnicity, the advantages of privileged social class positions, and the significance of heritage culture in cultural socialisation processes among ethnic minority migrant consumers. This ‘motor’ is based on Modood’s (2004) ‘motor’ for understanding the ‘strategies from below’ that drive ethnic minority migrant children in Britain to out-perform their white peers in educational achievement. Thus, Chapter 3 extends Modood’s (2004) ‘motor’ by adapting it to explain successful intergenerational cultural transmission among ethnic minority migrants.

Previous research on ethnic migrant has considered the experiences of first-generation migrants in relation to adaptation (Peñaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999) or the successive generations’ experiences of consuming cultural forms, navigating cultural boundaries, and acculturation (Takhar et al, 2012; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011; Dey, 2017). While these studies have made useful contributions in helping us understand how a particular generation might navigate cultural and ethnic tensions, they cannot be entirely applied to my informants whose ethnic, gender, family, and individual identities are so entwined that their experiences of mobility, and of ethnic and cultural navigation, need to be understood by examining family structures and the relational processes of cultural socialisation (Botterill, 2014; Zontini and Reynolds, 2018; Lindridge and Hogg, 2006)

across generations. Chapter 3 accounts for experiences of migrant consumers whose individual and familial selves are entwined; and whose motivations for migration are relational rather than individual. In this way, the thesis extends our understanding of transnational families by exploring the particular configurations of ‘doing family’ (Morgan, 1996) within professional British Indian migrant families. By studying the dynamics of cultural transmission among migrants who belong to a group that considers particular ways of ‘doing family’ as a significant distinguishing aspect of their cultural identity (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010), this thesis extends our understanding of the familial context of migration and mobility.

Previous consumer research has explored second-generation British Indians’ navigation of ‘imagined multiple worlds’ while experiencing contradictory cultural values or managing dual cultural identities (Lindridge et al, 2007; Sekhon and Szmigin; 2011; Dey et al, 2017). This research has highlighted some of the tensions young British Indians experience in these cultural navigations. Chapter 3 concurs that 1.5- and second-generation British Indian women can experience dilemmas when navigating cultural values. However, the article shows that these contradictions do not only arise out of differences between ‘British’ and ‘Indian’ cultural values but can also arise due to different family members within the ‘transnational family habitus’ possessing different cultural values. In this way, Chapter 3 contributes to showing how there is not always one, agreed upon set of cultural values between members of a cultural group such as

British Indians. Additionally, the article finds that 1.5- and second-generation British Indian women overcome the challenges arising out of navigating multiple cultural values by prioritising their family unit over the individual self. In this way, the ‘we self’ (constructed with the family) (Derné, 1999) becomes a source of ontological security and cultural learnings become strengths upon which young British Indians can draw in order to resolve cultural tensions.

5.2.1.5 CHAPTER 4 – CONSUMERS’ MYTH MAKING ACROSS GENERATIONS

Previous research on consumer myth making has explored how consumers mobilise myths for enhancing their identity-value (Belk and Costa, 1998; Holt and Thompson, 2004; Holt, 2006; Arsel and Thompson, 2011; Luedicke, et al, 2010; Hu et al, 2013). Chapter 4 has extended this conversation by showing the dynamics of how consumers mobilise social essence such as mythologies about ethnicity to express personal essence such as ethnic identification. This research has shown how processes of mobilising, reifying, and transforming identity mythologies vary across migrant consumer generations. In this way the research speaks directly to and thus addresses Stanfield’s (1993) identification of some of the challenges in studying ethnicity in academic research, particularly the “fallacy of homogeneity” and the “fallacy of monolithic identity” (1993: 19, 21). Stanfield (1993) believes the social sciences have been

dominated by homogenous accounts of people of colour and a lack of understanding that people of colour can have differentiated identities built upon different experiences and performances of cultures. Chapter 4 has attempted to acknowledge (and take on board) Stanfield's (1993) challenges by accounting for migrant consumers' various – and different - experiences of privilege, empowerment, ethnic assertiveness, and social domination.

In Chapter 4 I have employed social anchoring theory (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016) as the analytical lens for understanding the salience of ethnic identification across migrant consumer generations. In previous research (Grzymala-Kazłowska, 2016; 2018), social anchoring theory has been leveraged to explore how recent migrants restore their sense of ontological security, safety and 'integration' in the receiving society. Chapter 4 extends the application of social anchoring theory to 'settled' migrants and thereby accounts for their multi-sited belongings and identifications. Additionally, it helps us understand how identifications with 'home' remain psychologically significant for the ontological security of some migrant consumers and of successive generations of migrants. While research employing acculturation theory helps us understand migrants' pursuit of adaptation through the marketplace in the receiving societies (Peñaloza, 1994; Askegaard et al, 2005; Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018), in these studies migrant experiences are studied as a bracketed phenomenon that play out within the borders of the receiving society, i.e., the host society. Social anchoring theory on the

other hand, as used in Chapter 4, helps us account for the lived experiences of migrants, like middle-class British Indian consumers, who are embedded in one context and yet maintain ties to, and are anchored in, other contexts like their heritage or ‘home’ society.

Additionally, while Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016) identifies establishing, maintaining, transferring, re-instilling, transforming, or quitting as processes within social anchoring, in Chapter 4, by exploring how a sense of self is disrupted in interstitial spaces like university environments, and the subsequent identity-work done to restore it, I have identified ‘construction’ as a process in social anchoring that can work simultaneously alongside the aforementioned processes described by Grzymala-Kazłowska (2016).

Previous research has shown that ethnic subjectivities are shaped by institutional actors in order to sustain neo-colonial power imbalances (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018) between members of the ‘ethnic migrant’ and ‘local’ group; and how migrants and indigenes are constantly in conflict while trying to acculturate to each other (Luedicke, 2015). These studies assume that ‘local’ groups, comprising white members of society, are the ‘dominant’ group and migrant groups comprising ethnic minorities are ‘dominated’ groups. Chapter 4, however, shows how ‘othering’ is a cornerstone for maintaining privilege and distance not only for white members of local groups but also for some ethnic members of migrant groups (such as these British Indian women). In this way, the chapter challenges our current understanding of ‘dominant’ as well as ‘dominated’ groups as represented in consumer research. By accounting for the discursive dynamics

of difference, and ‘othering’ in particular, between ethnic migrant groups, as I have done in the findings of Chapter 4, we see that all ethnic migrant groups are not necessarily homogenous and allied together against ‘locals’.

5.2.2 SOCIAL POLICY IMPLICATIONS

As previously mentioned, this thesis has explored the ‘simultaneity’ (Levitt and Glick Schiller, 2004) in the lives of ethnic migrant consumers. My first-, 1.5- and second-generation British Indian informants visited India routinely, made economic investments in India, were constantly involved in cross-border social ties, and often engaged in discussions on the political environment in their ‘home’ country. Thus, the thesis urges reconsideration of India’s policy against dual citizenship since first-generation British Indians can continue to be deeply involved with life in India, and relinquishing their Indian citizenship can be a cause of tension and distress.

Additionally, as highlighted in this research, Britain and India share an inseparable past and though this relationship is unbalanced, British Indians draw upon this socio-historic link as a source of ethnic identification. The British government might want to consider including the details, as unpleasant as these may be, of this relationship in educational curricula so that children are aware of how historical links shape migrants’ experiences today. Thus, future governments could implement new educational curricula that aim

to include lessons on the British Empire, colonisation, and historical injustices in the classroom curriculum. In addition, these topics should not just be restricted to Black history month, but instead, should be taught all year around so as to underline their ongoing influence in making Britain the society it is today, and provide better representation of the past and present struggles of people of colour.

Finally, this thesis has highlighted how close-knit Indian families tend to be (Chapter 3 in particular) and urges future British governments to pursue fairer immigration policies that make family reunification more viable, especially for non-European Economic Area migrants. Therefore, as future governments revisit their immigration policies, they might consider making it easier for immigrants to bring their families to the UK since this would be a welcome change in helping migrants like British Indians whose ontological security is dependent on their families.

5.3 LIMITATIONS

The main limitation of this study is its context-dependent nature with a focus on ethnicity, culture, and consumption. As a result of this focus the study has been able to offer insights into the lives of ethnic minority migrant consumers who were previously under-represented in literature (Meghji and Saini, 2018). However, the resulting findings and the theoretical contributions need to be empirically evaluated in other

research contexts in order to ascertain the transferability of the theory-building from this study (Miles and Huberman, 1994). For example, the combination of motive forces, for understanding successful intergenerational cultural transmission, identified in the second article (Chapter 3) – the mother-child relationship, transmission of ‘ways of being’, and enabling performances – might not act as driving forces in contexts where migrant consumers have no avenues for expressing their heritage cultural ; or where they may lack the resources to be able to educate their children in their heritage culture; or where they live in egalitarian cultures where both parents share child rearing responsibilities, which potentially contradict the tenets of family life or ways of doing family within migrant families. Additionally, this study is placed within a context where there exists a long and complex historical relationship between the ‘sending’ and ‘receiving’ countries. In contexts where migrants’ heritage culture is unfamiliar in the ‘receiving’ country, the findings are likely to look very different from the ones presented here. As a result, the findings of this study might not be directly transferable and might need to be adapted to other contexts. This is in tandem with the convention in cultural studies and research on transnational families, where scholars advocate that phenomena should be studied in their own unique configurations in order to better understand emically significant meanings (Goulbourne et al, 2010; Travis, 2008).

Another limitation is that this study employed a combination of purposive, snowball, and convenience sampling methods (as discussed in the methods section (section 1.6))

and hence, the informants are all middle-class, Hindu British Indian women. A more diverse sample could illuminate the social class differences within migrant groups, and show how these influence migrant consumers’ adaptation strategies in the receiving society. Also, while this study finds that ethnic identity is salient for second-generation migrant consumers, this salience might decline for successive generations, resulting in very different identity processes that might more closely resemble “symbolic ethnicity”, which is “organised around self-chosen consumption activities, social events, and material symbols... [resembling] brand communities” (Tambyah and Thompson, 2012: 326) as opposed to more traditional “practice-based identities” wherein ethnicity is derived from cultural practices (Modood, 2001). Similarly, while my informants were concerned with acquiring subcultural and social capital within the Indian cultural field, a more diverse sample might have been able to shed light on consumers pursuing identity-projects that distanced them from their heritage culture, and which resulted in a cultural performance dominated by British cultural values. Finally, the voices of British Indian men are missing from this story, and this needs to be pursued in future research (this is discussed at greater length below).

In line with the nature of qualitative research, I have ‘bracketed’ the phenomena under study (Arnould, Price and Mosio, 2006). As a result, certain issues might have been overlooked. For example, even though I was focussed on understanding migrant consumers’ ethnic and cultural identifications, I have not been able to sufficiently

discuss the influence this has had on their dating lives or professional identities. Since I have focussed on the mother-daughter relationship in this study, I have not been able to discuss the significant roles that British Indian fathers, siblings, and grandparents might play in the daughters' lives and the influences they can have on the daughters' identity-projects. These are a few of the emerging themes that have been marginalised in pursuit of the main story.

Finally, my background as a female, Indian researcher has played a role in this story (see section 1.6.5 for reflection). It is possible that the data collection as well as the analysis procedures have been influenced by my positioning. However, I have attempted to limit these personal influences in the different stages of the research process by adopting 'analytical naivete' during analysis (Stephenson and Grier, 1981), as well as getting my supervisors, who are white British women, to scrutinise the analysis.

5.4 FUTURE RESEARCH

This study takes an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding ethnic migrant consumers' lived experiences in the receiving society. It explores how heritage culture can be a source of pride, a compass for navigating cultural tensions, and how maintaining cultural heritage and expressing cultural pride is not necessarily mutually

exclusive to ‘integration’, for some migrant consumers. Future research that similarly focuses on how ethnic migrant consumers overcome challenges by mobilising resources unique to their communities, and how this influences their consumption practices, would go a long way in helping our understanding of the heterogenous experiences of migrant consumers. In this way research can take account of the lived experiences of ethnic minority migrant consumers who do not believe themselves to be marginalised, and indeed rather consider themselves to be integral to the fabric of the receiving society.

As mentioned previously, this thesis tells a ‘bracketed’ story. What is significantly missing from this story are the voices and influence of British Indian men. Future research aimed at understanding how British Indian men experience ethnic identification in relation to the ‘majority’ culture, or how they navigate a transnational family habitus, especially in situations where desired consumption (Belk, Ger and Askegaard, 2003) is incompatible with heritage cultural values, could shed light on how patriarchal values and structures operate within such contexts and whether they offer migrants any advantages. Additionally, the role that British Indian men play in the lives of British Indian women is an unexplored avenue that I personally wish to pursue in the future. Some of the theoretical insights I wish to uncover would be – what role to do first-generation British Indian fathers or grandfathers play in maintaining a transnational family habitus for their children? How do British Indian men experience

the model minority myth, especially in relation to expectations of cultural values and consumption practices, in comparison to women?

As mentioned in the previous section, this research is set within a particular context wherein migrant consumers' heritage culture is familiar and interwoven into mainstream culture as a result of a long historical, albeit asymmetrical, relationship between Britain and India. Research in contexts where migrant consumers are invisible or under-represented in the public imagination and discourse (Aw, 2019), is likely to tell a very different story. It would be theoretically interesting to see how these other groups of migrant consumers (e.g. French Vietnamese or French Cambodian) pursue intergenerational cultural transmission and how they navigate mythic structures particular to their socio-cultural configurations.

In this study, the first article (Chapter 2) explores how second-generation ethnic migrant consumers acquire, use and (re) produce situationally prized subcultural capital for distinction from other ethnic consumers and also from members of the white majority group. In this way the study challenges the distinction between 'cultural' and 'subcultural' capital. Future research could pursue this line of enquiry to explore how consumers construct and navigate the boundaries between culture and subculture.

The second article (Chapter 3) explores how transnational migrant consumers seem to 'do family' (Morgan, 1996) differently from families in the host society and how first-

generation migrant consumers transmit cultural values and practices from one generation to the next. The role of gender and social class has been highlighted in this article by underscoring the influence of middle-classness as well as mothers’ and daughters’ burdens of being culture bearers (Mehrotra and Calasanti, 2010). A comparison study could show how these experiences are different for male members of the family. While my informants all belonged to heteronormative migrant families, research among families with other configurations such as those including same-sex partners, or childless couples, could help us understand the unique navigations of ‘doing family’ in these settings.

The third article (Chapter 4) explores consumers’ experiences of mobilising mythologies of social essence (mythologies of ethnicity) to express personal essence (identity-work involving personal expressions of ethnicity). Research exploring consumer myth making from a non-Western philosophical standpoint in a non-Western context could help us understand other ways in which consumers experience mythologies. For example, it would be interesting to understand the role of mythologies and the process of consumer myth making in India where mythologies and religion are entwined. Furthermore, while my research has highlighted how such mythologies can be advantageous to certain consumer groups, other studies could analyse how institutional actors mobilise mythologies to empower/ disempower consumers (Thompson, 2004).

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis has explored ethnic migrant consumers' 'strategies from below', i.e., the micro-level strategies employed by these consumers in making sense of their ethnic identification, in navigating intergenerational cultural transmission, and in interacting with identity mythologies. By taking an asset perspective (Roy, 2016) to understanding women of the British Indian diaspora, this thesis has shown how cultural heritage and ethnicity, can be a source of ontological security, distinction, as well as a compass for navigating cultural tensions for some members of this group. However, I would like to offer a caveat to the discussion here by acknowledging that many ethnic minority migrants face daily struggles as a result of their race and cultural heritage. The aim of this thesis is not to diminish or marginalise these struggles that are represented elsewhere in the literature (see Üstüner and Holt, 2007 in particular). However, it has been an objective of this thesis to instead focus on ways in which some ethnic minority migrants, despite their struggles, and in particular socio-historic contexts, can manage to find empowerment in their cultural heritage while being 'integrated' into mainstream society.

This thesis has also made a case for moving beyond the post-assimilationist acculturation paradigm in understanding ethnic migrant consumers' adaptations to receiving society, and through three research articles shown the theoretical advantages

of approaches that account for consumers’ transnational ties and relational motivations of mobility (Chapter 3), and do not make the default assumption that migrant consumers belong to ‘dominated’ or marginal groups (Chapters 2 and 4). In this way the thesis falls within the body of consumer culture theory (CCT) literature that has answered the call for research that “is fundamentally concerned with the cultural meanings, sociohistoric influences, and social dynamics that shape consumer experiences and identities in the myriad messy contexts of everyday life” (Arnould and Thompson, 2005: 875).

6 References

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7 Appendices

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Appendix I: Table of Informants

Number	Age Range	Generation	Education	Profession	Area of Residence	Community
1	mid 20s	1.5	Undergraduate	Medical Doctor	Preston	Maharashtrian
2	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Marketing Executive	London	Punjabi
3	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Student	Birmingham/ Calcutt	Bengali
4	early 20s	1.5	Undergraduate	Campaigns Coordinator	Preston	Gujarati
5	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Marketing Executive	London	Tamil
6	late teens	2	Undergraduate	Biomedical student	London	Tamil
7	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Buyer	London	Gujarati
8	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Media Studies Student	Bolton	Gujarati
9	mid 20s	2	Undergraduate	Medical Doctor	Durham	Maharashtrian
10	late 50s	1	Undergraduate	Education Professional	Preston	Gujarati
11	mid 40s	1	Postgraduate	Education Professional	London	Tamil
12	mid 40s	1	Postgraduate	Education Professional	Lancaster	Bhojpuri
13	late 60s	1	Postgraduate	Retired Medical Consultant	Lancaster	Punjabi
14	mid 60s	1	Undergraduate	Head of Local Community	Lancaster	Gujarati
15	late 50s	1	Postgraduate	Medical Consultant	Durham	Maharashtrian
16	early 20s	2	Undergraduate	Media Studies Student	Bolton	Telugu
17	early 20s	1.5	Postgraduate	Marketing Student	Cambridge	Tamil

Appendix II: Example of Data Analysis

Step	Example from data	Analysis
Categorisation - Spiggle (1994) equates this to 'coding'	<i>"In my last job, I made friends with some people from India and they would say jokes that, like for example, we were having tea and commenting on how much we love Parle G biscuits (popular biscuit in India) and I feel like, I can only make a joke with an Indian person like they would get that, whereas sometimes if I make jokes say, about, a British comedian or British humor, British manners or British people like the stiff upper lip like only may be an English person would get that. So yeah, I think I relate to both parties, I would say, and the nice thing I would say about my husband is because if you meet people who are similar to you, who have the same upbringing and they are all cultured enough but they're also born and raised in this country then that's a nice thing like you get both kinds of points of view."</i> Informant 1	First level codes applied to this data include 'being British', 'being Indian', 'being British Indian', 'born and raised' (invivo code)
Abstraction - incorporating categories	Same as above	Examples of abstraction for this quote - ethnic identification, subcultural capital, social capital

<p>into fewer, higher-order categories</p>		
<p>Comparison - "explores differences and similarities across incidents within the data currently collected and provides guidelines for collecting additional data." (Spiggle, 1994: 493)</p>	<p><i>"My generation of British Indians were such a big difference and not everybody is the same in terms of wanting to do like be cultural, whereas the older generation, all of them have pretty much come from India and they all want to get together, do things and celebrate Holi and celebrate Diwali and have feasts and do all these events whereas I think our generation is a bit different, everybody is been raised differently, everybody wants to identify differently, so it is difficult."</i> Informant 1</p>	<p>Comparing the previous quote to this quote, I found that informants shifted between being content with ethnic identification and conflicted about ethnic identification. Hence, I collected more data about how ethnicity influenced interactions with different groups across different situations.</p>
<p>Dimensionalisation - this step is about identifying characteristics of previously identified categories</p>	<p>Refer to the above two quotes</p>	<p>During this step I conceptualised ethnic identification as a category with multiple dimensions along a continua from 'content' to 'conflicted' and 'single' to 'multiple'</p>

<p>Integration - building theory grounded in data</p>	<p>Refer to the above two quotes</p>	<p>Based on the previous steps I conceptualised ethnic identification as situational and explored its interaction with subcultural and social capital (see paper 1)</p>
<p>Iteration - moving back and forth between the previous steps</p>	<p>N/A</p>	<p>By moving back and forth between the previous steps as well as the literature and other interviews, I realised the analysed quotes above could also be analysed as linked to social anchoring (ethnic identity as a social anchor). Similarly, by following these steps I began to see multiple stories, three of which have been presented in the form of three papers in this thesis.</p>

<p>Refutation - scrutinising categories and constructs</p>	<p><i>"I tried hard to stay outside of the books. So if it's about being British Indian and I have my parents who are like this, that means I'm like this kind of thing, like I don't want that, I don't want stereotype myself like "British Indian" so I tried to make myself look a bit different or like in act a bit different, or like speak a bit different or that kind of thing. I want to be British Indian but still not be categorized like in stereotypes"</i> Informant 2</p>	<p>I used 'testing by case' as my main strategy for refutation. For example, after developing 'ethnic identification' as a multidimensional category in the previous stages based on Informant 1's quotes, I found I had to modify the category to apply it to Informant 2 as shown here. In this case I added 'family identity' and 'stereotyping' as subdimensions to the previously identified dimension of 'conflict' as related to ethnic identification</p>
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Appendix III: Ethics Approval

09/11/2016

Ethics approval (REC reference number FL15047 please quote this in all correspondence about this project)

Ethics approval (REC reference number FL15047 please quote this in all correspondence about this project)

FASS and LUMS Research Ethics

Sent: 12 September 2016 17:51

To: Pradhan, Anuja

Cc: Hogg, Margaret; Cocker, Hayley (cockerh)

Dear Anuja,

Thank you for submitting your ethics application for *Identity, Culture and Consumption: Understanding British Indians' stories & meanings of India*. The information has been reviewed by members of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;
- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;
- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please contact the Research Ethics Officer, Debbie Knight (01542 592605) if you have any queries or require further information.

Kind regards

Debbie

Debbie Knight | Secretary, FASS-LUMS Research Ethics Committee fass.lumsethics@lancaster.ac.uk | Phone (01524) 592605 | Research Support Office, B03 Bowland North, Lancaster University, LA1 4YT | Web: <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/arts-and-social-sciences/research/ethics-guidance-and-ethics-review-process/> & <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/lums/research/ethics/>



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