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**[An exploration of religious and ethnic
identification in the consumption and
consumer acculturation of different
generations of British Pakistani Muslims]**

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[Doctor of Philosophy]

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Declaration

This is to clarify that the work contained within has been composed by me and is entirely my own work. No part of this thesis has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed: Zeeshan Rafiq

Date: 31/08/2020

Abstract

The last five decades have seen waves of immigration to the west. In recent times the emerging second and subsequent generations of immigrants, especially within the Muslim communities have started to redefine and contest their religious and ethnic identities. In light of these changing realities, scholars are urging to explore religion and ethnicity in conjunction. A review of contemporary literature highlights the need to re-examine the prevailing assumptions on religion and ethnicity with emphasis on how these two dimensions materialise in everyday life through consumption practices. There is a particularly growing interest in exploring the impact and role of religion and ethnicity on the complex dynamics of consumer acculturation. Scholars assert that although consumer acculturation is assumed to happen after geographical movement, in fact, it never stops. There have been increasing calls to understand how the changing social, ethnic, religious, and cultural dynamics inform and shape the consumer acculturation process in the different generations of these communities. Researchers also question whether the results from studies on the first generation of immigrants are equally applicable to the second and later generations and whether these groups can be theoretically considered similar to and coalesced with the host society.

Recent studies suggest that religion will supersede ethnicity as the most prominent marker of identity for the second and later generations of ethnic Muslim communities. Several scholars are of the opinion that due to the rise in religious temperament and fervour consumer culture and Islamic ways of life are often incompatible and at a crossroads. This study, contrary to seeing Islam as resistance or a buffer against consumer culture adopts a more co-constitutive, critical cultural view of Islam and consumption. Moreover, instead of considering Muslim consumers as a separate, homogenous segment and the Muslim identity as fixed, universal, and context-independent, this research adopts a culturally embedded approach. This perspective allows an understanding of the dynamic, constructed, and situated role of consumption, religion, and ethnicity in acculturation and consumption.

This study explores the role of religion and ethnicity in consumption in the context of British Pakistani Muslims in the U.K. This study adopts an interpretive, qualitative approach. By conducting in-depth, semi-structured interviews with different generations of this ethnic community, this research explores the role and significance of religious, ethnic, and host cultural identities on the consumption rituals, choices, and practices of these individuals. This research also explores how these identities may be contested and change over time and how particular ethnic and religious identities affect and influence their consumption behaviour. By exploring how these different identities are implicated in ritual, mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption, this study contributes to the existing literature on consumer acculturation by delineating the attenuating role of ethnicity and the paradoxical influence of religion in consumption.

Findings show that the second and subsequent generations, in particular, have become more inclined towards religion and that Islam has evolved as the most significant marker of identity for them. In the second and third generations of this community, the vacuum resulting from attenuating bonds with the homeland (Pakistan) is compensated by identifying with universal or global Islam, a phenomenon that is free and unadulterated from the ethnic culture of the parental, first, generation. The study finds that the second and third generations serve as religious influencers prompting their elders to embrace their religious values and assertions. As a result, for most of the participants, religious identity takes ascendancy over identities associated with ethnicity and the local British culture. These religious and ethnic identity shifts are found to have implications for ritual consumption. Several aspects pertaining to the rituals of marriage, death, birthdays, milads (Prophet's birth celebration), Quran Khawani (Communal reading of the Quran) that are practised in Pakistan have been deemed religiously unacceptable. Findings demonstrate that participants felt that such ritualistic consumption clashed with the pure, universal, and acultural Muslim mode of practice derived from the modern interpretations of religious texts. Nevertheless, a major finding of the study was the limited influence of religion and religiosity on consumption choices and

practices, apart from eating halal and observing the basic conventions of Islam such as refraining from alcohol, pork, and interest. This finding highlights that secularity and plurality are also deeply ingrained in Muslims' interpretation of Islam in the realm of consumption. Analysing the ritual, mundane, conspicuous, and luxury consumption of this community has shown that they do not abide by a strict code of religiosity which calls upon Muslims to avoid extravagant spending and consumption. Findings indicate that participants individually interpret Islamic injunctions and justified their consumption choices and practices through this. These findings demonstrate that Islamic consumption practices are highly contested, dynamic and context-dependent. These findings contradict the stance that Islamic societies are exceptional in the sense they resist or lack consumerist culture.

Contemporary research has mostly portrayed the second and third generations as passive victims of their circumstances when it came to making lifestyle choices such as marriages, divorces, and educational pursuits. Scholars note that these individuals tend to live ambivalent conflicted lifestyles and can do little but suffer their parent's imposition of alien cultural values. They have been ascribed the term "torn self" and "fragmented selves" and lives are seen to continually oscillate between their desire to preserve their ancestral origin and embrace Western culture. This study, by documenting the significant role of the younger generation in influencing religious and consumption norms for all generations, highlights the emancipated and independent nature of consumption choices and practices. In addition, this study finds that participants have the ability to actively choose the extent of their affiliation with ethnic culture thus an alternative view is offered that suggests the second and later generations are not passive victims of their circumstances but are active in shaping their religious and ethnic identities and those of their family members. Moreover, this study demonstrates that it is too simplistic to posit a division or clash between the first and later generations when it comes to religious and ethnic practices. On the contrary, members of the first generation are receptive to these changes, exhibiting a confluence in

the religious and ethnic practices of the different generations. These insights will aid in the further development of religio-ethnic marketing literature.

Lay Summary

In recent times religion has witnessed a global resurgence and gained importance worldwide. As many scholars note, religion has gained ground in the public, institutional and private spheres. This situation has accordingly afforded the research into religion greater significance. With the wars and conflicts raging in the Middle East and the recent influx of immigrant refugees from that region to the West, the religion of Islam, in particular, has received a lot of attention. Similarly, due to the rapidly growing population of ethnic communities in the West, the phenomenon of ethnicity has also taken centre stage. As the Western countries are increasingly becoming more multicultural and multireligious scholars are urging to explore religion and ethnicity in conjunction.

Consumer researchers have also become increasingly interested in the topic of religion and ethnicity. They are exhorting future studies to understand how ethnicity and religion interact and intersect in contemporary contexts to materialize in everyday life through consumption. This study tries to explore these two intriguing topics in the context of the different generations of the ethnic Pakistani Muslim community in the U.K.

The study tries to understand the relevance of the ethnic, religious, and British identities in the lives of the British Pakistani communities and how they subsequently influence their consumption experiences. This study, in particular looks at how the various identities influence the British Pakistani's:

1. Practices of ethnic rituals, such as deaths, birthday celebrations, and wedding celebrations.
2. Everyday consumption practices such as going shopping and eating out.
3. Attitudes and perceptions of spending and purchasing extravagant and luxurious products.

4. Attitudes and perception towards ethnic consumption (wearing traditional ethnic attire and eating ethnic food)

The results demonstrate that the British Pakistani ethnic community has become more inclined towards religion and that Islam has evolved as the most significant marker of identity for them. The Findings have also shown that affiliation with the ethnic culture and identity is attenuating in the second and third generations. The keynote and central theme of this research which the analysis of the consumption practices of this community has revealed is that the Muslims make individual interpretations of Islamic text to rationalize and justify their consumption practices. These findings negate a prevailing opinion about Islam and Muslims, which emphasizes that practising Muslims are in conflict with western ideals and ways of consumption. It shows that the British Pakistani Muslims can comfortably draw on their Islamic and western modes and aesthetics of consumption simultaneously and skillfully without being conflicted or inconsistent. It is observed that the consumption attitudes and preferences of these individuals are influenced by a combination of religious piety and pragmatic ethics of material enjoyment.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 The research context

In recent years, Islam and Muslims have become highly visible in media, politics, and the marketplace. The increasing interest and academic attention to Islam have been engendered due to events such as the 9/11 terror attacks; an increasing influx of Muslim immigrants into Europe - particularly refugees fleeing from war-affected areas such as Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan; and more recently the travel ban issued by President Trump barring nationals from seven majority Muslim countries from gaining entering into America. According to Sandikci & Jafari (2013), this interest is also the result of broader socioeconomic developments, particularly the neoliberal transformation and the so-called Islamic resurgence.

As a consequence of these developments around the world, religion is often being explored in conjunction with ethnicity. According to Izberk-Bilgin (2015), ethnicity and religion are two crucial factors influencing the agendas of politicians, scholars, public policy makers, and administrators. The growing religious and ethnic diversity because of transnational migration presents a number of challenges to many countries. More importantly, the issue of migration is exacerbated as a result of religiously and ethnically charged activism which seems to be a major source of discord throughout the world. The ongoing Arab-Jew, Hindu-Muslim, Sunni-Shia, conflicts are just a few examples of such social antagonism (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015). These confrontations and religious activism have also been observed in the United Kingdom, particularly against the religion of Islam. For example, in 2009/2010 Pizza Hut faced harsh criticism for its "Halal only menu" from those customers who considered it offensive to eat halal meat and wanted their pepperoni back (Wilkes, 2009; The Telegraph, 2010). Another incidence that elicited religious activism took place in 2015 when Shoppers threatened to boycott Asda stores as they were only selling halal meat on their hot counters. Many of the non-Muslim shoppers lamented that their choice as consumers had been comprised because of these initiatives (Perring, 2015). Similarly, in 2012, Lord

Ahmed's (a British Muslim member of parliament) request for halal meat at Westminster Palace's restaurant was rejected because many of his non-Muslim colleagues would see the halal process (slitting an animal's throat without first stunning it) as offensive (Hastings, 2012). Subsequently, Muslim MPs in Britain were enraged as they were served "no halal" meat in the restaurants of the Palace of Westminster, the seat of the British Parliament. Some of the Muslim MPs had consumed the meat which was served in the restaurants with the assurance that it was "halal" and as such were exasperated for being misled (Pillai, 2012). Moreover, there seems to be an increasing proclivity among Pakistani immigrants in the U.K., particularly the second generation to identify with Islam (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

Muslim immigrant consumers encounter a plethora of choices and challenges that the Muslim consumers in their home countries where Islam is the dominant religion and Muslims are in the majority are oblivious to or consider unimportant. Floren and co-authors (2019) assert that these challenges entail immigrants to find a balance between cultural traditions of their home country and acculturation; religious or ethnic in-groups and a number of out-groups; personal preferences with in-group and out-group conformity. Plotting a course through these complex aspects of an immigrant's identity becomes especially complicated for Muslim consumers who reside in Western societies that are predominately secular. Various studies have delineated considerable challenges and conflicts that are encountered by Muslim consumers in the West when they attempt to pursue lifestyles that are consistent with their ethnic culture or religious beliefs. For instance, Kamarulzaman et al. (2015) contemplate various impediments that exist in locating and verifying halal food sources and the significant part that social media plays in attenuating these obstacles. Similarly, an evaluation of the fitness options of Muslim females in Australia brings to the fore a potential conflict and ambivalence in these women between their desire to exercise and their aversion to compromise their religious observance and modesty while exercising (Summers et al., 2018). Another study that is germane to this discussion was carried out by Jamal & Shukor (2014) who note the intricacies of the interplay between interpersonal

choices and the process of acculturation relating to cloth conformity, self-congruity, as well as the desire for modesty and uniqueness among young British Muslims. Last but not least, Carvalho et al. (2018) document the emotional complexities that Muslim immigrants experience when their group values are transgressed and infringed upon.

1.1.1 Islam bulwark of resistance to Western consumer culture

According to Sandikci & Jafari (2013), a plausible explanation offered by several studies carried out in various disciplines of social sciences contemplating the spread of political Islam and the rise of Islamist movements is that Islam is deemed as a bastion of resistance to secular modernity, globalisation and western-oriented modernisation (Wong, 2007; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2000; Dekmejian, 1995; Esposito, 1998). As a case in point, consider the opinions of Roy (2004) who in his influential book ties the origins of contemporary Islamism to cultural confusion, dislocation, and interference brought about by globalisation, which uprooted individuals from their indigenous cultures and rendered them susceptible to various forms of Islamic fundamentalism. Similarly, Wong (2007) exhorts that there is an inclination to exclusively highlight perspectives ratifying the "clash of cultures" while discussing Islam and consumer practices. These notions are particularly true in the case of discourses pertaining to Islam and the Western market logic. In these conversations, consumer culture and Islamic societies are often depicted as incompatible. Such discussions imply that in Islamic societies, consumer culture is often perceived as an impediment that is a threat to religion as it promotes individualism, hedonism, seeking pleasure, and an expressive lifestyle. To resist "deislamisation" and the influences of the market, Islamic revivalists and fundamentalists have positioned Islam as a shield and bulwark of resistance against the decadent western ideologies. Scholars contend that such analysis and discourses do not advance our understandings of the contemporary modernist Islamic societies experiencing rapid economic and social transformations (Wong, 2007; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016; Husain et al., 2019; Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). In this section, a

number of terms such as “Islamism”, “Islamist” and “Islamic” that are used throughout the thesis are stated. These terminologies need to be clarified before we move forward in our discussion. The next section explicates the various terminology used to describe Islam and Muslims.

1.1.2 Terminology to describe Islam and Muslims

1.1.2.1 Islam

The religion of Islam is characterized by the religious practices of those who accept and follow to the best of their abilities the basic prescriptions of the Quran and the customary traditions/behaviour (Sunnah) of the Prophet Muhammad in a manner that is appropriate to their circumstances (Wilkinson, 2018). According to Huntington (1996), the religion of Islam is a monolithic religion rooted in divine revelation. As a civilization and world religion, it exhibits considerable religious diversity, between various religious denominations and numerous sects. Moreover, Islam manifests great cultural diversity. As examples of religious and cultural diversity the author cites examples of Islam that are being practiced in Africa, the Indian subcontinent, and in its original Arab form which are different from one another (Huntington, 1996).

1.1.2.2 Muslim vs Islamic

Though the terms Islamic and Muslim are used interchangeably, it is improper to do so in all contexts. Souaiaia (2016) explicates that they have fundamentally different meanings and should be appropriately applied in different contexts.

According to Souaiaia (2016), Muslim is an Arabic word in function and form. It denotes an individual or a group of individuals who intentionally adhere or follow the religion of Islam. Since it is an Arabic word in origin, form, and meaning, the term should be applied in the context appropriate in that language. The term Muslim is never applied in the Arabic language to describe an idea, thing, or event. Its appropriate use is to describe and denote human beings who believe and adhere to the teachings of Islam. It is therefore a

mistake to say Muslim music, Muslim art, Muslim thought, Muslim architecture, etc.

The term Islamic is an adjective that acquires its meaning from the fact that it manifests some characteristics of Islam, in varying degrees. It can be applied in two contexts. In the first instance, it can be used to indicate ideas, events, and things whose origins are in Islam. In this context, it complements the adjective Muslims, which denotes individuals. In the second scenario, the term Islamic can be used to describe things associated with Islamic cultures and societies, even if their origins are not rooted in Islam or produced by Muslim individuals. The foundation of the Islamic civilization was rooted in Muslim ideals and ideas, but they were not the sole basis that produced its rich legacy. Therefore, the adjective Islamic is widely used to denote all the productions of the Islamic civilization irrespective of these being accounted as Muslims or non-Muslims (Souaiaia, 2016).

1.1.2.3 Islamism

Badran (2001) notes that the concept of Islam and Islamism are often confused with one another. The researcher contends that even though there are unclear boundaries between these two concepts, it is necessary to make a distinction between Islam which is a religion, and Islamism which is rooted in political Islam. In one view Islamism is synonymous with fundamentalism and is construed as a movement that opposes modernity. It is characterized in terms of the essentially traditional character of the religion (Ismail, 2004). This perspective is also adopted by Winter (2001) who defines fundamentalism and by extension Islamism as the extreme right mobilization of religion to political ends. "Islamism" and "Islamist" are phrases that are commonly used to denote militant, radical ideological strand of Islam, as interpreted by the practitioners and in which violent actions such as suicide bombings, terrorism, or revolutions are explicitly practiced, justified, and advocated by employing religious terminologies (Cox & Mark, 2003). This viewpoint has garnered much debate and criticism. Conversely, Islamism is constructed as a modern phenomenon that encapsulates the affinity between Islam and modernity (Ismail, 2004).

In this study, the use of the term Islamism is aligned with Badran (2001) who exhorts that it is inappropriate and problematic to essentialize Islamism to extreme right wing political Islam. Badran observes that within the various Muslim societies such as Africa, Middle East, and South Asia, Islamism is confronted and understood broadly. It is, therefore, necessary to structure a broader definition of Islamism to incorporate the reach and breadth of its projects and its permutations. The researcher argues that it would be more beneficial to construe Islamism in its principal or dominant formulation, as a broad project of the political mobilization of Islam. Within mainstream political Islam, some advocate the formation of an Islamic state (and for some this is the distinctive aspect of political Islam), some are proponents of an Islamic community or society within a secular country. Still, there are others, and this is more a feature of late Islamism in the 1990s in which they strive politically to attain the individual freedom to express their religious identity in the public sphere as they deem appropriate. The use of this wider definition of Islamism in this research facilitated broadening the analytical lens and enabled me to observe not only the radical manifestations (in a positive sense) but more importantly the heterogeneity of Islamic interpretation and how religion is practised and experienced in everyday life and specific socio-political contexts.

1.1.2.4 Islamist

According to Ismail (2004), the interplay of politics and religion in the contemporary era resulted in various Islamist movements which came to be characterized by various actors, modes of action, and to some extent objectives. The researcher further explicates that Islamist actors can be categorized mainly into militants, conservatives, and moderates. Each of these classifications features distinct social origins and modes of action. According to Ismail, most often militants belong to lower middle-class backgrounds. Economics and social issues are at the heart of their agenda and they adopt violence to achieve their objectives. Conservatives and moderates generally hail from the middle class with professionals as their main advocates and supporters. Conservatives are concerned with issues of morality and strive for the Islamization of society as well as state institutions but not to gain political

control or power. In contrast, moderates strive to work and participate within the framework of institutional channels. Conceptions of identity and culture are articulated by all these various actors (Ismail, 2004).

1.1.3 The need to adopt a co-constitutive, critical cultural view of Islam and consumption

It needs to be underscored that the majority of the research carried out on developing economies typically relates consumption to modernity and often suggests a unidirectional progression towards a Western-oriented consumer culture (Wong, 2007; Joy & Wallendorf, 1996). Recently, there is a belated realisation by scholars that there are multiple and diverse market cultures (Wong, 2005) which consequently results in diverse forms of consumerism (Ger & Belk, 1996). These views conform to Sandikci & Jafari (2013) who contend that a meaningful approach of exploring Islam and Muslims involves adopting a more co-constitutive relation between Islamism and globalisation. This viewpoint proposes that instead of seeing Islam as resistance or buffer against neoliberal transformations, it will be more constructive to investigate how capitalist development and socioeconomic restructuring inform daily experiences and religious assertions of Muslims (Rudnycky, 2009; Osella & Osella, 2009). A common theme emerging from these studies is the compatibility between modernity and Islamic ethics as well as the role market plays in rendering Islam visible in society (Smith-Hefner, 2007), particularly through everyday consumption (Jafari & Sandikci, 2016; Sandikci & Jafari, 2013).

Sandikci & Jafari (2013) explicate that the aforementioned trajectory of research moved away from the discourses debating the compatibility of Islam with modernity and are more concerned with contemplating the manner by which Muslims project themselves as 'modern' in everyday life (Soares & Osella, 2010). Studies germane to this perspective delve into the perceptions of modernity for a Muslim as well as how it is realised in their day-to-day life, especially in the consumption domain (Fischer, 2009; Moors, 2007; Navarro-Yashin, 2002). Sandikci & Jafari (2013) point out that it is in this contemporary

Western socioeconomic backdrop that new modes of Islamic identification, as well as public expressions of piety through leisure, fashion, and other consumption practices, are unfolding. The scholars further infer that in the last decade these religiously inspired emerging lifestyles have gained approval and popularity as witnessed by the surge in the development of a new market for commodities, advertising, media, consumer segments, and businesses identified as 'Islamic' (Gokarikel & McLarney, 2010). Thus, the prominence of consumption practices germane to Islam and Muslims subsequently attracted the attention of marketing scholars (Floren et al., 2019). Such a stream of research offers a different perspective and tries to dispel doubts that Islam and Muslims are incongruous with modernity (Giddens, 1990).

Giddens (1990) delves into the question of whether 'modernity is a Western project'. His answer – and that of many other scholars of modernity – is a resounding 'yes' mostly because in its quest for individual emancipation and rationality the West has attenuated the influence of religion and traditions. The Western perception about Islam and Muslims, in general, is that they are yet to lessen their bonds with conventional anchors like customs and religion. In the Western imagination, the subjectivities of Muslims are not informed by individual preferences. On the contrary, they elicit a constant dependency on religious assertions that remain largely static (Echchaibi, 2008). According to Giddens (1991), individuals in the West have imbibed projects of self-reflexivity in which questioning and doubt supersede the irrationality and omnipotence of religion. Due to the dwindling of cultural and social structures in an age of risks and uncertainties, there is an unprecedented need for individuals to find and imbue social meanings for their individual identities. Giddens (1991) thus infers that the conventional social anchors such as religion and family are giving way to an improvised experience in which an individual increasingly invents and constructs his identity as opposed to inheriting or ascribing it. According to the scholar, self-identity in modern society is determined by an individual's ability to engage with their own biography and incessantly sort events that are taking place in the external world and integrate them into the story about the self. Giddens considers such an identity project as a positive phenomenon that

results in the construction of an autonomous and individualised reflexive identity that is able to provide meaning in times of chaos and rapid change. These views are in contradiction to Gergen (1991) who avers that an identity that is obscure or devoid of cultural symbols is incapable of forming a stable identity similar to those that were possible during the era of stable cultural and social anchors.

The debate of binary oppositions (Islam Vs the West) is also articulated by Zemni (2002). The researcher asserts that in this era of globalization, with the advent of Islamist movements in the Arab world that took place simultaneously with the Muslim demands in Europe, observers like Huntington (1996) concluded that there is a global resurgence of Islam. The author surmised this global resurgence of Islam as a threat or clash between Islam and the West (Huntington, 1996). According to De Ley (2002), the simplicity with which the so-called Islamic resurgence and Muslim emancipation in Europe are assumed to be a clash between Islam and the West has given rise to anti-Muslim sentiments in Europe.

Zemni (2002) contends that the whole debate is conditioned by an identity concern. The structures of this discourse are framed within the pervasive and powerful binary opposition of the morally superior “West” versus “Islam” (Stadlbauer, 2012). A number of scholars have advocated that Islam is at odds with the ideologically rich concept of the West, a dichotomy that is also couched in the opposition of modernity versus tradition, Western rationality/enlightenment versus religious bigotry, secularism versus religion, West versus the East, and so forth (Ghannoushi, 2011; Karim, 2006; Hirschkind, 2001; Wohlrab-Sahr, 1999; Al-Azmeh, 2009). In these discourses, the secular West is construed as superior and modern and anything pertaining to Islam is constructed as either opposed to or incompatible with the West. This also entails a hierarchy where the West is more influential and powerful in defining, essentializing, and transforming the other and particularly Islam. The mechanism of othering requires the individual, group, society, or nation that is involved in the othering to structure itself morally and ethically superior

as well as authentic and original (Stadlbauer, 2012). Thus, according to Zemni (2002), the proponents in the debate are compelled to structure their arguments within an identity framework. It is the imposition of this framework that to a certain extent defines the positions of the researchers in the debate with their political and/or societal as well as their academic affiliations and interests (Zemni, 2002).

According to Zemni (2002), the aforementioned framework elucidates that contrary to the discourse being primarily structured around Muslims, the debate is mainly constructed around the key concept of Islam. The agency of Muslims seems to cease to exist in front of the religion of Islam that explains, regulates, and conditions all behaviour of Muslims. Islam thus turns into an actor. It is not Muslims who shape their history but Islam that governs the identity and behaviour of Muslims. Ultimately, a Muslim is succumbed to become an automaton, endlessly and indiscriminately perpetuating the religious assertions of Islam. The structural significance ascribed or granted to Islam is markedly different and contradictory to the individualistic approach towards Western behaviour and attitudes.

In line with these contentions, Husain & O'Brien (2000) exhort that it would be misleading to assume the Muslim communities as a single, homogenous and unified body vying to secure their rights in a seemingly monolithic West. The vivid diversity of languages, religions, lifestyles, traditions in the West, especially in the European countries is a testament to a pluralist society. The same argument is applicable and germane in the case of Muslim communities (Zemni, 2002). However, a by-product of the anti-Muslim prejudice prevalent in the West is the disregarding of this rational and the depiction of Islam as a monolithic, global entity essentialist in its essence and unequivocally adhering to centuries-old traditions. This stance is substantiated in a report (Runnymede Trust, 1997) published in Britain in the 1990s to address the discrimination against Muslims and the prejudice against Islam. The report brings to the fore the essentialism in the West in addition to acknowledging that while there is a global ummah (community of Muslims), it is by no means unified and

comprises of multifarious ideologies and practices. An overwhelming focus on communities, and in this context Muslim communities poses a risk of establishing a communitarian cage in which all Muslims have to fit. There are a thousand and one ways to be a Muslim and there is a need to elucidate that they can be clearly integrated into the framework of a Western multicultural project (Zemni, 2002).

Echchaibi (2008) asserts that Muslims have typically coalesced into a uniform segment comprising of uncritical adherers of Islam who are devoid of the capacity and the will to engage in self-identification and take risks in a manner similar to the one posited by Giddens (1991) in his theory of the self, in this contemporary era of modernity. In this chaotic world, Muslims are generally assumed to be immersed either in a relentless mode of cultural anchors and traditionalism that remain largely unchanged or in a jihadist (crusade) mode on a perennial struggle to purge the world from the evils of western modernity. In the case of a number of Muslims, this binary approach retards their endeavours to dialectically engage with their religion and seek the meaning and purpose of their religious identities. According to Echchaibi (2008), such critical engagements with religion and traditions by Muslims do not at once emancipate their Muslim "self" but enable them to challenge the more traditional religious authority.

Scholars caution that Islam is frequently perceived as a rigid religion that is uncompromising and inflexible to the ambiguities of its scriptures. This perception is often interpreted as one of the primary causes of the Muslims being unable to modernise their religion and align it with the demands intrinsic to a diverse and fast-changing world. Echchaibi (2008) reasons that even though Islam is a stronger marker of identity for the majority of Muslim communities, these religious identities cannot be necessarily deemed antagonist to modernity merely by virtue of their religious inclinations. The author exhorts that a new stream of Islamic revivalism characterised by individualism presents a notable paradox to researchers because, in spite of its excessive religiosity, it is founded on the premise of a personal quest that

engages in vigorous independent reasoning. This judicious dialectical approach, according to scholars (e.g., Guessoum, 2010; Jouili & Amir-Moazami, 2006; Jouili, 2011) is akin to the modes of inquiry undertaken by intellectual reformers that are proponents of harmony between religion and philosophy. It needs to be underscored that the outcome of these personal quests, according to Echchaibi (2008), is not a systemic rejection of the dogmas as much as it is a resourceful application of the Islamic tenets in a modern world that is made complex through increased contact with globalisation and Westernisation. These Individualist revivalists demonstrate that individualism which has been historically seen as an exclusive trait of western culture is also relevant to Islam today.

Roy (2004) further explicates that the phenomenon of religious revivalism is grounded in the deterritorialization (separation of social, cultural, and political practices from a location) process in which Islam is ascribed to a specific territory less and less thereby consigning it to a marginalised minority status both at home and in the diaspora. He contends that the deterritorialization of Islam is a consequence of globalisation. Due to the influx of migration into the West, an increasing number of Muslims are residing in non-Muslim communities. One-third of the Muslim population are currently living as members of a minority group. He expounds that whereas in the past minorities had the time and space to develop their own culture or to integrate with the host country culture, Muslim immigrants nowadays have to reinvent and redefine what makes them Muslim. The underlying reason for this reinvention is the absence of a unifying factor within this population, having no common cultural or linguistic heritage but a mere reference and ascription to Islam. Thus, the diasporic Muslims' cultural alienation has provided an impetus, especially in the later generations to redefine what Islam is as well as what significance and meaning it holds in their day-to-day lives. Roy (2004) asserts that these endeavours have culminated in a wave of "born again" Muslims who question the authority of the traditional scholars by establishing their own network of charismatic and modern individuals who consider themselves to be students and learners of Islam.

This contemporary revivalism of Islam, according to Roy (2004), is particularly prevalent among the rootless youths in the West who are desperately in search of a stable marker of identity. He construes that this brand of Islam is a product of cultural Westernisation and is far more widespread than the violent strand of Islamic extremism. The burgeoning of these religious dogmas in the diaspora is inducing an emotionally based relationship with Islam. Roy (2004) asserts that these modern-day Islamic revivalists generally do not advocate Islam as a political ideology, nor do they have a desire to live in a fundamentalist sharia-based society. On the contrary, these individuals have resorted to religion as a means of peaceful identity protest and a source of self-affirmation and self-recognition.

Echchaibi (2008) elucidates that, unlike the radical militants, these Islamically resurgent Muslims do not strive to promote a systematic political agenda to change the world. On the contrary, these individuals see themselves campaigning peacefully towards the creation of an equitable and altruistic society that will replace systems that foster corruption and unfairness. They are engaged in a straightforward individual quest to make the Western, modern, and global more compatible with religion. Their *ijtihad* (independent reasoning) is aimed at reviving and growing their spirituality instead of invading the world and converting unbelievers to Islam.

In line with this renewed spiritualisation in Islam, scholars expound upon several competing interpretations of religion, ethnicity, and consumer culture prevailing amongst the Muslim societies. One such exposition is elucidated by Izberk-Bilgin (2015) who notes that young, affluent, and socially mobile Muslims with neoliberalist inclinations are shaping and espousing an Islamic version of the debate around the accumulation of earthly wealth and luxurious consumption. By citing the consumption practices of the rising Islamic bourgeoisie class in Turkey and Asia, scholars show how religious rationale is used to justify personal salvation (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015). By delineating excerpts of the Quran and by citing the Sunnah (the sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad) that can be construed to signify the idea that prosperity

indicates divine ordination, Muslims seek to validate and legitimise conspicuous consumption. On account of these and similar arguments, fervent Muslims in turkey are lavishly spending on gold-plated faucets adorned with Swarovski crystals, bathroom tissues imprinted with designer logos, and on plasma screens that disseminate live images from the two holy mosques in Mecca and Madinah day and night (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). Reflections of this earthly wealth and expression of prosperity through consumption are also evident from narratives advanced by business associations, broadcasting channels, and publications outlets that are owned by the affluent religious class (Bugra, 1998). To what extent such religious interpretations are prevalent and construed among the Muslim diaspora in the West remains to be explored (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015).

The aforementioned insights resonate with Haenni (2005) who avers that the phenomenon of rationalising consumption through the religious lens affects the heart of the Muslim religion in the Middle East, Maghreb, and Southeast Asia and has been largely ignored by the West. He terms this contemporary strand of Islam as "Market Islam" which entails a departure from political Islamism engulfed in sectarianism and which is in line with globalisation, the ethos of consumption, and economic performance. Due to the advancement in technology, the rise of satellite channels, and social media, there is a need to explore whether the reverberations of these ideological changes have also been espoused by the western Muslim diaspora. To endorse and propagate these doctrines, Haenni notes that a new breed of Islamic preachers is coming forth that do not campaign for the restoration of sharia and Jihad, who are independent and unconcerned with the greater political designs. Furthermore, these reformists are also disenchanted with violent struggle and are intellectually reconciled with the Western concepts of political modernity. These clerics enable the formalisation of religiosity that confirms its embourgeoisement. This new Islam is referred to by Haenni as "postislamism" which is conceived in the melting pot of globalisation and is characterised by ethical religiosity as well as forging a new relationship with economics that sanctions buying and consumption. This postislamism is burgeoning under

the influence of the West without transgressing a certain Muslim ethical framework. Thus "Market Islam" symbolises the emergence of an individualistic religiosity and the crystallisation of the theology of prosperity (Haenni, 2005).

Scholars thus aver that this reformed religiosity coalesces Muslim content and Western lifestyle, giving rise to an individualistic and relaxed religiosity discernible by consumerism and depoliticisation. As a case in point researchers cite the commodification of the hijab, the popular Muslim veil, which from an expression of Islamism (identity politics rooted in political Islam, see section 1.1.2.3) has become an emblem of Islamic fashion and consumption and an expression of its ethicalized transformation (Sandikci & Ger, 2010). The veil (hijab) can be a proclamation of identity politics which is rooted in political Islam. In this context, the veil is used to convey a message about appreciating differences and a right to public recognition and acceptance. In this case, identity politics stresses recognizing differences in terms of distinctions in lifestyles, modes of representation, and tastes in the public sphere. These differences are asserted as politically viable and not just culturally tolerable (Ismail, 2004). The views that the headscarf undergoes hybridisation and shifts from being a hallmark of religious fervour and compliance to apolitical hedonism and consumerism resonate with Haenni (2005). According to the scholar, the Islamic veil does not impede the cultural flow of globalisation. On the contrary, it embodies the inclusion of a socially valued local object within a transnational world in addition to serving as a source of pride and enhancing seduction and charm. A recent manifestation of this changing ethos occurred for the first time in London's Saatchi Gallery where young Muslim women adorned with hijabs, burkinis and kimonos performed a catwalk displaying their cultural and religious identity (Khan, 2017). It is, therefore, through marketing that these religious elements integrate within the logic of globalisation and make it an object of consumption and individual expression. Haenni notes however that this is a class phenomenon and that the consumerisation of the headscarf can be considered as much as a means for the Islamic bourgeoisie to attain their aspirations of

the American dream as it is an emblem of Islamization. The encounter of imaginary antithetical attitudes within the same clothing object gives rise to a multiplicity of interpretations and thus of possible contents within a single form. Consequently, Haenni & Fuger (1996) infer that nowadays the ways of wearing the veil can signify an affinity with the Islamist ideas and practices as well as an expression of sympathy and concordance with the western way of life.

If we concur with the views of Warner (1993) who exhorts that religion is achieved not ascribed, then according to Echchaibi (2008) we as researchers should exert ourselves to interrogate the new positioning of Islam as it shifts into the realm of rich lived experiences. Scholars call attention to the fact that the discursive narratives within modern Islam and the lived experiences of individuals Muslims have received paltry attention in religious discourses. Individualised Muslim identities remain at best sensationalised stories in the newspaper and the media or anomalies in a world still grappling to align itself with modernity (Echchaibi, 2008). It is also necessary to reconsider our prevailing assumptions on how the complex interplay of religion and ethnicity materialise in everyday life through consumption in this dynamic era of globalisation, which has resulted in a substantial economic, cultural and social change (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015). This study thus looks into the different interpretations, identities, and perceptions prevailing among the Muslim ethnic communities as they circumnavigate the nexus of religion, ethnicity, and consumption.

1.1.4 Studying consumption in the Muslim world

It needs to be underscored that two different objectives and approaches are evident in the marketing literature that delineates the scholarly interests of consumption in the Islamic world (Sandikci & Jafari, 2013). A particular cohort of researchers prefers to explore consumption in the Islamic world through a managerial perspective in which they consider Muslim consumers as a separate, homogenous segment (El-Bassiouny, 2014; Esso & Dibb, 2004a; Delener, 1994). The goal of these studies is to determine the values, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions of Muslims, juxtaposing them with individuals of other

faiths and interrogating patterns in their brands, products, shopping, and purchasing attitudes as well as behaviours. Although this *modus operandi* is practical, however, it is restricted in terms of its exploratory capacity as it renders the conceptualisation of Muslims and Islam merely as a segmentation variable, which facilitates the process of differentiating one community from the other (Sandikci & Ger, 2011). The implication of this approach is that Islam is conceived as a homogenising monolithic religion that is uniform and without variations across the Muslim divide. Consequently, the complex negotiations and the different interpretations that Muslim consumers engage in while moulding their religious identities are ignored and disregarded (Jafari, 2012).

These views are echoed by Jafari & Sandikci (2015, 2016) who contend that notwithstanding the usefulness of such a framework, a major drawback of using this approach is that it conflates Muslim consumers and the religion of Islam in the singular. Scholars enunciate three major reasons why deconstructing and reanalysing this singularity is necessary in order to legitimise, advance, and enrich research in Islamic marketing. First off, a mode of inquiry that endorses and strives to find singularity will tend to disregard the historical and contemporary structural forces that influence the conception of ideas (e.g. what is halal and haram) and thus will result in a hollow and incomplete comprehension of the phenomenon. Secondly, there is a possibility that focusing on an overdetermined singularity will ignore the different ways Muslim consumers create and express their identities relative to the various sources of identification (e.g., social class, gender, profession, ethnicity). It is also likely that this approach will result in overlooking how individuals negotiate and navigate the power dynamics, conflicts, and contradictions in their day-to-day lives. Lastly, the unbridled adherence to the singularity aspect without due reflexivity can result in the imposition of a particular representation of Islam and the dismissal of all the rest resulting in accounts that are imprecise and somewhat reductionist (Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016).

Another perspective of exploring Islam and consumption is attuned to the aforementioned reservations and adopts a critical cultural approach (Jafari &

Sandikci, 2015, 2016; Sandikci & Jafari, 2013). Proponents of this *modus operandi* investigate the interrelationship between faith and identity projects and delve into the role of consumption in the construction, maintenance, and communication of identities of Muslim consumers. (Sandikci & Ger, 2007, 2010; Hirschman et al., 2011; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). Setting aside the totalising outlook of Islam, researchers, in this case, appreciate the heterogeneity of Islamic interpretation and strive to understand how religion is practised and experienced in everyday life and specific socio-political contexts (Sandikci & Jafari, 2013). Inspired by this stream of research, this study aims to elucidate the multiplicities, complexities, and fluidities of the religious and cultural forces shaping consumption attitudes and behaviours.

In order to avoid depicting Islam as a universally unified segment that contradicts the ethos of consumer culture, Jafari & Suerdem (2012) thus stress locating consumption and religiosity among Muslims within a specific historical and sociocultural context. The authors exhort that religiosity is not uniform as it is contingent on an individual's diverse interpretations of religion which are shaped by a number of factors such as history, identity projects, institutional/political dynamics. These assertions are particularly true in the case of multi-ethnic cultural societies such as those found in the United Kingdom, which is the focus of this research.

Similar research agendas resonate with Izberk-Bilgin (2015) who avers that religion and ethnicity are intriguing topics for scholarly discourses. According to him, both concepts are prominent markers of identity; our religious and ethnic background shapes our attitudes, values, and lifestyles, while also informing our political views and consumption choices. Moreover, religion and ethnicity are complexly intertwined in the way they influence our everyday practices and social relations. Religious practices play a fundamental role in constructing a distinct ethnic identity and forming social alliances (e.g., Jews, Amish, Mormons), while ethnicity is manifested in great variations in religious practices (e.g. Muslim, Jews, and Sunni). Izberk-Bilgin (2015) further contends that religion and ethnicity have become more relevant than ever in this rapidly

globalising world. She asserts that the need for ethnic and religious anchors grows with increased border crossings as more migrants grapple with the anxieties related to the diaspora experience. Subsequently, as marketers readily accommodate the demand for authenticity, ethnicity and religion become a choice that is exercised through consumption; one that can be worn like a garment and swapped as needed (Bouchet, 1995; Oswald 1999). Lastly, religious and ethnic discourses have become effective ideological tools to negate the discontent with poverty and asymmetrical economic growth brought about by globalisation (Bandarage, 2004). In short, globalisation has brought about prodigious cultural, social, and economic change that directly influences the role of religion and ethnicity in the contemporary era. As such, we need to re-examine our existing assumptions on these topics, with particular emphasis on the interplay of religion and ethnicity and how these two dimensions interact in complex ways to materialise in everyday life through consumption (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015).

Religion is a linchpin in the identity formation of ethnic communities, especially the Muslim diaspora in the West. In the case of Muslims particularly the succeeding generations, whose association and connections with the home culture are attenuated as a result of growing up in the host country, religion is replacing ethnicity as the most important identity marker. It is argued that religion wields significant influence in the life of its adherents, and since consumption is an inextricable aspect of everyday living, it serves as a conduit through which individuals express their religious proclivities. There has been limited research on how these religious dispositions influence individuals' economic, cultural, social transitions that are imposed by globalisation (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015). This study by exploring the phenomenon of consumption in Islam via the context of the Muslim Pakistani ethnic community in the United Kingdom will try to understand, explore and contribute to the contemporary debates pertaining to religion, ethnicity, culture, and consumption. The different generations of the British Pakistani ethnic community are regarded as one of the largest Muslim diasporas in Europe and provide a suitable context for its project of Islamization which according to scholars is particularly

discernible among the second and later generations (e.g., Voas & Fleischmann, 2012; Peek, 2005; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). According to Ismail (2004), the project of Islamization signifies a desire to Islamize the social domain. It is a phenomenon in which various facets of social life are imbued with symbols and signs pertaining to Islamic culture and traditions. An example of the project of Islamization includes entrepreneurs who are proponents of Islamic economics and who strive to implement them in their businesses. Another common example of Islamization is that of veiled women who promote and articulate aspects of Islamic ideals of gender relations and modesty. The project of Islamization is a key strategy of identity politics which like other types of politics is about contestation and claims (Ismail, 2004). As a result of these religious transformations, it is argued that the different generations of British Pakistanis have been deeply immersed in religious practices which are vividly elicited in everyday life. This religious embeddedness represents an intriguing context in which Islam's influence on everyday practices is likely to be overwhelming, and Western consumption practices are scrutinised from a religio-ethnic lens. This presents an opportunity to advance and contribute to the consumption literature, where it is argued that the market logic is subordinate to dominant religious ones. Following are the primary aims of this research project:

1.2 Research aims

- Barring a few exceptions (e.g. Shukor, 2011; Jamal & Shukor, 2014; Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005, 2011), the majority of the previous studies have delved into either the consumer behaviour of first generation immigrants or have juxtaposed the consumption attitudes and behaviours of the first and later generations of ethnic minority consumers (Jamal & Shukor, 2014). However, a fundamental issue of whether the results from studies pertaining to the older generation of immigrants are equally applicable to the second and later generations still needs to be addressed. Scholars are also reflecting upon whether, special focus should be directed towards the later generations or should

they be theoretically considered similar to and coalesced with the host society (Burton, 2002; Dey et al., 2017). In order to address these and similar crucial questions, this study explores the role and significance of religious, ethnic, and host culture identities on the lived experiences of the different generations of British Pakistanis and how changes in a particular identity might affect and influence the other identities. Moreover, this research aims to explore how these identities may be contested and changed over time within the context of different generations of this diaspora. This study will also investigate the impact on religiosity and ethnicity in the different generations of the Pakistani community as a consequence of their contacts and interactions with the majority group members and vice versa.

- To understand how the aforementioned different identities (religious ethnic and host) play out and are implicated in consumer acculturation which according to Penaloza (1994) is the phenomenon through which members of one culture acquire the knowledge and skillsets needed to partake in consumer behaviour of another culture. This concept has been further extended by Luedicke (2015) who considers consumer acculturation as the adjustment of consumption practices and collective identities by a particular group of consumers (for instance immigrants) when they interact with consumers from unfamiliar and different social, cultural, or national backgrounds. It needs to be underscored that previous studies have paid a lot of attention to the impact and influence of ethnic identity (i.e. the degree to which facets related to the home culture are maintained) and acculturation (i.e. gaining familiarity to the mainstream or host culture) (Laroche et al., 1998a), paying scant attention to other constructs, particularly religion, which might affect the behaviour of ethnic minority consumers (Lindridge, 2010). Burton (2002) exhorted that the relationship between religion, ethnicity, and consumer behaviour has not been adequately explored in the marketing domain. Religion constitutes a significant consideration for various ethnic communities (Emslie et al., 2007). Religion plays a crucial role in

the lives of many ethnic consumers as it guides many aspects of consumption ranging from product type preferences, purchase decision making as well as the time and place preferences for shopping (Cui, 1997). These assertions are in line with numerous scholars who infer that religiosity (which reflects the extent to which people adhere and conform to their religious beliefs, values, and practices in their everyday lives (Worthington et al., 2003) has a significant influence on a variety of consumption attitudes and behaviours such as food consumption, advertising effectiveness, store preference and shopping orientation (e.g. Mathras et al., 2016; Michell & Al-Mossawi, 1995; Mokhlis, 2006a, 2006b, 2009; Bonne et al., 2007). Therefore, it is surmised that religion and ethnicity go hand in hand and should be explored in conjunction. Such exploration will allow marketers to better understand the consumption behaviour of these communities and to better cater to them (Sirkeci, 2009). This research attempts to fill the gap in the existing literature by exploring the consumption behaviour (e.g. mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption) of three generations of British Pakistanis, who have not garnered much attention even though they are highlighted as one of the fastest-growing ethnic community in the United Kingdom in the latest U.K. census (Ons.gov.uk, 2011). This ethnic community is also noted to exhibit religious tendencies, particularly amongst the younger generations (Casey, 2016), an aspect that is particularly relevant in the context of this study.

- The vast majority of the Muslim population are born in countries where the main religion is Islam. Right from birth, these societies are exposed to the prevailing cultural practices which are imbued with religion. It, however, needs to be underscored that religion is just one of the constitutive resources, such as politics, norms, traditions, and incoming ideologies, that influence these individuals' everyday lives, relationships, and worldviews. In the daily routine of these communities, religion becomes intermingled with culture such that religious practices become mundane cultural norms without necessarily standing out and

being projected as extraordinary transcendental rituals (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). However, it needs to be underscored that immigrant consumers in many cases become more devout adherents of their faith (Beji-Becheur et al., 2007; Pearson, 2001) as a result of their endeavours to create, sustain and safeguard their cultural and ethnic identities (Heisley & Cours, 2007) in their country of settlement. Consequently, scholars emphasise the need to explicate how religious beliefs and identities influence the ritualistic consumption of immigrant communities (Fernandez et al., 2011). These assertions resonate with Werbner (2014) who exhort that there is a need to explore how immigrants reconstitute the taken for granted features of rites and endow symbols with a direct and immediate bearing on their everyday world. We need, in other words, to examine the ways in which rituals become naturalised in a new setting. This study will thus explore the role of religion in the ritualistic consumption of the different generations of British Pakistanis in the U.K.

- According to Jafari & Suerdem (2012), consumption behavior in Muslim societies is dynamic, complex, and paradoxical. In an attempt to further their premise, this research seeks to question the assumptions that the Islamic creed is exceptional and completely remains within the realms of the religious and sacrosanct and excludes mundane consumption practices. In this regard, this study tries to identify the paradoxes prevalent in the different generations of British Pakistani's mundane consumption behaviour. Moreover, in line with the recommendations of scholars, this research will also try to highlight the consumer subjectivities prevalent in the different generations of this community (Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016).

1.3 Contributions

The majority of the research on ethnic communities have primarily focused on studying the relationship between ethnic and host identities (Maliepaard et al., 2010; Liebkind, 2001), ignoring other social identities that may play a role in

such individual's lived experiences such as religious identity (Sheikh, 2007). There are still a number of outstanding questions regarding the interplay between religious and ethnic identities and how changes in one identity affect the other (Deaux, 2006; Sheikh 2007; Izberk-Bilgin, 2015). This research looks to explore how these identities may be contested and changed over time within the context of generations. This study, therefore, contributes to the understanding and explanation of the complex relationship between religion, ethnicity, and the host culture and society in Muslims' self-conceptualisation by exploring different generations of British Pakistanis who are considered to span two cultures.

Contemporary scholars have emphasised the need to adopt a socio-culturally embedded approach to study religion and consumption. Instead of considering the Muslim market as a separate and distinct segment (El-Bassiouny, 2014, 2016; Wilson & Grant, 2013; Alserhan & Alserhan, 2012) researchers exhort that future studies should recognise the multiplicity of the interpretations of Islam and strive to accentuate how Islam is practised and experienced in daily life and in particular contexts (Jafari, 2012; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016). By exploring the different generations of British Pakistanis in the U.K. and bringing to the fore the practices, discourses, and dynamics that characterise this particular context, this study offers new knowledge of Muslim consumers' subjectivities. Accordingly, by explicating the religious, consumption, ethnic, and host cultural forces, tensions, and practices that consumers experience and negotiate as they (re)construct and communicate their identities, this research contributes to the academic understanding of the interaction and intersection of religion, ethnicity, and consumption.

Islamic consumption practice is highly contested, dynamic, and negotiated (Sandikci, 2020; Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Sandikci & Jafari, 2013; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). This study by referring to and juxtaposing a series of consumption practices that particularly encompasses the exploration of ritual, mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption, prevalent amongst different generations of British Pakistanis demonstrates that secularity and

plurality are also deeply ingrained in Muslims' interpretation of Islam. Charting the consumption practices of this community elicits multiple lifestyles and consumption practices which signifies the paradoxes prevalent in this community and offers credence to the assertions that Islam is subjective, secular and plural in nature. The project thus offers a counter-perspective to the claims that the Islamic creed is completely embedded in exceptionalism and is confined to the realms of the sacred and excludes mundane consumption practices. Such a perspective will ultimately help render stereotypes redundant and provide novel insights into the religio-ethnic marketing literature.

Contemporary research has mostly portrayed the younger generation as passive victims of their circumstances (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005, 2011). In consumer acculturation literature the second and later generations of the ethnic communities, particularly South-Asians, have often been projected as individuals who lead conflicting and dual lifestyles oscillating between two cultures and who have limited options other than to suffer their parents' imposition upon them of alien cultural values. By documenting the significant role of the younger generation as religious influencers; their emancipated and independent choices when it comes to consumption practices; and their ability to actively choose the extent and level of affiliation with their ethnic culture, this research adds to the consumer acculturation literature by empirically corroborating the stance that the second and later generations are not passive victims of their circumstances.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six main chapters. A brief description of each of the chapters is as follows:

Chapter one introduces the context of the research and highlights the importance of exploring the current research. The chapter begins by underlining the significance of investigating religion and ethnicity in conjunction. It looks at the various approaches that have been adopted to

explore Islam and Muslims. It further discusses the importance of adopting a more co-constitutive, critical cultural approach while exploring Islam, consumption, and ethnicity. The chapter finally hones in on the research aims and contributions of this research. It ends by giving an outline of the structure of the thesis.

Chapter two by adopting a funnel down approach starts by drawing on the existing literature and discusses the broader role of religion in consumer behaviour and then narrows into reviewing contemporary literature on Islamic marketing and its major impacts on consumer behaviour. The review particularly focuses on delineating the leading approaches and tendencies in the academic debates concerning consumer behaviour and Islamic marketing. Subsequently, the literature review chapter explicates the phenomenon of consumer acculturation and ethnicity and highlights the various existing notable theoretical frameworks that explain these phenomena. The chapter then delves into an overview of Identity. It culminates by reviewing the theoretical literature on authenticity, families and intergenerational dynamics, social capital and social class, and multiculturalism.

Chapter three describes the methodology of this research project. This chapter comprehensively discusses the design, synthesis, characterisation, and evaluation of the research methods in this study. It begins by stating the research philosophy and the research paradigms that have informed this research. This chapter subsequently highlights the significance of the British Pakistanis as the target population. It explicates the research approach and strategy by outlining the sampling and data collection methods used in obtaining the primary data for this empirical research. In the latter half of this chapter data analysis technique, researcher reflexivity, and the limitations of the study have also been delved upon.

The findings and discussions are divided into two chapters, "Chapter 4" and "Chapter 5". These two chapters are devoted to a detailed discussion of the findings of my empirical research and the general conclusions that I have drawn from them. In the presentation of the findings, I include many and often

quite lengthy direct quotations from the research interviews in order to convey as accurately as possible the views of the subjects of the study and demonstrate the grounding of my general conclusions in the empirical material. The details of the two chapters are as follows:

Chapter four is the findings and discussion chapter, which focuses on the different identities of interest in this study and is divided into two broad sections. The first section explores various aspects of the religious identity of the different generations of British Pakistanis, whereas the second section delves into the ethnic and host identities of the aforementioned community.

Chapter five is the findings and discussion chapter that sheds light on how the different identities (religious, ethnic, and host) play out and are implicated in consumer acculturation by identifying and assessing the norms, rituals, mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption practices prevalent amongst the different generation of British Pakistanis.

Chapter six is the last chapter and is entitled "Significance of the study, managerial implications, and future directions". It summarises the main findings of this research. It also highlights the significance and contribution of this research and also accentuates the managerial implications of the study. The chapter draws to a close by making recommendations for further studies in the future.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.1 Role of religion in consumer behaviour

Majority of the scholars acknowledge the importance of the role of culture and subculture in consumer behaviour (Mokhlis, 2009). Prior studies on consumer culture, behaviours, and attitudes (e.g. Shaw & Clarke, 1998; Thompson & Tambyah, 1998) have exhibited the influence of cultural values in determining the attitudes and behaviours of individuals. Moreover, McCort & Malhotra (1993) assert that despite the increase in extant literature focussing on this area, culture is considered by researchers as the most difficult and challenging phenomenon to study and investigate due to its pervasive and multifaceted nature. Mokhlis (2009) explicates that culture has been defined and described in terms of rituals, symbols, values, beliefs, and norms that are shared by individuals of a society or group. It consists of patterns of behaviour, cultivated and learned responses, fundamental assumptions, traditional norms, and habits of thinking, reacting, and feeling (Shweder, 1991). The very abstract and complex nature of culture certainly makes it outside the reach of any empirical study to appropriately explore and investigate culture as one unified concept (Mokhlis, 2009). Scholars are, therefore giving a call to unpackage culture to better understand the behavioural consequences and influence of the various underlying dimensions and constituents (McCort & Malhotra, 1993).

Mokhlis (2009) underlines that there is a considerable body of extant literature that has probed culture and its impact on various aspects of consumer behaviour. Nevertheless, he further exhorts that within this body of research, limited studies have explored the influence and implications of religion on consumer attitudes and behaviours by incorporating religion as a component and element of culture. On the contrary, studies have mostly paid attention to other specific subcultural factors such as ethnicities, values, and nationalities as important determinants and predictors of consumer behaviour.

According to Mokhlis (2009), religion is a significant and intriguing aspect of culture to study because it is considered amongst the most globalized and influential social phenomena which drive people's behaviours, values, and attitudes at both societal and individual levels. Furthermore, religious beliefs, values, and norms are seen to have an impact on human behaviour symbolically and ritualistically either directly through taboos and obligations or indirectly through its influence on society and culture. Mokhlis further explicates that Religion and its affiliated practices often have a crucial part to play in many of the important transitions and life events of individuals (e.g. ceremonies, rituals, and rites related to birth, marriages, and funerals); in values that are deemed important to individuals (e.g. the moral and ethical values determining what is right and what is wrong), in moulding public attitudes and opinions on social issues (e.g. consummation, premarital intercourse, family planning, and the like), in determining what is forbidden and allowed for consumption (e.g. restrictions and forbiddance of drinking and eating) and in many other daily practices and aspects of an individual's everyday life. It needs to be underlined that these norms tend to vary between various religions and the extent to which the adherents of those religions follow and observe the guidelines, rules, and restrictions of their faith determine to what extent these norms are adopted (Mokhlis, 2009).

It must be noted that adherers of a religion are not alone when it comes to aligning and reconciling their lifestyles according to religious beliefs and laws. Often religious obligations and regulations acquire meanings that extend beyond the observant followers of a faith. For instance, dietary rules and regulations signify obligations in the case of observant families and at the same time, represent a sort of habit or preference for the non-believing members of the community. In such a case religion represents not only a faith that binds and links the spiritual nature of a believer to a transcendental, supernatural, or divine entity but mainly a subunit of culture that shapes and influences the customs and norms of the society. According to Mokhlis (2009), such systems are supposed to regulate the conduct of the believers because of their

devotion, faith, and as a sign of reverence and those of the unbelievers as a pillar or component of the cultural landscape.

Delener (1990) enunciates that religion is generally a key constituent of culture, which has a tremendous impact on the behaviour of individuals, which in turn influences the purchasing decisions of consumers. Esso & Dibb (2004b) elaborated that religion regulates the behaviour of consumers in two ways. The first is a direct influence of religious doctrines and tenants on individual choices. Whereas the second is found to be indirect and relates to religion's potential to influence the formation of attitudes and values, particularly those related to economic issues. Bailey & Sood (1993) accentuate that the interrelationship between consumer behaviour and religion is evident and can be noted in the feasting and fasting practices of food purchases, practices of personal hygiene related to buying cosmetics and toiletries, entertainment and housing patterns, and in the beliefs in taboos on activities and clothing styles of individuals.

Despite religion pervading every facet of society and being one of the most crucial social factors that impact the lives of its adherents (Mukhtar & Butt, 2012) the influence of religion on consumption related attitudes and behaviours are under-explored in the marketing literature (Usman et al., 2017; Mansori et al., 2015; Jamal & Sharifuddin, 2015; Sergius Koku & Jusoh, 2014; Ansari, 2014; Swimberghe et al., 2011; Cleveland et al., 2013). Likewise, Lindridge (2005) expresses that the role of religion is under-researched in the consumer behaviour domain. This dearth is a paradox as religiosity shapes peoples' beliefs and actions (Delener, 1994). Hirschman (1983), posited three reasons that delineate why there has not been ample research conducted on religion within the area of consumer behaviour. The first reason for the slow evolution of literature in this domain is the plausibility that consumer researchers are incognizant of the possible connections between religion and consumption patterns. The second reason is the perceived bias and prejudices prevalent among the research community. Researchers are deterred from exploring this construct since it is considered to be a taboo topic and too

sensitive to be dissected and researched. In this sense, the apprehensions of committing a potential inadvertent offence as well the legal protection afforded to religion dissuade many researchers from studying this domain. Lastly, it is believed that religion is all around in an individual's life and as such, may have been overlooked by consumer researchers as an obvious and viable variable for examination in this area.

To date, only a small portion of studies have investigated religion as a phenomenon that can help determine consumers' attitudes and behaviours, even though there have been calls for such stream of studies in the literature (Ansari, 2014). These assertions are consistent with Sergius Koku & Jusoh (2014), who aver that religion's role has not been completely recognized in the marketing domain. Therefore, a number of researchers exhort that the role of religion in consumer behaviour needs to be actively pursued and explored (e.g. Aoun & Tournois, 2015; Kiani et al., 2016; Jamal & Sharifuddin, 2015; Mansori et al., 2015; Bachleda et al., 2014; Ahmed et al., 2013; Muhamad & Mizerski, 2010; Swimberghe et al., 2009; King & Crowther, 2004).

To analyse the trend of conducting studies on religion in the field of marketing, Cutler (1992) calculated the frequency of papers published on this topic in the marketing literature from 1956 to 1989. It was found that only 35 articles with a religious theme were published in that era and the majority of these (almost 80 %) came out in the 1980s. Furthermore, out of these publications, only six were identified as those that can be explicitly considered to fall within the domain of consumer behaviour. Mathras et al. (2016) also quantified this trend and in doing so analysed every article being published in the leading journals of marketing (Journal of Marketing, Journal of Marketing Research, Marketing Science, Journal of Consumer Psychology, and Journal of Consumer Research) from 1992 till 2014. They tried to identify every publication that mentioned the word religion in these journals. They found that in the period between 1992 up until 2006, an estimate of five articles that included the word religion appeared per year in these journals. However, according to Mathras et al. (2016), it is noteworthy that this figure has increased to approximately to

over thirteen publications every year in the time between 2007-2014. Notwithstanding this rise of articles that discuss the phenomena of religion, it is argued that only a small percentage of these papers feature religion as the central theoretical construct.

Religion is a crucial and important part of life for most people. According to Hackett et al. (2012), nearly 80% of the world population is affiliated with a religion and above 70% of Americans acknowledge that their everyday behaviours are influenced by their religious beliefs and assertions. Hirschman (1981) enunciates that Religion affects a gamut of consumer activities such as information seeking and product innovativeness. Cosgel & Minkler (2004) are of the opinion that exploring the role of religion in consumer behaviour is essential among other reasons because people express and communicate their religious identities as well as convey the intensity of their beliefs to others through consumption choices (Cosgel & Minkler, 2004).

Mathras et al. (2016) state that prominent psychologists the likes of Durkheim, Allport, and James have long advocated exploring religion to better comprehend the human nature and the functioning of a person's everyday life. Scholars such as James (2012) contend that exploring religious experiences offers the prospects of breakthroughs in gaining fundamental insights into human psychology. Nevertheless, few mainstream psychologists have diligently pursued such a research agenda. (Cohen, 2015). Several studies have acknowledged the importance of consumer behaviour. However, most of these have mainly focused on the impact of religiosity which is the extent or degree to which a person believes, affiliates, or participates in any religion (Vitell, 2009; Bjarnason, 2007) or on the general notion of what in the life of contemporary consumers constitutes the sacred (Belk et al., 1989).

One of the possible reasons that religion has potential import for consumer behaviour is that they provide the grounds for the socialization of values. In other words, religion is one power that is likely to shape and influence social values (Kahle et al., 2005). Religion can provide the basis for social identity and can regulate an individual's value congruent preferences. Research on

the means-end chain has affirmed that values are paramount in consumer choices (Kahle, 1996). The majority of consumers, when enquired about the reasons for buying a particular product, will first highlight an attribute or a benefit, followed by a consequence and ultimately a “value”. Thus, it is reasoned that the fundamental reason for the majority of consumer decisions and preferences are values. If religion, in fact, does influence values, which have been shown to have a pervasive impact on consumer choice (Kahle, 1996), then religion ought to be thoroughly probed (Kahle et al., 2005).

The aforementioned discussion highlights the relevance of religion in the field of consumer behaviour and in the light of extant academic literature underscores the need to explore this stream of research in greater depths. It, however, needs to be emphasised that the majority of the extant research on religion in consumer behaviour has focused on Western contexts and populations, especially among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews. Such limited views pose questions of generalizability of such studies in other religious contexts and cultural settings (Mansori et al., 2015). Moreover, research on the influence and impact of religion on consumer behaviour needs to be further rationalized. In this regard, further empirical research and theory development is required as a considerable amount is still to be clarified and discovered (Mathras et al., 2016; Abu-Alhaija et al., 2018). The next section discusses various definitions of religion and draws out the definition of religion and religiosity that is cogent for this study.

2.1.1 Definition of Religion

The efforts to search for a universally accepted definition or theory of religion are beset with overwhelming impediments and difficulties (Clarke & Byrne, 1993). According to Wulff (1997) scholars in light of the extant literature identify three historical denominations of this phenomenon: (1) A divine power or entity, to which people must acknowledge and respond; (2) A feeling inherent in the person who conceives of such a power or entity; (3) The acts of rituals performed in reverence to that supernatural power. Such designations have eluded social scientific consensus, and therefore, it is an uphill task to form

any generalization relative to religion that is universally valid and agreed upon (Mokhlis, 2009). While religious scholars have endeavoured to develop a definition of religion that is suitable and valid for all religions (Mathras et al., 2016), many are of the view that this task is not achievable (Atran & Norenzayan, 2004; Hood et al., 2009; Cohen, 2009). As a result, several varying theories and definitions of religion are often used in the literature (Mokhlis, 2009). Among others, religion has been defined by researchers in the following ways:

Religion is to believe in a divine entity, followed by an obligation and commitment to abide by the doctrines that are considered to be ascribed by the divine, transcendental entity (McDaniel & Burnett, 1990, p. 110)

A collection of socially held beliefs, actions, and ideas that are concerned with the ultimate truth, the empirical validation of which is not possible, but still is believed to impact and control events in nature and human lives (Terpstra & David, 1991, p.73).

An organized collection of belief, rituals, traditions, and customs that are composed (a) to promote proximity and closeness with the divine, sacred, or ultimate reality/truth (b) to foster within a person an awareness, of one's responsibility towards other people while living with each other in a community (Koenig et al., 2012, p.18).

A subcomponent of culture that denotes a unified system of practices and beliefs in relation to a transcendental entity or reality (Arnould et al., 2004, p.517-518)

An arrangement and schema of convictions and beliefs about the spiritual and supernatural universe, about the creator of the universe, and about how human beings as the creation of God are supposed to behave and live in this world (Sheth & Mittal, 2004, p.65).

A careful examination of these definitions brings to the fore the underlying discrepancies found among researchers in the perception and comprehension

of the concept of religion. Clarke & Byrne (1993) highlighted three issues that hinder the prospects of construing a satisfactory definition of religion. (1) Ambiguities and conflicts in the general use of the terminology; (2) the confused meaning inherent in the definition of religion because of its confounded history (3) The obviously blatant divergences and disparities in the perspectives and approaches adopted by researchers to delineate the concept of religion. Consequently, since religion cannot be defined in universal, general terms, there is a need to define it relative to the research setting and context of the study (Wilkes et al., 1986).

Religion in the past has typically been theorized as a unidimensional concept. It was primarily being measured with respect to denomination and attendance to the places of worship (Bergan & McConatha, 2001). Such a unitary measure of religion, albeit simple, remains a commonly adopted measure within contemporary research studies (Schwartz & Huismans, 1995). It is argued that the frequent use of such a definition and conceptualization of religion does not necessarily make it an acceptable and appropriate research approach (Mokhlis, 2009). Researchers contend that adopting such a general measure of religiosity that solitarily relies on religious attendance as the measure of religiosity may not be adequate and will give rise to incorrect and distorted results (Bergan & McConatha, 2001). Many religious scholars aver that religion is a construct having multiple distinct dimensions (Vitell, 2009) and that there are numerous ways to measure and assess this multidimensional construct (Saroglou, 2011; Minton & Kahle, 2014). Researchers underscore that recognizing the multidimensional aspect of religion facilitates and enables a more insightful understanding of the potential significance of the various forms of religiosity. (Mokhlis, 2009; Mathras et al., 2016).

The definitions of religion, as mentioned earlier, can all be categorized as substantive definitions. Such definitions interpret religion by delineating its distinguishing characteristics, usually in terms of its beliefs and/or characteristics. Since these definitions are based on a selection of defining characteristics, they are criticized as being too narrow, rigid and at times

exhibiting prejudice in the form of personal religious (even a denominational) bias or broad cultural bias (Berger, 1974; Van Gaalen, 2015; University, 2014). One particular criticism that makes the substantive definitions of religion unsuitable for this research is that they are considered essentialist and tend to separate culture from religion and ignore how the politics of place, identity, origin, and meaning function in modern society and culture (Thomas, 2016).

In order to circumvent the possibility of being too rigid and too narrow while defining religion, scholars have adopted functional definitions of religion (University, 2014). A functional definition does not focus on beliefs and specific practices of religion but on what these beliefs and practices do for the persons and the social groups. The emphasis of these definitions is on the need religion fulfills for individuals, for example, in contributing or providing identity, security, comfort, and bonding. A significant advantage of the functional definition is flexibility (University, 2014). Such an approach of defining religion is consistent with Ng (1991), who asserts that the functional perspective of religion aims to understand and interpret religion concerning the social function it fulfills. In contrast, a substantive approach to religion defines religion in terms of its belief systems and contents. Functional definitions of religion are generally broader in comparison to substantive ones. This inclusive perspective of religion may encompass trans-historical, cross-cultural, and changing facets of religion and prompts its adherents to be sensitive to the religious undertone of many social settings (Ng, 1991).

Both the substantive and functional approaches are recognized as valid methodologies for studying and understanding religion (Ng, 1991). However, since the methodological approach adopted in this research is concerned with exploring how religion shapes the practices, experiences, and identities of its believers it is more attuned with the functional perspective of religion. The functional approach is especially cogent to this research as it focuses on how through rituals, beliefs, symbols, and practices religion equips the believers with tools to interpret and act upon the world (Van Gaalen, 2015). This

research in particular adopts and is informed with the functional definition of Geertz (2004) which conceptualizes religion as:

"A system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic." (Geertz, 2004, p.4).

This particular definition by Geertz accentuates his view of religion as a dimension of culture (Van Gaalen, 2015). This research retains a crucial feature of Geertz's work, which assumes that for the researcher, the significance of religion rests on its potential to provide, for a person or a group, as a reference or a source of general, yet distinctive views and understanding of the self, the world and the interplay between them – on the one hand, the model of aspect and on the other hand the model for aspect (Geertz, 2004). In line with this definition of religion, religiosity in this research is identified by its effects (Schnell, 2003). Thus, religiosity in this study refers to the use of religious beliefs and practices by individuals in their daily lives and when faced with life's choices or problems (Tamney, 1980).

Notwithstanding the definition of religion, this study is also cognizant and considerate with the viewpoint that it is also necessary to define religion from the perspective of the actors (Machalek, 1977; Weigert, 1974). In this matter, Machalek (1977) makes a noteworthy argument in which he explicates that there are no true or false definitions of complex and abstract concepts like religion, but only more and less practical and useful ones. Recent work by Jafari (2012) builds upon this very perspective of the study of religion. He argues that searching for a universal definition of religion side-tracks and draws the researcher away from exploring the main questions and objectives of the study. The aim of the researcher should be to gain deeper insights and understandings of what religion is and what it offers. Still, above all, they should focus and delve into how religion is enacted in the reality of the everyday life of individuals. As there is no agreement or consensus among social science

scholars upon the definition of religion, Ibrahim (2015) contends that it would be more logical and effective for the definition to come from the research informants themselves. The emphasis of this research is on the impact of religion on the lives and experiences of the research participants. It is posited that their definitions and perceptions of religion can further add value and contribute to the definition that is adopted by the researcher.

Moreover, it is just as important to comprehend the sociocultural factors that affect the respondents' understanding of religion and the role it plays in shaping their lives, instead of just paying attention to how they define the term religion (Ibrahim, 2015). Religion exists within a context and cannot be adequately comprehended and explored apart from that context. This is amply evident from the differences that exist between religions and in the same religion observed over a period of time which can be attributed to their development within different historical and social contexts (University, 2014).

Previous studies exploring the influence of religion on the attitudes and behaviours of consumers are typically narrow in scope. These studies have generally tried to identify the consumption differences that exist between consumers from different religious affiliations (The difference in consumption practices between the protestants and the Catholics) and between consumers with different degrees or extent of religiosity (Shachar et al., 2011; Cutright, 2012; Pace, 2013). This study adopts a flexible definition of religion to account for the subjective and sometimes individualized ways in which religion and religiosity can be manifested and understood. The approach this study emphasizes is focused on defining what religion does and the role it plays in the everyday life practices of the consumers. In addition to its potential to influence people, Ibrahim (2015) avers that religion is also a powerful cultural and social force. This research is concerned with exploring the functional aspect of religion, specifically how it influences the identity constructions of British Pakistani Muslims and subsequently their consumption decisions. Since the focus of this study is the religion of Islam, the next section by taking

note of research that explores various aspects of this faith seeks to situate the religion of Islam in the consumer behaviour domain.

2.1.2 Situating the religion of Islam in consumer behaviour

This section attempts to highlight the significance and importance of the religion of Islam in the lives of Muslim consumers by discussing extant literature and studies that have explored the implications, impact, and influence of Islam on various aspects of consumer behaviour.

Studying the role of Islam in consumer behaviour is a prominent and evolving field of inquiry (Alserhan et al., 2016; Wilson, 2012). While contemporary literature points towards a higher degree of interest in the field of Islamic marketing, this stream of research remained a viable and untapped market segment for a long time in the past (Sandikci, 2011). It is also pertinent to note that Islamic marketing has mostly been considered as a regional and homogenous niche marketing phenomenon (Wilson & Grant, 2013; Alserhan & Alserhan, 2012). Sandikci (2011) has delineated two distinct periods in the evolution of Islam and marketing. The first phase termed “omission” entails Muslims being viewed as orthodox and conservatives and Islam being considered as incompatible with modern consumer behaviour. The second phase, which is known as the “discovery phase” refers to the realization that Muslims are a viable consumer segment (Sandikci, 2011).

Several researchers have observed that the religion of Islam is a crucial driver of consumption practices in Muslims (Melewar & Alwi, 2018). It is claimed that the religion of Islam provides a deep and broad spectrum of guidelines of living which in turn influences an individual’s behaviour and attitude towards consumption (Fam et al., 2004; Jamal, 2003; Mittelstaedt, 2002). A number of these researchers concur that religion, by and large, is a less explored field in consumer behaviour and the broader marketing literature (Sandikci, 2011; Muhamad & Mizerski, 2010; Ezzo & Dibb, 2004b). Islamic consumption is generally described as an approach to consumption the essence of which is that the Muslims are conscious of God (Wilson, 2012) and endeavour to strike

a balance between the spiritual and material needs in all walks of life including their consumption practices (Bouzenita & Boulanouar, 2016).

From the contemporary literature on Islamic marketing, it is seen that there is an ongoing discourse on the potential exceptionalism of this particular stream of research. The heart of this discussion is the conceptual debate relating to the nature and essence of Islamic marketing. These and similar academic debates have been comprehensively highlighted and explicated by a number of scholars and (Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016; El-Bassiouny, 2014, 2016). In the views of El-Bassiouny (2014, 2016) in spite of the Muslims being a large population in the world, they are in reality considerably marginalized in several facets of marketing practices, research, and academia. She contends that such an omission not only results in opportunity losses to businesses that seek to grow internationally but also causes misunderstandings and conflict between the non-Islamic (western) and Islamic cultures. The researcher propounds that companies can successfully increase their business by integrating this distinct market segment into their marketing strategies. These views are contested by Jafari & Sandikci (2015, 2016) who are proponents of critical cultural perspectives. They are profoundly concerned with understanding and acknowledging the multiplicity of lived experiences in the Muslim communities by engaging with discourses encompassing politics, power relations, political economy, and ideology to understand and elaborate why, in what way, and under what mechanisms and circumstances religion and religiosity are enacted, (re)shaped, and transformed. This perspective strives to understand how people construct their identities as Muslim consumerism in relation to multiple sources of identification such as ethnicity, gender, and social class. It also explores how individuals negotiate the contradictions, conflicts, tensions, and power dynamics in their everyday lives. It should be noted that these two perspectives have already been discussed in the introduction chapter.

On a broader level, a number of researchers exhort that in the pursuit of analysing the phenomenon of Islamic marketing, studies have been adopting

Western theoretical frameworks without adequate justifications (Alserhan, 2015; Zakaria & Abdul-Talib, 2010). Such uncritical and theoretically groundless reliance on western theoretical paradigms and cultural models may generate research findings that are inconclusive or even inaccurate (Alserhan, 2010). These views are consistent with Wilson & Liu (2010). They propose that exploring halal from the perspective of contemporary conceptual frameworks will give way to potential gaps in our comprehension of the phenomena of Islamic marketing as well as consumer attitudes and behaviours. As a case in point, the researchers refer to the process of the supply chain, in which its major principles of delivering better quality products with a stronger brand presence more quickly at lower prices would not essentially be considered halal. The point to heed in such a scenario is that the behaviour, ethics, and intentions of the producers and the suppliers are crucial and of the utmost significance. Therefore, the concept and the process of the supply chain in the context of Islamic marketing needs to be adapted accordingly (Wilson & Liu, 2010).

Similarly, Ahmed (2008) contemplates the value and significance of authenticity and trust in consumer interactions. He conducted an empirical study exploring British Muslims and found results in contradiction to the classical marketing approach. The study findings revealed that even though the majority of the participants acknowledged that mainstream shopping stores which shelved halal meat were more sanitary and hygienic and sold products that were superior and of better quality but they still preferred to buy meat from their local butchers. The fundamental keynote derived from the aforementioned examples is the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Muslim consumers' buying behaviour and outlook of life which according to scholars is the consequence of their strong religious inclinations (El-Bassiouny, 2014; Agarwala et al., 2019; Islam & Chandrasekaran, 2020). Moreover, researchers like El-Bassiouny (2014) are of the view that future studies related to Islam and consumers need to adopt a unique approach that is qualitatively different from the western framework which is being applied in the current marketing literature. These reservations have been pointed out in numerous studies

which substantiate the challenges of incorporating and adapting traditional models and theories in the research pursuits of Islamic marketing (Bouzenita & Boulanouar, 2016; Ali et al., 2013).

Notwithstanding these contentions delving into the existing studies of consumer behaviour with respect to Islamic marketing bring to light the multidimensionality and complexity of the subject. The studies most notably illustrate the complexity of the interactions and intersections between religion, globalization, traditions, consumerism, social pressure, business ethics, and personal preferences. Likewise, an increasing number of projects probe the interplay between Islamic values and marketing principles, by taking into consideration the impact and effects of religion on the daily activities and practices of Muslim consumers and Islamic businesses (Oyedele & Firat, 2018; Shaikh et al., 2019; Khan et al., 2015; Livanis et al., 2016). Scholars also elucidate the significance of Islamic ethics, which provides businesses with the opportunity to engage in its distinct prescriptions of marketing strategies and help shape corporate decisions and government policies (Ali & Al-Aali, 2015; Ali et al., 2013).

The dynamic interrelationships between Islamic values and principles of marketing have prompted researchers to identify potential tensions and mergers between them. A number of studies have noted a symbiotic association between the marketplace and religion (Ger, 2013; Sandikci & Ger, 2010). For instance, Sandikci & Ger (2007, 2010) in their studies have explored how faith is manifested and expressed through fashion. The findings explicate how the Islamic fashion industry through consumption practices shapes an image of a modern Muslim female. Their research also delineates how the religious practice of veiling is transformed into symbols of fashions. In similar vein researchers exhort about the potential ramifications on society due to the union of Islam and capitalism (Ger, 2013), or accentuate apprehensions relating to increased consumerism resulting in marked branding and marketisation of Islam (Suerdem, 2013). A number of researchers also highlight the possible tensions and conflict between Islam and marketing (EI-

Bassiouny, 2014). Apprehensions especially exist about using religion for ideological purposes in the marketplace (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012) as a consequence of which markets may become sites of religiously motivated boycotts (Halimi et al., 2017) and ideological conflicts (Jafari & Goulding, 2013).

Moreover, scholars like Rauschnabel et al. (2015) highlight the spillover effect and the implications that religious packaging and labelling of items may have on buyers that are unbelievers. The researcher expounds that while religious labelling presents companies with the possibility to expand their businesses to new and larger market segments, it may also have certain spillover effects among other sections of the society. These assertions resonate with other studies which highlight the implications of excessively opportunistic marketing strategies that can give rise to new types of identity conflicts between consumer segments having different religious affiliations (Suerdem, 2013; Linh & Bouchon, 2013).

Hirschman et al. (2011) discuss the existence of a symbiotic relationship between the marketplace and religion. They explicate that such relationships are prevalent in the ethnic societies where religious beliefs influence the rejection or adoption of services and products available in the host country and at the same time support the existence of a niche market for religious products associated with their ethnic countries.

In the case of halal consumption, the influence of religious beliefs is seen to be even greater. Butt et al. (2017) demonstrate that the degree and extent of religious affiliation is an effective predictor of an individual's preference for halal products. Similarly, Jamal & Sharifuddin (2015) identify religious inclinations as a determinant of the perceived usefulness and value of halal packaging and labelling. A study by Wilkins et al. (2017) elicits that the majority of consumers who do not ascribe to the religion of Islam are indifferent about consuming halal foods. However, certain sections may exhibit negative reactions if they are not made aware beforehand that they are being offered halal food and products. They consider this as a deliberate attempt of

deceiving customers and withholding important information. In their study of Christians in Austria and their perceptions of Halal food, Schlegelmilch et al. (2016) observed conflict amongst out-groups and in groups. The finding highlighted negative perceptions towards endorsing halal food which resulted in the disapproval and refusal of consuming such food products.

Religious hostilities have also been explored with respect to boycotting of various brands and products and their potential implications on business profits, consumer loyalties, and brand image. Abosag & Farah (2014) in their investigations of Muslims and Christians posit that such hostilities are more prevalent among the Muslims and are likely to remain consistent over time and tend to have a longer-term impact on their consumption attitudes and behaviour. Another study conducted by Farah & Newman (2010) indicates that Muslim consumers exhibit greater tendencies to engage in boycott practices. These findings resonate with Ahmed et al. (2013) who find that when it comes to purchasing US products, ethnocentrism and religiosity are crucial factors predicting the purchasing attention of Malaysians.

In this respect, a number of comparative studies have juxtaposed the consumption differences among Muslims and other religious communities. In addition to the aforementioned studies, researchers have also explored the differential impact of globalization on the different religious communities in Lebanon. In the case of the Muslim segment of the population, the findings revealed an inverse relationship between ethnic identity and cultural globalisation. Likewise, an assessment of the interrelationships between consumption, religion, and acculturation of British Indians has prompted Lindridge (2010) to the analysis that while the role of religion in the consumption practices of the Sikh and the Hindus is marginal, in the case of British Indian Muslims religion has a significant role to play. Lindridge (2010) underscores that these Muslims tend to reject their Indian cultural identity and consume products to express their Muslim and British identities.

Even though many studies (e.g., Agarwala et al., 2019; Mathras et al., 2016; Evans et al., 2012; Assadi, 2003; Bailey & Sood, 1993) have substantiated the

dominant impact of religion on consumer behaviour, it needs to be underlined that the interpretations of religious prescriptions and norms among individuals are not fixed or static. Research on the effect of religion on consumer behaviour offers insights into the gradations, diversifications, and adjustments of consumers according to their religious values and beliefs. An empirical examination of the attitudes and behaviours of Libyan consumers (Abdelhadi et al., 2014), demonstrated how the shop sellers employ unconventional approaches to control aberrant behaviour and have a more nuanced perception of what constitutes a transgression of the accepted norms. These observations resonate with Muhamad & Mizerski (2013) who elucidate that consumers are more likely to follow Islamic guidelines in certain situations such as deciding whether to listen to controversial popular music and whether to smoke. The findings also reveal that certain purchase decisions, such as buying coca-cola, are less likely to be affected by the religiosity of the individual. Similar noteworthy findings in a study conducted by Al-Mutawa (2013) explicate the various ways by which Muslim females reconcile and manage fashion and religious expectations. The researcher posits that in the case of fashion, Muslim women tend to give rise to modestly sensual styles that reconstruct the meaning of Western luxury fashion brands in the Islamic context.

Findings of comparative research that have juxtaposed the consumption attitudes and behaviours of consumers of other religious dominations and that of Muslims do not affirm the claims that Muslims are completely marginalised in terms of western consumption practices (Dey et al., 2017). On the contrary, there is an inclination to evaluate and balance the benefits and costs of engaging in various consumption practices. This process is termed by researchers as acculturation tradeoff and is exhibited in the case of British Asian Muslims' participation in celebrations associated with Christmas. It is seen that in such situations, the compromise, rejection, or submersion into the consumption practices of other people is an individual choice (Khan et al., 2018).

In a similar vein Aidi (2014) dispels the notion that Muslims are completely marginalized and incompatible with western consumption and culture in his seminal multidisciplinary research. The researcher illustrates how for the young Muslims belonging to different generations of ethnic communities, residing primarily in the USA, Europe, South America, and North Africa, the socio-cultural tones and influences of these countries remain significant. His work presents the opposite of the stereotyped media story of Islamic separatism. Elahi (2015) in his book review of Aidi (2014) explicates how Aidi, by using examples of cultural production such as jazz, punk, gnawa, and hip-hop that span across Europe, America, and North Africa, depicts the manner and ways in which these cultural movements embody an alternative idea of cosmopolitanism and modernity for the Muslims. Aidi meets this objective by visiting numerous musical genesis and transformation scenes and interviewing famous musicians, community organizers, and imams (Elahi, 2015).

It needs to be underscored that studies investigating consumption attitudes and behaviours of Muslims in Western culture and societies have pointed towards a number of challenges encountered by them in non-Muslim contexts. In the case of Muslims, studies have highlighted impediments to locating and confirming halal sources of food and how social media helps consumers in overcoming these impediments. On a similar note, a study by Summers et al. (2018) discusses the potential conflict encountered by Muslim women in Australia who strive to strike a balance between the desire to partake in exercise and the disinclinations to undermine their religious observance. Moreover, Jamal & Shukor (2014) emphasize the complications ensued by the intersections and interactions between interpersonal influences and various aspects of acculturation such as clothing conformity, the desire for modesty and uniqueness, and self-congruity among the younger generations of British Muslims. Lastly, the emotional complexities that arise in immigrants who are caught crossing the group value boundaries have been discussed by Carvalho et al. (2018).

The takeaway from the literature review thus far is that religion, particularly in the case of Muslims, is a pivotal aspect of culture and an influential force in consumer behaviour. Regardless of this realization religion is scantily explored in the field of consumer behaviour and warrants more research attention (Wong, 2007). These assertions are consistent with Muhamad & Mizerski (2010) who exhorts that when it comes to exploring religion, there are inconsistencies and contradictions in the marketing studies that consider it a taboo subject even though it is seen to be an important and influential component of culture. Such perspectives and perceptions about religion need to be addressed if we desire to understand the dynamics and specificity of religion in marketing. It is necessary to push towards a comprehensive exploration into the role and influence of religion taken independently and in its interplay with other constructs (Floren et al., 2019). In line with Floren et al.'s (2019) proposed research directions the succeeding part of the literature review discusses consumer acculturation and ethnicity, which we seek to explore in tandem with religion.

2.2 Ethnicity and consumer acculturation

Majority of the researchers exhort the significance of understanding the unique requirements, needs, and challenges encountered by the ethnic minority consumers and develop tailored marketing strategies that are congruent with their demands and preferences. The extent to which members of the ethnic minority communities integrate into the dominant culture of the host society especially has been a major area of interest in the social sciences for some time now, particularly during the last seven decades (Jamal et al., 2015). Furthermore, the impact and influence of resettlement and migration on the consumption experiences, attitudes, and behaviours of ethnic communities have been an intriguing area of exploration for consumer behaviour researchers (Hui et al., 1992). There is a growing need for marketing theories and strategies to incorporate culture, ethnicity, and ethnic identity as they impact the consumption of modern-day consumers.

The contemporary global marketplace is characterised by the concurrent occurrence of global integration and the continuous ethnic, religious, racial, and national difference (Cleveland et al., 2013; Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). The global immigration tendencies and rate of economic growth in recent decades have contributed towards the evolution of large ethnic subcultures across the Western world (Jamal, 2003). In this respect, policies pertaining to ethnic communities are highly contested across the globe, particularly in the USA, Europe, Australia, and Canada (Jamal et al., 2015). In recent times the influx of refugees and economic immigrants into the Western countries has enhanced the topicality and the importance of this stream of research (Sandikci & Jafari, 2013).

It is pertinent to note that the interest in immigrants and ethnic communities in the field of consumer behaviour can be traced back to the 1980s where consumer researchers were focused on understanding the dynamics and complexities of immigrant adaptations into Western consumer cultures, that is to a cultural environment where the self is to a great extent defined through consumption practices (Cross, 2000). This interest in understanding the ethnic communities and the intricacies of their consumption practices subsequently gave rise to the phenomenon of consumer acculturation (Luedicke, 2011) which is the focus of our next section.

2.3 Consumer acculturation – An overview

Jamal et al. (2015) elaborate that acculturation occurs when different groups of people having different cultures come into constant first-hand contact with each other, which is accompanied by changes in the pattern of the original culture of either one or both groups. The Social Science Research Council termed acculturation as the change in culture that is brought about by the union of two or more independent cultural systems (Palmer & Brainerd, 1954). The majority of the definitions found in the literature have the following underlying commonality: (1) Individuals from two different cultures (2) Constant and sustained contact of two groups and (3) adaptation of cultural patterns, attitudes, and behaviours by members of the groups. It needs to be underlined

that although cultural change happens due to the intercultural contact anywhere around the world (for instance, teenagers all over the world embracing Western cultural values due to their exposure, experiences, and engagement with global consumer culture (GCC) as well as with the global social media), the cultural change that the term acculturation entails is often used to describe individuals (e.g., refugees, immigrants, sojourners such as international students and asylum seekers) residing in regions or countries other than where they were born (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Within the field of marketing, consumer acculturation is the phenomenon in which individuals that are born and raised in a particular culture learn consumption associated with values, customs, and attitudes of another culture by direct or indirect exposure or contact (Schiffman et al., 1981). This notion of consumer acculturation is resonant with the definition posited by Penaloza (1989) who stated that consumer acculturation is a process used to illustrate the acquiring of knowledge and skills that are necessary to participate and engage in consumer behaviour in one culture by individuals belonging to another culture. Penaloza (1994) draws out three steps involved in the process of consumer acculturation. The first is movement, where a person immigrates to a new country. The second step is translation, where the immigrant juxtaposes the host culture's values and concept with the one prevalent in the home culture to make sense of the new environment. The final step is adaptation, where the person learns how to function and engage in the new cultural environment. These steps of the consumer acculturation process are identified and validated in a number of contexts such as the Blacks, Hispanics, European immigrants in Canada and the United States as well as Muslims in Europe (Palumbo & Teich, 2004). Similarly, Luedicke (2015) further explicated consumer acculturation as a process that transpires when consumers adjust and calibrate their collective identities and consumption practices because of interacting with consumers from unacquainted and unconversant social, national, or cultural backgrounds.

Luedicke (2011) delineating the origins of consumer acculturation research states that it started as an area of research that focused on investigating why consumption patterns of immigrant communities varied in comparison to the local population. Researchers during that time were also interested in exploring what such differences revealed about the immigrant communities' degree of assimilation to a local cultural context. In the pursuit of these research goals, Reilly & Wallendorf (1987) demonstrated that the consumption behaviour patterns of Mexican Americans could not be considered as a simple mix or median between that of the Americans and the Mexicans as posited by the dominant Berry model (Berry, 1997). On the contrary, in certain cases, Mexican immigrants who often come to America with aspirations of personal and economic gain, over-assimilate to an outdated and an internalized Anglo-American style of culture. Another study carried out by Mehta & Belk (1991) revealed an opposite or anti-assimilation type of consumer acculturation in a comparative analysis exploring the notions of favourite possession in the upper middle class, highly educated Indians residing in the USA or Bombay. This insightful and seminal work exhibited that the study respondents not only embraced the American style of clothing, furnishing, and food (in line with Berry's 1997 assimilation framework) but at the same time also utilized unique Indian possession to hyper identify with their ancestral but outdated cultural context. In sum, this and similar studies highlighted the effect (and inertia) of imagined original and local cultural influences or anti-assimilative modes of consumption (Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983; Mehta & Belk, 1991; Ger & Ostergaard, 1998).

Contributing further to the studies conducted by Hirschman (1981), Deshpande et al. (1986) were amongst the early consumer researchers who compared and contrasted consumption differences not only between ethnic communities and local dominant groups but also between consumers having the same ethnic background. In the study initiated by Deshpande et al. (1986), it was found that measures of brand attitudes towards business, loyalty, or the use of media varied not only between dominant and ethnic consumer groups, which was widely acknowledged in previous studies but notably also among

ethnic consumers with varying degree of ethnic identification. Majority of the immigrant and ethnic consumption stream of research that came afterward no more assessed and compared ethnicity with socio-demographics such as an immigrant's country of birth, surname, or language but instead sought to interrogate consumption practices via self-proclaimed identification with an ethnic group.

Up until this point, studies of consumer acculturation point out (1) that the acculturation phenomenon does not adhere to the assumed linear style of a continuous and gradual shift towards cultural assimilation. On the contrary, it is seen that the acculturation process follows simultaneous, multiple, and less direct paths (O'Guinn et al., 1986). (2) that Berry's (1997) model of acculturation does not take into account more complex identity outcomes such as hyperidentification and over-assimilation. (3) That consumption, access, and exposure to institutional agents of acculturation, for instance, American mass media can have a strong impact and influence on immigrants, assimilation outcomes, and paths. (O'Guinn et al., 1986). These significant and insightful findings mark the points of departure for the subsequent studies in consumer acculturation theory. The seminal studies that ensued are regarded by Luedicke (2011) as the second wave of consumer acculturation and were spearheaded by the ground-breaking work by Penaloza (1989).

Penaloza's (1989) seminal work on acculturation strategies paved the way for theorizing new dimensions in acculturation studies. The researcher in this study was focused on exploring "the how" or in other words the ways in which immigrant communities attain the knowledge and skills needed to interact and engage in consumer behaviour in a foreign cultural context. It should be noted that all the prior studies simply measured "the how much" or the extent and degree to which such skills or knowledge have been obtained by the ethnic communities. This insightful research on Mexican immigrants in America explored distinct acculturation conditions and processes that shaped their acculturation outcomes and experiences. These specific conditions and processes, according to Penaloza (1994) were the environment inhabited by

the Mexican immigrants and the attempt to understand what their lives were like in America. The author, by using interpretive methodologies and conducting ethnography, meticulously explicated the complexities inherent in the immigrants' lives as they navigated the two cultures. The research findings revealed that the research participants rapidly adopted American services and products that facilitated social acceptance and a high rate of visibility, such as cars and apparel. They also readily adopted products and services that enabled them to maintain social ties such as the Spanish media and the telephone (Penaloza, 1994). However, on a symbolic level, the participants were seen to consume these indigenous American services and objects in ways that evoked their Mexican cultural heritage. By intermixing cultural rejection and functional assimilation in consumption practices, the study informants managed to selectively oppose the push and pull of Mexican and American markets and cultures in ways that were uncharted by previous studies. Penaloza organized these novel insights into an empirical framework of consumer acculturation that became a benchmark for future studies.

This research not only adopted methodologies (ethnography) that were previously unemployed in consumer acculturation theory but also advanced the conceptual and phenomenological scope of this field in three critical ways. First and foremost, the study conceptualized consumer acculturation as a phenomenon entailing the movement and adaptation to the consumer cultural environment prevalent in a country by people from another country. It needs to be underlined that although movement from one culture to another culture alludes towards a general direction as emphasized by Berry (1997), Penaloza contends that immigration does not always lead to assimilation (Askegaard et al., 2005). Second, the emphasis of the research was on studying the effect on immigrant communities from two outwardly different but to a great degree inwardly homogenous cultural environments, i.e. the culture of origin and the culture of residence. From this perspective, according to Penaloza (1994) media, family, friends, social and religious institutions from the two cultures functions as dual sets of acculturating agents. In other words, people and organizations according to Penaloza are the acculturation agents that facilitate

and enable immigrant communities to reproduce and navigate the cultural norms of the country of residence or that of origin in their new cultural context. Lastly, Penaloza's study by framing consumer acculturation as a process that results in either of four acculturation outcomes resonated with the traditional psychological approach to analysing acculturation outcomes. The outcomes of her consumer acculturation (resistance, maintenance, assimilation, and segregation) similar to Berry's (1980, 1997) model indicate a combination of rejectionist or affirmative inclinations towards the foreign and the original cultural contexts. Nevertheless, her informant's resistance to certain American consumption practices and material values takes a leap forward from Berry's more passively construed marginalization strategy. So Penaloza's findings in conjunction with earlier consumer behaviour studies (e.g. Mehta & Belk, 1991; Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983) negated Berry's claims of a universalist perspective by bringing to the fore cases that were not fully captured and aligned with Berry's existing four model matrix (Luedicke, 2011).

Oswald's (1999) study of Haitian immigrants in America adds another insightful and intriguing dimension to the consumer acculturation research stream. By observing how the Haitian ethnic community understands and wears accessories and clothes that they either affiliate with the host or home culture, the researcher documented the instability of acculturation outcomes which was overlooked by previous studies. The researcher discovered that instead of occupying fixed identity positions, the Haitian ethnic migrants relied on consumption to swap between multicultural identities and the host and home culture. Oswald's work added another crucial conceptual dimension that had a paramount impact on future studies on consumer acculturation. From a theoretical perspective, Oswald applied Berry's (1997) constructs of the host culture and home culture that were initially conceptualized to assess the tendency of immigrants to reject or accept either of the two homogenous systems of meanings. Penaloza (1994), on the other hand, termed these realms as the culture of residence and culture of origin being mindful of cultural sensitivity and avoiding undermining potential cultural diversity. Many

subsequent studies readily incorporated Oswald's dualistic host/home terminologies.

Likewise, Askegaard et al. (2005) built upon and contributed to the theories of identity dynamics and outcomes by illustrating how their Greenlandic research participants in Denmark shifted between positions of assimilation, integration, hyperculture, and pendulism. These movements between positions by the Greenlandic consumers were markedly different from the strategies employed by the high culture Haitian immigrants in America or by the poor Mexicans. In recent times studies like Ustuner & Holt (2007) contributed to the consumer acculturation literature by identifying the shattered identity project that Turkish female migrants experience in a squatter camp outside Ankara. These findings signify the negotiations of ideological conflicts when shifting from a village culture to a western postmodern cultural environment where migrants possess inadequate social and financial capital to engage in the hegemonic consumer culture prevalent in the society in which they reside.

After revisiting the major pioneering research that has advanced and shaped ethnic and consumer acculturation research, the next section focuses on the cultural change models and situates our research within the field.

2.4 Consumer acculturation models

The phenomenon of migration entails the movement of individuals from one place to another. Many Western countries have a long and rich history of attracting immigrants from all the different corners of the world. The impact and implications of migrating and resettling in a new country on the consumption experiences of migrant communities have long been an intriguing stream of research (Hui et al., 1992) in numerous disciplines like consumer behaviour, sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. The fundamental issue of how immigrants remain engaged with their culture of origin despite spending a considerable amount of time in their respective countries of destinations is a persistent one in multicultural societies like Canada, U.K., Australia, and America. In order to explain and elaborate on the underlying dynamics of the

migration phenomenon researchers have developed different theoretical frameworks, the most significant of which are as follows:

- Melting pot and assimilation model of cultural change
- Bi-dimensional models
 - o Berry's model
 - o Mendoza and Martinez's model
 - o Laroche and colleagues' models
 - o Cleveland and Laroche AGCC Model
 - o Cleveland and colleagues expanded model
- Three dimensional Model

2.4.1 Melting pot and assimilation model of cultural change

In essence, the main assumption of the melting pot ideology was that every ethnic community would eventually blend and fuse into the national whole that was greater than the sum of the ethnic parts (Crispino, 1980). Such ideologies are consistent with the notion of assimilation, which is described as the process of coalescence and interpenetration in which individuals and groups pick up and learn attitudes, behaviours, sentiments, and memories of other individuals or groups. Ultimately, as a consequence of sharing experience and history, the former individuals and groups are incorporated with the latter in common cultural life (Park & Burgess 1921, cited in Jamal et al., 2015).

From the definition of assimilation, Gordon (1964) highlighted seven kinds of assimilation. The first type known as behavioural or cultural assimilation occurs when the immigrants alter their patterns (including observance and religious beliefs) in line with those of the host society and culture. Structural assimilation is the second type of assimilation that takes place when the immigrants in considerable numbers enrol at cliques, institutions, and clubs of the host

society on a primary group level. The third type is known as marital assimilation and entails the immigrants marrying the local host society population at a large scale. The fourth kind of assimilation is termed identical assimilation. It takes place when the immigrant population acquires a sense of ethnicity or peoplehood rooted solely in the values of the host society. Similarly, attitudinal receptional assimilation is the fifth type of assimilation and transpires when the immigrant community does not experience any prejudiced attitudes. The sixth type of assimilation is termed behavioural receptional assimilation. This type of assimilation happens when immigrant groups do not experience or face any discriminatory behaviour. The seventh and last kind of assimilation is called civic assimilation. It is achieved when the individuals of immigrant groups do not have any conflict for power and value with the people of the host society.

In the view of Gordon, acculturation comprises of only the process of behavioural or cultural assimilation. Hence acculturation, in essence, was depicted as a component of an overall phenomenon called assimilation. Correspondingly, acculturation was considered as a linear bipolar process. Consistent with this process, individuals belonging to ethnic groups abandon and let go of the values, attitudes, and behaviour of their country of origin when acquiring those of the host culture (Gordon, 1964). According to Kim et al. (2001), this definition of consumer acculturation confounds and intermingles the attainment and familiarity of host cultural traits with the loss of cultural traits of the home country. From a theoretical standpoint, this perspective fails to incorporate alternatives to assimilation, such as bi-cultural identities or integration (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Moreover, a considerable amount of research in the past five decades exploring immigrants and their attitudes, behaviours, and experiences does not substantiate the views of Gordon (1964) that each and every member of the immigrant communities will undergo the process of assimilation. This assimilation perspective is also criticised and challenged on the grounds of being uni-directional with change always taking place in one direction, replacing old customs and culture associated with the country of origin with

new ones that are prevalent in the country of destination (Hui et al., 1992). Contrary to entirely assimilating into the host culture or society, immigrants tend to engage in a more complex and dynamic form of adaptation which encompasses: (a) Obtaining traits and/or skill to interact and engage with the host culture and (b) holding on to / maintaining certain aspects of their culture of origin. From this perspective, the process of acquiring skills and traits to function in the host society is regarded as acculturation, whereas retaining the culture of origin is ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990, 1992).

2.4.2 Bi-dimensional models

Scholars assert that when the host cultural identities and the original cultural identities are independent, the immigrant cultural adaptation process can be better comprehended (Berry, 2005, 2009). Substantiating this viewpoint, research on immigrant communities in Canada and America has revealed that the adaptation process does not necessarily result in the loss of immigrants' original ethnic identities (Lambert et al., 1986). There are six key bi-dimensional models: (1) Berry's model, (2) Mendoza and Martinez's model, (3) Laroche and colleagues' model (4) Cleveland and Laroche's AGCC model, (5) Cleveland and colleagues' extended model and (6) Laroche and colleagues' nonlinear model.

2.4.2.1 Berry's model

According to Berry (1990), countries that have official policies to support multiculturalism and are acceptance of ethnic identities and cultures enable a greater extent of cultural maintenance across generations of immigrants. Berry (1990) delineates that change takes place along two independent dimensions: (1) The extent of sustaining and maintaining the original culture and (2) the extent of conforming to the behaviours and attitudes of the host cultures. These two dimensions intersect to provide four possible strategies/outcomes of acculturation. Berry's framework illustrates that acquiring the norms, values, and traditions of the host society does not result in weakening of the ethnic cultural maintenance. Those individuals who maintain their ethnic identity and culture while also adopting the cultural norms and traits of the host culture are

following an integration approach. Whereas those individuals who maintain their original cultural identity while rejecting the dominant host cultural traits are said to be adopting a separatist approach. When individuals give up their ethnic identity in favour of adopting the cultural norms and traits of the host country, they are pursuing the assimilation route. Finally, those individuals who reject both the cultural traits and identities of both the host and original culture are classified as being marginalized. Studies adopting and assessing Berry's (1980) model of acculturation found strong support for the integrationist perspective in comparison to the assimilationist perspective (e.g Laroche et al., 1998b; Hui et al., 1992; Kim et al., 1990). Research has also accentuated that integrated or bi-cultural consumers generally exhibit high levels of confidence, pro-social behaviour, and self-esteem (Chen et al., 2008). These individuals are also better able to adapt to cultural differences (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005).

Berry (1990) expounded that the acculturation process may take place in an uneven manner. For instance, ethnic minority consumers may exhibit varying levels of acculturation while performing different family and social roles (O'Guinn & Faber, 1985). According to Stayman & Deshpande (1989), the extent of acculturation exhibited by individuals is context-dependent. They explicate that a person may conform and adopt host cultural values when deemed appropriate (for instance when an individual is at work) and reject them when they are no longer appropriate or needed (Jun et al., 1993). The majority of the ethnic minority consumers value both the culture of the host country as well as the ethnic culture of their homeland and seek the best of both worlds. These individuals exhibit positive attitudes towards consumables that are associated with both the cultural environments (Askegaard et al., 2005).

2.4.2.2 Mendoza and Martinez's model

Mendoza & Martinez (1981) posited a distinct four-factor typology conceptualization of the acculturation process: (1) Cultural resistance (passively or actively resisting the adoption of host cultural behaviours and

norms while maintaining customs of the country of origin) (2) Cultural shift (the ethnic culture and norms are replaced by the host culture and norms). (3) cultural incorporation (values and customs are adopted from both the host and original cultures) and (4) cultural transmutation (a unique and distinct subculture blend is generated from coalescing or modifying host and native cultural norms). One keynote of Mendoza and Martinez's acculturation model is that individuals may conform to one acculturation pattern for certain customs while employing other patterns for other customs. According to Mendoza (1989), ethnic communities are generally multifaceted in relation to the various dimensions and types of acculturation. In spite of the differences in terminologies, a number of similarities and overlap exists between the acculturation models posited by Berry (1980) and Mendoza & Martinez (1981).

2.4.2.3 Laroche and colleagues' model

This model is informed by the bi-dimensional perspective to the ethnic groups' cultural adaptation process. A number of researchers adopted a different approach to conceptualizing consumer acculturation by separately measuring the dimensions of ethnic identity and acculturation (Laroche et al., 1996). Moreover, Rogler et al. (1991) assert that acculturation is multi-dimensional. In this sense, the adaptation process likely takes place at varying rates in different socio-cultural spheres, such as in the family or at work. This notion of multi-dimensionality can be crucial in a collectivist culture, for instance, in China that greatly values family life and group solidarity. Jamal et al. (2015) draw attention to the fact that the majority of the acculturation studies focus on adult consumers. Laroche et al.'s (2006) model was a step in the right direction in which he attempted to fill this gap by exploring the influences of the family in the consumer acculturation process. In a similar vein, the findings of Laroche et al. (2007) revealed that interactions among parents and children play a crucial role in the resettlement process in a new cultural environment as well as in the intergenerational communications and discourses within immigrant families. Laroche et al. (2007) conceptualized the notion of family acculturative distance and illustrated that it led to differing patterns of family decision making.

2.4.2.4 Cleveland and Laroche AGCC model

The issue of culture change is relevant and applicable to consumers around the world. We live in a global society that is interconnected and interrelated by cultural and social networks. This interconnectedness and interrelatedness are facilitated by technological advancements and more than ever by the use and exposure to global consumer culture and social media. In the backdrop of such trends, Cleveland & Laroche (2007) interrogated the complex and multifaceted contextual drivers and interactions of global and local cultures that impact and affect consumer behaviour. On the basis of this study, the researchers developed and validated a scale for Acculturation to the Global Consumer Culture (AGCC). It delineates the process through which consumers acquire the skills, knowledge, and behaviours that are characteristics of a growing and deterritorialized global consumer culture (GCC). This scale has been successfully tested in several different countries (Cleveland, 2006; Hallab, 2009; Naghavi, 2011; Sobol, 2008). Their study identified seven drivers of culture change which are as follows:

(1) Exposure and conversance with the English language. The primary premise of these drivers is that a higher exposure and familiarity of the English language promotes the Acculturation to the Global Consumer Culture. Nearly all the major global brands have their origins in Western countries. They widely use English on product packaging and other forms of marketing communications. It is noteworthy that even though the preference and inclination towards the national language and mother tongue have an impact, a greater conversance, and appreciation of the English language facilitates conforming with consumption related phenomenon such as the Global Consumer Culture.

2) Exposure to foreign and international media. The primary premise of this driver is that the more people are exposed to foreign and international media, the more likely it is that they will acquire acculturation to the global consumer culture. The greater use of electronic and digital media enables consumers from around the globe to watch similar television channels, shows, and

movies, listen to similar music, and read similar news (Cross & Smits, 2005). In this way, consumers around the world are exposed to the same brands and messages.

3) Exposure to Multinational corporations' marketing and promotional activities. Substantial exposure to the marketing and promotional campaigns of multinational companies and global brands also promotes culture change. Similar to social and digital mass media, marketing campaigns of global companies, cross borders and shape consumer behaviour worldwide, facilitating culture change. Through advertisements, marketers inform consumers about their products, but during this process, they also disseminate cultural norms and values by virtue of meaning transfer (McCracken, 1986). Brands represent a way of life, a set of emotions, and an image. They are about meaning and not product attributes (Legrain, 2002). Consumers all over the world are completely surrounded by global brand (e.g. Pepsi, Coca Cola, BMW, and apple), global icons (e.g. Michael Jackson, James, Bond, Roger Federer), global products (fast foods, jeans, pizza, cell phones) and global marketing campaigns (Nike's "Just Do it!", McDonald's "Loving it!") are all diffusing traits of the global consumer culture.

(4) Social interactions and contacts. Culture change is also facilitated by social contacts that take place through leisure and business travel, people pursuing international studies as well as migrating from one country to another. People that travel carry along with them their cultural norms and values, which they unconsciously diffuse into the mainstream population (Graddol, 2000). Moreover, these very people when they return to their home countries function as walking displays for the products, they bring with them from their adopted culture and country (Ger & Belk, 1996). Thus, social interactions that take place through direct and indirect contacts, also play a major role in promoting the dissemination of the Global consumer culture. (Appadurai, 1996). In this day and age, migration is a common affair (Doyle, 2004). Cheaper travel expenditures, relaxing barriers, and restrictions, advancement in communication and information technologies, the widespread and extensive

use of English, and better opportunities overseas are all crucial factors that facilitate and encourage migration.

(5) Cosmopolitanism. It needs to be underscored that culture is confined within territorial boundaries. Individuals that are members of transnational cultures are regular travellers and interact with people and experience cultures in different parts of the world. In this way, these people become associated with local social networks all around the world (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999). Such individuals are termed cosmopolitans. They are described as intellectuals who are at ease and comfortable not only with their own culture but also with the cultures of other countries (Jamal et al., 2015). Cosmopolitans are different from tourists who only tour different countries, and instead of participating in their distinct culture are mere spectators (Hannerz, 1990). To be considered a cosmopolitan, a person needs to have enough cultural flexibility and competencies to be able to experience world cultures sufficiently. Cosmopolitans use consumption practices as a way to integrate into the diverse cultural societies that they interact with. Such practices allow them to experience life like the locals, by consuming the same type of foods, adorning the same type of clothes, and enjoying the same type of music and leisure activities. Moreover, consumption furnishes these individuals an opportunity to set up local networks of friends, which provide further guidance on how to integrate into the mainstream culture (Thompson & Tambyah, 1999).

(6) Desire and willingness to be part of the global consumer culture. Researchers noted that people who appreciate the consumption practices and lifestyles of other cultures and countries are also more likely to desire the ownership of goods associated with those cultures (Alden et al., 1999; Batra et al., 2000). However, people do not typically follow and reproduce all aspects of a foreign culture. Instead, as Cleveland (2006) asserted the acculturation to the global consumer culture is considered to be a contextual, selective, and adaptive phenomena. Consider the global youth segment as a case in point. These individuals desire products that are promoted through the global media (Alden et al., 1999). However, these individuals do not necessarily integrate

themselves into different world societies. This notion has been elaborated by Ji & McNeal (2001) who state that the younger generations are less bounded to culture and more receptive to the western lifestyle and associated products relative to the older generations. Schlegel (2000) maintains that it is increasingly becoming hard to distinguish between teens on the basis of their nationality on account of their dress, hairstyle, taste in music, and food being the same worldwide.

(7) Identifying with the Global Consumer Culture. Self-identification is seen to have a positive relationship with global consumer culture. This driver relates to the explicitly outright identification with or self-ascribed membership in some form of global consumer culture (Cleveland, 2006). Consumers worldwide come in contact with foreign cultural products through mass media, travelling, and global advertisements. Individuals in such situations are free to choose the extent to which they want to identify with some belief systems and lifestyles (Ogden et al., 2004) which consequently influences their patterns of behaving and thinking. The extent to which individuals are able to choose such foreign products is dependent on individual factors such as income, rate of exposure, education, and accessibility. Scholars assert that identifying with the global consumer culture allows individuals to go beyond the mere desire or interest to be part of this global community and prompts them to align their values and behaviour according to the global consumer culture (i.e. the desire to become a global consumer by actively purchasing international products) (Jamal et al., 2015).

2.4.2.5 Cleveland and colleagues expanded model

Cleveland et al. (2009) posited a new schema of classification of cultural change patterns. It is founded on the relative influence of acculturation and ethnic identity from a consumption perspective. Contrary to the notion of absolute boundaries which are inherent in the categorizations posited by Berry (1980) and Mendoza & Martinez (1981), this typology of cultural change patterns and the ensuing consumption behaviour is more of a matter of degree. This acculturation model is based on the premise, that the level of felt ethnicity

in an individual is to a certain extent, situationally determined. This premise proposes an elastic or heterogeneous conceptualization of ethnicity. In other words, specific contexts may determine which communal loyalties or identities of an individual is appropriate at a given time. They propound that depending on a particular context, host culture identification and/or ethnic identification will play a greater, lesser, or non-significant role in driving the consumption attitude and behaviour of individuals.

2.4.3 Three dimensional model

Flannery et al. (2001) came up with a three dimensional model as an advancement to the unidimensional and bi-dimensional ones. This framework in addition to including the dimensions of home identity and host (acculturation) orientations also consists of a third dimension ethnogenesis, a term which is used to describe the creation of a new culture or ethnicity (e.g. Oswald, 1999). The key premise of this model is that when the process of acculturation overlaps the phenomena of ethnicity, a new sense of ethnicity is developed that goes beyond the typical differentiation between host and home cultures. For example, being a Chinese American is more than the simple sum of being American and being Chinese (Jamal et al., 2015).

Flannery et al.'s (2001) framework is especially relevant to ethnic communities after immigration and having resided in the new cultural environment for some time. Such individuals can identify and relate with what scholars refer to as entrenched subculture. In the recent decade, the immigration and settling of communities from around the world in the Western countries have given rise to a discernible ethnic minority subculture. Interactions with ethnic enclaves prompt constant, ongoing processes of cultural consolidation with respect to the traditional aspects of the heritage culture (e.g. cultural imperatives about marriage, sex, and kinship responsibilities) and cultural reformulation in adjusting and aligning attitudes and behaviours in accordance with the dominant host culture and society. Entrenched subcultures serve as a vital source of cultural, economic, and social capital for ethnic communities (e.g. Jamal, 2005) and even compel marketers to adapt and change, taking into

account the acculturation processes in the marketplace (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999).

Askegaard et al. (2005) emphasized the key role and influence of transnational consumer culture and established it as a third acculturation factor in addition to host and home culture. In their study of the Greenlandic Danish consumers, the Greenlandic immigrant identity formation became persistently self-reflexive in the context of Greenlandic being and Danish having. The findings revealed strong support of informants reclaiming their Greenlandic identity through consumption. The results also illustrated the integration of Denmark and Greenland culture in a transnational consumer culture and communications economy, consequently adding another dimension to Greenlandic identity formation in Denmark. Moreover, Askegaard et al. (2005) noted the notion of the oscillating pendulum as an identity position which was not reflected in the acculturation studies that incorporated and applied the bi-dimensional models of acculturation. The phenomenon of oscillating pendulum refers to the idea that, while acculturating, an ethnic minority consumer can experience the attractions and alienation of both heritage and host cultures.

Jamal & Chapman (2000) also observed the ambivalent nature of identity positions elicited by members of ethnic communities. The findings highlighted the negativities and positivities these individuals experienced as they navigated the host and heritage cultures. The researchers inferred from these results that the identity position adopted by the ethnic minority consumers reflects multiple and often conflicting ideological positions in a given context. Jamal & Chapman (2000) further emphasized that these identity positions are not adopted as a strategic choice but are fluid and contingent perhaps on lifestyle stages (Jamal, 2003; Askegaard et al., 2005), situational factors, and developments in transnational and global consumer culture (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

It needs to be underlined that the three-dimensional model informs this study. The premise of this model is that ethnic communities cannot be reduced to the minority and majority cultural orientation. The model points out that these

communities may develop a new, unique ethnic identity or culture regardless of their minority-majority cultural orientation. Thus, this framework is useful in this research as it explores how ethnicity and religion are being utilized, appropriated, reinterpreted, and transformed in the discourses, practices, and lives of my interlocutors.

In the preceding sections, the phenomenon of consumer acculturation is discussed in the light of extant literature. The various cultural models of consumer acculturation and their primary features have also been delved upon in this section. The next section gives an overview of identity and brings to the fore ethnic and religious identities which are crucial facets of this research.

2.5 An Overview of identity

The significant role of identity in influencing consumption attitudes and behaviour has become a conceptual cornerstone of marketing thought. An increasing number of studies have endeavoured to explore the role that identity and self, play in consumption and examine the impact these two facets have on marketing outcomes (Thompson & Loveland, 2015).

The formation, nature, and characteristics of individual identity as well as that of group identity have garnered much empirical and theoretical attention from researchers (see Vryan et al., 2003; Sanders, 2002; Howard, 2000). According to Peek (2005), identity in general describes and defines the sense of self, achieved and ascribed social positions as well as group affiliations of individuals. The researcher further explicates that identity is the consequence of self-reflection, internal subjective perceptions, and external characterizations. Dillon (1999) accentuated that contrary to initial comprehensions of identity which assumed identity to be immutable and fixed, contemporary studies have often shown identity to be an evolving phenomenon of becoming instead of simply being. Over the course of time due to larger social changes and personal experiences an individual's identity can shift (McMullen, 2000).

Scott & Marshall (2005) argue that even though individuals are the ones who have identities, these identities are connected to the social groups with which the individuals associate and identify with. The identities thus develop from the expectations attached to the social roles that the individuals occupy, and which they subsequently internalise, and are thereby formed through the socialization process. Moreover, Ali (2014) states that socialization is the process by which people learn and comprehend the culture of their societies. He further elaborates that in Western societies prominent agencies of socialization consist of religion, the mass media, the educational system, the peer and occupational groups. Identification is a term that is frequently used alongside identity in this research and beckons further explanation.

2.5.1 Identification

According to Foote (1951) identification refers to the commitment to and appropriation of a specific identity or an array of identities. Erikson (1994) underscores that all aspects of identity are constructed through a series of identification. Furthermore, identification entails associating oneself with others in an organizational sense (e.g. becoming a formal member of a group) or in a symbolic sense (as in viewing or imagining oneself as belonging to a specific group (Lindesmith et al., 2013). Stone (2013) contends further that identification encompasses two processes: “Identification of” and “identification with”. The first process “identification of” consists of placing individuals in socially defined categories, which enables the occurrence of the second process “identification with”. Stone accentuates that it is “identifying with” that engenders the self, identity, and its various facets. On similar lines, Winch (1962) describes identification as the influence of one person on another that more often than not tends to be lasting and stable.

Scholars (e.g., Alladin, 2014; Dashefsky, 1972; Rosen, 1965) note that individuals identify themselves on three levels. Firstly, an individual may identify oneself with a significant other (an important person in their lives, e.g., a friend or a parent). Secondly, an individual may identify oneself with a reference group (a group with which a person aligns one’s values, e.g., family

or office colleagues). Thirdly an individual may identify himself/herself with a social category (a broad collection of people with certain traits or characteristics in common such as gender and occupational groups). It is on the third level that religio-ethnic group identification takes place. In sum, group identification may be defined as a generalized attitude indicating a personal attachment to the group and a positive attitude towards being a member of the group. Furthermore, religio-ethnic group identification transpires when individuals share a common ancestry that is rooted in shared socio-cultural, religious experiences, and/or similar physical features.

One of the primary objectives of this research was to understand and explore the role and significance of religious and ethnic identities on the lived experiences and consumption practices of the different generations of British Pakistanis. Therefore, the subsequent sections explicate various aspects of ethnic and religious identities relevant to this research.

2.5.2 Ethnic Identity

Even though there is no consensus on the universal definition of ethnic identity, almost all the definitions of ethnic identity associate ethnicity to culture and origin, albeit in different ways (Liebkind, 2006). Ethnic identity, by and large, describes a person's sense of self concerning their membership in a certain ethnic group (Liebkind, 2001; Phinney et al., 2001; Phinney, 1990). The term ethnic identity, sometimes, is adopted to describe one's group affiliation or self-label. However, the term is generally viewed as incorporating various facets, including feelings of commitment and belonging to a group, self-identification, a sense of shared attitudes and values for one's own ethnic group (Liebkind, 2006).

2.5.3 The ethnic and cultural dimensions of identity

The phenomenon of ethnicity is defined and explained in multifarious ways across disciplines (Phinney et al., 2001). Ethnicity is essentially a sense of affiliation and belonging to a presumed and specific origin and ancestry (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998; Roosens, 1994). To a certain degree, an ethnic

community is construed to be established any time the notion of common descent is used to draw individuals together. The notion of a common origin is often achieved by interpreting ethnicity in terms of metaphors of kinship (Verkuyten, 2000).

Such theorization of ethnicity is not without implications. As a case in point, Liebkind (2006) avers that researchers should be careful and avoid overstating the extent to which ethnic identities should be explored as being voluntary, flexible, and transient and as such tractable to be altered in the acculturation process. Ethnicity can be shaped, but it needs to be underlined that it is not possible to create it out of nothing. While it is warranted to tie ethnic identity with the context to circumvent essentialism and reification issues, this must not prompt neglect of more stable identities with long-term connections and commitments to, for instance, former and future generations (Liebkind, 2006). It needs to be noted that for several ethnic minorities, obligations towards and continuities with ancestral and future generations have significant self-defining meanings (Verkuyten, 1997, 2000; Verkuyten et al., 1999). Furthermore, research has illustrated that issues of acceptance by individuals' ethnic minority groups and ingroup conflicts may be more problematic and result in greater stress to ethnic minority members compared to the negative attitudes and behavior by the majority group towards the ethnic communities (Verkuyten, 2000; Lay & Nguyen, 1998).

An individual's ethnicity is thus ascribed in a way that one cannot pick the ethnic group into which one is born. However, ethnicity in a person is achieved to the extent that the meaning it attains in one's total identity is a matter of preference. The ascribed part of ethnicity can be underplayed to the degree that ethnic identity is made par with other social identities. Nevertheless, communicated as it is in primary socialization, ethnicity can be one of the most prevalent aspects of identity. Beliefs and ideas of past ancestry may play a key role in the ethnic facet of an individual's identity (Khilkhanova & Khilkhanov, 2004; Bravo Moreno, 2002).

Exploring ethnic identity also brings up the role of culture. One substantial way culture is tied with acculturation, ethnicity, and group relationships is via social class. Since social classes, due to social segregations, differ from one another with respect to the way of life, marriage patterns, leisure time, and mobility, these also evolve into a cultural collective of a kind over time. Generally, ethnic groups and nationalities provide the basis for society's other layers. Ethnic groups and nationalities do this either by placing themselves above others as conquerors or in that certain groups either as vanquished or as later arrivals are left or pushed in society's bottom layers. In later historical developments, the fate of various cultural groups varies significantly from one another. The cultural difference is thus connected to historical experiences, a number of which are contingent on the socioeconomic segregation of fairly recent times. In contrast, some are grounded in the remote past of which nobody is mindful and conscious of. This historical, cultural influence of the past is occasionally termed as "deep culture" as it is immersed in ethnicity, language, religion, and/or nationality as such (Liebkind, 1992).

People frequently hold steadfast with their ethnic group identity even though their culture becomes interwoven with others. Accordingly, acculturation as a mechanism of gaining new cultural skills does not have to suggest a change in self-definition and group membership. Interaction between ethnic groups almost always results in an exchange of cultural characteristics and mutual adjustments, but it also simultaneously often results in greater group differentiations and heightened ethnic consciousness (Liebkind, 2001). These assertions resonate with Verkuyten (2005), who states that ethnic identity is not necessarily bound with culture. Affiliation with ethnic identity can remain strong irrespective of cultural changes taking place. That being the case, many ethnic groups usually put forward rather a small number of cultural characteristics representing their cultural authenticity and integrity (Liebkind et al., 2016). These representative cultural characteristics and practices signify the ingroup's culture and history and serve to distinguish the group from others. It should be noted that typically deviating from one's ethnic group's cultural practices is tantamount to betrayal of one's own people and abandonment of

one's culture (Liebkind et al., 2016). However, it is not a requisite for ethnic identity to be comprised of distinct cultural content. Gans (1979) coined the term "symbolic ethnicity" to describe cases where individuals with a long history of acculturation associate with an abstract collectivity that does not necessarily exist as a distinct group anymore.

2.5.4 Religious Dimension of Identity

There is one dimension of identity, namely religion, that deserves special attention. Peek (2005) contends that despite there being a plethora of social scientific studies in the context of identity, contemporary research on identity theory has largely overlooked religion's role in shaping and constructing identities for individuals and groups. These contentions corroborate the views of Warner (1997), who exhorts that a minimal number of recent studies on immigration and ethnicity talk about religion which he claims is a huge scholarly blind spot. For example, in discussing the nature of identity formations and processes, Cerulo (1997) overlooks religion as an identity category. Likewise, a detailed discourse by Howard (2000) and Frable (1997) interrogating various dimensions of individual and social identity such as ethnicity, race, class, nationality, gender, age, sexuality, mental and physical ability do not state religion as a significant defining facet of individuals or groups in a society.

Notwithstanding the above contentions, sociologists of religion during this time have delved into the role of religion in establishing group identity and solidarity, particularly in the case of immigrants (Min & Kim, 2000; Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Warner & Wittner, 1998). Instead of exclusively focusing on religion, the majority of these studies have explored the link between religion and ethnic identity (Peek, 2005). This stream of research has accentuated the continuing significance of religion in maintaining ethnic and cultural traditions, contributing to the settling and adaptation of immigrants in a new host society, and being a marker of identity for the second generation (Ng, 2002; Yang, 2010; Kurien, 1998; Chong, 1998).

It is possible that religion may become more significant in immigrants' lives, specifically their descendants (Connor, 2009). However, it should be noted that the meaning ascribed to this identity differs both within and between religious groups. In light of assimilation theories, Ricucci (2010) states that in the context of minorities living in secularized societies, as a consequence of acculturation, it is more likely that the subsequent generations will be less religious. This assertion is termed as the secularization phenomenon. On the other hand, conflict theories predict more religiosity in the second and later generations because of a supposedly increase in perceived group threat or intergroup incongruities. This point of view is termed as the mobilization phenomenon. Ricucci (2010) observes in her qualitative research on Catholic Filipino and Muslim Moroccan youth immigrants in Italy that for most second-generation immigrants, religion provides a kind of shelter or protection from their experiences of marginalization and is also a source of group empowerment and social identity.

Even though religion is frequently seen as a significant part of ethnic culture, it is difficult to determine the exact relationship between the two. For instance, it is difficult to establish whether religious orientations are crucial to the ethnic community or if religious inclinations are ancillary to ethnic identity (Peek, 2005). It is averred that immigrant communities differ in how they integrate and how they emphasize their ethnic and religious identities. Certain immigrant communities stress expressing their members' religious identity in comparison to their ethnic identity. On the contrary, some communities emphasize their ethnic foundations and primarily depend on religious institutions to maintain their ethnic boundaries and cultural traditions (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a).

Several theories have been posited to explain why in certain cases, individuals and groups develop and accentuate religious identities relative to other types of social and personal identities such as ethnicity, nationality, or race. One theory explicates that immigration itself is generally a theologizing experience. Immigrants often turn to religion to address the confusion and alienation they encounter upon their arrival at a new destination. In an attempt to resolve and

negotiate their adjustment issues, they construct religious institutions to restore familiar cultural and social activities in the new country (Kurien, 1998; Rayaprol, 1997). Subsequently, immigrants' religion can take on greater significance in their construal of the self and group affiliations, as opposed to its importance in their native countries, where it may have been taken for granted. This is especially true in the case of immigrants arriving from societies where they constituted the religious majority into a society where they become part of the religious minority (Peek, 2005).

Another valid explanation of why religion is a crucial basis for identity pertains to the functions religion plays in society. In addition to fulfilling spiritual needs, affiliation to religion provides numerous non-religious social, psychological, and material benefits. These may include financial and educational opportunities and resources, community networking, and peer support and wellbeing initiatives (Hurh & Kim, 1990; Chen, 2002).

A third reason put forth by researchers is that religious expression and identity offer an effective way to deal with the incongruence posed by immigration (Yang, 2010; Feher, 1998). Moreover, according to Ebaugh & Chafetz (2000), religion also supports individuals to overcome social isolation. In the case of Church members, Sullivan (2000) noted that members preferred to first and foremost define themselves in religious terms. In doing so, the group's national differences and ethnic variations became less conflicting, and thus diverse communities were brought together through shared worship.

A fourth rationale explaining why religion may become a crucial aspect of an immigrant's identity pertains to its role in maintaining social and personal distinctiveness in a multicultural society (Rayaprol, 1997). According to Warner (1998), in a secular and pluralistic society, immigrants become more and more conscious of their traditions. They are likely to become more committed to transmitting those values, beliefs, and behaviors. This being the case, religion is taken less and less for granted, and religious practices and organizational affiliations develop into important identity markers that maintain group cohesion and promote individual self-awareness (Williams, 1988). In a

nutshell, for many people, for various reasons, religion serves as a significant organizing factor in the identities that compose the self.

Religion is also instrumental in the development of hyphenated identities. Sirin & Fine (2008), in a study of young Muslim Americans and their negotiations of multiple immigrant identities, demonstrated that the most appropriate determinant of Muslim identity was religiosity. Moreover, the most significant predictor of adversely associating with American identity was discrimination faced by the Muslim immigrants and their inclination towards in-group (Muslim) cultural and social practices. Thus, contrary to the religious mobilization hypothesis, in the case of immigrant Muslim youths, discrimination did not directly impact their identifications with the Muslim society but rather attenuated their American identity (Sirin & Fine, 2008).

On a similar note, Shadid & Van Koningsveld (1996) delineates younger immigrants' views on the interplay between Muslim identity and integration in secular Western societies. Their research on young Muslims in the Netherlands illustrates that the observance of the Islamic way of life and acceptance of Islamic rituals and cultural norms are on the decline. The study also showed that religion and ethnic identity are interrelated and that socio-cultural integration and religious orientation to a certain degree are inversely related. The study reveals that Muslim youth's religious behavior declines as they start to feel and associate more with the Dutch. By exploring the young Turkish immigrants, the authors also negated the assumptions that youth immigrants who cling exclusively to their ethnic identities participate to a lesser degree in the majority culture compared to those immigrants who consider themselves partially assimilated. Thus, their research endorsed the notion that preference for a primarily ethnic identity does not necessarily translate into segregation. On the contrary, many opt for a new ethnic identity without compromising upon their own cultural heritage.

The integration of religious, ethnic, and national identities can sometimes be problematic. Nevertheless, there are instances where this perspective does not hold. In a qualitative study of Polish Tatars, Cieslik & Verkuyten (2006)

avered that there is no clash or incompatibility in concurrently being Muslim and Tatar as well as Polish. The authors expounded that there was no conflict between the different identities because they elicited and corresponded to different levels of reality. In this scenario, religion was significant in the individuals' everyday lives, and the inconsistencies of Islam with Polishness, which is to a great extent associated with Catholicism, was negotiated by recognizing the commonalities between the two monotheistic religions and the overall sense of religious commitment, which is inherent within the two religions.

Conversely, preference can also be given to ethnic identities over religious identities during the acculturation process. In a study of Jains, which constitute a discrete religious minority in India, Jain & Forest (2004) noted that they elicited an "Indian" ethnic identity after settling in America even though they exhibited a pronounced religious identity in India. The study accentuates that despite Jains indicating a complicated association between their Indian identity and religious identity, this distinctive community's inability to establish their separate, distinct religious institutions in America compelled them to join places of worship with mixed-religion membership. For this particular ethnic group, joining a mixed religious community resulted in their abandoning a distinctive religious identity (Jain vs. non-Jain) in favor of ethnic identity (Indian vs. non-Indian).

To sum up, most individuals of an ethnic community typically identify themselves with a particular group based on common ancestry and origin. Moreover, members of an ethnic group may exhibit certain distinctive cultural features and characteristics, including religion which acquire different meanings in different social contexts and ethnic groups. It also needs to be underlined that a self-conscious ethnic identity does not necessarily translate into cultural and religious distinctiveness on an individual level. The reason being that both religion and culture may be in a continuous state of flux. Aspects of culture and religious identity may be altered and reconstructed, acquiring new meaning and significance in the acculturation process.

2.5.5 Ethnic and religious identity formation/Construction: The Qualitative approach

In contemporary research, the widely adopted framework exploring identity views this construct as a measurable mental characteristic (Liebkind et al., 2016). Despite the framework's widespread use, this research perspective is criticized for its essentialism as it overlooks and disregards the political and historical impact on identity and acculturation. Researchers also caution that this stream of research ignores the continuous contestation, navigation, and negotiations inherent in these phenomena (Howarth et al., 2014; Liebkind et al., 2016; Bhatia & Ram, 2001). According to Verkuyten & de Wolf (2002), essentialist conceptualization can be circumvented by exploring identity in the context of social interactions. Thus, this research incorporates a qualitative research perspective that construes identities as being actively constituted, thereby situating them in the realm of public discourses and social interactions as well as in private experiences or cognitions (Benwell & Stokoe, 2010).

Identity formation or identity construction can be defined as a social phenomenon that transpires through an individual's relationships and interactions with others and the environment (Collier et al., 2009). A comprehensive definition of identity formation is also provided by Hawkins (2005, p.61). He describes identity formation as an ongoing negotiation between a person and the environment or the social context, emphasizing power and operant cultural relations. He avers that people carry with them lived experiences to events and activities in situated environments. The participants in these environments co-construct and negotiate views of themselves and the world by communicating and interacting with others. Nevertheless, the context and practices are impregnated with and represent distinct ideologies and values (which prioritize certain actions over others), which mold the dynamics of the interactions.

Rather than requiring individuals to fill questionnaires to determine which predefined group they believe they fall into and what is their feeling towards being members of these groups, the interpretive approach is concerned with

exploring the ways in which identities are negotiated and produced in social interactions. Subsequently, the emphasis of this approach is on how social categories are formed, what social function's identity formation may play a part in as well as how individuals make sense of, use and account for identities (Edwards & Potter, 1992).

Although there has been a considerable amount of research exploring issues pertaining to migration as well as national identities, understanding how ethnic minorities construct their identities remains under-researched (Liebkind et al., 2016). Moreover, researchers exhort the need to explicate the identity formation in Muslim immigrant communities, particularly the second and later generations (Hermansen, 2003; Leonard, 2003; Peek, 2005). This study, therefore, explores the identity formation in the different generations of British Pakistani Muslims.

2.6 Significance of exploring religion and ethnicity in conjunction

In order to further advance the understanding of the multifarious and complex ways that cultural change occurs during acculturation, Weinreich (2009) calls for an alternative perspective on acculturation and identity formation processes. In doing so, the author makes a case for exploring situationalist perspectives and primordialist sentiments on ethnicity. Primordial consumers outrightly conform to ethnic values and culture by considering them to be unquestionable, given, and incontrovertible which continues through the generations. In contrast, situationalist consumers often change or amend their ethnic behaviour and allegiances to align it with biographical and historical exigencies. Identity formation, reformulation, and maintenance by ethnic minority consumers occur in a socio-historical context. According to Weinreich, ethnic minority consumers are generally not able to relinquish and part ways with their biographical history and accounts of successively made identifications with individuals throughout childhood and beyond, even after integrating into the mainstream society. While experiencing conflicts and tensions and attempting to resolve conflicted identifications, many may

construct and formulate creative expressions of newly formulated identities (Weinreich, 2009).

It can be argued that for immigrants, particularly Muslims, religion is an expedient way to formulate and express identities that embody changes in their ethnic allegiances and behaviours in line with the prevalent socio-historical context. The rise of universal Islam thus can be considered as an outcome of situationalist consumer's cultural reformulation and is consistent with Flannery et al. (2001) notion of the third dimension of ethnogenesis, which is the creation of a new culture or ethnicity that is distinct from immigrant's home culture (for detail see section 2.4.3 "Three dimensional model"). In this regard, several studies have noted the prevailing trends of practising Islam that is distinct and unadulterated from the home country culture of the immigrant parents in certain segments of the second generation (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000 and Peek, 2005 for the United States; Vertovec & Rogers, 1998 for Europe). In this respect, researchers underscore that further empirical research is needed to investigate the fundamental identity construction that occurs before and after migration and that underpin acculturation experiences (see section 2.5.5 for detail on Identity formation/construction). Researchers, in particular, exhort the need to explicate the identity formation in Muslim immigrants, particularly the second and later generations (Hermansen, 2003; Leonard, 2003; Peek, 2005). This study fills this gap by exploring the identity formation in the different generations of British Pakistani Muslims.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the marketing discipline has gained considerable theoretical ground over the years in the study of religion and ethnicity. Yet these two very important topics, which play a foundational role in consumer identity formation, have been studied separately to a great extent. Religion is a significant marker of ethnic identity in the global marketplace (e.g., Jamal & Shukor, 2014). In this day and age when consumers are defining their lifestyles in a non-conformist sociocultural/communal fashion more and more (Holt, 2002), the contemporary stream of research tends to bring to the fore the paradoxes, complexities, and idiosyncrasies in subcultural practices

(Canniford, 2011; Goulding et al., 2009). It is argued that postmodern consumers iteratively and reflexively interpret and define their cultural dispositions and proclivities (Woodruffe-Burton, 1998). Such individuals often practice their own interpretations of religiosity and tend to participate in wider consumer culture (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). It is, therefore contended that individuals belonging to the same religious groups might elicit different consumption behaviour and practices. This being the case, it is reasoned that the postmodern identity of consumers is often difficult to define and explore.

A few concepts/phenomena which are relevant in the context of this study and that further enhance the value of the research are discussed in the proceeding sections. The discussion of these concepts has been divided into the following four sections:

- Authenticity
- Influence of family and intergenerational dynamics on ethnicity, religion, and culture
- Social class and Social Capital
- Multiculturalism

2.7 Authenticity

Due to the expectations and demands of contemporary modern society, there is an increasing contradictory desire among individuals to construct themselves in ways that facilitates material success and to be existentially authentic, in other words, to feel true to one's self (Franzese, 2009). In this day and age, while the growing interest and focus on authenticity are not unexpected considering the changing cultural context (Erickson, 1995), surprising is the scarcity of scholarly discussion and empirical research of the phenomenon (Franzese, 2009). This study, therefore, aims to explore whether the desire for authenticity can be a motivator for ethnic and religious attitudes and behavior.

According to Franzese (2009), authenticity is defined as a person's subjective sense that assumes that their appearance, self, and behavior reflect their sense of core being. An individual's sense of core being comprises facets such as beliefs, identities, feelings, self-meanings, and values. Moreover, Van Leeuwen (2001) describes authenticity as ultimately an evaluative phenomenon no matter how value-free and methodical the approaches for establishing and exploring it may be. Authenticity, in a way, may be construed as a highly sought and highly valued ideals by individuals and groups as a component of the process of becoming. On the other hand, authenticity is often conceived as something strategically invoked as a means of social control or a symbol of status. Authenticity is not as much a state of being as it is the objectification of a process of representation. In this sense, authenticity signifies a set of qualities that individuals in a particular place and time concur serves as an exemplar or an ideal. It needs to be underlined that a change in the culture is not limited to changes in beliefs, practices, values, and tastes; it also affects the understanding and perceptions of what constitutes the authentic. Thus, the significance and relevance of authenticity can be deliberated upon in terms of self, society, and culture (Vannini & Williams, 2009).

Another perspective of authenticity by scholars (e.g., Arnould & Price, 2000; Boyle, 2004) views the search for the authentic self as a product of the contemporary postmodern world that we exist in. They establish that there is a loss of traditional sources and anchors of community, social place, and self-identity in individuals' lives in this postmodern world. People experience anxiousness in everyday life, unable to take their sense of positive self for granted. In this environment, individuals are unsure whether they experience a real self, but they become fixated with the will to ward off a fake self (Kotarba, 2009). Consequently, people become active and adept in appropriating authenticity (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010).

According to Ferrara (2009), another conception of authenticity pertains to the reflective quality of the match between identity and conduct, guiding ideals,

and life-course. In this era of identity politics, of the politics of recognition, and the politics of difference, this divide has attained major salience for comprehending the meaning of authenticity. All perspectives of authenticity place a high value on individuals' potential to actualize their uniqueness in the conduct of their lives. However, according to the standpoint that prioritizes immediacy, the uniqueness worth realizing or that warrants recognition is the sum total of the traits that makes us stand out and be distinguished from the rest of the crowd or that set one group of people apart from all the other group of peoples of the earth. Uniqueness in this instant is the outcome of a metaphorical subtraction. Uniqueness is the sum total of our being minus what is considered common with other people. This, in essence, is the meaning of difference. In line with the perspective of authenticity that is rooted in reflectiveness, authenticity worth realizing is not the actual uniqueness of certain psychological features but the unique manner in which people bring together their difference with the normativity (Ferrara, 2009). Authenticity is also a key motivator of a plethora of consumer attitudes and practices.

Authenticity is generally described in terms of a quest or search. The longing for authenticity is thus attributed to the homogenization and standardization in the marketplace. (Thompson et al., 2006). In the context of consumption, Arnould & Price (2000) delineates two means of appropriating authenticity to achieve self-authentication. In the first method, the consumer performs an authentication act and co-creates consumption experience or product value as part of the self-authentication. In the second case, the consumer engages in an authoritative performance which in essence is a cultural exhibition (e.g., rituals, festivals, or protest actions) depicting a social unit (such as a family, ethnic group, professional group, or an affinity group) and what the consumer considers as important facets of life. A common theme that emerges in both cases is the intentional linking of the object or the experiences to stories of the self by the consumer (Beverland & Farrelly, 2010).

Authenticity in culture and tourism has been comprehensively articulated by Moufahim & Lichrou (2019). By explicating the pioneering research of a

number of scholars, they bring to the fore the different approaches and perspectives of conceptualizing and understanding authenticity in the context of religious tourism. The essentialist perspective considers authenticity as inherent in a culture or an object (Chhabra, 2008). Such an objective approach to authenticity is concerned with verifying the historical truth of an object or place (Wang, 1999). A major drawback of the essentialist approach is that it fails to recognize the differentiated, hybrid, and heterogeneous nature of culture (Shepherd, 2015). In this respect, Ritzer & Liska (1997) expound that culture and customs are not fixed but in a constant state of flux; an attempt to keep culture 'real' in the objective sense is tantamount to it being kept frozen and protected from death. Consequently, Cohen (1988) draws attention to the notion of "emergent authenticity," positing that something initially assumed to be inauthentic may transpire to become authentic over time. This is especially the case when the culture is in decline. Therefore, the constructive approach considers authenticity as pluralistic in which individuals strive for competing interests (Moufahim & Lichrou, 2019).

By contrast, a different perspective of authenticity, namely 'existential authenticity,' is put forward by Wang (1999). This approach of understanding authenticity emphasizes subjective experiences of individuals and transformative abilities of the self, which are realized through experiences like pilgrimages, liminality, and bodily feelings (Badone & Roseman, 2004). Moufahim & Lichrou (2019) avers that accretion of research on authenticity entails a need to move past "objective vs. existential" discourses. In this respect, scholars have called attention to the need to explore "hybrid authenticity," which is primarily the harmonizing of the object, constructive and existential authenticity (Chhabra, 2008). On this matter, Rickly-Boyd (2012) goes a step further, exhorting a need to construe authenticity in all its complexity, integrating object, site, and experiences.

Research on authenticity span the humanities and social sciences (Franzese, 2009). Researchers have also interrogated authenticity in the context of ethnicity as well as religion (e.g., Gaytan, 2008; Dion et al., 2012; El-

Bassiouny, 2018; Moufahim & Lichrou, 2019). As a case in point, consider the following two studies. The first by Dion et al. (2012) explores the interplay of authenticity and ethnicity. The second by Moufahim & Lichrou (2019) brings to the fore religious authenticity in the context of religious pilgrimage. Dion et al. (2012) delved into how individuals legitimized and authenticated their regional ethnic affiliations. The researchers accentuated two modes of legitimization. Natural legitimization or traditional naturalization rules (*jus sanguinis* and *jus soli*), and experiential legitimization, based on life experiences. The study demonstrated that people generally tend to combine the aforementioned modes to legitimize their ethnic affiliation and demonstrate authenticity. This research also sheds light on the role of archetypes in identity construction. In the pursuit of legitimizing their ethnic affiliations, consumers try to substantiate the typicality of the sources (archetypes) they referred to for establishing the legitimacy of their ethnic affiliations. In this way, the study delineates how consumers engage in consumption to reassure and/or demonstrate to others that their ethnic affiliation is indeed authentic.

By adopting an ethnographic approach, the seminal work of Moufahim & Lichrou (2019) explores how authenticity is elicited in a religious Muslim pilgrimage (conceptualized as a quest for spiritual authenticity by the authors). The study also accentuates how authenticity, rituals, and consumption spaces are interlinked. The researchers' exploration of the Ziyara – t – Arba'een (Muslim Pilgrimage) provides a fertile context to appreciate and delineate the elaborate and complex nexus of authentication processes that entails "places" (for example, Karbala in Iraq, the burial ground of the martyrs and the place where their martyrdom took place); "experiences" (such as deep grief for the slain martyrs and body aches during procession walks during the pilgrimage which allowed the pilgrims to have an emphatic immersive and symbolic connection with the martyrs); and objects (souvenirs consumed during the pilgrimage). The coalescing of these authentication processes is termed spiritual authenticity by the researchers. The authors furthermore elaborate on how these authentication processes are integrated through ideology, rituals, and consumption.

Another keynote of this study was demonstrating how during the pilgrimage, consumption served as a conduit for the materialization of the experience and functioned as a vector of various rituals. The authors elicited how the souvenirs and objects consumed encapsulated sacred meaning through contamination (the transmission of sacred characteristics of the holy sites and revered personalities to the consumption objects) and symbolism. Moreover, the objects consumed served as identity markers for the pilgrims. Also, the conspicuous consumption of these articles facilitated these individuals to assert their Shi'a Muslim identity publicly. These items the researchers averred were crucial in communicating and maintaining authenticity concerning the faith.

It is within this broad research background that the notion of authenticity will be explored. This study will thus try to elicit insights into how individuals conceptualize religious and ethnic authenticity as well as factors and contexts that facilitate or inhabit authenticity. The aim is to understand how individuals employ authenticity to appropriate or reject their ethnic and religious affiliations. It is posited that views, beliefs, and choices of individuals pertaining to religious and ethnic authenticity will ultimately reflect their attitudes and choices with respect to consumption in particular rituals.

2.8 Influence of family and intergenerational dynamics on ethnicity, religion, and culture

Families are the most significant factor influencing religion and religiosity (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Studies demonstrate that forming a family by having children increases the probability of being religiously involved (Tilley, 2003; Hout & Fischer, 2002). The impact of forming a family on religion has been observed among Muslims in the Netherlands, where having children leads to greater inclinations towards religion (Maliepaard et al., 2012). Hence, the issue of religious transmission over generations and how it is associated with other facets of life are key areas of inquiry in the West (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

It is argued that the transmission of religion in the ethnic minorities may be distinct compared to the majority population and exploring the phenomenon may require a unique approach and theoretical insights. (Scourfield et al., 2012). It is generally considered that the family environment is pivotal for the transmission of religion. In the view of Voas (2003), individuals may become religious at any age; nevertheless, religious fertility (the passing on of religion through the initiation of children) is a crucial factor of growth over a longer period. In this respect, research has acknowledged the role of family socialization in the successful transference of religion. In these studies, there may be probing of roles of mothers, fathers, and grandparents or the influence of different types of parent-child relationships on the extent and quality of religious transmission. However, a common theme emerging from these studies is the family's primary role in religious transmission (Bengtson et al., 2009; Hayes & Pittelkow, 1993).

However, according to Scourfield et al. (2012), many researchers have objected to the idea of the unidirectional passing on of religion, which assumes that the children are disposed to passive socialization from parents contending that the process is bi-directional. Subsequently, there is a need to interrogate whether and in what way the influence of the younger generation on the family decision may have changed (Wang et al., 2007), especially because contemporary studies have demonstrated that the relative influence and role of the young generation tend to increase as they grow up (Gcaba, 2012; Goodrich & Mangleburg, 2010).

On a similar note, scholars exhort that most of the studies on the transmission of religion are based on general comparisons of religiosity and religious identity of the first and second generations (Maliepaard & Lubbers, 2013; Scourfield et al., 2012). Such research has limited explanatory power to elucidate the mechanism of religious transmission within migrant families and communities, and those that do examine this process are few in number (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). It is noteworthy that in this intergenerational study, data was collected not only from parent-child dyads but also from sibling dyads.

This is significant as it enabled me to understand better the role of "reciprocal socialization" in transmitting religion within a family. Moreover, interviewing different generations facilitated obtaining retrospective insights pertinent to the understanding of the first generation's religious attitudes and behaviors in addition to the 2nd and 3rd generations.

Furthermore, Husain & O'Brien (2000) accentuates an important shift in the balance of power within Muslim households because of changing dynamics of intergenerational relationships. He asserts that immigrant parents' empowerment has attenuated to a certain extent due to a lack of language skills that has essentially resulted in an inversion of power relations in the parent-child dyads. Customarily, children have been dependent on parents both at home and outside. Often, this is no longer the case in an immigrant household as the parents have started to rely on the children for translations/interpretations. The reason being that the children have become more fluent in the native language and have acquired a better knowledge of the society to which the families have migrated. This intergenerational gap has also impacted the respect and deference parents typically expect within the home. In a study of Muslim Moroccan households in the Netherlands, Stevens et al. (2004) has noted the decline in the authority of Muslim fathers and the hidden power of mothers. While all families experience disputes and conflicts in intergenerational relationships, it is also worth pointing out that conflict resolution often revolves around the enforcement of religious values within a family structure in Muslim households. The younger generation has contented these practices and has questioned their parents' adherence to an Islam adulterated with cultural practices and local traditions (Husain & O'Brien, 2001).

This study also explores the intergenerational consumption differences in ethnic communities. An evaluation of prevailing trends in global consumption demonstrates that this is an era where consumers are eclectic in their lifestyle choices and are generationally diverse compared to the past (Chhetri et al., 2014). In recent times, there has been an impetus in intergenerational

research to effectively cater to distinct consumer groups and their particular desires and needs (Corsten, 1999). Accordingly, changes in consumer values that are rooted in intergenerational differences have been probed by researchers to identify and understand the lifestyle choices and preferences that differentiate and define prevailing consumption patterns (Prager, 1998; Badger et al., 1998; Kahle, 1996). The rationale of such inquiries spans from mapping shifts in intergenerational consumer values to determining age-related consumer behavior patterns to inform the formation of successful marketing strategies (Beller et al., 2005).

It needs to be underscored that intergenerational inquiry is a crucial facet of this research. This direction has been pointed out by Askegaard (2010), who asserts that ethnic identity can be seen as a confluence of cultural, social, temporal, and contextual influences; hence there is a need to focus on the mechanisms with which generational factors operate in the identity formation of ethnic minorities. In this context, Visconti (2010) identifies different levels of cultural visibility/invisibility in the consumption of second-generation ethnic minority consumers when moving back and forth in ethnic and local consumption. Moreover, Penalosa (2010) promotes considering the temporality in the study of identity projects of ethnic minority consumers, focusing on dissecting changes in consumers' identities over time, as impacted by intergenerational relations and marketplace activities.

In summation, several scholars have propounded that in this era of the primacy of individual values of autonomy and self-expression, consumption patterns are generationally bound and age-specific (Rawlins, 2006; Zukin, 2004; Carrigan & Szmigin, 1999), but as yet there has been limited research to iron out such arguments (Chhetri et al., 2014). This study, therefore, attempts to explore the aims and objectives of this research by taking into consideration the different generations of the Pakistani ethnic community in the UK.

2.9 Social capital and social class

Despite the U.K. being a multi-ethnic society, recently, there has been a lot of focus and debate about immigration and community cohesion (Cheong et al., 2007). Chan et al. (2006) conceptualize social cohesion as a state of affairs comprising both horizontal and vertical interactions amongst individuals in a society. It features a set of norms and attitudes that include a sense of belonging, trust, desire to help and participate, as well as behavioral manifestations. According to Cloete (2014), social capital, which is relevant to this research, is one of the key components of social cohesion. The prominent viewpoint is that social capital is the basis of social cohesion (Cheong et al., 2007).

A central theme of interest in social cohesion is social networks that connect people and social products (e.g., trust) that such networks sustain and support (Hopkins, 2011). It is understood that social networks provide a resource that some construe as constituting social capital. For instance, according to Putnam (2000), whereas physical capital is concerned with physical objects and human capital pertains to individuals' properties, social capital represents connections among people (social networks) and the norms and values of trustworthiness and reciprocity ensuing from them.

Bartkus & Davis (2010) define social capital as an exhibition of the resources that ensue from relationships, which can serve individuals and the collective to attain their goals in striving towards the common good. Hopkins (2011) explicates that generally, social capital can be of two types: bridging and bonding social capital. Bridging social capital refers to horizontal connections and associations based on common grounds and interests. It cuts across and rises above heterogenous differences of religion, ethnicity and social status, and economic class. On the other hand, bonding social capital is concerned with establishing connections that are characterized by homogeneity within a particular group or community (Cheong et al., 2007; Putnam, 2003).

Cloete (2014) emphasizes that the role of religion in shaping social capital needs to be probed. It is argued that religion has an important part to play in the public sphere and social issues and, therefore, also in the development of social cohesion and social capital. Preduca (2011) observes that religious code of conduct, values, and traditions have demonstrated their abilities in fostering community building. Religion is a crucial factor in maintaining social cohesion and catering to individual needs. Bramadat (2005) also believes that religiously proscribed standards of behavior are the social, moral, and spiritual anchors of individuals and communities. Hence, it would be misguided to conjecture that religion does not have an impact on social capital. Congregations are a fitting illustration of how religion can have a bearing on social capital formation, where individuals assemble and build networks in a specific community. Accordingly, there is a need to elucidate how religious congregations foster social capital (Cloete, 2014). Moreover, Putnam (2007) maintains that societal diversity has an adverse effect on social capital, which subsequently weakens social cohesion. However, it is pertinent to note that cohesion is not adversely impacted by diversity in communities where intergroup contacts are strong (Hewstone, 2009). Thus, it is surmised that social capital is actively constructed and shaped through the activities undertaken by group members. Consequently, there is a need to assess how people's understanding of their religious identities impacts social capital and shapes their engagement with others (Hopkins, 2011).

On a different note, there is also a need to study the impact of social class on religious identity (Scourfield et al., 2012; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012; Maliepaard et al., 2010; Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). Scourfield et al. (2012) noted that among Muslims, the transmission of religion in lower social classes is at a higher rate than those in the higher social classes. Likewise, the researchers observed that in the case of Muslims, educational qualifications have an inverse relationship with the transmission of religion. These findings suggest that the extent to which families in the late modern western societies place on Islam might be contingent on education and social class. It is asserted that people with blue-collar occupations with lower educational qualifications

and low incomes are relatively more likely to be practicing Muslims. These observations need to be further assessed (Scourfield et al., 2012). This research aims to fill this gap by focusing on individuals with a university education and are affluent.

It needs to be underscored that the predominant view is that education is a key dimension of social class. Education is believed to be one of the most significant predictors of wealth, income, occupation, and wealth. In most cases, the prerequisite for higher-income white-collar jobs is a college degree. In contrast, most blue-collar jobs require lesser educational qualifications resulting in lower income and social status (Gizaw & Nguyen, 2014). Moreover, education is commonly used as a proxy for social class (McPherson & Rotolo, 1996; Lanuza, 2017). In this research's study context, the relationship between education and religion is also of significance and is interrogated.

Casanova (1994) deliberates that in this era of modernism, the popular belief is that the rise in education and modernity is undermining religion's influence. The founders of sociology, Durkheim, Comte, and Weber also envisaged that education would, in due course, curtail the influence of religion because of the secularization process (Schwadel, 2011).

Contemplating the functions of education provides a possible reason for the aforementioned perspective. Formal education in mainstream institutions emphasizes imparting scientific knowledge (Evans, 2011); provides an environment that encourages discussion on diverse opinions, views, and beliefs (Moiseyenko, 2005); and promotes self-control in the social lives of individuals instead of relying on external control mechanisms (Meier, 1982). All these functions of education are deemed to erode the influence of religion (Yilmaz & Yilmaz, 2019).

Previous studies have recorded an inverse relationship between religion and education and have illustrated that education attenuates religious attitudes and beliefs in two ways. Firstly, by fostering cognizance of science and other cultures and, secondly, by advancing secular viewpoints (Sherkat, 1998).

Hungerman (2014) accentuates that educational achievement is generally the primary determinant for social mobility that impacts people's employment and income status, familiarity with other cultures, and attitudes towards science. These assertions are corroborated by Johnson (1997), who expounds that continuous exposure to education facilitates individuals' contact with diverse ideas, cultures, and people, which ultimately makes them become disengaged from their faith. In this matter, Glock & Stark (1965) contends that a person can be either religious or scientific and not both. It follows that highly educated individuals are less likely to be spiritual and believe in heaven, hell, miracles, and the notion of the truth of divine scriptures (Glaeser & Sacerdote, 2008). Additionally, research exploring religious groups and their educational attainment has also shown that in most religions, less educated individuals are more likely to have a higher level of religious commitment (Chatters et al., 1999).

Conversely, a positive relationship has also been found between religious attendance and education. The underlying rationale being that education positively influences any form of social group membership, including religion (Glaeser et al., 2002). This is further explicated by Yilmaz & Yilmaz (2019), who expound that educational attainment builds social skills and encourages its adherents to be involved in social activities and groups, and since attending religious organizations is a basic form of social interaction, education can play a positive role in religious attendance as well.

To sum up, although studies have explored the impact of education on religion, most of them have been conducted in Judeo-Christian societies in the West. It is argued that the interrelationship between education and the religion of Islam can be different compared to other religious traditions (Yilmaz & Yilmaz, 2019). By exploring the religious identities of British Pakistani Muslims, who have attendant universities and can be broadly considered as being upper middle class, this study will also explore the relationship between religion and higher education.

2.10 Multiculturalism

It is also noteworthy that the UK is considered a multicultural society and therefore provides an ideal context for this study. In this section, the phenomenon of multiculturalism and consumption in multicultural societies is discussed.

According to Modood (2013), the 1960s paved the way for affirming the singular character of the human race. It was also an era for celebrating differences. Concurrently, the interrelated philosophies of human rights, humanism, and equal citizenships garnered prominence during that time. Moreover, assertions of group differences encompassing the ideas such as ethnicity, Afrocentricity, gay rights, femaleness became cardinal to modern progressive and liberal politics. It embodied a politics of identity, being honest to one's heritage or nature and endeavoring with fellow counterparts to gain public recognition of one's collectivity. The term multiculturalism was coined and used to describes these political ideals, particularly in the United States.

Multiculturalism refers to a narrower meaning, particularly in the U.K. and other parts of Europe. The emergence of a multicultural society in this part of the world is not so much accredited to the inception of a political movement but by a more fundamental movement of individuals. In this context, immigration especially pertains to the immigration of non-white communities from outside Europe into predominantly white countries. It is propounded by Modood (2013), that the broader and narrower meanings of multiculturalism, i.e., struggles and endeavors of the various marginalized groups and the consequences and implications of immigration per se, cannot be completely isolated from one another. The narrower meaning might be logically construed as a strand, a part of the larger current (Modood, 2013).

Initially, countries, namely Canada, Australia, and the United States, which experienced a long history of immigration and which have been undoubtedly built up out of immigration, were the first to declare as having become multicultural societies. As a consequence of the long histories of settlement

and migration in the aforementioned countries, the immigrant communities were readily seen as prospective co-citizens, and the countries were considered multi-ethnic in their source. As a result of or as part of the wider political acceptance of the differences of the immigrant communities, it was deemed rational that migrants should be able to maintain their distinct cultures while they adapt to living and working in their new homes. It was assumed that some assimilation would take place, but it was not mandatory. In these countries, immigration unavoidably became part of the national narrative (Yaqin et al., 2018).

In the next few decades, a number of Western European societies, particularly the U.K., Sweden, and the Netherland, started to follow suit. There was an influx of labor immigrants in Western Europe to rebuild its postwar economies, especially between the late 1940s and the oil crisis of 1973. This was followed by an inward flow of dependants and other kin, both legally and illegally, who wanted to be united with the migrants (Paoli, 2016). A similar migration pattern was followed by the Pakistani male migrants, who were drawn towards the U.K. by employment opportunities in manufacturing and textiles. These workers initially believed that their stay in the U.K. would likely be temporary, but their settlement became permanent following family unification. The settling of families, wives, and children resulted in a considerably large Pakistani diaspora in the U.K. (Akhtar, 2014).

Modood (2013) asserts that the ethnic communities settled in Europe are young and fertile. Even if further large-scale immigration does not occur, these communities will grow for at least one more generation before they stabilize, constituting half or more of the population in some European cities in the next decade or so. He further avers that a high degree of religious/racial/ethnic mix in the major cities of Europe will be the norm in the 21st century and will shape its cultural, national, economic, and political landscape as it has done in the 20th (and will continue to do so in the 21st) century America. Notwithstanding the similarities, it needs to be underscored that there are also significant differences between the US and western Europe. One major difference is that

the majority of non-whites in European countries are Muslims. The Muslim population in Western Europe is approximately 15 million, which constitutes about four percent of the population (Savage, 2004). This is more than the combined populations of Ireland, Finland, and Denmark. The U.K. is an exception where Muslims constitute about a third of ethnic minorities or non-whites. According to Casey (2016), between 2001 and 2011 the number of individuals identifying themselves as Muslims grew most significantly by 72 % compared to different religious groups. In the U.K., the 2.8 million Muslims constitute the largest non-christian religious population.

Husain & O'Brien (2000) states that even though the West's range of contacts with Muslims spans over hundreds of years, contemporary European society is just starting to grapple with the reality of the Muslims' permanent settlement within their midst. Nowadays, it is argued that the emergence of a Muslim political agency characterized by its different religious and socio-cultural practices and backgrounds has thrown multiculturalism into practical and theoretical disarray. The fear of Muslims asserting their political agency has grown and has strengthened exclusive, intolerant nationalism across Europe. We should, in fact, be striving to move the other way (Yaqin et al., 2018).

For the aforementioned reasons, Muslims have particularly become central in the multicultural narratives in western Europe. It is argued that currently, there is a need to interpret and explain the manifestation of the different identities in the ethnic Muslim communities. Moreover, the consumption practices, in particular mundane, conspicuous, and ritual consumption practices of the ethnic communities, also need to be drawn into the multicultural debates. With these assertions in mind, it is contended that in this context, there is a need to explore how these communities express their Muslim religious agency through consumption practices in the multicultural society of the U.K.

2.10.1 Consumption in multicultural societies

Researchers have emphasized the importance of understanding the association between ethnic minority subcultures and the inherent cultural

dimensions in marketing (Burton, 2000; Jamal, 2003; Penaloza & Gilly, 1999; Bouchet, 1995). Studies have exhibited that growing international travel, the increasing significance of multinational corporations, the surging popularity of international brands and mass media, and the complex immigration patterns enable and prompt the development of a unique marketing environment, which can be loosely termed as the multicultural marketplace (Seo & Gao, 2015). A formal definition of multiculturalism is provided by Penaloza (2004), who conceptualizes multiculturalism within a marketplace as an assortment of cultures within a state, with a focus on the relationships between various cultures as they influence the market structures and practices as well as the behavior of consumers. Likewise, Kipnis et al. (2014) describe a multicultural marketplace as a multidimensional setting where many diverse cultural forces (local, foreign and global) intersect with each other resulting in the interplay of migrant and mainstream consumers alike. However, although it has been broadly explicated how these multicultural marketplaces emerge, extant literature provides an uncertain picture of the queries emerging at the individual consumer level (Seo & Gao, 2015).

In this modern globalized world marked by intersecting cultural flows (Piacentini & Cui, 2010), understanding how consumers shape and are being shaped by cultural multiplicity and diversity is becoming more and more crucial. In this respect, traditional marketing techniques of segmentation, targeting, and positioning that impose values and attitudes on consumers based on their ethnic and/or national identities have been challenged and criticized for their inability to understand multicultural marketplaces (Witte, 2012) comprehensively. One key approach suggested to address these challenges is to probe and comprehend how markets are impacted by the multicultural environments (Penaloza, 2004) and the contextual factors (Craig & Douglas, 2006).

More specifically, researchers posit that the cultural conditions of the marketplace can have a significant influence on individual consumers. Accordingly, the effect of marketplace cultural factors on consumer behavior

can take diverse forms and can range from consumers' disinclination to purchasing foreign products (Knight, 1999) to avid participation in global consumer culture (Riefler & Diamantopoulos, 2009). To further elaborate these assertions, consider the research by Shimp & Sharma (1987), who state that the perceived economic threat prompted by a foreign culture can induce a sense of ethnocentrism in consumers, which ultimately results in the emergence of beliefs about the inappropriateness of purchasing foreign products. Such insights resonate with Ger (1999), who infers that the differentiation aspect of globalization reactivates and intensifies ethnic, communal, and national identities. Conversely, Cannon & Yaprak (2002) bring to the fore the notion of consumer cosmopolitanism, which propounds that multicultural consumers are keen to partake in cultural experiences of globalization and therefore can exhibit inclinations to consume products associated with different cultures.

In multicultural societies, religious and ethnic identities can be exhibited and constructed in complex and multifarious ways. For example, studies have shed light on the role of political and socio-historic context in influencing the degree of religiosity and ultimately liberalism amongst the different religious segments in Lebanon (Cleveland et al., 2013). Similarly, Kjeldgaard & Askegaard (2006) have explored the incongruity and conflict between local and global cultural dispositions encountered by the Danish Youth. Moreover, in the case of African Americans, the effect of normative political ideologies on shopping behavior has also been highlighted by researchers (Crockett & Wallendorf, 2004). Scholars thus emphasize that with the socio-historical context, the compatibility or incompatibility in values, attitudes, and religion between (or among) cultural groups are important considerations for understanding acculturating experiences of ethnic minority consumers (Cohen et al., 2013; Lu et al., 2016; Askegaard et al., 2005).

A distinguishing characteristic of a multicultural marketplace is the positioning of the consumers and the marketers into traversing and multiple cultural domains (Penaloza & Gilly, 1999). There are also signs of extreme

individuation of consumption and taste, social dissolution, fragmentation, and patterns of collective meaning in such a marketplace (Firat & Schultz, 1997). Marketers continuously encounter issues related to the multifarious ways marketers identify the market and how consumers constantly identify and re-identify themselves (Barber, 1996). Some researchers posit that marketing in such a context can be considered as a cultural intermediary which serves to provide new symbolic meanings and their interpretations (Elliot, 1999). However, there is a paucity of empirical studies to substantiate the aforementioned theoretical conceptualization (Jamal, 2003). This study will thus add to the ongoing debates in the consumption of multicultural societies by exploring the role of religious and ethnic identities on the rituals, mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption practices of the Pakistani ethnic community in the U.K.

This study thus seeks to expand and build upon these concepts by exploring the significance and relevancy of British Pakistani Muslims' various competing identities and their implications on various consumption practices. This research will particularly explore the following themes relevant to consumption:

- The impact of religion in the ritualistic consumption of the different generations of British Pakistanis in the U.K.
- Role of religion on the Mundane, conspicuous and luxurious consumption of the different generations of British Pakistanis.
- With respect to religion, identify the paradoxes, contradictions, and consumer subjectivities prevalent in the different generations of this community which are manifested through their consumption practices.

These research themes represent areas in consumer research that largely remain an uncharted territory and as such, offer novel opportunities to contribute to the research on religion, ethnicity, and consumer acculturation in marketing. Scholars enunciate that the ethnic community acculturation strategies (Berry, 1990; Penaloza, 1994; Oswald, 1999) need to be revisited

and require further research. Moreover, researchers urge future studies to also investigate the dual cultural orientations of the ethnic communities (Schwartz et al., 2010; Askegaard et al., 2005). Notably, scholars underline that research on acculturation and ethnic marketing would benefit from further studies on the British South Asian ethnic communities, which offer an intriguing context and possess unique characteristics (Lindridge & Hogg, 2006). The detailed and rich accounts of consumers belonging to relatively smaller groups within a broader society, in spite of being different and distinct from sociologies of general consumption, can contribute to the development of theories by offering useful insights (Dey et al., 2017).

2.11 Chapter summary

This chapter begins by accentuating the role of religion in consumer behavior. It underlines the need to explore religion as an integral constituent of culture, emphasizing that it is one of the most influential and globalized social phenomena which directs individuals' behaviors, attitudes, and values at both the individual and societal levels. Thereafter, the section deliberates upon the various definitions of religion and hones into a definition that is germane to this study. By delineating various studies exploring consumption in the Islamic context, we have also endeavored to situate the religion of Islam in consumer behavior. The latter half of the chapter focuses on ethnic marketing and consumer acculturation. After explicating various models of acculturation, the chapter delves into an overview of identity, particularly ethnic and religious identities, which are crucial facets of this research. The chapter culminates with expounding several concepts that are relevant in the context of this study and that further enhance the value of the research.

Chapter 3 Methodology

This study is focused on the religious, multicultural, and multi-ethnic aspects of the marketplace in the United Kingdom. It looks into how religious and ethnic identities can tap into and articulate the stories of cultural groups (Holt, 2002) and how these identities influence individuals in expressing their sense of being in the social world through consumption. As an interpretive, social research about consumer culture, my research aims to explicate “webs of meaning” and focuses on complex descriptions (Have, 2004). Social research is concerned with determining how people view, interpret and adapt to events happening to them and around them (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In line with Marshall & Rossman (2014) the qualitative and interpretive orientation is apropos to the exploratory nature of this research. This chapter will describe how within interpretivist traditions this study seeks to achieve the research objectives through an empirical study.

3.1 Research paradigms

A research paradigm according to academics and researchers is a set of beliefs that influence important aspects of the research. For instance, these sets of beliefs offer guidance on what should be studied, how research should be conducted, and how the results should be analysed (Bell et al., 2018). This is concordant with Collis & Hussey (2013) who consider the research paradigm as a blueprint that serves as a manual on how research should be carried out in line with people's assumptions about the world, nature of knowledge, and philosophies.

Saunders et al. (2009) accentuate four research paradigms: positivism, pragmatism, realism, and interpretivism. The term paradigm signifies a broad set of philosophical assumptions concerning the nature of the world (ontology) and how we can comprehend it (epistemology) (Maxwell, 2012). Researchers underscore that these two types of assumptions i.e. ontological and epistemological affect the choice of the research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

According to Crotty (1998) ontology is the philosophical understanding of being. Ontological assumptions are concerned with elucidating the constitution and nature of reality. These assumptions explicate the way the world functions and signify the commitment and adherence of researchers to specific views. Ontological perspectives can be classified into two categories, objectivism, and subjectivism. The inherent position of objectivism is that social phenomena exist in reality and are not contingent on or produced by social actors and can be increasingly known through the accumulation of more complete information (Saunders et al., 2009). On the contrary, the subjectivist view recognizes that social reality is the result of complex forms of human interactions and actions. This means that social reality is dynamic in a way that objective reality is not (Given, 2008). Subjectivism is therefore concerned with understanding meaning since the fundamental forms of social reality can change as the perceptions of individuals can vary because people have their own, distinct world view (Saunders et al., 2009). It should be noted that the positivist paradigm is consistent with the philosophical underpinnings of objectivism whereas the ontological assumptions of the interpretivist paradigm are consistent with the tenets of the subjective philosophy. Positivist paradigm is considered objective since its proponents assert that there is only one single reality. On the contrary, in the interpretivist paradigm, social reality is deemed to be subjective as people have their own views of the world which amounts to multiple realities (Collis & Hussey, 2013).

Epistemological assumptions are concerned with understanding the nature of knowledge and thus include the sources and limits, justification, and rationale of knowledge (Saunders et al., 2009; Given, 2008). It provides the philosophical underpinnings for the most appropriate positions of inquiring into the nature of the world (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008) and thus seeks to understand the relationship between the known and the inquirer (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Many researchers consider positivism and interpretivism as the two traditional research paradigms (Collis & Hussey, 2013; Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). According to Bell et al. (2018), the epistemological position of positivism is to apply scientific methods to the study of social reality and

beyond. Positivism is generally used to identify facts or causes pertaining to social phenomena by constructing and testing hypotheses. Positivists advocate realism which is the conviction that objects have an existence that is independent of the inquirer and thus they believe that the researcher should be impartial, separated from what is being researched (Cohen et al., 2013). This position is adopted by researchers concerned with obtaining concrete facts of the social phenomenon under investigation which is considered to be absolute and value free (Scotland, 2012; Collis & Hussey, 2013). Thus, the crucial prepositions of the positivist paradigm are that of empiricism and objectivity (Sekaran, 2000).

Interpretivism is an epistemological position that is consistent with subjectivism and requires the researcher to realize that reality is created from perceptions and consequent actions of social actors which are conceived and communicated in a social context (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, the social reality can only be grasped from the perspective of participants who are involved and situated in it (Cohen et al., 2013). Collis & Hussey (2013) maintain that the essence of interpretivism is the belief that social reality is in the mind and is subjective and multiple. This approach hones into understanding the meaning of social phenomena rather than focusing on measurements (Collis & Hussey, 2013). The meaning of social phenomena is gained from an individual's perspective, exploring human interactions as well as from investigating cultural and historical contexts people dwell in (Cohen et al., 2013). Thus, interpretivists believe that the behavior of individuals conforms to socially constructed values and norms and not to causal relationships. They also accentuate the uniqueness of every situation and posit that its meaning is contingent upon the actions of the individuals involved and the circumstances (Remenyi et al., 1998). Thus, interpretivism often entails bringing into the fore hidden social structures and forces (Scotland, 2012).

I chose an interpretivist methodology as the foundation of my research as it is attuned with my desire of understanding and investigating the meanings associated with particular practices. As emphasized in the preceding

paragraph, interpretivists acknowledge the multiplicity and relativity of the social world and believe that there is more than one way of approaching and making sense of such realities. The aim of the interpretivist researcher, therefore, is to interpret and understand human actions by analytically eliciting sense making practices (Elliot & Timulak, 2005). According to Lofland & Lofland (1995), these meaning making behaviors is also referred to by sociologist as norms, social reality, culture, ideology, worldview, perspectives, typification or stereotypes. These expressions share a common focus with humanly constructed concepts that are consciously highlighted as significant aspects of reality. This view resonates with Lofland & Lofland (1995) who contend that meanings in a way are transbehavioral since they not only describe behavior but also define, justify and interpret it as well.

It must be noted that the interpretive research paradigm is conducive to studying consumer insights (Moisander & Valtonen, 2012). In the field of marketing, interpretivism has been applied to investigate the intricate web of meanings around market agents and activities within international and local cultural arenas (Penaloza et al., 2012) as well as to understand consumer's selection choices through a blend of global standardization and local customization (Ger et al., 2012). Moreover, Belk (2012) avers that an interpretive approach can provide a richly textured cognizance of the influence and impact of culture. He further expounds that an interpretive paradigm facilitates our understanding of how cultural factors such as values, norms, and traditions affect our day-to-day consumption behaviour or practices. Especially germane to this research is the fact that the interpretivist approach is also instrumental in the understanding of religious consumption and identities (Jafari & Goulding, 2008) as well as ethnic consumption and identities (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2011; Sekhon, 2007). It is pertinent to note that since the focus of this study is not only to identify behaviours and how they have been altered but also to understand the subjective meanings and intentions associated with such social actions, the interpretive approach seems to be the most suitable as it facilitates and enables the exploration of the emergent consumer behaviour phenomenon in a particular social context

thereby contributing to the research of lived human experiences (Cohen et al., 2013).

Interpretive work has evolved into an effective research methodology developing new techniques of knowing and understanding the nature of reality, that have enabled researchers to see problems and perspectives afresh (Penaloza et al., 2012). Interpretive research adheres to a broad set of practices and methods (Belk, 2007), and selecting the most appropriate procedure depends on the research context and the research problem at hand. Moisander & Valtonen (2012) emphasize that social behavior can only be explained by contextualizing it in the cultural system of beliefs, rules conventions, and concepts that gives meaning to that behavior. By pursuing an interpretivist approach, this study will describe and explicate the social experiences from the individual's perspective which will enable the researcher to provide a unique insight into the different generations of British Pakistani's cultural context and how their religious and ethnic identities shape their consumption behaviour. In the following section, I will discuss the research approach employed in this study.

3.2 Research approach

Creswell (2014) elucidates that a research approach is the procedures and plans for research that cover several stages of the research process, spanning from general assumptions to a comprehensive blueprint of how to collect, analyse and interpret data. He further explicates that the preference of a particular research approach is also dependent on the researcher's personal experiences and worldview, the nature of the research enquiry as well as the target audiences of the project. According to Creswell, the research approach can be categorized into three broad types which are qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods.

Quantitative research methods are concerned with testing objective theories by exploring the relationship among various variables in a particular study. These variables can be measured typically by using statistical procedures with

the help of instruments such as questionnaires or scales that are designed to collect information on a topic of interest. Those researchers who practice this approach test their theories and hypothesis deductively, maintain objectivity and avoid bias, try to minimize the plausible alternative explanations, and strive to replicate and generalize the results (Creswell, 2014).

A mixed methods approach entails gathering both qualitative and quantitative data and incorporating the two types of data through the use of research designs that adopt a distinct theoretical framework and philosophical assumptions that facilitate such integration. The primary assumption of this type of approach is that combining both qualitative and quantitative methodologies offer a better insight regarding the research inquiry than either approach can on its own (Creswell, 2014). It enables researchers to integrate hypothesis testing and theory development within a single project (Jogulu & Pansiri, 2011).

In contrast to the aforementioned research approaches qualitative methodology is instrumental for understanding and investigating the meanings and perceptions that people ascribe to social or human phenomena. The research technique entails emerging questions, data generally collected in the natural surroundings of the participants, inductive data analysis advancing from specific to general themes, and the researcher attempting to interpret and make sense of the data. It is noteworthy that the research report has a flexible and fluid structure. Practitioners of this approach engage in an inductive style of inquiry, emphasizing individual meaning and accentuating the significance of rendering the complexity of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2014).

Since the objectives of this research call for an in-depth understanding of British Pakistani Muslims, their experiences, and narratives, this project embraced a qualitative approach to collect, analyse and interpret data. As highlighted in the aforementioned paragraphs a qualitative perspective is suited to an inductive strategy and provided the methodological underpinnings to understand the significance of religious and ethnic identities in the lives of the interviewees in context and how the participants' identity trajectories

impact their consumer acculturation processes. Thus, the explanation of this ethnic community's religious and ethnic identity construction as lived experiences and its implication on consumption can be best realized through complex, detailed, and rounded data, instead of using the type of standardised questions and generic surveys that have previously been used by scholars investigating similar phenomena (Saeed et al., 1999; Hussain & Miller, 2006). By examining social realities holistically and by acknowledging their complexity, qualitative research is endowed to place social issues and behavior in their proper context (Punch, 2013).

Creswell (2014) states that research designs encompass elements of data collection, analysis, and writing but they derive out of disciplines and flow throughout the research process (for example determining the ethical issues of significance or the types of problems). In this section the following crucial aspects of the qualitative research design will be discussed:

- Characteristics and Significance of the Target Population
- Criteria for Categorizing the Interviewees into Different Generations
- Sampling Process
- Data Collection: Semi Structured Interviews
- Data Analysis

3.2.1 Characteristics and significance of the target population

The significance of exploring the Pakistani British community is accentuated from the fact that in Europe, the United Kingdom has the largest population of Pakistani ethnic community. It is pertinent to note that after the Pakistani diaspora residing in Saudi Arabia, British Pakistani's can be accounted as the second largest Pakistani community residing overseas. According to the 2011 census, which is the most recent held census in the United Kingdom, 1,174,983 people indicated that they were ethnically Pakistani (not including individuals of mixed ethnicity), irrespective of where they were born. This

places British Pakistanis as the largest community of immigrants after the British Indians settled in the U.K. and subsequently one of the largest ethnic communities of British Asians. They are also the largest ethnic Muslim community in the U.K. which makes them a suitable and valid group to be explored in the context of this study. Table 1 illustrates the increase in the population of British Pakistanis in the U.K. from 1951 till 2011.

Table 3.1 Population of British Pakistani (1951-2011)

Year	Population (rounded to nearest 1,000)
1951 (estimate)	10,000
1961 (estimate)	25,000
1971 (estimate)	119,000
1981 (estimate)	296,000
1991 (estimate)	477,000
2001 (actual)	747,000
2011 (actual)	1,175,000

Source: Figures of 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, and 2001 based on Abbas, 2005. Figure of 2011 are from the 2011 U.K. census (Ons.gov.uk, 2011)

Casey (2016), by taking into consideration the 2011 census, affirmed that the U.K. is increasingly becoming ethnically diverse with the native population shrinking by 0.4 million people and the ethnic minority population growing in number. The most notable growth recorded among the 'other' Whites were the Polish which increased by 0.5 million and amongst the Asian ethnic groups were Pakistani and Indians, each increasing by 0.4 million. From these figures, one can infer that the ethnic minority population is on the rise in the U.K. which accentuates the need for this study of the Pakistani community. In Table 2 the countrywide breakup of the Asian Ethnic Population in the U.K. is exhibited. It can be seen that British Pakistanis are ranked as the second largest immigrant community after the British Indians in the United Kingdom. It needs to be

underscored that in Scotland however, Pakistanis constitute the largest ethnic community which is followed by Indians.

Table 3.2 Countrywide Breakup of the Asian Ethnic Population in the U.K.

Country	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	Total	% of U.K. Population
Ethnic Group					
Indian	1,412,958	32,706	6,198	1,451,862	2.3
Pakistani	1,124,511	49,381	1,091	1,174,983	1.9
Banglادashi	447,201	3788	540	451,529	0.7
Chineses	393,141	33706	6,303	433,150	0.7
Other Asian	835,720	21097	4,998	861,815	1.4
Total	4,213,531	140678	19,130	4,373,339	6.9

Source: U.K. census, 2011 (Nomisweb.co.uk, 2011)

Casey (2016) indicates that the U.K. is conducive for exploring the role of religion, particularly Islam. According to the author, the number of individuals who identified as Christians fell from 70% to 59%. In contradiction, the number of people who proclaimed to be Muslims grew pronouncedly by 1.2 million people. This 72 % rise in affiliation with Islam is greater than those noted for any other religious group. The 2.8 million Muslims comprise the second largest religious population in the UK after Christians. It needs to be underlined that the report suggests that the growing ethnic population is younger and has a higher probability to identify themselves as being religious. This trend is more likely to be prevalent among Pakistani and Banglادeshi ethnic groups (Casey, 2016) which makes the Pakistani British community a suitable context to explore the role of religion and ethnicity in their consumer acculturation process. Table 3.3 illustrates the Countrywide breakdown of religion in the U.K.

Table 3.3 Countrywide Breakup of Religion in the U.K.

Country	England & Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland	Total	% of U.K. Population
Religion					
Christian	33,243,175	2,850,199	14,905,88	37,583,962	59.5
Muslim	2,706,066	76,737	3,832	2,786,635	4.4
Buddhist	247,743	12,795	1,046	261,584	0.4
Hindu	816,633	16,379	2,382	835,394	1.3
Jewish	263,346	5,887	335	269,568	0.4
Sikh	423,158	9,055	216	432,429	0.7
No Religion	14,097,229	194,1116	183,164	16,221,509	25.7

Source: U.K. census, 2011 (Nomisweb.co.uk, 2011)

3.2.2 Criteria for categorizing the interviewees into different generations

An indispensable aspect of the sampling process was realizing the generational dynamics. Studies pertaining to the ethnic minority religious communities in the U.K. have highlighted the influence of generations on various behavioural types such as self-perceptions. Phinney (2003) asserts that the ethnic and national identities of immigrants can evolve and are shaped by factors such as context, time, and generational gaps. Phinney posits that acculturation changes can take place among generations, as demonstrated by the changes that can be perceived between immigrant parents and their children and grandchildren. Correspondingly Jacobson (1997b) delineates the complex ways in which young Muslims negotiate and navigate their identities in distinct contexts. The differing and sometimes conflicting values and expectations of private and public spheres may entail the second generation Muslims to develop various coping strategies, dual identities, and cultural code switching (Ballard, 1994).

Some scholars argue that the integration concerns and studies are relevant only in cases of the first generation as the latter generations are likely to assimilate with the norms and values of the dominant host society. In line with these assertions Maxwell (2010), while exploring immigrant integration in 24 European countries by analysing political satisfaction and trust, determined that the first generation of immigrants have the most positive attitudes whereas

the political attitudes of the second generations were found to be similar to those of the native people. These results suggest that over time, as the second generation embraces and acquires the educational, social, and linguistic aptitudes of the host country, questions of integration in later generations should become redundant (Bagheri, 2015). However, Pfeffer (2014) contends that the issues of integration do not simply vanish as the second and later generations grow up. By exploring and demonstrating that the process of integration is intergenerational, continuous, and complex, Modood (2013) declares that any theory of integration should incorporate the issues, status, and complexities of post-immigration religious and ethnic minorities.

While there is consensus in the definition of the first generation of immigrants which refers to individuals who have migrated from their home country to a new host country, there is a lack of clarification as to the composition and definitions of the later generations. For example, with the exception of few studies, researchers lump immigrants who migrated to the host country as a child or an adolescent either with the first generation or with the second generation. Although individuals in this “1.5” generation (Hurh, 1990; Lee, 2001) are similar to the first generation who migrated to the host countries as adults, they spend a significant part of their developmental years growing up in the host country. Similarly, the 1.5 generation differs from the second generation in that the latter is born in the host country (Kim et al., 2003). The 1.5 generation denomination highlights the potential adaption differences this group may experience relative to those individuals who migrated to the host country as adults or with those who have been in the host country since birth (Hurh, 1990).

Congruous with the aforementioned assertions, Park (1999), by adopting ethnographic methodology, recorded the unique adaption experiences of the 1.5 generation of Korean immigrants in America. From the ethnographic interviews Park inferred that unlike the other generations of Korean Americans, individuals of this generation were able to proficiently navigate within and between both the Korean and the American cultures. The process by which

the 1.5 generation are able to operate proficiently in two distinct cultures is termed bicultural competence (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The scholars elaborate that bicultural competence entails having (a) an understanding of the norms, values, and beliefs of both cultures, (b) favourable views towards the two groups, (c) bicultural efficacy, that is the belief that one can co-exist without conflict in both the cultures and without abandoning their ethnic identity, (d) skills to communicate effectively in the two cultures, (e) role repertoire, competence, and familiarity of what constitutes appropriate behavior in both cultures and (f) the sense or feeling of being rooted in both cultures. Similarly according to socialists like Hurh (1990), in America, the 1.5 generation of ethnic immigrants show equally high tendencies to socialize in both their indigenous and host country cultures as well as fluency in English and their native languages.

These assertions are akin to Lee (2001) who is an educator. He noted differences in attitudes towards school between the 1.5 generation and the second generation. According to several studies, one of the characteristics unique to this generation is their ability to serve as cultural brokers. In several studies, members of this community have reported serving as cultural brokers for their family members. Instances where the 1.5 generation function as cultural brokers for their families include educating and providing guidance about appropriate U.S cultural norms or by being an English translator (Kim et al., 2003; Padilla, 1994).

Likewise, Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004) states that the majority of studies on immigrant adaption have considered individuals who were born in the host country as representatives of the second generation even when one of their parents were native born (Borjas, 1999; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004) is critical of this formulation as it conflates the experiences of the "2.0" generation who have two parents that were born outside of the country to which they migrated and settled in with the "2.5" generation characterised by having one parent that is native born and the other that is foreign born. He contends that such over-simplified combining of the

different generations is done without any theoretical substantiation as to why individuals having no native born parents should be lumped with those who have at least one parent who is native born.

Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004) accentuates the impact that native born parents may have on the experiences and outcome of the child. He maintains that contrary to immigrants who are foreign born, native born individuals exhibit a greater degree of socialization in networks that are comprised of other native born members. The lack of involvement of immigrants in such networks can be attributed to various reasons such as residential segregation, barriers in communication due to lack of proficiency in English, and paucity of participating in the local politics. Interactions and exposure of children to such networks through their parents can have a positive influence on their socioeconomic outcomes as well as on their ethnic self-identification. Study results of Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004) illustrate that relative to couples who are both foreign born, couples in which one parent is native born are seen to mostly have a higher level of educational attainment. The reason being is that the native-born are more likely to attain a higher level of education in comparison to the first generation of immigrants, particularly when it comes to high school graduation. Moreover, immigrants who generally marry native born people tend to be more educated and proficient in the English language in comparison to those immigrants who marry other immigrants. Moreover, a significant disparity was seen in the earnings of the two generations with the “2.5” generation making 26 to 28 percent more than those in the “2.0” generation. It is pertinent to note that the outcomes and experiences of the “3.0” generation which is characterised by having both native born parents are also different from the other generations in terms of educational attainment, age structure, earnings, and racial composition. Thus Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004), asserts that scholars should be cautious of conflating the different generations as it results in the lumping of the unique experiences and outcomes of the different generations.

In the marketing context, to the best of my knowledge, no research to date has sought to clearly make such delineation (making a distinction between immigrants who migrated to the host country as a child or adolescent the “1.5” generation from the 1st or 2nd generations as well as on the bases of whether a child born in the host country had any native parent the “2.5” generation) when it comes to classifying the respondents into the different generations (Penaloza, 1989; Penaloza, 1994; Lindridge et al., 2004; Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005; Sekhon, 2007; Sekhon & Szmigin, 2011; Fleischmann & Phalet, 2012; Luedicke, 2011; Alvarez et al., 2014; Jamal & Shukor, 2014; Visconti et al., 2014; Luedicke, 2015; Kizgin, 2016; Sevim et al., 2016; Zolfagharian & Ulusoy, 2017).

From the above discussion, one can argue that a comprehensive understanding of the divergent experiences, identities, perceptions, and attitudes of the different generations warrants the consideration of the “1.5” and “2.5” generations. In this study, the first generation comprises of those individuals who have migrated from their home country (Pakistan) to the U.K. after the age of 16 (Lessard-Phillips & Li, 2017). It needs to be underlined that there is no precise age definition for the 1.5 generations due to a lack of consensus amongst scholars and is open for interpretation. Hurh (1990) defines this generation to include immigrants who came to the host country between the ages of 11 and 16 years. A few scholars restrict the age limit of this group and include people who migrate before the age of 12 years (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). For several other scholars like Park (1999), self-identification is the criteria of categorizing individuals into the 1.5 generation and may include people born either in the host or the home countries. In this study, I have considered the definition adopted by Lessard-Phillips & Li (2017). According to them, the “1.5” generation comprises of individuals who arrived in the U.K. during compulsory schooling—ages 6 to 16. Similarly, according to Karthick Ramakrishnan (2004), the “2.5” generation consists of individuals with one immigrant and one native born parent. In this category, I have also included individuals with parents from the “1.5” generation. This is because even though the “1.5” generations were not born here but their experiences,

identity, and identifications are similar to native born Pakistanis as they would have settled in the U.K. at a very early age and more importantly would have undergone most of their schooling here as well.

In this study, I have included the “1.5” and “2.5” generation categories, not only to provide accurate descriptions of the interviewees or because these categories were under researched in the marketing context but more importantly because in doing so I endeavoured to better explicate and understand the attitudes, behaviors, and characteristics associated with respondents representing these two categories which otherwise might have been brushed aside as an anomaly or aberration if they were to be considered as either part of the first or second generations. Moreover, considering these two previously overlooked generations I sought to better interpret the distinctive identities, narratives, and perceptions of such individuals, which would have become intermingled or lost if they were lumped up with the first and second generations. Being sensitized to this 1.5 through my reading allowed me to look into the data to understand that some of the informants were acting as cultural brokers or bridges between generations and that will be discussed in my finding with particular reference to the 1.5 generations however with respect to the other themes identified indicated that the 1.5 generation had more in common with the first and the 2.5 with the second and those area of the findings were not segmented. This is developed as an area of future research. Table 3.4 shows the different characteristics of my interviewees.

Table 3.4 Characteristics of the interview participants

	Interviewee (Pseudonyms)	Generation	Gender	Age Bracket	Location
1	Uzma	1st	Female	75-80	Glasgow
2	Shahid	1st	Male	70-75	Glasgow
3	Sadia	1st	Male	65-70	Glasgow
4	Binish	1st	Female	70-75	Glasgow
5	Mehwish	1st	Female	45-50	Glasgow
6	Reham	1st	Female	60 - 65	Glasgow
7	Imran	1st	Male	40-45	London
8	Fiza	1st	Female	35-40	London
9	Ajlan	1st	Male	45-50	London
10	Rani	1.5	Female	60-65	Glasgow
11	Abdullah	1.5	Male	60-65	Glasgow
12	Sania	2nd	Female	45-50	Glasgow
13	Wasiq	2nd	Male	40-45	Glasgow
14	Anjum	2nd	Female	40-45	Glasgow
15	Qadsia	2nd	Female	35-40	Glasgow
16	Sarah	2nd	Female	35-40	Glasgow
17	Hayyan	2nd	Male	40 - 45	London
18	Waleed	2nd	Male	25-30	London
19	Sikander	2.5	Male	25-30	Glasgow
20	Owais	2.5	Male	35-40	Glasgow
21	Arsalan	2.5	Male	30-35	Glasgow
22	Malik	2.5	Male	35-40	Glasgow
23	Sehar	2.5	Female	30-35	Glasgow
24	Hoor	2.5	Female	25-30	London
25	Aneela	2.5	Female	35-40	London
26	Nida	3 rd	Female	30-35	Glasgow
27	Shadab	3 rd	Male	18-25	London

3.2.3 Sampling process

Finding interviewees to participate in studies exploring religion can be difficult and contentious. This is because religion is considered by many as a sensitive and very private part of life. Consequently, some people are reluctant to divulge valid information on this topic to a stranger (Koeing, 1992). Moreover, minority groups and immigrants may be reluctant to participate in the interviewing process and unwilling to identify themselves because of apprehensions of being persecuted or misunderstood (McAndrew & Voas, 2011). Shohel et al. (2015) noted such challenges when looking into the impact of religion on the attitudes of Muslim women towards higher education in the United Kingdom. She surmised that for Muslim women exploration of such attitudes seems to be so sensitive that they are unwilling to discuss them with an outsider who does not share the same ethnicity, religion, or culture with them. Since this research is concerned with exploring religion, culture, identity, and associated issues on which there are ongoing debates, I also found recruiting participants who were keen and willing to take part in the interviews as suggested by Marshall (1996) difficult.

Shankar et al. (2009) note that the highly personal and sensitive nature of the research can make building rapport with the participants challenging. Shankar et al. (2001) advocate the use of convenience sampling of people familiar to the researcher with whom shared past, trust and empathy has already been established. In such a scenario, scholars suggest the snowball sampling technique, to gather sufficient interviewees for data collection (Shohel et al., 2015). Snowball sampling is a nonprobability sampling technique in which the initially selected candidates for the study are used as informants to find and identify other people having necessary characteristics that the researcher is interested in exploring, thereby making them eligible to be included in the sample (Bailey, 1994). When carefully and methodically carried out, the snowball sampling technique results in an empirically sound sample (Penrod et al., 2003). This strategy is appropriate for a variety of research purposes and is especially well suited in cases where the primary concern of the investigation is sensitive in nature, possibly focusing on a relatively private

matter which necessitates the insider knowledge to find individuals interested to take part in the research. This method of sampling is particularly applicable in sociological endeavours (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981). This technique is frequently used by transcultural researchers for both qualitative and quantitative research studies (Penrod et al., 2003).

In this study, the recruitment phase was further complicated because the research warranted that the interviews should be conducted with different generations of the same family. This was necessary as most of the previous research exploring the transmission and significance of religion amongst different generations relied on broad comparisons of the religious identity of the first and second generations (Phalet et al., 2008; Maliepaard et al., 2010; Scourfield et al., 2012). According to Voas & Fleischmann (2012), such studies are limited in delineating how transmission and other religious dynamics have evolved within immigrant families as well as highlighting the interactions and experiences of the parental generation as distinct from the child cohort. Moreover, as discussed in the literature review within Muslim family structures, there has been an intergenerational shift in power balance (see section 2.8 for details). It is argued that parental dyad has been disempowered and there has been an inversion of the parent-child relationship (Husain & O'Brien, 2001). It is pertinent to note that since this research explores how and if these changing trends impact religious dynamics within the family, it was relevant to have related respondents. Moreover, as an intergenerational study, it was possible to explore the differences, similarities, and evolution of the different identities and consumption behaviour in different generations as well as the influence of adult members of one generation over the adult members of another generation. In this research to meet these objectives 10 families comprising of different generations were interviewed.

Also, in order to put participants at ease and enable a relationship to develop, I conducted all of the intergenerational interviews in the residences of the participants. All the interviews were conducted individually and in private. Although I am a foreigner in the U.K. I was fortunate that I had acquaintances

in this country who served as gatekeepers. Consonant with the role of gatekeepers, my acquaintances proved crucial in providing entry and access to the field and aided in helping me establish a link with my interviewees (Penrod et al., 2003; Morse & Field, 1995). They helped in recruiting potential respondents and disseminating information about the project to them. Because of their links and connections, I was able to recruit participants from two major cities of the U.K., Glasgow, and London. Studies similar to this one, where the focus of the research is socio-culturally sensitive, acquiring access to the field of research in practice can prove challenging (See Shohel et al., 2015). I believe if I did not have the help of my gatekeepers and had I not been viewed as an “insider” who shares the same religion, and ethnicity with my respondents, I would not have been able to recruit a sufficient number of participants, especially females, that were necessary to make this project viable.

While implementing snowball sampling and in order to maximize theoretical utility and sample variability, I followed the guidelines of Lee (1993). I made a conscious effort to monitor and pace the referral chains which were generated. In the beginning, my aim was simply to find an adequate number of contacts in order to get the data collection process started. In this phase, I began making contact with all of my acquaintances and requested them to participate in the study. Later on, as suggested by Lee (1993) I attempted to exercise more control over the referral chains by using a number of diverse starting points as possible to ensure extensive coverage of the target population. I achieved this by striving to get interviews from not only my gatekeepers but also from as many of their referrals as possible. In the final phases in a process akin to theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 2017) I made an attempt to identify specific kinds of participants whose utility to the research lied in their ability to illuminate the emerging theoretical formulations. It also needs to be stated that during the sampling process some referral chains were developed in preference to others because of their potential to be able to better verify and advance the developing theory (Lee, 1993).

Thomas & Sanderson (2011) while exploring British Muslim Pakistani accentuated the crucial role of trust between the researcher and the participant in order to maximize one's opportunities to elicit an honest and open discussion. They further acknowledge enlisting the help of youth workers having a similar ethnic background as those of the respondents in order to achieve their objective of gaining the interviewees' trust. According to Lewicki & Bunker (1996), the degree of trust established between the interviewer and the respondent is contingent on the extent to which the interviewer establishes common identification. They claim that the strongest type of trust is Identification based trust, which is established based on empathy, shared values, and understanding the views and stances of others (Lewicki & Bunker, 1996). There are several criteria for establishing Identification based trust namely age, religious affiliations, ethnicity gender, and political inclinations which may also intersect (Enguix, 2014). In this regard, Lehtomaki et al. (2017) aver that developing a trusting relationship with participants is challenging. It requires the researcher to be sensitive to what the participants find to be important in their lives. The researcher must ask; could any common traits or experiences serve as a bridge to the participants? To a certain extent, a researcher must be like a chameleon in adjusting to the research participants' world. In light of these suggestions, I found that the approach to forging a relationship based on trust was different with each of my interviewees. For instance, I realized that communicating in the Urdu language was a crucial trait to establish trust with the 1st generation. This resonates with scholars who posit that an automatic bond is created between the researchers and the participants who speak the same language, especially if the study participants are members of a language minority group. The respondents in such situations will assume that the researcher understands what they are talking about (Lehtomaki et al., 2017). Similarly, my age and gender were common binding traits that brought me closer to the second generation male members. It goes without saying that religion was also a crucial component of my identity that brought me closer to most of my interviewees and facilitated the building of trust with them. It needs to be underlined that confidentiality was another factor

that helped me cement trust with the respondents. Confidentiality is seen to effectively address some physical, emotional, and social vulnerabilities (Celestina, 2018). According to Hammersley & Atkinson (2019), confidentiality entails that the identity of the participant will not be disclosed and whatever the informants have discussed and revealed in their interviews will not be directly attributable to them. The researchers further note that participants are more willing to reveal their true opinions and perspectives under the agreement of confidentiality. Right from the beginning of the interview, I was vividly explicit with my interviewees that all of our conversations will be kept confidential and anonymous, which I believe made them discuss issues more candidly and openly. The issue of confidentiality and anonymity is further discussed in section “3.4 Ethical considerations”.

Instilling trust in interviewees played a crucial systemic role in the data collection process. According to Alam & Husband (2006) if the participants of the interview trust you, they are more inclined to portray a comprehensive picture of their life and experiences that is broad yet at the same time detail oriented. Trust, therefore, induces greater disclosure, which enhances the validity of the data collected. Cultivating and establishing trust is contingent on the identity of the researchers which in turn is influenced by their personality, cultural upbringing, political dispositions, and so on. Trust is particularly vital if we are conscious of, wish to acknowledge, and then react to the power disparities between the interviewer and the subject (Alam & Husband, 2006). In line with the suggestions of Hesse-Biber (2014) in order to address and level the power disparity somewhat, I endeavoured to make the interview more of a discussion in which I also shared some of my experiences relevant to the discussion thereby letting my participants know that they were not the only one sharing. Such a technique is common in feminist research (Hesse-Biber, 2014). I also practiced the recommendations of Rubin & Rubin (1995) to counterbalance the power dynamics and to foster trust. I considered my respondents as conversational partners instead of treating them as passive objects of research. Rubin & Rubin (1995) assert with conviction that following such an approach instils a sense and appreciation of equity that not only

proves to be fruitful in helping unearth well-grounded data but is also coherent with sound ethical practices on which to carry out the research. Moreover, in order to not merely report the experiences of the respondents descriptively, I strived to negate my urge to arbitrarily interpret the interviews and provide the interviewees the freedom to express their meanings and sense making of the events of their own lives and the reality surrounding them. This was achieved by allowing the participants to signal agreement, disagree with my interpretations, suggest changes about the interpretation, supplement information, or clarify obscure points that emerged during the course of the interview (Pessoa et al., 2019).

It is pertinent to note that I conducted the majority of the interviews in the respondents' houses and spent almost an entire day with them and their families. This allowed me to build rapport with the interviewees, which was necessary to elicit rich and relevant information to my study (Agar, 1996). To further enhance rapport and cementing a relationship of trust, I adopted the recommendation put forth by DeWalt & DeWalt (2002) who suggested building rapport through participation. In this objective's pursuance, I attended various rituals such as the death and marriage ceremonies of my respondents.

3.2.4 Data Collection: In-depth, semi Structured interviews

Since the purpose of the data collection is to gather data pertaining to the identities, experiences, and attitudes, of the respondent, Blaikie (2000) recommends employing qualitative, semi-structured interviews. The qualitative interviewing approach mostly involves an in-depth and semi-structured or moderately structured interviewing style and is also one of the most popular and widely recognized types of qualitative research technique (Mason, 1996).

Scholars assert that qualitative interviews are an effective method to investigate the identity negotiations and lived experiences of individuals and have been employed by many researchers as the primary source of data collection (Kidd & Jamieson, 2011; Hopkins et al., 2007; Jacobson, 1997a). As a case in point, consider Jacobson (1997b) who contends that a lot can be

understood about Identity by focusing on the details of individuals' definitions and meanings ascribed to their own situations. In this regard, the interviewees which consisted of different generations of British Pakistani Muslims were asked to talk about their attitudes, views, experiences, motives, and perceptions relating to their religious and ethnic identity construction and negotiations as well as report how changes in their norms, traditions, and values influence their everyday consumption behavior and practices.

Rubin & Rubin (1995) note that qualitative interviewing is a tool to unearth and understand other people's experiences, perceptions, feeling, and the recreation of events which the researcher was not part of. I chose this method as the interactive interviewing and probing enabled me to elicit in-depth and detailed responses from the participants. Since identities are context dependent and likely to change depending on the context (Bagheri, 2015), exploring how my interviewees navigated and negotiated their multiple identities through qualitative interviewing aided me to acknowledge the deeper facets of their religious and ethnic identities.

I conducted 27 in-depth and semi-structured qualitative interviews with different generations of British Pakistani Muslims residing in either London or Glasgow. It needs to be underscored that all the interviews were conducted individually and privately irrespective of the participants' gender so that the interviewees can speak freely. According to Morgan (1997), the benefits of having individual interviews are that they facilitate private and close conversations between the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer in this scenario can control the direction of the interview. Thus, this approach is useful in obtaining concentrated amounts of data on precisely the topic of interest. The interviews lasted for approximately an hour and were all audio-recorded with participants' consent. The semi-structured nature of the interviews offered the participants space and time to reflect on the topic and to provide their own input in relation to specific experiences, events, or situations of their lives. Similarly, the in-depth nature of the interviews facilitated me to dig deeper and delve into the meanings, accounts, and interpretation of their

different identities and their implication on consumption habits and behaviours. In this study, this approach was selected instead of structured or planned interviews or questionnaires since these kinds of techniques typically compel participants to opt from pre-existing categories or positions that they might consider that they do not fit in or may not wish to belong in. By enhancing the level of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, semi-structured interviews provide more room and space for the participants to create or express their perceptions, attitudes, and views (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). For instance, since talking about religious and ethnic identities is considered a complex and sensitive issue as it is interlaced with webs of meanings, conflicts, and contradictions it requires the researcher to interact with the interviewee and to probe deeper to discover how such experiences affect their integration into the society and translate into everyday consumption practices and behaviors. It is important to emphasize that the interviews were conducted with those people that were happy to talk and who belonged to different generations to gain different perspectives on the topic at hand (Rubin & Rubin, 1995).

Scholars emphasize that formulating an interview guide is essential to collect data that will address the aims and objectives of the study (Ryan et al., 2009). In particular, following an interview guide helps to avoid the interviewer lead the discussion and enables the interviewees to describe their lived experiences in their own terms (Streubert & Carpenter, 1995). A semi-structured interview guide generally consists of a few broad, guiding interview questions (Baumbusch, 2010). As declared in previous chapters the purpose of this study was two-fold. The first objective was to explore the role and significance of religious, ethnic, and host culture identity on the lived experiences of the different generations of British Pakistanis. The second objective was to understand how these different identities are implicated in consumption behaviour and practices, particularly ritualistic, mundane, luxury, and conspicuous consumption. In line with the research objectives, the interview guide was divided into two sections. The first section included broad guiding questions aimed to elicit the interviewee's responses towards the three

areas of identity, as well as their acculturation into the mainstream society. The second section was comprised of broad guiding questions pertaining to their everyday consumption habits and behaviour trying to understand how consumption is used by this community to express, tap into and articulate the changing dynamics of religion and ethnicity. The detailed interview guide can be found in appendix 1. In order to complement the broad guiding questions of my interviews, I also incorporated sub-questions in the form of probes or prompts (Ryan et al., 2009). These stimulated the interviewees to expand upon an answer or steered them back to the main topic if they got sidetracked.

The underlying assumption of the narrative approach shaped certain aspects of the data collection and the qualitative interviews. The narrative approach was especially valuable in informing and designing the interview structure for this study because it allowed me to apprehend the complexity of both religious and ethnic identities that I wished to explore. The narrative approach enabled me to gain insights into the voice of the respondents. It proved to be a gateway into the life stories and the complex and highly private accounts of the participants' identity and culture. It permitted the interviewees to lead and dictate the discussion. The narrative approach brings the researched to the fore. This technique has been denoted as a "methodology of listening" as it facilitates the interviewees to set the tone of the discussion and the agenda (Francis, 1993). It also provides them an opportunity and liberty to narrate their side of the story and to express their version of events. Incorporating a narrative approach into my interviews lead to greater elicitation of highly subjective, controversial, and personal themes from the lives of my respondents (Hoque, 2011). Through narratives, the respondents were especially able to shed light on issues pertaining to religion, ethnicity, and consumption.

Narratives are a mode of communication within an interview setting in which the respondents to a great degree are able to decide what to say and how to say it. In this way, the participants can give structure to the interview and consequently shape it with very little interviewer interjection and intervention.

According to Scheibelhofer (2008) the main objective of the interpretive research paradigm that is to grant voice to the individuals who are being analysed, is more readily accomplished by adopting the narrative approach. The stories of the respondents were instrumental in developing and enriching the findings and the analysis beyond the basic rudimentary data codes. In this study, the narrative style of questioning was followed by a semi structured part that enabled me to probe further into themes that arose during the course of the narratives of the participants as well as ask further questions germane to the research objectives. According to Scheibelhofer (2008), such an approach of structuring an interview is useful and effective as it not only provides freedom and flexibility to the respondents to configure the narrations at the start according to their relevance settings but also gives the researcher an opportunity to raise queries that are particularly pertinent for the research focus at the later phases of the interview. These views are consistent with Brannen et al. (2004) who maintains that in contemporary research practices scholars often adopt data collection techniques that combine narrative modes of enquiry with semi-structured interviews to comprehensively address and explore the research questions. Similar interviewing strategies have been adopted by researchers within different fields of social research. Within the discipline of social research, this approach of interviewing has been adopted to address research questions in the contexts of gender studies, social work, environmental studies, and the sociology of medicine (Scheibelhofer, 2008). A common denominator in all these research studies is the focus on the perspectives of the respondents by analysing personal experiences and orientations. The potential of such an interviewing strategy to accommodate and incorporate two diverse techniques of data collection that are based on interpretive methodologies renders it as one of the popular qualitative interviewing approaches (Scheibelhofer, 2008; Brannen et al., 2004).

I thus initiated my interviews with a number of broadly formulated opening questions such as “Can you tell me about your family’s arrival into the UK” or “How did you come to associate with the social groups that you identify with”. Consequently, by drawing upon the thematic aspects of what was narrated by

the interviewees, I strived to obtain further elaborations of their accounts (Witzel, 2000). If certain themes of the topic guides were not being discussed by the participants, I steered them towards those by employing ad-hoc questions (Witzel, 2000). Moreover, I occasionally probed further in order to gain greater cognizance of the interviewee's perspective once a relationship of mutual trust developed between us.

It is important to structure the interviews appropriately in order to collect data effectively (Kartch, 2017). To elicit the stories from the respondents I phrased open ended questions. For example, in my interview, I asked the following question "Tell me have you become more or less religious with time" which invited the interviewees to tell their story but also guided the conversation to concentrate on the story that was relevant to this study. Scheibelhofer (2008) proposed that to evoke as much information as possible, the interviewer should also be willing to ask follow-up questions. Follow-up questions provide a means for the participant to elaborate on their narrative by asking for additional examples, explanations, extensions, clarifications, and descriptions. The researcher should also ask the participant to describe his or her feelings and discuss his or her opinions and evaluations. In my interviews for example, to the general question of whether the respondent has become more or less religious with time I asked a number of follow-up questions such as "Can you tell me what happened, or how the transition occurred". Structuring the interview this way enabled me to gather rich well-developed data.

Galletta & Cross (2013) in a nutshell sums up the significance and usefulness of opting for semi-structured interviews for the purpose of data collection. The semi-structured interviews offer a gamut of possibilities. It is adequately structured to explore relevant topics particular to the phenomenon of the study while providing leeway for the interviewees to offer new insights and meanings to the study focus. Galletta & Cross further expounds that a lot of versatility is inherent in the semi structure interview and the questions can be structured in a number of ways so as to generate considerable and often multi-dimensional streams of data. As a hybrid technique of data collection, the semi-structured

interviews can be organized into segments that transition from open ended questions towards more theoretically driven probings at the later stages of the interview (Galletta & Cross, 2013).

3.2.5 Data analysis

Thematic analysis was the primary data analysis method that was adopted to analyse and extrapolate the data that was collected from the semi-structured interviews. A number of scholars emphasize that thematic analysis is a common analytical technique in qualitative research. In this regard, Braun & Clarke (2006) affirm the efficacy of thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing, and revealing patterns (theme) within data. Aronson (1995) explicates that this type of data analysis is primarily concerned with identifying patterns and themes when analysing and exploring a research participant's behaviour, attitudes, and way of living. In thematic analysis emerging themes and patterns are elicited by identifying recurring words, ideas, views, etc. written or spoken by the respondents in the study (Aronson, 1995). These views are concordant with Grbitch (2007) who Avers that thematic analysis seeks to detect repeated words or phrases, proof of answers, or case studies relevant to the research question/s of the study. She further maintains that in addition to recurring phrases of text, themes can be extrapolated in other ways from the data, such as from the researcher's interpretation of the data, use of metaphors, past relevant research findings, or from the traditions or conventions of the area that is being studied. It needs to be underlined that thematic analysis facilitates giving voice to the interviewees.

Since the function of thematic analysis is to highlight recurring themes in the data which signifies the emergence of a particular pattern within the data, this technique is found to be effective in addressing questions relevant to identity construction (Karim, 2010). This technique is thus suitable to gain insights and explore the various identities that are relevant in the context of the British Pakistani community.

Alam & Husband (2006) argue that most often individuals who are the object of analysis are the ones with the least power. In the worst case scenario, the interviewees are considered by the researchers to be missing the intellectual sophistication and the analytical tools that would enable them to describe their circumstances precisely and reliably. In other instances, it is the participants' opinions and worldviews that are given weight and sought after. However, while striving to tap into this reality it is mutated by the researchers via their analysis into the jargon of social science. The approach of utilizing themes as a means of framing data is appropriate and useful as it ensures that the focus remains on the voices of the study subjects. The reason for adopting thematic analysis for this study was the need of hearing/seeing data that not only had a greater potential to claim authenticity but also fulfilled the criteria of data validity and integrity. Validity in this case is not just how that data is constructed but signifies the extent to which ultimately – silences are disrupted through voices being listened to and apprehended (Alam & Husband, 2006).

A major benefit of employing thematic analysis is its flexibility (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It facilitates the coding of data at the primary stages without the need of having any theoretical position. Only when a pattern emerges and a wholesome picture seems to have developed the data is aligned with relevant literature and theory. Braun & Clarke (2006) delineate the following nine benefits of using thematic analysis:

1. A Quick and uncomplicated method to learn and incorporate.
2. Easily available to both inexperienced and expert researchers for qualitative research.
3. Thematic analysis findings and results are both accessible and comprehensible by the educated general public.
4. Facilitates conducting analysis within the participatory research paradigm with the study subjects as collaborators.

5. Capable of summarizing key facets for a large quantity of data, and has the potential to offer a contextual description of the data.
6. Has the potential to accentuate differences and similarities across the data set.
7. Is able to elicit unanticipated insights.
8. Facilitates psychological and social data analysis and interpretations.
9. Thematic analysis is suitable for generating qualitative analysis that is able to effectively inform policy development.

Conforming to the mechanism of thematic analysis highlighted by Hayes (2000), Braun & Clarke (2006), and Grbitch (2007), the following procedure was followed while performing the thematic analysis for this study:

1. All of the interviews were transcribed
2. The interview transcripts were read more than once
3. Descriptive summaries of data were generated
4. Categorizing and sorting various sections/parts of the interview excerpts into subthemes via coding
5. Developing subthemes into proto-theme which were emerging themes that changed and evolved as the analysis progressed
6. Constructing Matrix of the summary
7. Examining and juxtaposing the interview excerpts and the themes, comparing and contrasting where themes were added and refined.
8. Identifying and merging the theme or the core category
9. Writing a report delineating and explicating the themes identified

In addition to the aforementioned steps, and in line with Gioia et al. (2012) three more coding stages open, axial, and selective coding were adopted for a more methodical and rigorous way of extrapolating the data. After transcribing the interviews, the transcripts were loaded into the qualitative data analysis software, NVIVO 11. Then all the interview transcripts were thoroughly read again to enhance familiarity with the data. In the next step, all the transcribed interviews were coded. A complete list of codes has been provided in appendix 03. The coding process began with open coding. In it, I strived to give precedence to informant terms (Gioia et al., 2012). Little attempt was made to filter the categories. Then a matrix of these categories or subthemes was produced. Having a matrix of codes or sub-themes facilitated the refinement and review of those sub-themes. This enabled not only the refinement of the codes but also allowed for adding more themes. As the analysis moved forward to the level of axial coding I sought similarities and differences among the many categories. This process eventually reduced the initial number of sub-themes or categories into a more manageable number and resulted in the emergence of several major themes. The final stage of analysis was selective coding which further integrated several major themes until the central theme of the data was identifiable.

3.3 Researcher reflexivity

Ryan & Golden (2006) emphasize that reflexivity entails openness and honesty regarding the research process. It involves being transparent about how, where, and by whom the data is being collected. It locates the researcher as a participant within the dynamic and intricate interrelationship of the research process. From an individual position, reflexivity pertains to deliberating upon one's own experiences, beliefs, and view while being cognizant of how these might influence research through any social and political identities that one may ascribe to (Parker, 1999).

Reflexivity as a research tool is of paramount significance within the qualitative paradigm. Practicing reflexivity requires researchers to acknowledge the various influences they bring to the research process. It shines a spotlight on

the potential relationships and power dynamics that might affect and shape the process of data collection (Irby, 1995). Moreover, it also recognizes how an interviewer's ethnic background, gender, social status, and profession may have an impact on the various facets of the research process, such as framing of the research questions and selection of the data collection method (Ker & Dent, 2002).

Before contemplating on the dynamic and multifaceted relationship of ethics, power, culture, and emotions that are inherent in the research process it seems appropriate that I reflect upon the various types of selves which I as a researcher bring in the field. Such reflections are consistent with the guidelines put forth by Reinharz (1997) which emphasize that in order to comprehensively understand a particular phenomenon it is essential that the researcher is conscious of how his attributes will be perceived by the participants of the study. Thus, the most prominent traits which I believe will influence my potential to conduct research are:

- My experience of living in countries other than Pakistan namely Saudi Arabia, and Edinburgh enabled me to be in tune with what it means to be an immigrant or part of a diaspora and at the same time also instilled within me the awareness and recognition that my experiences are also different.
- My ability to speak Urdu and English fluently fostered my efforts to establish a connection with both the 1st and 2nd generation respectively.
- My western educational schooling, as well as my religious upbringing in Saudi Arabia, renders me to be cognizant of both their way of thinking and the prevailing religious mindset.

Upon reflection, I have realized that my positionality as a Muslim insider facilitated my access to the field and allowed me to establish connections as well as build a bond of trust with the interviewees. As we shared the same religion and beliefs the participants were less inclined to be reticent while commenting on religious and ethnic issues. At the same time, my religious

identity could have also compelled my respondents to self-justify and defend their religious attitudes and behavior or drive them to present themselves as practicing and committed Muslims. To circumvent these issues, I made an effort to explain right from the start of the interview that this is an academic study. I tried to convince the interviewees, that the study will be anonymous and that I have interviewed a number of Muslims of different generations from the Pakistani community having varying views and opinions about Islam and that it is normal and usual to have different views on religious issues and religious identities. I also abstained from making any personal remarks or comments on the experiences of people during or before the interviews in order to avoid influencing the participants. Another step that was taken to mitigate researcher biases and assumptions was to rely on participant's personal experiences and opinions which were generally unencumbered from such influences.

One major complication which I had to face in relation to my access to the field and positionality was accessing and interviewing the female Muslim Participants. Generally, it is more challenging for male researchers to recruit female participants for interviews than their female counterparts. Despite being a Pakistani Muslim who is cognizant of the behavioural and cultural norms of approaching and communicating with Muslim females I faced some difficulty in recruiting Muslim women. As a case in point consider the fact that I was not able to get an interview with the newly married wife of one of my distant relatives. I experienced that conducting face to face interviews in a private and quiet room initially made some of the female participants anxious. However, showing care, empathy, and self-disclosure in which, I shared details about myself with my interviewees (Peters et al., 2008) resulted in greater engagement by the female participants during the interviews. Self-disclosure during the interviews fostered an environment that was less intimidating, and which stimulated two-way communication and made the interviewees feel like conversational partners (Elmir et al., 2011). There was also a likelihood that my views and opinions as a Muslim, having religious proclivities may have interfered with my data collection or influenced my analysis. In order to

overcome these biases and mitigate its impact on my research, I strived to design my research question, data collection, and analysis in a reflexive manner recognizing the influences I brought to the research process and acknowledging how my religion and ethnic background may have influenced the choices I made within the research design (Robson, 2002). The help of my supervisor in particular, who is a majority ethnic white researcher highly experienced in qualitative analysis, proved extremely useful. As the interviews accumulated, she became a sounding board in the determination of the themes.

In summation, I adopted an interpretivist qualitative approach and semi structured interviews to address my research questions because of their potential to offer reliable and valid information, cognizance about the subjective meanings of social phenomena, and facilitated access into networks of social relations (Sinding & Aronson, 2003). Qualitative interviews in particular aided a great deal in my understanding of Muslims' social identity construction by bringing into focus the definitions and details of their own situations (Jacobson, 1997b). The keynote of this method is that it enabled me to elicit rich data on different generations of British Pakistanis' perceptions, motives, attitudes, and views relevant to their social identity integration and negotiation. It also helped to gain insight into how their identity negotiations were manifested in their consumption practices and behaviours. Without the constraints of resources and time, I might have diversified the research approach and methodology. Nevertheless, I believe that this research strategy has provided sufficient data to allow for the understanding of the religious, ethnic, and host identities as well as the consumption and acculturation practices of the Pakistani community in the U.K.

Since I shared several religious, ethnic, and cultural commonalities with the participants, it naturally amounted to the fact that my analysis of the interviews, interpretations, and reactions to the findings was not objective and was construed by my understanding of their world. This was not necessarily a limitation or a barrier. I am conscious and acknowledge that my values,

worldviews, opinions, and attitudes had a role in informing my interpretation of what the interviewee stated (Temple, 1999). This may have driven me to exclude and include certain facts and led me to authorise the narrative accounts of their experiences and lives (Banting, 1999). However, it can be said that I as both the researcher and interpreter engaged with what Edwards (1998) described as the practice of critical reflection. Proponents of the reflexive approach such as Davies (1999) have underlined the benefits of the interviewer's familiarity with the participant's world. Not only does familiarity with the world of the participants facilitate establishing a rapport with them but it also enables the researchers to make sense of many of the context specific localised and cultural subtleties. It is not feasible to always be objective in the research process as I was unable to disconnect myself from the research account. It needs to be emphasized that just like my respondents I am a Muslim, have the same skin colour, and am also from the same cultural (e.g. eating habits, dress preferences) and ethnic background. It can be argued that these common denominations (insider status) better situates me to understand and interpret their perceptions as I have gone through similar experiences as them. Nevertheless, it needs to be underscored and acknowledged that assumptions pertaining to sameness can as much as those pertaining to differences, can cause a researcher to miss and overlook the nuances of meaning or to make assumptions about meaning in accordance with the researcher's expectation of shared understanding and language (Temple, 1999).

Moreover, a sense of sameness on part of the interviewee can potentially cause them to leave out and omit information which they assume the researcher is familiar with due to shared commonalities. This impression of shared denominations can therefore sometimes result in the commonality of understanding. As a case in point, a number of my interviewees used the phrase "you know how it is" throughout their interviews. This perception, worked in my favour as it fostered a sense of security in the respondents, on the premise that I was familiar with what was being said. If at certain points in our conversation it became apparent that information was been left out

because of sameness, I always probed deeper and requested further clarification.

Of particular significance to this project is the fact that the researcher is a Muslim of Pakistani origin. Due to the shared religion and ethnicity not only were language and ethnic cultural references mutual to a great degree but it was also anticipated that the respondents were more likely, to be honest, frank, and open about their opinions and feelings. In this respect, Sharma & Bell (2002) highlight the significance of the researcher and the participant having the same ethnicity. They assert that sharing a common ethnicity allows for a more ethnically sensitive stance. During the interview encounters, I experienced that the participants after been convinced that they were sharing their reflections and thoughts with someone with a shared cultural heritage confided in me more and enabled me to be privy to information that someone perceived as an outsider may not have been given access to. The benefits of this position are palpable throughout the analysis.

3.4 Ethical considerations

In accordance with the University of Edinburgh Business School, a level two ethical approval was undertaken before starting my empirical research. The research Participant consent form can be seen in Appendix 2. In the consent form, I have elaborated how the anonymity and confidentiality of the research participants will be maintained and safeguarded throughout the research process. All the interviews were recorded after seeking permission from the interviewees. I explained to them that the interview recordings will not compromise their privacy and anonymity as any information disclosed during the interview will be treated as confidential. It was explicitly stated in the consent form that the participants will not be personally identified in the extracts of the interview that will be used in conference presentations, reports, or journal articles developed as a result of the research. The consent form was provided to every participant at the beginning of each interview in which the interviewees confirmed by signing that they understood that their participation is voluntary; that they were free to decline if they did not wish to answer any

particular question; that they were free to withdraw from the interview at any time. It is also pertinent to note that in order to safeguard the confidentiality of the respondents, pseudonyms have been used in this study instead of their real names.

3.5 Limitations and challenges of the research

There are numerous strengths of qualitative research such as its ability to effectively explore ordinary phenomena in their natural settings allowing the researcher to comprehensively understand what real life events and experiences are like (Miles et al., 2014). According to Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2004), a major advantage of qualitative research is to extract meaning and interpret the underlying, latent, or obscure issues in-depth. Another major feature of qualitative research is its efficacy to provide data that is holistic and rich, with strong potential for unearthing complexity. Such qualitative data reveals descriptions that are rooted in a real context, are vivid, and possess a ring of truth that foster a strong impact on the reader (Miles et al., 2014).

It needs to be pointed out that even though the aforementioned strengths of qualitative techniques influenced my decision to opt for these methods to conduct this research, I believe that it is also necessary to underline the limitations and challenges of the qualitative approaches that I have adopted. Anderson (2010) drew attention to several challenges of qualitative research one of which is the huge volume of data which makes its collection, management, analysis, and interpretation tedious and time consuming. He further noted that the accuracy of qualitative data is difficult to determine, maintain and establish. For the collection, management, and analysis of the data NVivo software was used. King (2004) endorses NVivo as a method of data management and analysis. In the study, the software proved to be invaluable in helping me code my interview transcripts and organize them into themes. It also enabled me to carry out complex search and retrieve operations, and in examining possible relationships between the themes. The use of hyperlinks in NVivo also allowed me to find relations and connections

across large data sets that would have been very difficult and time consuming if done manually.

In this research, the snowball sampling technique is used to recruit the interviewees. This approach uses the participants found initially as the basis for identifying and locating further data sources (Given, 2008). Although this technique is quite useful when attempting to explore individuals associated with a closed-membership community or when investigating sensitive topics there can be major issues of biasness as it is likely that the potential candidates identified by the initial participants are going to be very similar to themselves resulting in a population sample that is homogeneous (Given, 2008; Lee 1993). However as is the case in our study for accessing populations that are hard to reach, have more impenetrable social groupings, and are challenging to identify snowball sampling may prove to be the only viable and appropriate solution (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Saunders et al., 2009).

To make the recruitment of participants through snowball sampling effective I, in line with Browne (2005) initiated the snowball sampling process by contacting individuals that were rooted in the community and with which I also had prior contacts. These people served as the seeds of the snowball sample. According to Waters (2015), this was important because the building of a diverse snowball sample is highly contingent on the researcher's ability to have prior contacts and rapport with the population of interest. Moreover, conducting face-to-face interviews and participating in the informants' rituals such as marriages and funerals helped me establish trust with the participants that scholars show is essential to gain referrals (Noy, 2008; Shaghghi et al., 2011). According to Noy (2008), the quality of the referring process is inherently associated with the quality of the interaction. In case the researcher is unsuccessful in winning the participant's trust, the chances the latter will provide the former referrals attenuate. Also, in case I was unable to gain access to the interviewees initially, I followed the advice of Feldman et al. (2004) who suggested that the interviewer should not give up and should "Persevere - repeat contact" while seeking informants.

Moreover, due to the interviewer being the primary evaluator in qualitative studies, Lecompte (1987) exhorts that the bias and prejudice of the interviewer can overshadow the analysis and findings of the research. According to Bogdan & Biklen (2003), qualitative researchers are aware of these tendencies and they endeavour to limit them by objectively studying the subjective states of their subjects and practicing reflexivity which has been discussed in detail in this chapter. Nevertheless, since the researcher has a significant role to play in the collection, analysis, and interpretation of the data, prejudice, and biasness will always be a limitation and concern (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2004). To control my biases and prejudices from excessively influencing my analysis, I had regular discussions with my research colleagues. Also, I had presented my findings to other academics in the marketing department. These exercises proved fruitful as they were able to spot things that initially, I had missed. These discussions also accentuated gaps in my argument that need to be addressed and provided affirmation that my conclusions were reasonable, and sound given my data. Moreover, as highlighted in the reflexivity section, my supervisor's help, in particular, proved extremely useful in keeping my bias and prejudice in check.

A number of scholars also contend that qualitative mode of inquiry often lacks the credibility and the scientific rigour that is traditionally equated with quantitative methodologies, in which research is assumed to be carried out in a framework that is uninhibited with values and biases and relies on the analysis and measurements of causal relationships between the variables (Horsburgh, 2003). Generalizability in particular has been a contentious issue in qualitative research. While it is often reasoned that generalizability is not the objective of qualitative studies, Morse (1999) asserts that if qualitative research is not assumed to be generalizable, then its significance and use are debatable. By comparing and contrasting qualitative and quantitative approaches, Morse (1999) accentuates the differences in the concept of generalizability applicable to each of these two modes of inquiry. Statistical generalizability is an aspect of quantitative approaches where the study sample is sought to be a representation of the target population to ensure

comparison of the demographic characteristics. If this process is carried out properly, then it is assumed that the findings from the sample are generalizable to the population.

Morse (1999) explicates that in qualitative studies respondents are selected through theoretical sampling, i.e. on account of their potential to provide relevant information (and subsequent theory development) about the subject being explored. In this case instead of demographic representativeness situational and contextual aspects of the research are considered crucial. It is, therefore, reasoned that generalizability in qualitative research is determined by the extent to which a theory formed within one context is able to explain the experiences of people who are in comparable situations (Morse, 1999). This perspective of generalizability in qualitative research is akin to Popay et al. (1998) who emphasizes that in qualitative research the goal is to establish logical generalization to a theoretical understanding of a related class of phenomena instead of probabilistic generalization to a population.

One of the challenges I encountered during my data collection was trying to get in touch with the female participants in order to conduct their interviews. Such challenges have been noted by many researchers who attest to the difficulties associated with obtaining information across gender lines (Roald, 2004; Schmidt, 2004; Williams & Vashi, 2007). It needs to be underlined that the difficulty was not so much in the female participants being reluctant to participate in the interviews but the more challenging aspect was requesting the male members to allow their families relations to participate in the interviews. During the course of the interviews, I realized that the males were more than willing to participate in the interview but were a little hesitant and uncertain when I made initial requests to interview their female relations as well. I found that the best way to attenuate their concerns was to first get them to participate in the interviews and to experience for themselves the type of questions being asked in the interview. At the end of the interview, I would put in the request to interview the female members of the family. In many cases, such an approach put their doubts at ease and they were happy with me

conducting interviews with the female members of their families. It also needs to be highlighted that in my endeavour to collect data across gender lines my gatekeepers also had a key role to play. Many a time they were able to enlighten the apprehensive candidates of the nature of the interview beforehand and more importantly vouch for my intent and trustworthiness facilitating granting of permission to interview the females. It is pertinent to note that contrary to my expectation the female interviewees were more open and willing to express their views and perspectives in the interview sessions. I was worried that the females would be somewhat distraught on account of being interviewed in a separate room all alone. However, this was not the case as the majority of the female participants were unfazed by the situation and were happy to be interviewed.

It needs to be said that I was cognizant of the fact that many of the participants that were quoted in the analysis section were interested in portraying Islam and themselves in a positive light. I acknowledge and accept this in part because I was interested in understanding what it meant to be good Muslims and the implication of this positive portrayal on the consumption practices of the interviewees. Nevertheless, every effort was made to try and elicit their unbiased opinion and perceptions and in this regard being a Muslim and coming from the same ethnic background did make this endeavour a bit easier. To minimize the participants' tendencies to portray Islam and themselves in a positive light, I also followed the strategies put forth by Bergen & Labonte (2020). In the interviews, I engaged in indirect questioning in which I posed indirect questions about the past or behaviours of others. I also provided assurances to my participants, reminding them that their identities and replies will remain confidential and anonymous. The participant's social desirability bias was also mitigated by asking follow-up questions, asking them to recount a personal experience, and acknowledging at the start of the interview that all communities have challenges and that people have diverse experiences. It is possible that a different research approach would have produced somewhat different data from what I have gathered. However, it needs to be underscored that many of the responses that have been elicited in this study are in line with

other research studies that have also been highlighted in the discussion chapters.

As discussed in the sampling section of this chapter informational redundancy and thematic saturation informed our sample size. Nevertheless, during the course of extrapolating and analysing data, several themes emerged which although significant in their own respect but did not completely fit into the core theoretical categories of interest for this research. Pursuing these themes for theory building would have warranted greater resources and time which unfortunately was not available. We have deliberated upon some of these revelations in the “future research direction” section in the “Conclusion” chapter. Closing this methodology chapter leads onto the next two chapters, where I present and discuss my research findings. It needs to be emphasized that the analysis of interviews and discussions are based on the broad assumption that these are relevant and appropriate in a specific historical, economic, and social context and apply to a particular group of people. This study is not intended to be generalizable to all British Pakistani Muslims in all time periods.

Chapter 4 Findings and Discussion – Identity

Ali (2014) emphasizes the importance of probing culture and the social context for Muslims as they engage in identifying with the British culture and society. Scott & Marshall (2005) argue that even though individuals are the ones who have identities, these identities are connected to the social groups with which the individuals associate and identify with. Identities thus develop from expectations attached to the social roles that individuals occupy, and which they subsequently internalize, and are thereby being formed through the socialization process. Ali (2014), states that socialization is the process by which people learn and comprehend the culture of their societies. He further elaborates that in Western societies prominent agencies of socialization consist of religion, the mass media, the educational system, the peer and occupational groups. My interviews, therefore, tried to probe and explore the perceptions, responses, attitudes, beliefs, and inclinations of the British Pakistani Muslims towards these agencies of socialization to understand the significance and role of the different identities (religious, ethnic, and host) that members of this community use to define and express themselves with in the acculturation process and subsequently how these influences their consumption habits.

It can be concluded from the discussion of identity in the literature review that researchers of identity must be cognizant of the radical transformations in the modes of identity construction in the late twentieth century also considered as the postmodern era as a result of global and societal changes. Contemporary social researchers argue that these transformations are a consequence of an increasing rejection of the idea of fixed identities especially the notions of unified national identities which are undermined by the phenomenon of globalization (Ali, 2014). As a result, new identities are being constructed that are fluid and hybrid. This view is concordant with Hall (1992) who describes postmodern identities as a 'moveable feast' since people now have numerous possibilities and are able to conceive new positions of identification thereby resulting in identities becoming more diverse, plural, positional, and political.

In light of these assertions the aim of this chapter is to explore and understand the significance, degree of affiliation, and role of religious, ethnic, and host cultural identities in the lives of the different generations of British Pakistanis. This chapter has been divided into two broad sections. The first section explores different aspects of the religious identity of the different generations of British Pakistanis whereas the second section delves into the ethnic and host identities of the aforementioned community.

4.1 Religious identity

From the aforementioned discussion, it is evident that the social groups with which an individual interacts and associate with has a crucial role to play in the formation of his/her identity. In this study, religiosity is broadly considered a social practice and a social identity. Since religion refers to the substantive notion of “the sacred,” serves a unique purpose of elucidating the “ultimate issues in life”, and has prospects to foster eternal membership, it amounts to an extremely significant social identity for many people (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). From the analysis of the interviews, it is seen that the socio-religious group interactions vary among the different generations of British Pakistanis which in turn influences their religious identity. The following themes have emerged in connection with the socio-religious group interactions of the different generations.

4.1.1 Social interactions and religious identity

According to Shankar et al. (2009) identity is an intrinsically social construct, with identity projects actualized through social validations and interactions. It is by virtue of being together and doing things together, social practices that engender a group that serves as a basis for identification. From the analysis, it can be inferred that the segregation of the Pakistani ethnic community serves to intensify religious identity within this community. This bolster in the religious inclinations, in turn, cements the segregational gelling of this community. This cycle is even prevalent in the second and third generations as it enables and facilitates religious practice and conformity. According to Casey (2016), diversity in the U.K. has increased rendering a dynamic shift in most of the

minority groups who have become more dispersed. However, the researcher emphasizes that this transition has not been observed in the Pakistani ethnic communities that tend to reside in more residentially segregated areas in comparison to other ethnic minority groups. The researcher underscores that Muslims are more likely to live in higher residential concentrations relative to other minority faith groups. This eccentricity is evident from a conversation with a first generation immigrant Ajlan, who when asked to suggest the biggest challenges facing the British Pakistani community had the following to say:

“The Pakistani Muslim community I belong to have been living here for the last 50 years, 60 years... for example, my father-in-law moved here about 50 years ago... But to this day whichever country or city you go to, you find small pockets of the Pakistani Muslim population, where people tend to live together in small pockets of minorities... you know, always in every city, I find this... I think mixing up with the local society has not happened the way it should have happened. It may happen in the next hundred years... 200 years.” (Ajlan, 1st generation)

The matter is not much different for the majority of the later generations who are constrained in their exposure to the host culture as children as they are put in schools where the ethnic students are in dominance. In this regard, Casey (2016) noted that more than half of the ethnic minority students were in educational institutions in which the ethnic minorities were the majority. Moreover, the study demonstrates that this type of school segregation was highest among students of Pakistani and Bangladeshi descent compared to other ethnic communities. These observations resonate with Nida a third generation Pakistani who recounts her school experiences:

“I know I am in a non-Muslim society... it is very predominant... But I grew up in Pollock Shields... It's a very diversified area... So, it was all Pakistanis... All Muslims... My class had one gora (nick name given to individuals of the local white community) in it (laughing)... So, he was the minority there... And growing up, in essence, wasn't difficult...” (Nida, 3rd generation)

This aspect of living in concentrated Muslim communities which is most evident in the Pakistani ethnic immigrants is significant in the evolution of religious attitudes and behaviors, not only in the first generation who migrated to the U.K. but also in the subsequent generations of British Pakistanis. According to Maliepaard & Phalet (2012), social capital studies show that in dense social networks social control plays a crucial role in upholding social norms by establishing external constraints on a person's behavior. He further asserts that religious and ethnic communities typify these dense social networks, where clear proscriptive and prescriptive standards are strongly upheld. Various studies illustrate that the concentration of coethnics in the same neighborhood, especially if they are also coreligionist generally has a positive impact on religious participation among the immigrants of those communities (Van Tubergen, 2007; Connor, 2009). Moreover, Muslims living in segregated communities in particular display these tendencies (Maliepaard et al., 2012). In this regard Ajlan a first-generation immigrant said the following when asked to deliberate upon the role of Pakistani and British culture in his life and the social groups he affiliates with:

“Definitely Asian culture is more prominent in my life. I feel that having moved to England, still, the circle that we move in is predominantly Asian, and as far as integrating with the local English society is concerned, or British society is concerned, it is not as prominent as the Asian community.”

Interviewer: When you say the Asian community, can you tell me about their religious affiliations?

“Most of them have the same religious affiliation as me... most of them are Muslims. Yeah, I would say that... There are not many Indian or people belonging to different religions that are part of my social affiliation I would say...” (Ajlan, 1st generation)

It is apparent from Ajlan's response that his social network is comprised mostly of the Asian ethnic community and amongst them, religion is a common denominator. According to Voas & Fleischmann (2012), cultural pluralism and

encapsulation of minority groups both socially and physically results in the protection of minority religiosity and offers resilience against social pressures that promote conformity. Research on religion has extensively noted the effects of social integration on individual religiosity, accentuating especially the role of familial and communal bonds with continued religiosity (Myers 1996). For immigrants, religion becomes a viable apparatus in the conscious and concerted endeavors to preserve social unity and continuity and to (re)construct religious communities (Gungor et al., 2011; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Consider an excerpt from Shahid's interview who is also first generation immigrant:

"I mostly relate to a religious group because I don't have any communication or meet any people from my ethnic background apart from my own family... but religiously, I attend a mosque regularly nowadays... and the people who come there, they are my friends".

Interviewer: okay but then those people, those religious groups are they comprised of different ethnicities...

"Not quite... mostly they are all from Pakistan, some from villages, some from towns, and some from cities... so I would not say it is different". (Shahid, 1st generation)

It can be seen that for Shahid who regularly goes to the mosque, the mosque serves as a hub of his social interactions where he meets and connects mostly with his co-ethnic community group members. In this manner the mosque and by implication religion gains in its directive force as part of a concerted and conscious effort to sustain social cohesion and cultural continuity which ultimately then results in reinforcing religiosity. This is further elaborated by Maliepaard & Phalet (2012) who assert that the influence of social groups permeates to group members through shared norms that shape their perceptions of reality and which are ultimately expressed in norm conforming behaviors and attitudes. In light of the social capital approach, social groups operate through social norms that control the behaviors of group members by virtue of social closure (Coleman, 1990). Thus, the social capital perspective

in the context of religion asserts that social networks externally regulate and control religious behavior in line with the prevailing group norms (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). In the case of Owais, a second generation immigrant going to the mosque is a crucial expression of norm-relevant attitudes and behaviors which enables him to establish social networks with individuals of similar interests. These social networks serve to regulate religious expressions in accordance with the prevailing group norms.

“I'd say most people I associate with... generally speaking, they're Pakistani Muslims... It's because we are at the mosque together... we share similar interests together... that's the main reason, to be honest...”
(Owais, 2nd generation)

The above discussion is consonant with Gorski & Altinordu (2008) who highlight that integration in the ethnic minority is linked with religious sustenance amongst the immigrants and their descendants. In accordance with the social capital approach, strong communal bonds sustain the normative forces of religious guidelines that regulate group member's behaviors through motives such as maintenance of social status or positions or threats of (informal) sanctions (Coleman, 1990). These arguments resonate with numerous studies of Dutch Muslims which showed that individuals with more co-ethnic friends were involved in religious practices more often than their counterparts (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012; Phalet et al., 2008; Van Tubergen, 2007). These notions are reflected in Sikander's (2nd generation) statement as he talked about his social groups and interactions:

“They are all of the same religious affiliations as myself... I just feel that people that are from an Asian background are brought up in a slightly different way to people of a different background in terms of family values and the way we do things around the house, and in terms of religion as well. We are absolutely from different religious backgrounds as well. So, I think that because of my experiences with my family and religion you tend to migrate towards people that are of the same upbringing and the same religion.” (Sikander, 2nd generation)

It can be seen that Sikander gravitates towards his ethnic community primarily on the basis of shared religious beliefs, family values, and experiences. The emphasis on the phrase “We are absolutely from different religious backgrounds” indicates that for Sikander religious congruence is a prerequisite to establish and maintain enduring relationships. Thus, in the case of Sikander strong normative ties with the ethnic community coupled with sustained religious beliefs results in a synergetic relationship between the two which can be considered as a primary marker of Identity and on the basis of which the in-group is distinguished from the out-group.

An important contribution of this study is delineating the role of religion in shaping social capital and vice versa. From the interviewees’ accounts, it is seen that social capital and religious identity are synergically associated. The religious identity of the Pakistani ethnic community results in the formation of social capital, that comprises mostly of Muslims. This acquired social capital further reinforces and sustains the religious identity of the ethnic community.

It is contended for these individuals, going to the mosque is not simply an act of worship that has spiritual meaning. On the contrary, it is seen that joining congregations provides a social context where individuals connect and establish social networks that are instrumental for the formation of social capital. It is posited that such interconnection prompts the group members to internalize the norms of the group and participate in activities with other members, thereby enhancing bonding social capital (for details, see section 2.9 "social capital and social class").

The findings of this study validate, that religious institutions contribute towards providing bonding social capital in ethnic communities [see statements of Shahid (p.145) and Owais (p.146)]. This bonding social capital reasserts and reinforces the religious identities of the ethnic communities and enables them to participate in religious rituals (Cheong et al., 2007). Thus, it is posited that religious institutions serve as community centers, catering to the social and spiritual needs of group members. Moreover, this study finds the limited role of religion in fostering bridging social capital (for details of bonding and bridging

social capital see section 2.9). It is seen that religion, to a certain extent, does help in transcending ethnic barriers and building bridging capital with other Muslim ethnicities. However, this study has found a minimal role of religion in establishing social capital with non-Muslim members of the society.

Similar to the social capital perspective which accentuates the importance of norms and ethnic integration in regulating and sustaining religious behavior amongst individual group members, the social identity approach elucidates the degree to which the ethnic Pakistani Muslim community associate with this religious identity. Social Identity research contends that the extent of the impact and influence of group norms on the behavior and attitudes of a group member is contingent upon the importance an individual attaches to that particular group identity (Brown, 2000). This argument is consonant with our finding that for a British Pakistani, irrespective of generation, being a Muslim is the single most crucial identity that effectively defines his/her sense of self. Consider the reply of Shadab a third-generation immigrant:

“Islam is my religion and my identity... This is the most important thing in my life” (Shadab, 3rd generation)

In this regard Fiza who is a first generation immigrant had the following to say about the significance of religion in her life:

“First and foremost, I think on the basis of religion. So, I would say, like on my mobile or who I normally meet or who I normally socialize with they are Muslim ladies and Muslim families. But, I do not mind... like there are many other things... there are some parental groups as well... So Slough community. It's not like a hard and fast rule. But obviously, Muslims are my priority.” (Fiza, 1st generation)

Fiza's views express that religion is the linchpin of her social relationships. Scholars maintain that individuals like Fiza and Shadab who highly identify with their fellow Muslims and who consider their group membership essential to their self-concept, derive a sense of collective or personal self-esteem from this group membership (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Moreover, it is argued that the

unique aspects of religion such as the moral authority that cannot be empirically disputed and compelling affective experiences (Wellman & Tokuno, 2004), lends this specific social identity a unique personal primacy surpassing this group membership to that of other groups (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

The above discussion demonstrates that irrespective of the generation, religion is an integral facet of interaction, identification, and identity for any British Pakistani immigrant. However, it is affirmed that there are considerable intergenerational differences in the ethnic Pakistani Community when it comes to interactions and association with the majority population. Researchers state that the influence and effect of the majority population on religious inclinations need to be further explored. Maliepaard & Phalet (2012) contend that although the role that ethnic communities play in sustaining religious attitudes and behavior is somewhat extensively documented, the effects of social integration of the ethnic community in the majority population on religion remains under-researched. Moreover, they assert that contemporary research on religion and social integration that narrowly focuses on the ethnic community or posits that the process of integration of the minority groups in the majority would curtail religious tendencies falls short of explicating the social forces that shape and influence immigrant religiosity. Their study elucidates that interactions with the minority and majority groups impact religion in different ways. Scholars propound that the majority and minority group context and interactions should be concurrently explored to provide a wholesome understanding of social integrations and their influence on religion (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). Taking these recommendations into consideration this study also delved into the impact of integration on religious manifestations of the second and later generations of British Pakistanis.

In this regard, it is pertinent to note that there is limited evidence that current religiosity, socializing on the basis of religion, or desire to sustain ethnic norms and traditions adversely influence the embracing of the mainstream host culture (Gungor et al., 2011). In the context of the second and later generations, this notion has been negated in this study where in addition to

their relationship with the Muslim community it is seen that these generations of British Pakistanis who are born and raised in the United Kingdom display a considerable degree of integration with the host population. Importantly contrary to most of the first generation immigrants, second and third generations partake in social contacts and group memberships of both the ethnic and host country population in line with Berry's (1997) integration type of acculturation. Consider Hoor's response to the question pertaining to the groups with which she identifies.

"I would say, I mean I have got a mixture of a circle of friends. I have got, sort of, my colleagues that I felt, I have quite good relations with as well. I have got a lot of friends that come from different religious backgrounds. I have got friends that are Muslims, that are Sikhs, that are Hindus and Christians and I think most of that evolve from my sort of occupation, from my job. So, I work with different religious backgrounds." (Hoor, 2nd generation)

An important aspect to note here is that Hoor unlike most of the females of the first generations is educated, independent, and a working woman. She recently relocated to London from Glasgow and in order to broaden her social network, she is associating herself with her work colleagues who not only belong to different ethnicities but also have different religious affiliations than Hoor.

"So, I interact with quite a lot of professionals and of all my colleagues I am the only Muslim in my company actually." (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Similar to Hoor who is an educated, working, and independent woman, the willingness and inclinations to forge relations with people outside the religious and ethnic community is found to be prevalent in the second and third generations. On the contrary, as discussed earlier for the first generation the scope of associations with the majority population is limited and their interactions are mostly confined within their own ethnic communities. As a case in point, consider Hoor's comments about the social circle of her mother

who is a first generation immigrant and who came to the U.K. after marrying her father:

“I would say that my mom has not got any friends that are from different religious backgrounds. Her friends are Muslims whereas I have got a mixture of friends. So yeah... it's just got to do with being brought up here.”
(Hoor, 2nd generation)

It can be seen that the second and third generations negotiate different religious, ethnic, and host culture norms and expectations as they navigate their multiple group memberships. These multiple identities and their implications will be discussed later in the ethnic and host identity section of this chapter. For now, let us focus on an excerpt from Waleed's interview who is a second generation immigrant in which he talks about the different identities he associates with:

“I can give you a number of identifiers for people I would interact with... At work, I work in an accountancy firm, so I relate with accountants. I went to the university to do engineering, so you could call me an engineer. I'm a Muslim and I try my best to be a practicing Muslim. So, I have good links with the local mosques and through other circles locally as well as slightly regional area.”
(Waleed, 2nd generation)

Waleed's conformity with the different identities offers credence to the assertions that the second and later generations are able to negotiate and live dual existence by exhibiting and associating with multiple identities in different contexts (Lindridge et al., 2004; Sekhon & Szmigin, 2011). In Waleed's case depending upon the situation, he identifies himself with his religious community, the engineering profession, professional colleagues, ethnic family and friends, and also with other ethnic minorities of different nationalities and backgrounds who have migrated to the U.K. Similar to Waleed it is seen that the second and third generations use their cultural and social capital through assessing the context, exhibiting their multifaceted identity which enables them to experience and navigate different cultures. Aneela (2nd generation) perspective in this regard is also noteworthy:

“I kind of try to see myself, as not just being inside the Muslim bubble, so to speak... I try to see myself, in a wider circle of people and I try to forcefully include myself in that as well... Socialising by profession, I associate myself with anybody who is in the education sector, and anybody who is... I think mothers...” (Aneela, 2nd generation)

Aneela in this instance is trying to allude to her attempts of socializing beyond religious affiliations. Her reference to the metaphorical Muslim bubble in which religion is the primary identity marker and her efforts to expand her relations beyond it concurs with Hussain & Bagguley (2005) that Muslim identities are not fixed to single issues or symbols, but held together in multiple identifications, some more strongly (as is the case with religion) than others, used flexibly according to circumstances.

From the aforementioned discussion it is evident that in comparison to the first generation, a considerable degree of integration of the second and subsequent generations of British Pakistanis has taken place with the host population as they actively engage in social contacts and group memberships with the majority population. It is posited and shown to a certain extent that these interactions will influence the religious behavior of the second generation (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). However, further research is needed to explore how these generations navigate and negotiate the discussions and discourses of religion with the majority culture. This is significant as in the current socio-politically charged globalized era Muslims who are not religious experts are expected to explicitly explain the meaning of being a Muslim. This imposed call to publicly define religious identity compel such individuals to rethink and determine the parameters of pure Islam. This unique call to define one's religious identity which can be expressed in varying degrees of religious devotions is widely associated with the increased scrutiny and inspection of Islam. In the current scenario, Muslims are called upon all the more to justify and clarify Islamic tenants like halal, jihad, fatwas, and cultural norms as well as the customs of arranged marriages, circumcision, or honor crimes found within the Western Muslim immigrant communities (Echchaibi, 2008). The

implications and tensions that Muslims experience while engaging in such conversations are evident in Sania's (2nd generation) interview who declares such conversations as being difficult:

"I found non-Muslim people's views have been quite varied amongst the white Scottish people and I do feel an impact of that, especially when I'm at work... I notice people talking about it more and talking about Muslims... talking about why Muslims do this.... some people seem to have the knowledge... it's always certain extremists that are doing this... but some people do just think, "my god this is just all Muslims who are doing this because this is their religion..." they don't seem to have that differentiation, about you know... that it's not all Muslims who are thinking like this or who are doing this... so yeah, it has had an impact... I do feel myself getting caught into certain conversations... difficult conversations..."

Interviewer: And how did these events affect the way you identify as a Muslim?

"I don't think that it affected any change in me... I think it kind of made me realize that I need to find out even more (about Islam) so that I can answer back to people (laughing) who ask me difficult questions... I think that it is something that I need to still work on just to be able to justify the fact that we are not like this as a Muslim community... you know... and it's not normal... it's not the normal..." (Sania, 2nd generation)

A major reoccurring theme that the participants adopted to negotiate these tense conversations without compromising on their religiosity is by opting to refrain from engaging in such debates with their non-Muslim friends and colleagues. Consider Hoor a second generation immigrant and the lines she draws and tries not to cross pertaining to certain topics when she is with her British circle of friends:

"When I am with my Pakistani friends and family... you know... you are a lot more comfortable talking about religion, and when I am with British friends, it's just, there are lines. There are things that you don't talk about and apparently, for me, religion is one of them. I would avoid talking about religion and getting too much caught up in

the conversations. Yeah.... It's just ... I don't know... I think it's comfort as well. Maybe, I am not comfortable with my British friends getting... sort of... caught up in my Pakistani culture."

Interviewer: So, is religion the only major significant aspect you try not to talk about when you are outside?

Respondent: "Yeah, probably, I think so. It's not that I don't like talking about it. It's just that... for example, even though I am born and brought up in Scotland and I would not say I am too sort of Westernized and I make sure I do attend Islamic courses and classes. So, I guess when you are with your Pakistani friends, they can relate.... So, it's just that a lot of things, you can talk about, but there are things you just can't... I can't get too far into them with my British friends. Does that make sense?" (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Similar views were shared by Shadab a third generation immigrant in which he talks about religious conversations as one of those instances in which he behaves differently when he is around his British friends as opposed to his Muslim friends:

Interviewer: You said that when you're in school you have to behave differently from how you behave with your Pakistani friends or in your family... Can you tell me some of these incidences?

I think religion and religious ideas... as in, you can't go up to a white person or someone who's completely British and start talking to them about Islamic values and Islam, like full-blown because... I don't know... It's just not one of those things that you do and because it is different as well... they are not the same religion as you... so to them, it just comes across as a bit... you know... but obviously, when you are with Pakistani friends or your family it's an environment where you are supposed to and allowed to talk to about Islam... (Shadab, 3rd generation)

Even though the participants were disinclined and reserved while conversing about religion with their non-Muslim counterparts as they may be susceptible to the normative pressure from non-Muslim groups that they associate with, it

needs to be emphasized that it does not significantly affect their religious practices. One plausible explanation for this is that since religious practices generally transpire within the minority Muslim communities, they are therefore less prone to normative pressures arising from the contacts with the majority group. It however needs to be underlined that majority group contact does have an inverse impact on “religious assertions” which pertains to attitudes and opinions towards the role of religion in society and politics. It is argued that religious assertions elicit religion into the public domain which enables the host culture population to become a relevant and influential audience (Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). This may be a reason that the second and third generation refrain from having religious conversations with the majority population and can also be considered as a significant factor prompting the second and later generations to sustain and reinforce their group memberships with their Muslim communities as it provides them a channel to vibrantly express, discuss and conform to their religious identity.

4.2 Religious identity construction/formation amongst different generations

It is seen that the religious orientations of the different generations of British Pakistanis have not been constant throughout and have undergone transformations with time. In order to better understand the evolution of religion amongst the different generations during different periods of their lives and to bring to fore the contextual factors shaping their religious assertions during those phases, this section is divided into the following four subthemes:

- Religious identity formations of the 1st generation males during initial phases of settlement
- Religious identity formation of the 1st generation females during initial phases of settlement
- Religious identity formation of the 2nd and 3rd generations

4.2.1 Religious formation of the 1st generation males during initial phases of settlement

Scholars have questioned the influence that the process of immigration has on religious convictions (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). Numerous scholars assert that immigrating to a new country has a positive effect on religious attitudes and behaviors. Proponents of this perspective argue that the process of uprooting and settling in another country is a significant chapter in one's life. It is seen that migration generally involves movements of people from developing to highly developed countries (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). For such individuals, the initial phases of modernization involve increasing awareness and preservation of home culture which is reinforced by religion (Smith, 1978). Potential immigrants are as such consciously primed of their religious identity. The experience of migration is accompanied by loneliness, alienation, and heartaches engendering a psychological need for consolation which is abated by religion (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). It is argued that the emotional disconnect of immigrants with the home country is usually negotiated in religious terms where, for instance, it is customary to seek divine protection during the journey and assistance from god on arrival (Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003). A cogent explanation that is germane in this context is that immigrants are compelled to reflect on the appropriate standard of behavior in the host country and a possible recourse is that of religious perfectionism. This "immigrant Puritanism" according to experts is an expected reaction to the behavioral or ethical disorientation that immigrants have to face on their arrival irrespective of the place or time of century (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012; Smith, 1978).

Hinnells (1997) concurred with the aforementioned discussion and substantiated that individuals are relatively more religious after migration instead of being less. Moreover, it is posited that the intensity of religious convictions in adults is largely shaped and dependent on an individual's upbringing. As most of the Muslims who came to Europe to seek manual labor were from relatively disadvantaged parts of the world, comprising of traditional and conservative communities (Peach & Glebe, 1995), where religious

devotion is strong, it can be construed that such adult immigrants will also be religiously inclined in the destination country. It is even propounded that the effects of religiousness might be compounded if migrants tend to be more religious than what is considered to be a norm even within the context of origin (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

This perspective however is not seen in our data. For example, consider the recollections of the religious orientations that Sania, a 47 years old second generation, has of her family while growing up:

“I wouldn't say they were particularly religious... not as I was growing up, not through my childhood and teenage days... But I tended to see in my later 30s that more and more people in my family were becoming more practicing, even in my immediate family. In my house they were becoming more practicing and my siblings... the younger generation especially... they were becoming very more, much more, practicing... I think that had an all overall effect on the environment...” (Sania, 2nd generation)

Sania's reflections on the religious tendencies of her family at different phases of her life indicate a marked progression in terms of religious attitudes and behaviors in the different generations. In her view, whereas the first generation was less engaged in religious practices, the second and third generation who she referred to as “the younger generations” are highly committed to religion and have become more practicing. The notion that the first migrants were remiss in their religious obligations early on after setting in the U.K. is validated from the first-hand account of Shahid who migrated to the U.K. in the 1960s:

“The role of Islam came in after a certain time... when I came from Pakistan, I didn't really know very much about Islam and then the internet started and we started finding out more about Islam and then we realized how wrong we were. So, that attracted us towards the Masjid...” (Shahid, 1st generation)

Voas & Fleischmann (2012) suggest that there are a number of reasons why migration disrupts religious practices. To begin with, scholars speculate that

individuals with higher religious capital and orientations will be less likely to migrate (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008). This is a cogent counterargument to the claim that the Muslims who settled in the West to do manual labor came from countries where religious commitments were strong and by implication should be religiously devout. Furthermore, change in circumstances as a result of migration can also impede religious norms and customs. For instance, immigrants may not have convenient access to places of worship (Wuthnow & Christiano, 1979; Ralston, 1998) and it is substantiated that having a mosque locally fosters religious practices among the Muslim community (Smits et al., 2010). Germane to this discussion is the ambivalence that the Jews encountered while closing businesses on Saturday to observe the Sabbath (Warner & Srole, 1945) which is similar to the difficult choices that the Muslims make in order to offer prayer in the middle of the working day, especially during Fridays. Hayyan a second generation who is in his mid-40s recounts his family's religious disposition while growing up as well as his trips to the mosques which were few and far between:

As far as Islam is concerned, we didn't really grow up practicing Islam... you know... My parents didn't pray regularly, they didn't read the Quran... I think they were reasonably liberal... The only thing we would do is go to Eid prayer twice a year... You know... There was no masjid in Kilmarnock... no mosque... So, we couldn't go for Friday prayer and so the only time I saw my dad pray would be on Eid... That only changed when we were at the university and we discovered Islam for ourselves and we brought that practice back home to our parents... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

This experience is shared by Shahid who mentions the lack of mosques as one of the reasons for religious apathy in the early phases of settlement which gradually changed when more mosques were constructed:

"When I came to Glasgow there was only one small masjid... it was in a flat but with time there were more masjids around Glasgow... there were more educated people around... so people were getting to know Islam and that's how our generation, people of my age started becoming proper Muslims" (Shahid, 1st generation)

It can be gauged from Both Shahid and Hayyan's accounts that for the early settlers, efforts to pursue and fulfill religious obligations were tangential.

The sociodemographic of the early immigrants also suggest that they might be negligent of their religious duties. Most of the early settlers were typically young, male, and unmarried, qualities that are related to low religious involvement (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). It can therefore be construed that it would have been difficult for the settlers to adhere to religious prescriptions in the new country. Finke & Stark (2005) accentuate other obstacles that are indirect consequences of the disruption that ensue because of immigration. Since the earlier arrivals were mostly young men who were engrossed in work they reasoned that spirituality may take a back seat to more mundane priorities. This is evident from the study exploring the North African Muslim immigrant women living in France who alluded to the fact that religious obligations required investment of energy and time which they did not have (Killian, 2006). Practicing religion is a routine matter and requires consistency. Even if migration does not alter religious beliefs, it is highly likely to alter old habits (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In this regard, Cesari (2002) underscores the disparity in norms and avers that the expectations in the old country are not necessary for the new and may sometimes even be looked down upon. Away from the society and social context that might have made religious observance compulsory, immigrants are cognizant of the various options that are available in their new abode. According to Akhtar (2014) studies on male migration during that time indicated a major decline in religious practice. During that era, collective religious identity was limited and of little importance. Ballard (2006) while portraying the religious participations of the early immigrants remarked that individual worship was rare and congregational acts of worship were virtually non-existent. Scholars exhort that further studies are required to properly substantiate and corroborate these contentions as the longitudinal data is in short supply (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). By delving on an intergenerational study and taking into consideration the experiences of the first generation from the time of the migration until now as well as that of their children i.e. the second and third generations we have attempted to bridge this

gap identified by the scholars. As a case in point, consider Shahid's narration of the hectic daily work routine and deplorable living conditions of the early immigrant:

“At that time, most people were coming in from certain areas of Pakistan... They were all single people. They were just coming to work and their living condition was really bad!... in a three-bedroom house, there were 15/20 people living... I've seen that myself... Some of them, if they were on night shifts... other people were sleeping during the night in their beds... When they went to work, people who were coming from night shifts they slept in their beds... it was really bad...” (Shahid, 1st generation)

Shahid's account provides an insight into the struggles of the 1st generation whose prime concern was to earn which left little room for religious devotion. This is evident from the following excerpt of Shahid:

“At that time religion was not in anybody's life...”

Interviewer: Why do you think that was?

Two reasons... Because mostly when they came from Pakistan, they were not from a religious background... They were Muslims, but they were not religious and the other thing was when they came here, they all worked so hard that they had no time for anything else... go to work, come back home... sleep and go back to work again... So there was really no time to think about religion or anything else... (Shahid, 1st generation)

Thus, from the aforementioned accounts of the different generations, it can be seen that the influx of immigrants from the mid-1950s until the early 1960s in the U.K. was akin to the migration patterns of that era and was predominantly of single men. For them, collective survival and mutual support took precedence over regional distinctions, religious affiliations, and extended family networks. Their common work experiences and the shared negotiations of the difficulties encountered during settlement served as unifying factors (Alam & Husband, 2006). For these young men, religion did not play a prominent role in their daily lives. Instead of religion, they sought support from

families and Biraderis (kinship networks) to find accommodation and work to settle in British society (Akhtar, 2014, 2013). Aneela's (2nd generation) portrayal of her father's journey to the U.K. to unite with his brother at a very early age after the death of his mother brings to the fore the type of support provided by families and kinship networks to the early immigrant who mostly came without ample resources to the new country.

“My father came to England at the age of 14, I believe. He arrived at a very young age. It was quite a difficult time for him to come because his mother had recently died and he was joining his elder brothers here... I think he kind of undertook all the procedures of arranging for his visa all by himself and then he arrived and he was just on his own trying to figure out what to do for work... What to do for studies... He was quite a self-made man, really. So yeah... He struggled... He settled down...”
(Aneela, 2nd generation)

4.2.2 Religious formations of the 1st generation females during initial phases of settlement

The initial immigrant population which comprised mostly of young men was followed by an influx of female migration through family formation and family reunification (Buijs & Rath, 2002; Akhtar, 2014). It is interesting to note that studies demonstrate that in contrast to the 1st generation of males who migrated to the U.K., the 1st generation of Pakistani women upheld a relatively stronger affiliation (a lot more in comparison to the men) with their religious identity when they settled in Britain. Akhtar (2014) explicates the primary reasons for this divergence of the female attitudes towards religion from their male counterparts. For these women religion served as a tool to safeguard their identity and had less to do with piety. These women used religious structures as an instrument to maintain a connection with the home country that they had left behind and also to shield their household from the perceived vices that stemmed from their fears of the host society in which they now were settled. Hayyan highlights the efforts her mother made to impart religious education to her children:

“My parents... Especially my mother made a lot of effort for us to learn about Islam according to the best of her ability... She took us to Islamic classes every day after school... She'd drive us 25 miles after school from Kilmarnock to Glasgow and we would attend the Islamic class and then we would drive 25 miles back to Kilmarnock.” (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

It is interesting that even though Hayyan's mother, Sadia, strived to impart religious education to her children but in fact her motive and priority, as she indicates below, was not to cultivate religious education but in fact, it was to try to teach them Urdu. This is apparent in the following conversation in which she talks about her enthusiasm to teach Urdu to her children when they were young:

“I tried my best to teach them Urdu... I actually started that Urdu Qaida (series of books for beginners to learn Urdu)... That was long before I went towards Islam... I never thought of teaching them Quran... I just thought I need to teach them Urdu because I was quite keen on Urdu... So, Hayyan was in the second book... Sarah was on the second or third book... But Wasiq and Qadsia... if I just say So jao (go to sleep) and something like that they just started making fun of Urdu... I just say stop doing that...” (Sadia, 1st generation)

It needs to be underscored that according to Sadia before she became a devout Muslim her desire was for her children to speak and read Urdu. She confesses that at that time religion and teaching Quran was not her priority at least not more than making sure that her children were well versed with the national language of Pakistan thereby ensuring to maintain and preserve her connection with the home country. However, as is evident from her account she was not very successful in her endeavor as the children would start teasing her when she conversed with them in Urdu. Similarly, Abdullah who is 63 years old and belongs to the second generation and considers himself to be a non-practicing Muslim and who occasionally drank when he was young had to say the following about his wife Bubbli who came to the U.K. after marrying him:

“My wife went for hajj (pilgrimage). After hajj, three years ago she changed a lot. She has always been practicing Islam before that as well, but she was not very strict... Nowadays, she is very strict... She prays five times a day... Reads the Quran every morning and she goes to Almezan... you know... the religious school here every Friday... She goes there regularly”. (Abdullah, 2nd generation)

From Abdullah’s statement, it is apparent that unlike him her wife adhered to Islamic tenants ever since she came to the U.K. which became more intense after her Hajj pilgrimage. The notion that Bubbli maintained a strong sense of religious identity when she came to the UK is substantiated when her daughter Hoor reminiscence about how it was like while she was growing up:

“As far as I can remember while I was growing up, I always heard in the mornings my mom playing recitations on the tv and the cd in the car tape. So, I think it’s something that I have always been brought up with since I was a kid and even my sister had a baby three months ago and you know even though she is just an infant she just has a recitation thing playing in the background just so that she could hear. So, it has always been a part of my life.” (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Hoor’s account accentuates the steps her mother took to ensure that her children were acquainted with the Quran and the fact that she played it in the morning and during travelling signifies the use of religion to shield and protect the family and children from all vices and harm as was alluded by Akhtar (2014). Moreover, her sister emulating the act of playing the Quran for her baby signifies the transmission of this ritual from the first to the second generation.

The fact that the early settler females took it upon themselves to engage in and manage religious activities denotes a shift in norms that were prevalent in the home country. According to Akhtar (2014) in Pakistan, religious institutions and decisions pertaining to it were generally the domain of male elders and Biraderi (kinship, tribal) leaders. Women often had limited authority in religious matters and during religious celebrations, the major discernible activities they

were involved in were cleaning the household and cooking food for the festivities. Migration to the U.K. transformed the roles Pakistani women played in managing religious affairs. In the U.K. women were the primary overseer of religious activities which signifies an evolution of gender roles with respect to religion. Due to the shortage of mosques and similar institutions, most religious gatherings took place in the domestic sphere and within the confines of the Pakistani ethnic community. It is pertinent to note that performing religious practices within domestic spheres is not perceived as a lesser option but indicates a refocused attention to an important aspect of Islam (Brown, 2006). The reason it is considered by some as tantamount to the more public religious role of the men is that it is in the house where most religious obligations are fulfilled and where primary education of the children takes place, preparing them for their future roles and responsibilities (Brown, 2006).

4.2.3 Religious formations of the 2nd and 3rd generations

Research and scholarship on the second generation depict a mixed picture. On the one hand, there is substantial evidence substantiating the claim that the second and later generations are withdrawing from their ancestral culture and religion. A study by Leonard (2003) in which Muslims are concerned about the lackluster attendance of their children in Mosques is consonant with the aforementioned perspective. On the other hand, there are also numerous studies providing credence to the assertions that in the second and later generations of Muslims religion is alive and thriving and that they have become religiously more devout (Peek, 2005; Schmidt, 2004). Scholars aver that it is difficult to conclude which of the multifarious views of relating with Islam that has been observed in various studies prevail in which context and the underlying reasons for that predominance (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000). It is argued that so far there has been a nominal intergenerational change in the religious attitudes and behaviors of Muslims, but the second generations seem to be more dispersed across the religious spectrum from secular to devout relative to their parents (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012).

As stated in the literature review, it is affirmed that Muslims in lower social classes propagate religion more effectively relative to the higher social strata. Likewise, Muslims with lower educational qualifications were more effective at transmitting religion than their highly educated counterparts (for details, see section 2.9 "social capital and social class"). Scourfield et al. (2012) emphasize that these assertions are worthy of investigating in future research. Moreover, it has been surmised that religious identity is undermined and attenuated in the affluent segments of the Muslim society, who are highly educated having professional careers. In this regard a study on the ethnic Turkish and Moroccan Muslims settled in Netherland indicated that the first and second generations' religiousness is inversely related to the level of educational attainment and qualifications. Moreover, the higher educated strata are also less likely to strongly identify with their ethnic communities. Essentially the study maintains that adherence to and associations with religious and ethnic identities seems to be less significant for the second generation in comparison with the first (Maliepaard et al., 2010). In order to explore these assertions, our research focused on second generation British Pakistanis, the majority of whom are university graduates and have undertaken professional careers.

In the case of the association between religiosity and the level of education, our results seem to diverge from the aforementioned study. These contradictions offer credence and cogency to the assertions that religiosity in different communities is not uniform and is shaped by people's multifarious subjective interpretations of religion which are based among other things on identity projects, political/institutional dynamics, and history. Religious discourse should therefore be informed by taking into consideration these contexts (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). In contrast to the study of the ethnic Muslim community in the Netherlands, our results indicate that for the majority of the 2nd generation respondents, studying in universities in fact resulted in providing formative experiences that shaped their religious orientations. Consider the case of Hayyan (2nd generation), who is a pharmacist and currently works with his wife in recruitment, talk about his transition to becoming more attuned to religion:

“I can tell you 100 % how that happened... when I went to the University in Brighton, that was in 1993... I made some friends that were in the University Islamic Society... So, in my second year in university, my flatmate was the president of the Islamic Society... So just through him... He gave me some literature on Islam... He gave me a book it was on the life of the Prophet Muhammad and it was by a chap called Martin Lings... So, I read this book it was about the story of the Prophet's life and that's the first time I got any knowledge about the Prophet Muhammad. Until then all I understood about Islam was that there's the Quran and there's prayer, but I didn't understand Arabic... I don't speak Arabic, so when I recited the Quran as a child... it could have been in any language... I didn't understand a word... So, my teachings of Islam prior to that were basically to be good, tell the truth, and don't eat haram. That was Islam growing up, but the Islam that I found out at university was completely different from that... That's when I found out who the Prophet was. What he went through and what the true message of Islam was and that's when I started praying... So, I was at university and Wasiq my younger brother would visit me quite regularly when I was a student there. He met my flatmates and my friends as well and they had an influence on him... So what happened is that I started practicing... I started my prayers when I was in Brighton and then I'd go home and I'd be praying... When I went home one time, I discovered that Wasiq was praying five times a day... I thought, oh hang on, he's praying 5 times, I am missing some prayers, I need to increase my game here... this is no good (laughing)... So, that's when I started praying regularly five times a day. At the time, as I said my flatmate was the president of the Islamic society and he would do the Jumma Khutba in university every Friday on campus... Every Friday his Khutba would be based upon my antics during the previous week... So, whatever I was up to that week he would talk about that in the Jumma Khutba in front of everyone... He would say, so you brothers and your Levis jeans... You think you have got your little car and you are doing this and that... and then he would get up there and say that is wrong you should not be doing that... So, it was like a personalized khutba for basically, my week...” (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

It is evident from Hayyan's narrative that the exposure he had in the university with peers who not only were religiously active but also were well conversant with religious doctrine and ideologies resulted in his transformation and stimulated his endeavors to be punctual in discharging his religious obligations. It is intriguing how brotherly rivalry served as a source of motivation for Hayyan to be more regular in praying five times a day. The role of the family in religious transmission will be expounded in the next section. The influence of the university in shaping the religious inclination in the second generation was a recurring keynote theme. Waleed (2nd generation) who is an accountant had the following to say about his university experience:

“When I became an adult as it's normally understood these days, 18 years and so on... I think through that period I had exposure to lots of different ideas and some very decent and some very good Muslim role models and that helped me become more religious at that certain point in time. Since then... Since I left university, I think my interactions with Muslims have declined a little bit so that naturally has an effect... So, yeah, I wouldn't say that with every passing moment I'm becoming more religious but there were certain phases” (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Notice how Waleed's introspection leads to his inference that he interacts with fewer Muslims after he graduated from university implying that during that period interactions with religiously proficient individuals deemed by him as religious influencers played a crucial role in his life and which he believes has facilitated his progression towards religion. This cognizance and appreciation of religion while studying in the university resonates with the views of Malik (2nd generation) who is a chartered accountant:

“I think the transition for me has occurred through exposure to other people... particularly through university, where you for the first time, I think, meet people of a like background... you have an opportunity to learn more... exposed to more and understanding more and that's where you start to... Well that's where I started to get further understanding and knowledge in connection with people who knew the religion more and that kind of peer connection with your peers leads to greater knowledge and understanding and I think you

can just build on that because those university connections then continue after university...” (Malik, 2nd generation)

Malik considers the university as a channel for meeting like-minded individuals which in his case were Muslims. He also talks about maintaining these relationships even after graduating indicating continuous upholding of religious assertions which is the salient feature of the group. This is akin to Hoor’s (2nd generation) perspective, who is a hospital co-specialist. She lays emphasis on always having a group of friends who conform with the teachings of Islam in order to maintain one’s religiousness.

“It probably had quite a lot to do with the company that I had from when I was in school and university. Growing up just meeting new people. So, even though I make sure that I have different friends from different backgrounds I would always make sure that I would have people around me that come from strong Islamic backgrounds because I never want to get to a point where I would, kind of, be away from my religion. So yeah, I think over time I have just been really cautious about keeping people around me that are quite close to Islam and that has kind of helped me I guess over time to get more involved in my religion.” (Hoor, 2nd generation)

This study contributes to the further understanding of the interplay between religion, social class, and education. Contrary to the predominant view, which avers that the rise in education, modernity, and affluence undermine religion’s influence, this study shows a contrasting picture. It can be concluded from the interview accounts expressed by the second generation that, in their case, educational attainment and having an employment status that is consistent with their educational qualifications have a positive impact on religious assertions and identity. This is consistent with a study by Bisin et al. (2008), which maintains that in the U.K., the role of education on religious identity largely varies between a Muslim and a Non-Muslim. For non-Muslims having a higher level of education and a high-level position that commensurate with their educational qualifications (being a manager) attenuate affinity with

religious identification. On the contrary, for a Muslim, being highly educated, earning a high income, and having a white-collar job like that of a manager seems to imbue a higher sense of religious identity due to experiences at university. Similar attitudes and tendencies are also observed amongst Muslims living in areas with a lower unemployment rate. These findings are notable since education has often been considered a primary catalyst stimulating secularization and assimilation (Hagendoorn et al., 2003; Maliepaard et al., 2010). The results provide empirical substantiation to the premise that integration of the ethnic community in terms of education and occupations does not necessarily induce lower levels of religious commitment amongst the Muslims in the West.

4.2.4 An overview of Identity formation in the different generation

One key contribution of this study is that it delineates the religious identity formation in the different generations. In the case of identity formation, this research provides the empirical substantiation of Peek (2005). The study findings ascertain two stages of religious identity formation. In the initial stage, religious identity is conceived as ascribed, and in the latter stage, religious identity gains salience and becomes a preferred choice of identity. From accounts of the interviewees, it can be inferred that as they progress from the first stage to the second, they become more fervent with regards to their faith, more devout in their religious practices, and their religious identity becomes more salient in the hierarchy of identities that constitute the self-concept.

It can be seen from the analysis that the initial phases of settlement of the first generation males (see section 4.2.1 for details) can be regarded as the ascribed identity phase. For these early immigrants during this period, religion was merely regarded as an ascribed feature of their individual sense of self and the social world. Sadia (first generation) describes her sense of religious identity at that time by acknowledging "we only had a Muslim name." Religion was not practiced regularly and fervently as the immigrants were more concerned with settling in a new country and becoming economically secure.

In this phase, for these individuals, religion was not a salient feature of their identity. On the other hand, first generation women were more religiously inclined than men (see section 4.2.2 for details). From the interviewees' accounts, it is evident that during the early phases of settlement, for the females, practicing religion had less to do with piety and was primarily used as a tool to safeguard their ethnic identity. These women used religious structures as an instrument to maintain a connection with the home country that they had left behind and also to shield their household from the perceived vices that stemmed from their fears of the host society in which they now were settled. By charting the identity construction in the first-generation immigrants, this study also highlights an important shift in religious norms in the Pakistani immigrant community. Back home in Pakistan, decisions and authority pertaining to religion and its associated activities were the domain of male elders and biraderi (kinship, tribal) leaders, which as this analysis demonstrates, have been shifted to the females after immigration. The data of this study also illustrates that the second phase of religious identity formation for this particular generation in which their identification with and practice of Islam become more intense is prompted by the second generation who acted as the religious influencers (This is discussed in detail in section 4.3 "Role of 2nd generation as religious influencers").

Furthermore, the study data from the interviews show that the first stage of religious development spans from childhood to late adolescence in the second and third generations. During this period, it seems there was limited critical reflection about Islam and being a Muslim. It is posited that religious identity was a perfunctory part of the everyday lives of the respondents during this phase and taken for granted. This is reflected in Hayyan's (Page 158) and Sania's (Page 157) statement where they talk about their childhood days where religion was a superficial part of their lives. These views resonate with Adam & Marshall (1996), who maintain that contrary to most adults who have the ability to choose and therefore assert their selected individual and social identities, children typically conform to assigned identities.

Analysis indicates that 2nd and 3rd generation respondents felt that they started to consider religion not as an unquestionable, ascribed characteristic but as a preferred identity choice as they aged and matured. In most of the interviews, the crucial transition from the first stage to the second stage of religious formation within which the respondents started contemplating religion and subsequently re-examining this particular aspect of their identity was in the university. This notion is evident in the narrations of Hayyan (page 166), Waleed (page 167), Malik (page 168), Hoor (page 168).

It is reasoned that in every culture and society, there are certain life junctures and phases in development during which ritual, rites, societal, or cultural expectations prompt individuals to deliberate on their identity and behavior (Adams & Marshall, 1996). In the western context often, entering the university is one such crucial juncture for young adults (Karp et al., 1998). During college, individuals gain more independence and increasingly become responsible, and acquire cultural liberty to partake in adult experiences and behavior (Peek, 2005). In this study, participants felt that the university provided them with the environment to meet like-minded people, facilitated exposure to lots of different ideas, and enabled them to engage in different experiences. Ultimately the university environment prompted the construction of Muslim religious identity.

In particular, the majority of the respondents talked about meeting other Muslims who they could relate to and could consider as their role model in the university [see the statements by Hayyan (page 166), Waleed (page 167), Malik (page 168), Hoor (page 168)]. It appears that it became less difficult for the respondents in the university context to identify as Muslims primarily because they came into contact with a larger Muslim peer group with whom they could easily associate and relate. It is argued that in such a setting, the compulsion to conform to the majority non-muslim society and culture attenuates as the interviewees discovered contemporaries with similar interests who ascribe to the same faith and social norms.

Moreover, Leonard (2003), in her exploration of Muslims in America, exhorts the need to probe the Muslim student groups in higher education so that

researchers can unravel and comprehend not merely the present but also the future generation of Muslim identity formation in the west. It is pertinent to note that this study has also brought to the fore the role of Muslim student associations in religious identity formation. This has been vividly highlighted by Hayyan (page 166) in his account of religious transformation during his university stay. By providing a haven for the discussion and practicing of religious beliefs, Ammerman (2003) maintains that religious organizations facilitate the construction of religious identities. Similarly, Somers (1994) declares that religious organizations are a key provider of public narratives, which are collective accounts that are formed and transmitted and occur beyond the consciousness of any single person. From the interview analysis, it is posited that the respondents, during their stay in the university, in one way or another, acquired cognizance of common narratives concerning their identities and beliefs through the Muslim student associations. Thus, it is surmised that the Muslim student associations provided the narrative space and the social context for the second and third generation to construct their religious identities.

4.3 Role of 2nd generation as religious influencers

It is well documented that families are a significant source of influence on religious attitudes and behaviors. Parents are vital in the transmission of religion for a number of reasons. A lot of parents will consciously and deliberately train their children in culture and practice thereby inculcating religious beliefs and identities into them. The transference and reproduction of norms and values can also occur unconsciously since parents are considered role models by their children. Moreover, the residential choices and the socioeconomic status of the parents shape the religious environment to which the children are exposed while growing up (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). As accentuated in the literature review, contemporary research demonstrates that the transference of religion in the minority ethnic communities may have different dimensions in comparison to the majority population, and understanding the phenomenon may require distinctive theoretical insights (Scourfield et al., 2012). As a case in point, consider the journey towards

religious devoutness of Shahid and Sadia the parents of Hayyan, Wasiq, Qadsia, and Sarah. Sadia talks about her religious transformation in the following way:

I will give all the credit to my children... They just showed me the way of Islam and they asked me to go to study circles and that's how I started... My eldest son Hayyan was doing pharmacy in Brighton and at that time he was sharing the flat with another Muslim guy, Hamid... He was quite religious... At that time we only had a Muslim name but then Alhamdulillah we started to learn... Hamid lent Wasiq (Sadia's younger son) a few books... Wasiq started to read and then he found out more and more and that's how Wasiq started to know Islam... Wasiq found out (about Islam) and then he started to talk to Sarah and Qadsia (Sadia's daughters)... Sarah did not take that much but Qadsia started to get really serious about it and then Qadsia took Hijab at a young age, Alhamdulillah, because Wasiq kept asking her... So that's how we learned about Islam... (Sadia, 1st generation)

It can be seen that the children principally Wasiq and Hayyan are the religious influencers in this family and is a prime example of the process Moore et al. (2001) termed as 'reciprocal socialization' in which the children influence their parents particularly as they mature. The case at hand is also an illustration of how the intergenerational influences can become diluted (Childers & Rao, 1992; Shah & Mittal, 1997). This is also evident in Rani's narration who is the mother of Owais and Sikander:

I have simply become more religious due to my children being more religious, which for me is a good thing, you know.... My children, the older boy went through a little bit of a bad patch and he went into depression, he would have gone into depression, but he met somebody who kind of pulled him away from this. When you go into depression you start taking drugs or you think of other things or you go into religion and that's how they got into religion. And as you newly go into religion, everything is very strict... We are just finding out the information... As they went deeper, they started reading the Quran, they started reading its translations, and actually understood what life is... and because my older son got into this,

through him, he has a lovely way of explaining things, I came to know Islam. (Rani, 1st generation)

Pinquart & Silbereisen (2004) state that in order to transfer values within the family, the subject matter should have some relevance for family members, thus stimulating discussion. Furthermore, members of the family should be willing to influence one another (Kuczynski & Grusec, 1997). Her statement that Owais has a “lovely way of explaining things” signifies her willingness and receptiveness to her son’s reasoning and justifications. Researchers also contend that parents are more inclined to accept the opinions of adolescents in the domains where they are more experienced and knowledgeable (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). It can be gauged from the following statements of Sadia and Shahid that the 1st generation perceives the second generations to be more informed in religious matters:

“They know what they are doing... They have more knowledge about Islam than we, Alhamdulillah”. (Shahid, 1st generation)

“I was different because I learned through my children... Which was better because I learned it the right way”. (Sadia, 1st generation)

Pinquart & Silbereisen (2004) have challenged the notion that children are prone to passive socialization from their elders, asserting that the transference process instead of being uni-directional is transactional or bi-directional. Some sociologists have accentuated the pronounced changes in the cultural environment of religious socialization in post-modernity, noting the implication of these changes on our comprehension of religious transmission (Scourfield et al, 2012). Referring to contemporary studies on the religiosity of young people, Woodhead (2010) reveals a number of influences that they are subjected to, such as virtual and real social networks and an ethos where “the done thing is no longer the done thing”. From these research insights, the researcher maintains that it cannot be that adolescents primarily learn their religion from their parents. These arguments are germane in this context where the younger generations are critical of the religious understanding of the

elder generations and who are seen to have acquired religious knowledge through research and asking questions. Consider Sikander's (2nd generation) opinion of the religious acumen of the earlier generations:

"I think the elder generations... They did not really do much research into religion themselves... They will just take what their forefathers told them and they will just follow that blindly assuming that it is correct. But I think the newer generations are more willing to do their own research as opposed to taking someone's word for what is right and what's not right. So, I would say that's the main difference between the older generation and the younger generation. The younger generation is more likely to do their own research rather than taking someone's word for what's right and wrong. Whereas the older generations, it's more about traditions. It's more of a tradition as opposed to what's right and what's wrong."
(Sikander, 2nd generation)

These sentiments resonate with Nida (third generation) who characterizes the 2nd and 3rd generation as being open-minded and eager to learn more when it comes to religious understanding, an attribute which was found wanting in their parent's generations:

I think we are practicing it with an open-mindedness... As I said we come from a generation that tries to really understand as opposed to our parents... They were just told what to do... As I said, as we were growing up our parents felt the need to understand more... And we have just taken that step... I think, there is a natural progression... We haven't kind of ... gone back on it... We just want to find out more... (Nida, 3rd generation)

It needs to be underscored that these differences of acquiring knowledge and its transmission are acknowledged by the 1st generation and they concede that the approach adopted by the younger generation is correct as opposed to their way which was following their elders unquestionably. This is apparent from Rani's (1st generation) views when she narrates how religion was transferred to her from her mother:

In my generation as well as in my mother's generation, in the case of practicing religion, we did whatever our parents did and what they told us to do. We did not question. So, if my mother says, you have to do something this certain way. I would say, right, that's fine, I will do it this certain way. I never thought of questioning because that's not the way we were brought up. Whereas now if I told my son that you have to do this way, they will ask me how you know that's the right way? Which hadeeth does it come from? Is the hadeeth authentic? I don't know (Laughing). I was told by my mother and I am doing it. You should do it. So that's the difference between them. They question everything. Everything has to have authenticity. Everything has to have roots. Everything has to have a base and that's what I find is the main difference. Which is better for them because then you know that they are going their right way. (Rani, 1st generation)

An important contribution of this study is to bring to the fore reciprocal socialization and bi-directionality with respect to religion within the different generations of Muslim ethnic families which have been scarcely considered in contemporary research (Vermeer, 2014). The majority of the extant research in socialization is unidirectional in the sense that it only considers the influence of parents on their children. According to Moore et al. (2001), the predominant assumption among scholars is that the natural course of intergenerational influence is from the older generation to the younger generation. The researcher criticizes such a causality model as being lopsided, asymmetrical, and skewed in the direction of the older generation as far as intergenerational influences are concerned. Vermeer (2014) contends that such assumptions of socialization are still the norm in the studies of religious transmission, which mostly probes the impact and influence that the elder generations have on the religious beliefs and views of their descendants.

By delineating and highlighting the role of the second and third generations as the religious influencers, this study affirms that in the case of religious transmission in certain sections of the Pakistani ethnic communities, the unidirectional and asymmetrical perspective of socialization is not valid. Thus, in this socio-religious context where the later generations of ethnic

communities increasingly tend to grow up in different cultural environments than their parents, which in particular affects the importance they attach to religion, especially their religious identities, this study establishes that the younger generation acts as the influencer, while the older generation is the influenced.

It is also worthwhile to probe why in certain cases, children can successfully influence their parents, such as in the case of religious transmission, and in other instances cannot. From the analysis of interviews, it can be surmised that reciprocal socialization in religion successfully occurs due to two conditions in this community. Firstly, according to Roest (2009), the younger generation tends to be more successful in transmitting those values that the younger generation consider are important to them in the older generation that might consider those values less significant. It is evident from the interviews that religion is highly valued by the younger generation, and it has become an important marker of identity for this generation. Their parents, who initially were not religious, started to take an interest and learn Islam due to the efforts of the younger generation [see statements of Sadia (p.173) and Rani (p.174)]. Secondly, researchers also assert that parents are more inclined to accept the opinions of adolescents in the domains where the adolescents are more experienced and knowledgeable (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). The notion that the parents perceive the younger generation to be more informed and conversant in religious matters is also empirically validated from the interviews [see statements of Shahid (p.174), Sadia (p.174), and Rani (p.176)]. It is surmised that the rationale for the younger generation's success in influencing the religious beliefs and practices of their parents is grounded in the fulfillment of these two conditions.

This phenomenon is an example that demonstrates a significant shift in the balance of power within Muslim households because of changing dynamics of intergenerational relationships. This study illustrates the decline in influence and authority pertaining to religious matters in the parental generation [see statements of Sikander (p.175) and Nida (p.175)]. It also exhibits that in this

particular segment of the Pakistani ethnic community, adolescents are more effective in making their parents receptive to alternative religious beliefs than their parents are in transmitting their traditional religious beliefs and values.

4.4 Predominance of religion over culture in the younger generation

In the West, ethnographic research on Muslim youths has identified a prevailing trend of appropriating Islam that is distinct and unadulterated from the home country culture of the immigrant parents in certain segments of the second generation (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Peek, 2005 for the United States; Vertovec & Rogers, 1998 for Europe). A general inference of this research is that the parental generation is perplexed by the repudiation of myriad cultural norms and traditions by the subsequent generation on account of them being incompatible with Islam and their resolve to return to pure Islam (Cesari, 2002; Warner et al., 2012). However, our research has shown that, contrary to being surprised, the parental generation has, in fact, embraced and conformed to the religious assertions of the second and third generation resulting in a shared religious ideology and identity, a religious ideology that has been spearheaded by the younger generation. According to Aneela (2nd generation) passionate association with one's culture hinders the inclusivity of Muslims belonging to other nations and ethnicities and also constrains an individual's beliefs:

My thoughts have become changed quite recently about how important Pakistani culture is to me... I try to see beyond what the Pakistani culture is and the importance of it because I don't think it quite represents me and who I am... I try to think there's a Muslim culture that everybody can belong to and that should be a little bit more superior than our affiliation with just a nation or nationality and our ethnicity... I feel that if you associate yourself with Pakistani culture so much, you are just, kind of, tying yourself down to things which aren't possibly true or real to what you really should believe in as a person... (Aneela, 2nd generation)

According to Chen (2008), different motives on the two sides of the Atlantic may foster the desire to establish “cultureless Islam”. In the United States scholars maintain that the process was already prevalent in the first generation (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In this case, Islamic expressions that are ascribed with the ethnic culture are considered as impediments to community building on account of the diversity of the Muslim diaspora settled in America (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001b). The organization of Muslims in Europe differs as it is mostly congregated on the basis of ethnicity (Buijs & Rath, 2002). The endeavors to purify religion from the ancestral ethnic culture here are mainly attributed to generational dissension, social discrimination and exclusion, and the lower class socioeconomic status of the parental generation in the host country (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Cesari, 2002). In addition to the aforementioned segments of society that are proponents of cultureless Islam, our study has also substantiated the conjectures that the affinity to liberate Islam from parental homeland culture is not limited to the lower working class but is also pervasive in the educated individuals having professional careers. Consider Hayyan’s criticism on the religious convictions of the first generation:

They will just deviate a lot, I think. That's because basically, they don't take Islam so much from the text, but they take it from their elders and it's more a cultural Islam and not Islam from the Quran and Sunnah (the way of the prophet) and not from the text... They do not recognize the text, so I view that as a problem... It's quite alien from the way I think myself... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

This culture defiant generation maintains that the religion of the parental generation is tarnished by the ethnic norms, traditions, and cultural baggage and therefore cannot represent an orthodox faith (Chen & Park, 2019). The 1990s and the early 2000s were an era during which the adolescent British Pakistanis contemplated upon and often abandoned the parental religion which they considered as “primitive” Islam (Ballard, 2006; Khan, 2006; Akhtar, 2014). According to Jacobson (1997b), these second and third generation British Pakistani started to explore Islam from outside their cultural lens, becoming aware of the distinctions between religion and culture. Parekh

(2006) while commenting on the different generations said that while the parents would consider themselves simply to be Muslims, their children would emphasize that they have an Islamic or Muslim identity. The difference according to him is striking and deep. These views are reflected in Waleed's (2nd generation) narrative who talks about Islam as a significant permanent identifier for the Muslims that is preeminent over nationalities and borders:

I think throughout history people have found transient identifiers for their personalities based on their social, political realities at that point in time... There are phases where people identify themselves as of a particular nationality or a tribe or some ethnic origin and so on but most of these things, I think... They're based on some reasoning whether it be a country wanting to protect itself from another country and so on... So, people spend a lot of time trying to magnify... Kind of, embellish their national identity and so on... Ultimately people... Human beings, they are made out of similar flesh and so on, and if they were to find a common identifier or define themselves properly they should look for something which is more meaningful than just their surroundings and so on or national identity or color of their passport... The more people think about it the more they have to identify themselves with something which is greater than nationality... So I figured out that most intellectually intrigued people in the West identify themselves as secular, liberalist as opposed to British or Americans or so on... They could go to any other liberal country and they could survive just as easily and similarly... I think Muslims throughout history have this understanding that we do not really respect any borders whatsoever because we don't really have to... Our value systems are based on Islam. So, let's just call ourselves Muslims and if we find it easy to move from one country to another then we don't need any other significant identifier... (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Waleed's beliefs validate Chen's (2008) assertions in the U.K. according to whom for the Asian American second generations religious identities have become focal to their self-construal. She reasons that this change transpires because ethnic, national, and racial identities are relatively more complicated to adopt in an authentic manner for these ethnic segments. For Aneela (2nd generation) associating with a religious identity that transcends culture is a

solution to the problem of nationalism and facilitates association with Muslims around the globe:

My family was not that religious. So, I feel that had it been more religious and had I had more strong Islamic identity and a bit more understanding of who I am it would have been easier... Because, simply to say that no, you are Pakistani... You know... Because if you are Pakistani, you are Pakistani... You find it difficult to associate with the other people around you... Having a Muslim identity actually overcomes the problem of nationalism and gives you a broad understanding of people... You know... And that would have been easier... That would have been the thing to fall back on and to give you strength... You know... To pick yourself up and carry on and be strong in who you are... And I don't think that our parents thought of that, really... The challenges we would face. (Aneela, 2nd generation)

According to Akhtar (2014), these transformed generations do not want to conform to what their family or biraderi (Caste) members think is appropriate but instead want to adhere to the commands and teachings of Islam. He argues that for them compliance to religious and not cultural directives is obligatory. Scholars note that it is through argumentations and debate that new positions as to the nature of Muslim identity as well as its relationship with the West were established. Moreover, there are now Muslims who declare that their settling in the West is not incompatible with their religion far from it they maintain that it facilitates distinguishing culture from the genuinely Islamic (Kahani-Hopkins & Hopkins, 2002). This is evident in the case of Fiza (1st generation) who advocates the religious views of the later generations by cogitating on her experiences in Pakistan and the U.K.:

I think coming to this country is kind of a blessing in a way. Because in Pakistan whatever we were seeing we thought that ohhh that's part of religion. We were a bit confused. When we came here, I got to listen to many scholars from America, from India, from all parts of the world... From even the U.K. and Saudi Arabia. I came to know that what I was told in Pakistan mainly was not religion. It was their Bidahs (heretical innovations) or you

can say it was their culture and Pakistani culture was being high jacked by Indian culture. (Fiza, 1st generation)

For Fiza, interactions with Muslims outside of her cultural prism in the U.K. made her realize the inherent discrepancies of entwining culture with religion. Akhtar (2014) posits that in the U.K., British Pakistanis started to meet Muslims from other backgrounds. These encounters reconfigured their views of what it meant to be a Muslim for although many of the religious rituals performed by the other Muslims were similar to their own there were also many stark differences. The interactions with other ethnic Muslim communities settled in the West meant that the migrants began to be cognizant that there is more than just their way of practicing religion and that their religious traditions were locally derived and culturally specific (Mandaville, 2002; Roy, 2004). The young especially, pursue universal values and are not willing to accept religiously unsubstantiated assumptions and beliefs of the elders (Ansari, 2002).

4.4.1 Quest for Authenticity in the 2nd and 3rd generation

A key theme emanating from the 2nd and 3rd generation participants' accounts is their quest for authenticity. The authentication process in this context is primarily rooted in the literal approach towards understanding the religious texts and an endeavor to imitate the first generation of Muslims (the companions of the Prophet Muhammad), which can be achieved by abandoning the innovations introduced in religion by culture.

From the interviews, it can be inferred that the way the younger generations position authenticity in Islam emphasizes their autonomous decision-making of religion and religious interpretations. In some cases, their religious assertions put them in a discordant relationship with their parental generation and how religion is being practiced in Pakistan. Although most of my interviewees belonging to the second and third generations stated that Islam was part of their upbringing and an integrated part of family life, they just as frequently highlighted that the Islam they adhere to now is free from cultural adulteration and is pure and progressive. These individuals claim that this is

how Islam truly was and ought to be practiced. They perceive the earlier generations as ascribing to Islamic practices and rituals that were inauthentic and infected by cultural misconceptions. This generation judges these ethnic and cultural traditions as archaic and stagnated. The concept of Bidahs (heretical innovations) echoed in their accounts while describing how the earlier generations of immigrants were practicing Islam and how it is currently being practiced in Pakistan (these bidahs are further discussed in section 5.1 “Incongruence of religious identity and ritualistic consumption”).

Thus, the process of reverting to what is believed by this generation as the authentic model of Islamic life necessitates an expectation that they reject all objectionable intrusions in their practices and beliefs. For them, the implication of adhering to such a view implies that Muslims ought to liberate themselves from the inauthenticity of the profane experiences of culture and traditions. It is an attempt by these individuals to recreate a puritan habitus that represents a socially conscious, authentic representation of the original Muslim community. This notion of Authenticity by the 2nd and 3rd generation can be explained to a certain degree by considering the viewpoint that there is an overall global effort for restoring and re-establishing the human condition through a search for authenticity. This is relevant for all cultures that have been impacted by globalization and modernity (Poljarevic, 2012; Lee, 1997).

It is noteworthy that modernity has resulted in many incongruences due to which individuals become preoccupied with authenticity. Researchers (e.g., Peggy, 2020; Taylor, 2018; Lee, 1997; Tillich, 1963) contend that attaining authenticity is central to reclaiming one's liberation from modernity's adverse effects, such as consumerism, egocentrism, secularization, spirituality, and loss of communal care. These scholars have described the individual's endeavors to live an authentic life as a positive component of the human condition. They claim the pursuit of authenticity to be a crucial facet of human existence and, therefore, highly significant. Moreover, they consider authenticity associated with religion as a search for positive values and lost certainties, thereby rationalizing the struggle to attain it. The overall essence

of these views is that the human path toward authenticity has or ought to have a liberating effect on the individual. In this study's context, the concept of liberation can be expanded and broadly applied to the second and third generation of Muslims, which are primarily concerned with their emancipation from the dominance and restraints of ethnic culture and traditions (This has been further discussed in section 5.1 "Incongruence of religious identity and ritualistic consumption").

It also needs to be underlined that my interviewees used authentic Islam to transcend various facets of identity that otherwise could prove to hinder and impede identifying with Muslims of other nationalities and ethnicities. It is also possible to identify oneself with the context in which one lives by drawing on religion's authenticity. To these individuals, authentic Islam is an instrumental means of identification through which they further their mobility among people who share their faith. This has been vividly articulated in the narrative of Waleed, who talks about a universal value system based on Islam with which individuals can easily identify and move from one country to another. He further maintains that in such a situation, there is no need for any other significant identifier.

It also needs to be underlined that the interviewees described the Islam that they adhere to as being "pure Islam," "global Islam," "cultureless Islam," and "universal Islam." It is argued that the concept of 'pure Islam' is significant amongst divergent Muslim communities jostling for ownership over Islam. Each of these communities (Sunni, Shia, Ahmadi) considers their respective interpretation and understanding of Islam as authentic and the true version of Islam. For instance, Moufahim & Lichrou (2019) accentuated the notion of "real Islam" among the Shia Muslim pilgrims. Similarly, Sheikh (2018) noted the Ahmadis claiming to be practicing "pure Islam." It is contented that exhibiting devotion to "true Islam' is a key strategy adopted by different sects of Muslims in order to differentiate themselves from Muslim others and establish trust within their denomination. It seems that the obfuscation of culture and religion in narratives of British multiculturalism facilitates minorities

(including the different denomination within an ethnic minority, e.g., Shia and Sunni) the ability to both identify, as part of the British Muslim narrative and establish their unique Muslim identity as the most authentic manifestation of being Muslim.

The takeaway from the preceding discussion is that authentic Islam provides a sense of reflective equilibrium in an individual's life. In this sense, the notion of religious authenticity entails liberation and emancipation from ethnic, national, and cultural concerns and profanities. It is posited that the appeal of adhering to such religious ideals surpasses a Muslim's pursuit of other types of social and personal identities, for it is verily prompted by a deep-rooted form of collective individualism as well as a desire for certainty and purpose.

A different perspective has been forwarded by Echchaibi (2008) regarding the revamping of religious doctrines by the immigrant population. According to him, this process is also the outcome of globalization. He asserts that due to the rapid influx of migration more and more Muslims are living in non-Muslim societies. It is noteworthy that a third of the Muslim population are considered to be members of an ethnic minority. Whereas the early settlers had time to establish their own culture or become part of the dominant culture, the current generations have to reinvent what it means to be a Muslim. The reason being that the common defining aspect of this segment as a Muslim is the mere reference to Islam which is devoid of linguistic and cultural heritage. The issue is further compounded since Muslims might experience the deterioration of Islam in their home country as well. As a result, the bonds of affiliation to a minority have been exacerbated if not by westernization, then at least because of globalization of the traditional Muslim communities in their home countries. The development has been aggravated to the extent that many devout Muslims believe that Islam has become minoritized in the Muslim world as well. Nida (3rd generation) when asked if she would prefer settling in a Muslim country shared sentiment that concurs with the aforementioned perspective:

I think the difficulty of settling in Muslim countries now is... what we are trying to get away from is the lifestyle in

terms of... you know.... everything is so materialistic... you need to have, you need to have, and you need to have. The idea, the ethos behind moving to a Muslim country would be to escape that but there is also an understanding that all the Muslim countries are right up there and if not more. So, here it is a balance that we can work out... and there is a balance that's familiar to us... You can say to your children we need to be like this... but it doesn't work for us because the two cultures are different.... But when you're in a predominantly Muslim culture then they will ask questions like... "well mom they're Muslims, why are they doing that"... "We are in a Muslim country, why are we doing that"... Here, we can explain the differences... There, it's so much harder because of the changes they have gone through... You know... They have allowed a lot of Americanisation... A lot of the British culture... A lot of that to filter into their culture... So, we have thought about it... You know.... There is no difference... If you're going to face the same hurdles, there is no point moving. (Nida, 3rd generation)

To sum up, Islam is embedded in the lives of the different generations of British Pakistanis whether it be at spiritual, political, or practical levels. Moreover, along with the disconnection from the ethnic culture and obligations, the relaxing of family authority and reciprocal socialization of the second and third generations, have facilitated a space in which religious identities are being reinvented. For a particular segment of British Pakistanis Islam is now a normative part of British Life.

4.5 Ethnic and host culture identities

The lives and experiences of British Pakistanis of different generations are diverse. As has been touched upon earlier in this chapter, the first generation upon migrating to the U.K. were more focused on finding accommodation, employment, and trying to become financially secure not only for the sake of their family in the U.K. but also for their siblings and parents that they left behind. For the first generation migration entailed leaving their home country, building a "better" life, and settling oneself in a new country (Raj, 2003). As a case in point consider Shahid's (first generation) recollection of how his primary focus upon arrival to the U.K. was to earn money to support not only

his immediate family but also his father and siblings that were living back in Pakistan:

All we were trying to do is make money as much as we can because, in Pakistan, my father was old... We were nine in the family. I was number four in the family... My brother who was the eldest was here... In Pakistan, I had two sisters who were married but I had three sisters, they were to be married... They were to be educated... Two brothers there, they were to be educated... One of my sisters wanted to become a doctor... The other sister wanted to educate herself... My brothers in Pakistan wanted to be educated... So, we did not really have time to go into the cultures and this and that... All we were doing is working as much as we could and trying to educate our family... After working as a bus driver for five years we opened a business in Glasgow and that was an even worse time... Because you were making money but you were awake working from 7 o'clock in the morning till 8 o'clock in the evening, seven days a week... It was hard going but the result was we were able to educate our families in Pakistan, Alhamdulillah (Weeping)... They all got educated (wiping off the tears)... (Shahid, 1st generation)

It can be inferred from Shahid's narrative that his connection with Pakistan remained intact after his arrival into the U.K. as he fulfilled his filial duties by sending money back to Pakistan to support his parents and siblings. It can be argued that the bond with his family back home, ergo with Pakistan intensified even more after his migration as the people back home became financially dependent on him and his brother. According to Sekhon & Szmigin (2005), the second and later generation did not experience these issues first hand but are aware of these difficult circumstances and transitions through narratives that have been passed on to them from the first generation. This is palpable from Aneela's (Second generation) statement:

My father came to England at the age of 14, I believe. He arrived at a very young age. It was quite a difficult time for him to come because his mother had recently died, and he was joining his elder brothers here... I think he kind of undertook all the procedures of arranging for his visa all by himself... and then he arrived, and he was just

on his own trying to figure out what to do for work... what to do for studies... he was quite a self-made man, really... So yeah... he struggled... he settled down... (Aneela, 2nd generation)

Aneela's views indicate that she is cognizant of the struggle that her father had to endure in order to settle in this country. However, it needs to be underlined that even though the later generations (Second and third) empathize with their parents' struggles they exhort that to fit in and be part of the Western society in which they were born and raised in they also had to undergo their own negotiations and adaptations. They contend that although their struggles are different, they certainly are no less significant than those of the first generation. Aneela talks about these negotiations in the following way:

I think that when they came, they came with a wave of migrants... You know... Lots of batches of friends coming together... Young people... Newly married couples... Lots of them, all deciding to live together in the same street, or you know... Go to the same places... Associate with each other... So, they all had their own community... Now what's happened with us is we have actually gone into the school here... We are born here... So, we have entered society not as an adult but as a child... When you enter as a child... You know... as immigrant's children... That's where... Through schools and that teenage period and adolescence... You kind of, have to find and think about who you are and where you belong, and who you associate with... More importantly, who associates with you... I think it was more difficult than our parents even expected it to be, and I don't think they're fully aware of how challenging it is to settle here... I think that my generation compared to our parents' generation is a lot more aware of the Islamic identity of ourselves rather than my parents' generation... And I think it's something that we have had to think about because I feel that while our parents came, and they settled down... I think we had a harder time settling in than they had... (Aneela, 2nd generation)

Aneela is of the opinion that even though her parents had to encounter numerous hurdles to settle in the U.K., but they found solace in their friends and family members who were undergoing the same experiences and were

able to relate to each other. She stresses that these outlets were not readily available to her generation. From her account, it can be inferred that this generation acknowledges that they are part of Britain and endeavors to strike a balance between their Eastern and Western ways of life ensuring all along that these negotiations are within the ambit of their religious assertions. From the interviews, it has been seen that members of the first generation are still holding firm to their Pakistani culture and Identity. For this generation, Western culture and ways of living can never be as strong as they are for the later generations. These assertions are further deliberated upon in the proceeding section.

4.5.1 Predominance of Pakistani culture in the first generation

A recurring theme in the interviews was the tendency of the first generation to show pronounced orientation towards their heritage Pakistani culture in comparison to the second generation. Sadia (1st generation) expresses these sentiments in the following way:

My children actually say they're not Pakistani... They are British Muslims and that really hurts me because I'm Pakistani... I consider myself Pakistani... when I go to Pakistan and when I come back from Pakistan... You know... As the plane takes off I start to cry because I just look down and say that's my sirzameen (homeland)... Because I grew up in Pakistan and I've got love from Pakistan... But my children don't like that nationalism... They don't like nationalism... Islam, we should be Islamism... They don't see Pakistan as an Islamic country because so many things are happening there...
(Sadia, 1st generation)

It is apparent from Sadia's narrative that she is disheartened to see the alienation of her children from Pakistan. She concedes that in her children devotion and patriotism with Pakistan are replaced with ideas of Islamism. Her becoming emotional when the flight is departing from Pakistan is a testament to her love and yearning for Pakistan. The word sirzameen she uses to describe Pakistan is broadly defined as the place of settlement, an individual's

domain, or the country or area where one lives. This signifies that even though she has been living in the U.K. since 1970 and has spent a greater part of her life in this country but she still considers Pakistan as her motherland. This is consistent with the findings of Stopes-Roe & Cochrane (1990) who note that first generation Pakistanis and Indians primarily considered themselves to be Pakistani or Indians as the case may be. According to them, these perceptions are discernible from the second generation, a large number of whom identified themselves as British. The notion that the first generation is infused with the fondness of Pakistani culture is corroborated from Hoor's (2nd generation) views about her Parents:

I come from quiet... I mean my family is quite religious. Pakistani culture just means a lot to them. Especially because my parents are born in Pakistan... My mom is the only third person from our family who is here, so she is quite stuck on her Pakistani culture... (Hoor, 2nd generation)

The aforementioned excerpt gives credence to our viewpoint about the first generation and their affinity with the Pakistani culture. Her emphasis on the fact that her mother especially is engrossed in the Pakistani culture endorses the views of Khaleque et al. (2015) who while exploring the Bangladeshi immigrant parents in the United States concluded that the females especially, consider the Bangladeshi values to be a more crucial aspect of their lives in comparison to the American cultural values. The primary reason for this gender difference which is also germane to the Pakistani community is the fact that relative to the first generation male immigrants, the females had very little contact with members of other ethnic communities. The reason being that the majority of the first generation females are stay-at-home mothers whereas the fathers tend to have more interactions and familiarity with other cultures since they mostly work outside the home.

4.5.2 The myth of returning

The seminal research of Anwar (1979) on the phenomenon of the myth of return explored the impression that Pakistani immigrants are in Britain to save,

invest, and will ultimately return to their home country primarily because of their opposition to change and non-involvement on an individual capacity in British institutions. Studies have argued that the plan of return has been abandoned by the British Pakistani's due to the increased political involvement (Macey, 1999; Lewis, 1994). These plans to return to Pakistan also came up during our interviews with the first generation and were coherent with the research that suggested that the idea of going back to the homeland has been shelved. Nevertheless, a sense of frustration could be found as this generation came to terms with the reality that they will not be able to go back to their home country. Sadia (1st generation) had the following to say about the backtracking of her husband Shahid on this issue:

I like to move to Pakistan... I had a few fights with my husband a few years ago because we were supposed to get the land which I think his elder brother got... and whatever... Because he said to me... Oh get ready we are going to live in Pakistan and we're going to have that land and we'll build our own house and he just started to... you know... say things like that and I started to look forward but then later I find out... No... Nothing's gonna happen... I still want to go and live in Pakistan... See people from Lahore... My relations... I would love to live with my sister and in-laws... Even my brother-in-law Afzal... You know... I really enjoyed staying there... The thing is... going there for maybe six weeks or so is fine, but I want to have my own place in Pakistan. Then I want to live there. Otherwise, you just feel you are a mehman... You know... You are a visitor... A guest... You know what it is like... Even though we are very welcome... my brother-in-law and my sister-in-law says you can come here all the time and stay as long you want, but still, you feel it... (Sadia, 1st generation)

It is elicited from Sadia's conversation that she still has the desire to go back and live in Pakistan not as a guest in someone else's home but in her own house. Bolognani (2007) posits the reasons why the yearnings of the people like Sadia did not materialize. According to him the families of the early immigrants arrived and settled in the U.K. and apparently no matter how much capital was accumulated, it was never sufficient on account of their personal standards being spoiled by the West. A number of immigrants who attempted

to return to Pakistan permanently had a change of heart and returned back to the U.K. Several studies documented evidence of mental stress in those people who attempted the return to the land of their forefathers (Werbner & Donnan, 1990). Shahid cited similar reasons to justify why he will not be able to return to Pakistan.

I could never settle in Pakistan... Everything is against nature... I had an account in a Pakistani bank and after a few years, I went back there and said listen, I have an account here... Could I get money out of it... Oh but you have not used this account for three years... I said, of course, I did not use it for 3 years because I was not here... Ok, tell you what... Go home, write an application and come back here, and then we will open your account... I said, do I have to go back home and write it there... Can't a person write it here.... They said, ok just write it here then... They gave me a piece of paper... I wrote the application that please reopen my account and gave it to him... He said, he is the supervisor take it to him... I took it to him... The supervisor asked why you are writing this... I said because he told me to write it... He crumpled it and threw it in the bin and told him... Open his account!!! (laughing)... I will give you another example... I was driving with my brother, I saw a big queue outside a bank... I asked him, why such a big queue outside the bank.... oh, they're paying their electric bill... I said, oh, they're paying the electric bill and for that, they have to stand in a queue for that long... I don't think I can stand in that queue... (Shahid, 1st generation)

Shahid's experience in Pakistan after staying in the U.K. for more than fifty years resonates with scholars like Ballard (1987) that exhort that such individuals will not be able to adjust to life in Pakistan and will become distressed and would want to return. Contemporary research suggests that in the case of the second and later generations the myth and desire of return has been rekindled especially after events such as 9/11 and the war on terror. In such instances, Pakistan is visualized as a welcoming alternative to those British Pakistanis who have become disillusioned and disappointed with the U.K. Our findings suggest otherwise. From our interviews, it is inferred that in the case of the second and later generation, religion has overshadowed their

attachment to the motherland (Shaw, 1994) which signifies that associating with the Ummah (Muslim community) has become more meaningful than their ancestral roots (Grillo, 2004). In line with these changing sentiments their preferred country of settlement in case the opportunity presents itself has also changed from Pakistan to other Muslim countries. This shift is apparent from Arsalan's excerpt.

"I found in terms of Pakistan I would not necessarily like to settle in Pakistan but certainly in somewhere like Egypt or Dubai or Morocco or Tunisia or places like that or even Turkey where they've got that sort of historical Islamic heritage if you will. I do love to even go there for a couple of years, maybe five years... Settle down there for a wee while and just explore that culture. It's something I would really enjoy." (Arsalan, 2nd generation)

It needs to be underscored that this desire of the second and later generations to settle in a Muslim country other than Pakistan is contradictory to the first generation who would prefer to return to Pakistan. It is also determined from the interviews that this desire to settle in a Muslim country (in most cases for a few years) by the younger generation should not be considered as a clash of loyalties among the British Pakistanis and should not be seen as opposed to the English modernity (Burdsey, 2004).

4.5.3 Language as a significant marker of ethnic identity in the first generation

A number of studies have accentuated the association between ethnic identity and language (Jaspal, 2009; Baker, 2001; Cho, 2000). In addition to regional languages that are spoken in different parts of Pakistan, Urdu is generally the heritage language for the Pakistani immigrant community in the U.K. A heritage language is one that is associated with an individual's cultural and ethnic background (Cho, 2000). According to Cho (2000), people who develop their heritage language have better knowledge and familiarity of cultural manners, values, and ethics which in turn leads to the strengthening of bonds with other heritage language speakers. Our analysis of the interviews indicates that the first generation has assiduously maintained their mother tongue. Imran

(1st generation) vehemently endorsed the maintenance and development of the heritage language in the following words:

“I think the language should be the language in which you communicate... Your mother's language... Your home language... That's the most important thing... I believe that we should study our own language... We should communicate in our own language. I mean... The history of the last 5000 years shows that no single nation has been successful when they have used someone else's language to study.” (Imran, 1st generation)

Imran in this excerpt links the success of a nation with the adoption of the native language. Studies have indicated that the development of the heritage language is a significant aspect of identity formation and can contribute to reinforcing a strong sense of identity with one's own ethnic group (Cho et al., 1997). This notion can be surmised from Imran's narrative who considers the use of the mother tongue of paramount importance. Similar views were shared by Rani (1st generation):

“I consider Urdu very important... Because English you are in this country, you don't have to be taught, it will just come to you because you are watching it, you are listening to it, you are outside, you are in school, you are in nursery, you hear it all the time. So Urdu is very important for them to learn.” (Rani, 1st generation)

Rani emphasizes teaching Urdu to the younger generation since she believes there is not a formal system in place in the U.K. which will promote and impart the Urdu language to the kids which is not the case with learning English. The views of Rani are akin to researchers like Cho (2000) who state that heritage languages are not generally retained and are not typically developed among the ethnic minority communities. These concerns have also been highlighted by Sadia (1st generation):

“I try to speak Urdu but it turns into English and sometimes... You know... It's really difficult because I'm very comfortable with Urdu because that's my mother tongue... but they're comfortable with English so if I want to make them understand I have to speak English...

Sometimes when my daughters ask me a recipe, I start to tell them in Urdu because that's my language and I feel comfortable telling them about how much masalas to add in Urdu... And then they say wait a little bit mom can you say that in English (smiling)... So, I have to talk in English" (Sadia, 1st generation)

It is evident from Sadia's narration that even though she is fond of speaking Urdu and wishes to converse with her children in Urdu but is compelled to switch to English due to the inability of her children to properly understand the Urdu language. The assertions that heritage language development is difficult to sustain are corroborated by studies that clearly demonstrate a powerful and rapid language shift amongst the minority community to the dominant language of the host country. In this regard, Fishman (1991) has noted a shift to the dominant language in several ethnic communities. Similarly, Fillmore (1991) has reported a steady movement to English in America. These transitions are also evident in our study. Nida (3rd generation) had the following to add to this particular conversation:

"There is no denying it, we are English speaking and that's it. I would love... I try to speak Urdu with my children, but you can see how difficult it is for them... You know... Before, we grew up in a house where the elders were generally speaking Urdu and Punjabi... We picked it up and for those who felt comfortable they spoke it naturally... I've got a whole heap of cousins... We can have a whole conversation in Urdu and Punjabi... Laugh... Get the tones... Get the jokes... And then I've got a whole heap of cousins that will understand it, but they can't speak it with confidence... They miss out on the nuances of jokes and you know the cultural aspect... They just don't get it and it seems to be a division there... How and why it comes about I don't know..." (Nida, 3rd generation)

Nida's account depicts a transition from Urdu to English. She refers to the time when she was growing up during which the elders typically spoke the mother language. She also calls attention to the current scenario in which the younger generations are finding it difficult to communicate in Urdu. This is in line with Krashen (1998) according to whom a general language trend in the ethnic

minority communities is a shift to the host country language concurrent with a decline in their heritage language at a remarkable speed. This language switch is generally completed within a few generations. A number of studies exploring different South Asian communities show that the second generation is very proficient in the English language, which in most cases is the only language they can read and write. For this generation, English seems to be the medium of communication with their peers and younger individuals, while the heritage language is used to communicate with the elders (Robinson, 2005, 2003). This practice of conversing in different languages with different members of the family is apparent from Sikander's (2nd generation) conversation:

"I speak to my mother in English because her English is just as good as mine. I speak to my father and my grandmother in Urdu just because it is more respectful because that is their main language and I speak to my brother in English just because he is my brother and we can converse more accurately in English" (Sikander, 2nd generation)

In this instance, Sikander who is more comfortable talking in English is seen to switch from English to Urdu depending upon the proficiency of the family member in the English language. It is pertinent to note that studies similar to Modood et al. (1994) have concluded that both the first and second generation of South Asians deem it necessary to sustain the use and learning of their ethnic heritage languages. However contrary to these studies our findings indicate that the second and later generation of British Pakistanis do not consider maintaining and developing their ethnic languages important. These attitudes are reflected in the views expressed by Owais (2nd generation)

This (Urdu) is a bit of an issue... I mean... Urdu is our language... It's my ancestors' language... It's a difficult one... I know my parents find Urdu really important but for me even if I found it important, I don't read Urdu literature... I don't watch Urdu, Bollywood films... English is the most important because we stay here at the moment... The English language is widely spoken... It's the most spoken language, I believe in the world at the moment and even if people don't speak it they will understand it... That's not including the people that

understand it but don't speak it... A lot of literature is in English... If you want to get a high-level education... You know... Like in the medical field and other science fields... I believe it's in English... I haven't looked into this but I'm quite sure... That's why anyone who is a doctor also has very good English... I'm assuming this is one reason why... English is a very important language to us... (Owais, 2nd generation)

For Owais, Urdu holds no significance since he does not watch Urdu media or read Urdu content. He gives various arguments to underscore the importance of the English language in his life. This analysis of ours is coherent with Shaw (2014) who observes that the use of South Asian languages is in decline, with a growing number of second and later generations not only incapable of reading or writing in their heritage language but also confining speaking the language to family and home. These inferences are also substantiated by Ghuman (2003) who affirms that a large majority of the younger generation used both English and their native language at home. He however contends that only a handful of these people were able to read and write their ethnic language. Similarly, Robinson (2003) also affirms that South Asian adolescents although are highly proficient in the English language but are less versed in their native languages. The decline in the usage of the heritage language in the second and later generations points towards the diminishing role of Pakistani culture in the second and third generations which is discussed in the proceeding section.

4.5.4 Declining role of Pakistani culture in the second and third generation

The keynote of the section pertaining to religious identity is that religion has increasingly become a salient aspect of the self-definition for the younger generation, particularly teenagers and adults up to their thirties. Although these generations do not deny their diasporic bonds with the land of their forefathers, these diasporic links are significantly renegotiated with respect to other aspects of their hybrid identities. In this regard, Alam & Husband (2006) aver that if more and more young women are becoming fond of wearing a hijab (common among individuals from the middle east) in public instead of a

dupatta or a chaddar (part of a Pakistani dress used by women to cover their bodies) it is probably because they consider Islam as a defining aspect of their life. This signifies that for these individuals Islam and not the Pakistani territorial culture of their ancestors define their identity. They are able to successfully counter the traditional cultural expectations and demands by invoking their knowledge of the Quran and Hadith. Similar to women, Pakistan is no longer the epicenter of identity for young men which prompts them to reassess and circumnavigate their commitment to traditions and obligations that the Pakistani culture and the elders wielded. The association with religion induces these people to identify with the Palestinian and Bosnian Muslims even though they have relatively little in common with them apart from both being Muslims (Alam & Husband, 2006). These viewpoints are elicited from the following statement of Hayyan (second generation)

I have to be honest with you... I really don't identify myself as being part of a Pakistani culture... I identify myself as being a Muslim and I'm not really nationalistic. I don't have this nationalism built into me. I don't say I'm Scottish or I'm English or I am British or I am Pakistani... If someone says where you were born, I would just say, I was born in Glasgow, in Scotland and they'll say to me but you don't look very Scottish... I say, yes because my parents were born in Pakistan... But as far as Pakistani culture is concerned... I guess... I'm not very cultural unless it comes to food and then I'm very cultural (smiling)... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

Hayyan's statements that he does not associate with the Pakistani culture albeit recognizing that his ancestry has roots in Pakistan, complements our premise that these generations downplay their national (British) and ethnic identity and claim their religious identity. Similarly, for British Pakistani women, according to Saeed (2016), identifying with Islam endowed an "authentic" voice to confront patriarchy and challenge customary practices such as the notion of izzat (honor) and forced marriages. Mellor (2011) while researching on class and social mobility for Muslim women explicates how Islam was of paramount significance in emancipating women to stand up against such customs. Qadsia

(2nd generation) alludes to similar sentiments when she delves upon the negative aspects of the Pakistani Culture:

Misogyny... yeah... Just a real looking down on women... This culture of control... I find that really quite disturbing. For example, I recently worked in some school in Glasgow. I won't name the school but I had to leave because the culture was just so awful. One of my friends is from Pakistan. She came five years ago. She says people are not like this anymore. This is Pakistan so many years ago and it's like everything has just... it's just static, it's stagnant over here. She says in Pakistan people have developed and changed and it's not like that anymore and here it's just stuck... God knows like the seventies or the sixties... And I see that... And the headteacher... Oh! It was just awful... Thought it was okay to shout at female members of staff... Just crazy things that I thought who gets away with that nowadays. (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

Qadsia raises the issues of misogyny which according to her is inherent in the British Pakistani culture. She also touches open the norms and culture prevalent within the British Pakistani community as being static and constant and not in sync with the culture in Pakistan which is more fluid and is keeping pace with the changing times. It should however be noted that this empowerment was contingent on how considerate and facilitating individual families were of their women's aspirations. Educational opportunities and especially access to higher education further enabled the second and later generation of Pakistani women to negotiate and reinvent their identities as British Pakistani Muslim women. Education provided these middle class or working class women with a sense of security. In this regard Hoor (2nd generation) talks about the incongruity of the mentality of the 1st generation with that of the second using divorce as a context:

I think there is just the mindset. It's just that mentality. You know... We have got a different mentality. So, for example, my parents might worry... You know... That other people will talk (if one gets divorced) and what would other people say... and we would be like, noooo... It does not work like that here anymore... They are just saying it because of the Pakistani mentality they were

brought up with. So, you would hear about... For example, someone having a divorce... Some parents say, OH MY GOD!!... You hear people comment on it and you know... Talk about them... But then I would just be like you know it's normal, things will work out, let it go. It's none of any of our business. So yeah, there is just like a bit of a gap, sometimes. (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Hoor in her account confronts the notion and boundaries of Izzat (Honour) which generally gets crossed if individuals do not conform to the norms of the Pakistani culture. Divorce is one of those aspects which is frowned upon in Pakistani culture. Hoor due to her upbringing, education, and as a working woman seems to feel secure to denounce and condemn these practices. Mellor (2011) accentuates that contrary to the white middle class, these measures did not result in social mobility for these females, instead they empowered them to stay and benefit their community. Educated women poised with a sense of security also acquired more bargaining power in choosing their life partners. Nevertheless, a clash still exists between individual female aspirations and familial restrictions and continues to be a keynote in the portrayal and representation of British Pakistani Muslim women (Dale et al., 2002). The perceptions of the female interviewees are consonant with Ahmad's (2012) and Mellor's (2011) assertions that Islam proved to be a watershed in empowering Muslim Pakistani women and safeguarding them from patriarchal cultural customs and beliefs. Scholars contend that these second and later generations of Pakistani Muslims are also confronted with negotiating two lives. For instance, females have to counterbalance their sense of self as a Pakistani daughter or wife and the second as a British citizen (Ahmad, 2012; Ijaz & Abbas, 2010; Khattab, 2009; Dale et al., 2006). This is delved upon in the next section.

4.5.5 Multiple identities – identity crisis in the second and later generations

For the second and later generation acculturating and assimilating with the host country is not a straightforward process since this generation not only has to balance values from the East and the West (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005) but

as discussed earlier, also has to assess the compatibility of these values with Islamic principles that are free from parental homeland culture. For the second generation, eastern values such as religion, family orientation, respect for the elderly, and tradition were a crucial aspect of their upbringing, which were often encouraged and at times imposed by the first generation onto this group in order to keep alive and maintain eastern roots in the U.K. Likewise, western cultural values such as individualism, also play an important role in their lives as it is instilled through education, media, friends, and interactions with the host society. According to Sekhon & Szmigin (2005, 2011), these aspects of the second and later generations have not been fully explored in light of the acculturation theory. They exhort that most of the previous research such as that of Penaloza (1994) and Wallendorf & Brucks (1993) was focused on exploring the acculturation and assimilation in the first generation of immigrants resulting in a lack of research on the concerns, conflicts, issues, and experiences of the second and later generations. Sekhon & Szmigin (2005) highlights that as the second and later generations of Indian Punjabis are raised by the 1st generation in Britain, they are confronted with issues that although are different from their parents, but these issues are no less critical or significant to their selves, their respective position in the community and possibly the most crucial the interplay between their ethnicity and their identity. Similar to their parents they have to encounter various polarized and conflicting issues, but these issues have little to do with acculturation and are more concerned with issues spanning the two cultures and finding ways to circumnavigate such issues. These issues are of different hues, such as coping with the expectations of the family or dealing with the day-to-day perceptual contradictions and conflicts that may have an impact on their lives. Since both acculturation and ethnicity of the second and later generations may be implicitly and explicitly affected by the between two cultural values and the subsequent conflicts, understanding these negotiations are central for our conceptualization of the phenomenon (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005). These conflicts are palpable from Aneela's (2nd generation) conversation:

When we were little, you know... We were told by our elders that.... you should wear the shalwar qameez... You should wear the duppata... You should wear this... You should wear that... You should speak Urdu... And there was a lot of emphasis on that, and I do understand why our parents did that because they were obviously first you know... They had come over and they didn't want to lose those ties with the country back home... But I feel that this generation is different... My generation as we've grown up... We do not have the same associations that our parents did and even though I've spent quite a few years in Pakistan as a child I feel that my thinking and my values are not that Pakistani as perhaps somebody who is born in Pakistan... So, I do feel that there are parts of me which are very much... The so-called British culture... But there are parts of me which are Pakistani culture... I try to... kind of... Resolve this conflict that people usually have... You know... In terms of what our parents expect us to be or what we should be or what we can be over who we really are... To be honest, I try to rise above that, and I think I try and associate myself more with the Muslim culture rather than ethnic culture (Aneela, 2nd generation)

Thus, Aneela portrays how she has to negotiate two different facets of her life, the British identity which she associates with as she grew in the U.K., and the ethnic identity that she inherited from her parents. According to Alexander (2000), it is the interplay of the multiple intersecting identities that are part of an individual's identity that results in his/her unique individuality that is paramount in the understanding of identity. Accordingly, it will be inappropriate to consider ethnicity as a fixed proprietary of a particular person or group. This type of essentialist view is centric with new racism and its misconstruing of cultural differences (Solomos & Back, 1995). Most individuals upon waking upon every morning do not need validation to know who is inhabiting their body. In the day-to-day routines, people operate within social roles that are familiarly theirs and which are generally situated in a specific time and place and are contextually contingent (Alam & Husband, 2006). This perspective has been reinforced by Jenkins (2004) who states that everyone is engaged in managing a number of identities that are generally actuated by different interactions such as with friends, neighbours, or strangers. There is no single

all-encompassing identity. For this reason, it is pertinent to consider that every individual is actively negotiating their biographical continuity which is the process of maintaining relationships across space and time, through both social relations and daily routines. Identity, therefore, is a creative and active social process that is not a fixed or static property of a person (Jenkins, 2004). These negotiations are accentuated by Nida in her narrative of how she started wearing the hijab when she was very young till her time in the university:

So, we started wearing the hijab very young... I was in primary six when my mom and my Gran said that you have to cover your head... Didn't understand why we had to do it... So, we were going to school with these big dupattas (long Pakistani scarfs)... It wasn't even a scarf... It was those big dupattas... You know... You did not know how to control... You're a kid in essence... You want to run around but at the same time, you know... You're told you can't play with the boys and you can't do this... But then you have a class full of boys and you are still a kid... As the understanding came as to why it's important to cover ourselves up... Again, we were very fortunate... We were allowed to make our own choices when we grew up... If I had decided that I did not want to wear a hijab after understanding why... That was my choice, and I chose, and I understood and I appreciate my religion... My dad and my uncles and my phuppos (aunts) were all understanding... They understood that we didn't live in a segregated society. The boundaries were still there but they understood that it's okay to go to a mixed school and if you have to work in a group that is mixed... it's ok, but keep your boundaries... You're allowed to talk to boys... Yes, you will have a laugh with them but do not exceed those boundaries... So, we weren't allowed to obviously date... All that was forbidden to us and I think because we understood our boundaries, we kept them... Again, as I said there was a lot of difficulty for some of my friends... There were a lot of difficulties... They went on and explained to their dads... Look it's okay for us to be able to do this in a manner that is appropriate... (Nida, 3rd generation)

The central theme of Nida's narrative is that of choice. She reflects upon the different phases of her life and how wearing a scarf has now become her personal choice. The choice of a scarf is seen by her contemporaries as

compatible with the life of modern educated working women and to a certain degree is in fact an enabler for a Muslim woman in her negotiations with the Western world. Identities are maintained through selective comparison. People expect their in-group comparisons to conform to the values and behavior of the in-group which consists of individuals who share mutual positive pleasure in, and commitment to shared norms. Likewise, it is to be expected that the outgroup comparisons confirm their identities by exhibiting that they are different from the out-group and are glad of it (Brewer & Hewstone, 2004). Considering these dynamics of identity from the religio-ethnic lens, it can be seen that when individuals belonging to different ethnic communities partake in negotiating their age, gender, class, or belief system that ethnic differences become problematic. In case the out-group and in-group comparisons are unable to provide positive reinforcements, identities become vulnerable and conflicted. In such situations, an individual is likely to adopt one of a range of strategies. If in-group and out-group comparisons result in negative feedback, then individuals may leave the group. Thus, even though the older generation holds on to the norms and values of their ancestral land which are distant and unfamiliar to the second and later generation that grew up in Britain, the younger generation may attempt to reject this ethnic identity or steer it marginal in their everyday portrayal of the self. Alternatively, by engaging in cultural creativity, they may seek to introduce new criteria, factors, and attributes into the range of norms and behaviors that regulate acceptable ethnic group membership (Alam & Husband, 2006). In this study, it is seen that the appropriateness of the cultural values and norms of the homeland is not only contingent upon their conformation with the religious beliefs of the younger generations but also requires positive approval from the host society.

Delving on the lives and experiences of young British Sikh women Anwar (1998) infers that the idea of being caught in the middle of two cultures suggests that young adults are simply trapped in a vacuum, in some form of a cultural desert. Bhachu (1985) also exhorts that the impression prevalent in the British media and academic literature that the second and later generations of British Asians are stuck between two contradictory lifestyles and can do little

but give in and assent tacitly to the cultural values imposed by their parents is not necessarily accurate and is somewhat exaggerated. These contentions are particularly relevant in this research project. If it is to be surmised that these generations of British Pakistanis are not passive victims of their circumstances, then it can be argued that they play an active role in choosing their roles within the society such as deciding the degree of loyalty or the extent of integration to host versus home country values and culture (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005, 2011). As the second and later generations are encountering continually varying values and culture they are constantly adjusting, changing, and adapting their behavior in an attempt to counterbalance integration into both cultures (Sekhon & Szmigin, 2005). To conclude the second and later generations do not always consider themselves as part of the local culture or population. They are mindful of their religious and cultural differences as well as their affinity with the host culture. To a certain extent they identify and perceive themselves to be a mixture of East and West. They feel at home with their Western lifestyles but are also keen to maintain their eastern roots that do not conflict with their religious principles which as discussed previously is unadulterated from the culture of their forefathers.

4.5.6 Perceptions of British Identity and culture in different generations

In a study conducted by Modood et al. (1994) which explored the ethnic identities of the different generations of Asians in the U.K., it was found that the majority of the adolescent Asians used hyphenated labels. This qualitative study noted that the hybrid identity commonly constructed by the second generation Pakistanis in Britain was "Pakistani-British". The research expounded that most of the second generation of Asian immigrants desired to hold on to certain crucial aspects of their heritage, some amalgam of religion, family cohesion, and language likely in a customized form. The authors of this study underscored that this did not imply that they wanted segregated social lives but that they wanted to live in an ethnically, integrated mixed way. The study concluded that Asians who expressed themselves in terms of hyphenated or bicultural identities did not believe that there was an inevitable

conflict or contradiction between their identities. This study however has shown that even though the second and third generation still express themselves in terms of hyphenated identities but these in the majority of the cases are not drawn on the basis of Pakistani ethnicity. Analysis of the interviews affirms that the majority of the second and later generation of British Pakistanis construct their hybrid identities drawing primarily on religion and their British identity. The following excerpts illustrate how the second and third generations articulated their hyphenated identities during the interview: -

I am 18... I am male... I just finished my A levels, and I am a British Muslim.... (Shadab, 3rd generation)

My name is Hayyan ... I am a British born Muslim I am married, and I have two young children... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

I am a British Muslim... (Sania, 2nd generation)

I think if I just wanted to identify myself, I would just call myself a British Muslim... (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Thus, it can be inferred that the majority of the second and third generation while coining their hyphenated identities couple their British Identity with their religious identity which has eclipsed their ethnic identity. This corroborates our discussion that the role of Pakistani culture is on the decline in the second and later generations and this is also being evinced in their hybrid identities. These generations believe that they are British because they have embraced on account of having grown up in the U.K., a way of life and certain values which they consider as typically British or Western as opposed to being characterized as Pakistani. It is posited from the analysis of the interviews that this feeling of Britishness can generally coincide without conflict with a strong sense of affiliation to Islam. These assertions are in line with Jacobson (1997a) who contends that these individuals do not have to choose between being British and practicing their religion. On the contrary elements from both these identities can be combined without an inevitable conflict. This perspective of

identity has implications for consumption and consumer acculturation which is discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

To the question enquiring about what it means to be British, there was a sense of unanimity within the different generations on certain aspects encompassing the cultural boundary of Britishness. For the different generations of British Pakistani, the common markers of Britishness revolved around manners and behaviors they perceived were quintessential with British Culture. While defining her perception of the British culture the following comments were made to me by Rani (1st generation):

We have taken the best out of the English culture.... Like being honest... Not telling lies... Cleanliness... Whereas, you will find that... I am not saying anything about Pakistan, but the people that are here, I find that if they have come from a village in Pakistan... Over the years when you go inside their house, it's exactly the same as they were in the village. They have not taken anything from this culture. Whereas for us I find that we have got the best of both worlds. (Rani, 1st generation)

Rani considers cleanliness, being honest as crucial markers of British culture. She is of the opinion that these aspects are lacking in the Pakistani culture particularly amongst those people who have migrated from small towns and villages in Pakistan. Similarly, Owais (Second generation) narrates an incident to highlight the civilities of the British Culture:

When we came back from Egypt after the riots happened and all that craziness and tanks in the street... we went to the local store Asda or wherever it was ... Bought all my shopping... No discussions, no arguing, nobody skipping a queue... But in Egypt, there was an argument just to get in the car, argument on the way there, don't smoke please in the car, don't open the window please, don't do this, don't do that... Yeah... So, the culture is a big part... The taxi drivers there... If they had the culture which we have here, they will never speak like that ... you know ... (Owais, 2nd generation)

In this case, Owais associates hassle-free interactions that are without any arguments the essence of British culture. Other discernible attributes such as simplicity and individualism which are perceived to be associated with the British culture has been accentuated by Fiza (1st generation)

Some of the British values are important... I have seen husband and wife living their lives and they do not make it a big deal... you know. They do not live like celebrities. They just live very... you know... they just earn money all week and on weekends they just relax with their family, with their immediate family. So they have brought too much peace in their lives. I am not talking about everybody. Many British must be doing those other things as well. But the ones I know, like my neighbors... I know my neighbors... They are English, I find them very peaceful. I have seen them living with their own family... husband, wife, and their one daughter... They are straightforward. If they like a girl, they just marry her. They do not have to have opinions of the whole 100 members of their family. So, they just propose and they marry. They just straightway go and do their registration. (Fiza, 1st generation)

For Fiza the individualistic facets of the British culture are important. She emphasizes the fact that the majority of the people in the U.K. live as a nuclear family. She gives the example of marriage to show the lack of interference in the British culture as opposed to the Pakistani culture in which couples have to take into consideration the opinions of a number of family members. All these views and perceptions of British culture are akin to Jacobson (1997a), who suggests that the cultural boundary of Britishness is typified by those people whose lifestyle, values, and behavior are perceived as British. The researcher asserts that elucidating what Britishness means for individuals from the cultural boundary perspective can be somewhat ambiguous since the perception of British Culture can comprise a wide variety of aspects. For instance, she asserts that to be culturally British entails being associated with the majority language, cultural heritage of Britain; to be able to demonstrate behavior seemingly characterized as British such as tolerance, moderation, modest in an individual's everyday life; to have familiarity with the famous British personalities of the time; to be cognizant of the popular fashion, speech,

and food; to be aware of the crucial political and social institutions of contemporary Britain as well as the individualist norms and values rooted within them. Thus, it is reasoned that the cultural boundary of Britishness assumes different facets for different sections of the British population and can perhaps best be construed as consisting of a constantly shifting blend of many of the aforementioned and other elements (Jacobson, 1997a). In this study, it is evident from the participants' accounts that various cultural boundary perspectives that are not mutually exclusive are maintained within the Pakistani ethnic community.

To the majority of the interviewees, particularly the second and the third generation the U.K. was seen as the place one feels at home in, familiar with, and to a certain degree even rooted in when they were asked to give their opinion of how it would feel to live in Pakistan. These opinions are reflected by the second generations in the following manner:

At this stage of my life... The number of years I've spent... I think it'll be very difficult to move... Just culturally, not because of being a Muslim country... Culturally, I think it would be difficult for me now and also just weather-wise, family-wise, friends-wise... You will be starting up a new life... I think it would be difficult for me. (Sania, 2nd Generation)

I have had enough exposure to the British culture for me to feel at home in this country and if I were to move to Pakistan right now, I will probably feel alienated for a little while at least (Waleed, 2nd generation)

4.6 Cultural brokers

Consistent with the methodology discussed in Chapter 5, after the data gathering and after the initial stages of analysis, we begin cycling (recursively scouring) between emergent data, themes, concepts, and dimensions and the relevant literature, not only to see whether what we are finding has precedents, but also whether we have discovered new concepts. It is here where while looking upon the different generations I stumbled upon the role of the 1.5 generation as Cultural Brokers. Cultural brokers are individuals who are

considered to maintain interactions and participation in the mainstream culture and also with one or more minority cultures (Herogz, 1972). These people are able to navigate multiple cultures and function as cultural and language bridges among cultures. Consequently, cultural brokers occupy a unique position as they are able to communicate the values and nuances of the mainstream culture to the minority culture and vice versa (Singh et al., 1999). These individuals are thus able to competently experience and socialize life in two cultures and actively participate in both the ethnic and mainstream cultures. In several studies, members of this community have reported serving as cultural brokers for their family members. Instances where the 1.5 generation function as cultural brokers for their families include educating and providing guidance about appropriate U.S cultural norms or by being an English translator (Kim et al., 2003; Padilla, 1994).

These traits coincided with one of my interviewees “Rani”. She is a “1.5” generation immigrant who migrated to the U.K. from Pakistan at the age of eight. There were several aspects of her life that were distinct from members of the first generation and akin to those hailing from the “1.5”. To begin with, she had a job working as a librarian. Although some of the first generation females I interviewed occasionally did help their male counterparts in their shops or were involved in other types of blue collar jobs at different stages of their lives, none of them ever had an office job like Rani. Another aspect that is quintessential to the 1.5 generation is their fluency in English and their indigenous language. Also, they have a high degree of socialization in both the host culture and the home culture (Hurr, 1990). Both these characteristics were elicited by Rani. Consider her responses to the questions pertaining to socialization.

Interviewer: And what are the groups with which you associate now?

Respondent: Mainly, it's just family and friends because now I am busy in the house. Because I took early retirement due to my mom being ill, I keep in contact with

my friends that I have worked with for a number of years, and then it's just family.

Interviewer: And are most of the people you identify with now of the same ethnic origin as you?

Respondent: No... There are some Scottish ones. Quite a few are Scottish and the majority of them are of the same ethnic group as me... (Rani)

From her conversation, it was clear that in addition to her family and friends of the same ethnicity a large part of her social network also comprises of the locals, especially those that she has worked with during her job. This was not the case with the other first generation women I interviewed that were in the same age group. The majority of them were not fluent in English and for most of them their contacts with the locals were limited only to their neighbours. Similarly, in line with Lee (2001) her experiences and attitudes towards schooling were different from those of the second generation:

“When we started school although I was between 8 and 9, I was put in a little baby's class to start with learning the basic language for about 6 months then after that, I was put up with my proper age class... There was a girl called Hameeda and a girl called Salma, I was sat in between them. So, whenever the teacher would say something, they used to explain to me that this is what the teacher was asking. I was able to do the work like the maths. English was a problem, but I was able to do Math and arithmetic, no problem. When it came to English I had to stay in after school finished at 4. I had to spend an hour after that, and the teacher used to give one-to-one English lectures.” (Rani)

Rani's experiences were consistent with previous findings (Kim et al., 2003; Hurh, 1990), according to which while not having English proficiency is a major problem for most immigrants, it could cause a bigger difficulty for 1.5-generation individuals given that they are in their formative years of education. The struggle to grapple with English is evident when she has to take extra classes and sit in between two Pakistani girls who act as a medium (translator)

to help her understand what the teacher is saying. In her words, it was the hardest thing to overcome when she moved to the U.K.

“I wasn’t able to speak a single word of English so that was the hardest part for me that I couldn’t understand anything because I think in Pakistan, they started English in primary, in class 5 in those days in Quetta and that was literally just abc and that was it.” (Rani)

However, in line with the current research, these individuals usually overcome this difficulty given their young age as was the case with Rani. It should be noted that these experiences are quite unique to the 1.5 generation and are completely different from those of the first generation who came here as adults or the second generations who were born here and speak English as their first language and who have problems communicating in their native language i.e. Urdu.

Rani’s case elicited the ability of the 1.5 generation to ease into the British culture. She had a job, her network included a large number of native people and she eventually became fluent in English. The ability of this generation to also operate proficiently in the Pakistani ethnic culture is evident from the example of Khalid another member of the 1.5 generation who is the father of two of my interviewees Arsalan and Malik. When I met him for the first time he was conversing in Punjabi and it would have been next to impossible to distinguish him from the locals in Pakistan. He was familiar with the city of Lahore as if he had lived there for his entire life. After the initial introductions, I observed him proficiently conversing with his children and grandchildren in English as they were unable to effectively communicate in Urdu.

From the analysis of the interviews the impact of the 1.5 generation on their children the “2.5” generation can also be construed which better elucidates some of the observations and findings of the study. I have noticed during my interviews that the majority of members of the 2.5 generations prefer to communicate in English with their families as opposed to Urdu and are more

inclined either towards one or the other parent. Take the example of one of my respondents Arsalan, the son of Khalid.

“I'm more towards my dad than I am to my mom because my mom came over when she was in her 20s and she's got that in the back of her mind that she is Pakistani more than she is British whereas my dad came over when he was young and he is more British.” (Arsalan, 2nd generation)

This can also go the opposite way as well. One of my interviewees Abdullah (1.5 generation) told me that his wife who migrated from Pakistan is very religious and adherent of the Pakistani culture whereas he had rarely ever gone to Pakistan and has almost no connection with it. Moreover, in his conversation, he said that he is not a very practicing Muslim. He further emphasized that the wife however paid particular attention to inculcate these religious and cultural values in his daughters and now they are very close to her rather than him.

It needs to be underscored that the unanticipated discovery of cultural brokers after the data collection phase and during the initial phases of the analysis facilitated in putting into perspective certain attitudes and behaviors of the 1.5 generation. However, due to the insufficient number of interviewees of this generation and therefore insufficient data we could not pursue theorizing this line of research in much detail. The paucity of the interviews of this generation and its implication has been acknowledged in the limitation section of the methodology. Nevertheless, the importance and novelty of the concept warranted highlighting and discussing this phenomenon here. Moreover, various suggestions on how future research can explore the role of cultural brokers have also been deliberated upon in Chapter 6.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter seeks to understand the significance and relevance of the religious, ethnic, and host culture identities in the British Pakistani ethnic community. It is seen that religious identity is the most valued and given precedence over all other identities. The findings also indicate that the bonds

of ethnic identity are attenuating in the second and third generations. Analysis of the interviews also elicits that the majority of the second and later generation of British Pakistanis construct their hybrid identities drawing primarily on religion and their British identity.

Chapter 5 Findings and Discussion – Consumption

“Nowadays here in the U.K. within our family circles weddings are completely different from how they used to be celebrated in the past. I remember when my daughter Sania (aged 47) got married. Back then relatives, friends, acquaintances from all across the U.K. started arriving at our house days before the marriage. There were so many guests in the house that one could not find a place to sleep even on the floor. There was mehndi, dholki¹, singing, and dancing. We even hired a limousine to take the Dhulla (groom) and Dhullan (Bride) to their honeymoon suite. Now children don’t practice these celebrations. During the wedding, men and women are segregated. Most of the time You can’t even meet the male members of the family. The festivities do not last that long. I long for the weddings of the past” (Binish, 1st generation, aged 82, excerpt translated into English from Urdu)

Binish’s depiction of her daughter’s marriage illustrates how immigrants endeavour to reproduce the cultural images of the rituals and celebrations of their homeland in their new settings. According to Turner (1974) in rituals, individuals are inspired and desire what they must do. In this regard, the performance of a ritual is akin to the sublimation process. He further explicates that the symbolic nature of rituals actually forms a society for pragmatic purposes. Rituals, therefore, are not just festive activities or mere actions that are performed on social occasions, but they entail social and multiple level symbolic meanings for those individuals who acknowledge and practice them. In other words, it means that by participating and engaging in rituals, people ratify the authenticity of the ritual and the prevailing societal order and structure (Durrani & Khan, 2014). While settling in a new country, transnational immigrants naturalise and transplant cultural practices and categories. According to (Chatterji & Washbrook, 2014), culture as a mode of social

¹ Dholki is a ceremonial ritual that gets its name from the percussion music instrument Dholki which is heavily featured during wedding celebrations in Punjab, Pakistan. It is customary that women will get together in the house of the bride for several nights before the actual wedding to sing and dance at the tune of the dholki (Wikipedia Contributors, 2019).

interaction is not static or inert. It endows agency within a field of power relations and sociality. In this sense, culture can be conceptualized primarily as a field of relatedness and transaction. It can also be conceived as an experiential force. Finally, culture embodies a field of political power and is seen as a discursive expression of identity, selfhood, moral virtue, and subjectivity. In these three respects, the immigrant culture comes across as a “real” force generating creativity, defensive mobilisation, and social conflict. Because of these traits, culture cannot be frozen in time or space, reified, or simply dismissed. With this in mind, the scholarly challenge then is one of exploring ritual and religious observance, practice, and organisation as they materialize in the new environment and respond to the relocations and dislocations of culture in the context of ethnic communities (Chatterji & Washbrook, 2014).

Chatterji & Washbrook (2014) note that the rituals celebrated by immigrants in their new home country are typically elaborated with cultural objects and images that are derived from and rooted in their homeland. This transplanting of images and cultural objects from one cultural context to another is a prominent aspect of the migration process. However, it is noteworthy that the theoretical concern such transference of ritual practices raises has been minutely explored in the literature on migration. Furthermore, very few attempts have been made to comprehensively and systematically interpret and understand the transferred rituals, analysing how particular symbols are used during particular sequences of rites in the immigrant communities. Anthropological studies have mostly explored rituals in their natural setting. In the natural setting the concerns and beliefs that are intrinsic to the ritual, in fact, the paraphernalia and very substances of performance are all grounded in the context in which the ritual is being practiced. Nonetheless, research and emphasis on symbolic performances as enacted by individuals in their home country have also resulted in seminal insights crucial for understanding transferred rituals. Similarly, there is a need to examine how ethnic communities reconstitute the taken for granted rites and symbols with an immediate and direct significance on their everyday world. That is to say, there

is a need to explore the ways in which a ritual becomes naturalised in the new environment (Chatterji & Washbrook, 2014).

In the pursuit of conceptualizing rituals in the context of ethnic communities Chatterji & Washbrook (2014) cautions that researchers should avoid a number of reductive approaches. They assert that the most inefficacious approach is the one that assumes transferred rituals simply as a vehicle for boundary marking. Such an approach signifies that the cultural images which the rituals are comprised of are deemed to be anachronistic and therefore inert as if the rituals have been emptied in being transferred. This particular approach, which is fixated on boundaries, curtails the continued force that transferred rituals have. Likewise, the replication approach is also problematic as it does not consider cultural dislocation an issue and assumes that in such cases there is no need for cultural innovations. Both approaches curtail the ability of the transferred rituals to reconcile past and present in and through images and metaphors. To accentuate the reconciling of the past and present warrants analysis of how the symbols and tropes of rituals as practiced by the immigrant communities revive the fundamental ideas about the individual, kinship and filiation, ethical dispositions, moral obligations, culture, and customs as well as gender relations. It also needs to be underlined that it is through performance that rituals reclaim their sense of naturalness and validity.

That being said, it should also be noted that culture once presumed to be axiomatic in the natural context, can also be challenged, questioned, and criticised in the context of ethnic communities living in distant countries. As Hall & King (2005) points out, they are hybrid formations, evolving by the encounter with very different receiving contexts. He contends that cultural and religious movements and evolution do not take into account any territorial, political, or administrative boundaries. Rituals and ideas once considered sacrosanct, static, and fixed are modified sometimes irrevocably, and in certain situations beyond recognition (Akhtar, 2014).

As discussed in the identity chapter a significant finding that emerged while exploring the various identities of the British Pakistani community is that members of this community, especially the second and subsequent generations rejected the ethnic culture which is generally associated with the elder generation that is perceived to be rooted and practised in Pakistan. The study results further indicate that this void that evolves due to the rejection of ethnic identity is filled by a more authentic religious identity that adheres to a more textual interpretation of Islam (for details see chapter 4). These findings are in line with Bolognani & Mellor (2012) who note that this new way of practising Islam which is poles apart from the spurious cultural one that is peculiar to the first generation is being embraced by various segments of the Muslim community particularly the upwardly mobile students who are critical of the practices of the migration generation. This de-coupling of religion and culture (Ballard, 2006) amongst the younger generation in fact serves as a means for emancipation from cultural restrictions (Akhtar, 2014). Moreover, our study substantiated that it is too simplistic to assume a conflict between the religious practices between the different generations of this community. There is substantial evidence that the second and later generations influence the religious assertions of their parents which according to Akhtar (2014) results in the evolution of a socially participative form of religious practice that fosters a space for individuals belonging to any generation to engage in communal activities. The sentiments of decoupling of religion are reflected by Imran in the following ways:

I think culture is not that important for me because, in our Pakistani culture, many things are happening, which should not be. For example, they have a culture of following their parents. I think it should not be like that. You know the way we act in marriages, it's a social issue. When a boy or girl is born, what should we do, it's a social issue. The way the marriages are arranged back home, it's a part of the Indian culture which is now Pakistani culture, but it's got nothing to do with Islam, so I think if anything contradicts with Islam, we have to leave it irrespective of whether it's Pakistani or British. (Imran 1st generation)

The takeaway from Imran's passage is that there are certain norms and customs in Pakistan practised during special events that are in direct contradiction with the religion of Islam and should be rejected. These views of Imran resonate with the majority of the interviewees and are a reflection of the reconfiguration in the religious and ethnic attitudes of this ethnic community. The implications of these transformations in the context of ritualistic consumption are discussed in detail in the next section.

5.1 Incongruence of religious identity and ritualistic consumption

Scholars surmise that in the U.K. certain customs that are indigenous to Pakistan do not overlap and in most cases conflict with the allegedly universal, acultural, and pure way of practising Islam that is rooted in the literal interpretations of the religious texts (McLoughlin, 2005; Bolognani & Mellor, 2012). This study provides an empirical substantiation of these claims by exploring ritualistic consumption in the following contexts

- Prewedding rituals (mehndi)
- Milad (Celebrating the birth of Prophet Muhammad)
- Quran Khawani (Communal reading of the Quran)
- Death Rituals

5.1.1 Pre-wedding rituals

According to Werbner (2014) in Pakistan, the pre-wedding rituals are the most elaborate within a complex chain of wedding rites. The female henna ritual, which is also known as mehndi, laylat al-hinna, or kina gecesi, is one of the most notable pre-wedding rituals in Pakistani weddings. It is pertinent to note that similar to India (Raheja & Gold, 1994), the Pakistani mehndi (ritual painting of hands and feet with henna; Werbner, 1986) is an affair for bawdy singing, transgressive masquerade, and sexual clowning (Werbner, 2014). The Mehndi ceremony facilitates songs, dramas, creative inventiveness, and culturally hybrid objects. In doing so, this ritual becomes a source of expression and

revitalization of the aesthetic performances, food, music, and dance of the homeland. During the ceremony, the groom is subjected to sexually suggestive joking, hazing, and forced feeding by the female members from the bride's side which symbolizes the control and power of the women over the domestic affairs (Werbner, 2014). It is posited that such rituals accentuate the uninhabited expressive sexuality of South Asian women (Raheja & Gold, 1994). Not surprisingly the majority of the interviewees disapproved of the mehndi celebration due to the religious infractions which the mehndi ceremony entails. Rani (1st generation) in her account emphasises the dancing that goes on in weddings to highlight the religious infringements prevalent in Pakistani weddings.

When they have weddings in the U.K., I am talking about generally, just like in Pakistani weddings there are dances at the weddings, which in Islam they should not have.... What I have noticed in a lot of Pakistani weddings that I have been to in the U.K... the children that have been born and brought up here without much religion in the background, that's exactly what they are doing. (Rani 1st generation)

In Rani's opinion, these profanities that go on in Pakistani weddings and which are also being emulated in the British Pakistani communities in the U.K. are because of their religious ignorance. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that extravagance has become synonymous with weddings in Pakistan. Qadeer (2006) discusses the evolution of the wedding ceremony, particularly the Mehndi into a conspicuous and lavish consumption affair in Pakistan. He observes that by the 2000s weddings in Pakistan had evolved into an ostentatious event spreading over a number of days. They have become occasions for asserting the social status of the families involved and showcasing their associations with the powerful and the rich. How splendid were the meals, how influential and popular were the wedding guests, how sparkling and costly were the receptions? All these aspects are becoming the defining standards for good weddings. Qadeer further notes that the Mehndi rituals also have made a comeback with sumptuous feasts, dancing, and music. Modern props have transformed the Mehndi ceremonies into unending

celebrations. Loudspeakers blast movie songs, high-quality videos are shot of marriage ceremonies even by families of modest means in which the bride and the groom's families are exquisitely illuminated. The wealthy have themed feasts and decorations which are coordinated by event managers. A veritable industry comprising banquet halls, dressmakers, caterers, jewellers, and decorators has proliferated all across Pakistan for weddings (Qadeer, 2006). This overindulgence in conspicuous consumption is what some of the participants like Fiza (1st generation) found antithetical to the teachings of Islam:

My culture brings many kinds of extravagant weddings, and you know spending a lot on these things. But as now I am knowing more of my religion, and I know more of you know.... Realities of life.... That these kinds of things are taking you nowhere and you just end up becoming too materialistic... it's ending up with nothing. So, I have... you can say... I try not to attend these kinds of events anymore. People know that...people say that you are very rigid. I have boycotted them. Although they are my family, they are very close to me, but we have boycotted them. Although culture is very important for me. But anything which brings nonsense or irrelevance I am not going to go... when I was talking about weddings, that's all Hindu culture.... I boycotted my husband's family. They believe in having very extravagant weddings. Initially I really, really liked it, and I said that's something which is missing from my life. Why don't I live like that? I do not know what happened. Eventually, I really got fed up with that. I said it's not me. It's not me whatever I am getting into... it's not me. I do not want my son to be grown up like that. It's too materialistic. I am not sure about you... personally you... but you know the families who are living here... so I just say no... so we just attend a one-day function... with a few hours. (Fiza, 1st generation)

Fiza believes that as she became more familiar with Islamic teachings, she started to distance herself from the lavish and extravagant weddings, which has become ingrained into the Pakistani wedding culture. Her dislike for such opulence and ostentatiousness resulted in her even boycotting her immediate family. In her upbraiding of Pakistani weddings, she alluded to many of the

practices as being rooted in Hindu culture. According to Shrivastava (2006), Indian and Pakistani marriages share common cultural patterns. From amongst the many customs that are common, Mehndi (henna) has always been central. In this respect, Qadsia (2nd generation) pinpoints various practices that she ascribes to the Hindu culture, that are being practiced in Pakistani weddings:

Well according to my understanding... what I've seen that happens here... it's just crazy... so the ritual with milk... the dude pillai (the females from the bride's sides compel the groom to drink milk. After he drinks the milk, he is supposed to present them with money and gifts) yeah and the kind of the fighting and the fun that goes on with that and a lot of things like that also came from Hinduism.... sweeping money over people's heads and things like that and those types of rituals... throwing rice that's Pakistani as well... Mehndi... and things like that... yeah, so again we were supposed to take everything from the Sunnah of the Prophet and the way he did things and also if you even look at it like you know basically flirting that goes on at weddings between boys and girls even the fact that they're together they should be segregated, and you know so there are issues with that... free mixing issues and also just the fact that it's going against the Sunnah which is an innovation which is not acceptable (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

As was evident in the narratives of Qadsia and Fiza, one of the recurring themes used by the interviewees to explain the chasm between religion and the Pakistani Mehndi rituals is that it is rooted and based on Hindu traditions which are contaminating the Islamic nikah (ceremony held to celebrate the signing of the wedding contract; Werbner, 1986). The participants ascribed the Mehndi ceremony and the associated festivities as remnants of the Hindu culture that should be rejected and replaced by more sober and Islamic rituals. These changing sentiments towards Pakistani weddings have also caused a change in how weddings are being celebrated in the U.K. within a certain section of this community that adheres to the strict interpretations of Islamic injunctions. Hoor's observation in this regard is as follows:

I think it has come to a point where people do not want to be sat next to sort of non-mehrams (people that a person is allowed to marry) ... you could see they would just not attend weddings any more or they would ask for a separate room... I have seen it a few times. Yeah, they had part of the hall sectioned off with just a little sort of boards so that people that wear niqabs and scarfs can just feel at ease. (Hoor, 2nd generation).

Hoor's narration indicates how weddings in the U.K. are being organized to facilitate the changing attitudes of people towards the Pakistani wedding customs and practices due to their religious orientations. In case the wedding arrangements do not enable them to comply with their religious obligations, then according to Hoor, they either do not attend the weddings or as was the case with Fiza, limit their participation.

5.1.2 Milad (celebrating the birth of Prophet Muhammad)

Milad is a major ritual that is celebrated in honour of Prophet Muhammad's birth. According to Akhtar (2014) unlike other Islamic religious festivals, which are celebrated during certain times of the year for only a few days, the whole month of the birth of the Prophet is revered, and celebrations take place throughout the month. During the Prophet's birthday, the whole house is cleaned and adorned with celebration lights and unique banners which are generally green in colour. People gather in each other's houses to recite the Quran, send greetings to the Prophet, sing poems of praise, and hear the life stories of the Prophet. Larger Milad gatherings are organized in mosques in which special guest speakers deliver speeches highlighting the life of Prophet Muhammad. In such events, specialist performers sing nasheed/naat (Islamic songs/poetry praising the prophet), and participants compete in nasheed Karaoke contests (Akhtar, 2014). According to Nestorovic (2016) in certain ways, the celebrations taking place during the Milad resemble Ramadan celebrations and also share certain similarities with the Christian celebrations of Christmas in the West. He contends that in terms of commercialization and in the context of modern consumption-driven lifestyles, it is possible to delve into the christmatisation of the Milad in the same way as a number of scholars

illustrate the christmatisation of Ramadan (Sandikci & Omeraki, 2007). However, this celebration which is fervently celebrated in Pakistan and is considered an important religious ritual was denounced by many of my participants as it was in contradiction with their religious views:

I don't do that... because the prophet (SAW) never told us to celebrate birthdays... he never encouraged it... it's not part of his Sunnah... in that sense, it's a biddah and every biddah leads to hell fire... so that's the reason... It is innovative matters in our Deen... in our religion... things that you know we're not supposed to be doing because if you then say or makeup something and say we should do this then you're basically... because the prophet (SAW) had taught us our religion in its entirety... on his the last speech Allah revealed that today I have completed your religion for you... and so in a way by acting against that what we're saying is that he didn't complete his mission so we are saying that he failed in his mission and we are saying that we know better and you know obviously these things are not permissible... (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

This stance of Qadsia resonated with the convictions of many of my participants who believed that such practices and rituals had nothing to do with the pure teachings of the Holy Quran or the practices of the Prophet Muhammad. Similar to the views of Qadsia, they claimed that the Milad was unnecessary religious innovation because neither the Prophets nor his companions ever celebrated it. To them, such rituals are equivalent to biddah (innovation in religion) and are thus unnecessary and reprehensible. Sarah also associates this ritual with innovation:

The Prophet's Birthday... no... we don't celebrate it... and we've never celebrated it... Apparently, it's Biddah... Biddah is the innovation making things up that aren't actually from our Prophet Muhammad peace be upon him... it's just like an extra thing that you're not supposed to do... like birthdays... the prophet's birthday and things like that.... I don't celebrate it, and the family don't celebrate it either... (Sarah, 2nd generation)

The responses of Qadsia and Sarah about celebrating the birth of the Prophet is a case in point that illustrates the divergence of religious norms and mores between the British Pakistani community who adhere to the strict interpretation of global Islam and the prevailing religious culture in Pakistan. It shows how a religious ritual, taken as axiomatic and assumed as sacrosanct and fixed in the natural context, can be questioned in the ethnic context, and that too on the grounds of religion.

5.1.3 Quran khawani (communal reading of the Quran)

In Pakistan, Khatam Quran is a communal Quran reading ritual after which there is a ritual of a commensal meal offering (Werbner, 2020). The Khatam Quran ritual is held on various occasions such as moving into a new house, thanking god for recovery from illness or accidents, starting a new job or a difficult task, and commemorating the deceased (Chatterji & Washbrook, 2014). During this ritual, the guests sit on a clean sheet that is spread on the floor and read all the thirty chapters of the Quran in one go. Since there are a number of guests, each one has to read a portion of the Quran. Most of the time people also invite a Maulvi (the person who leads prayers in a mosque) of a local mosque, who comes with his students to read the Quran and who offers a dua (prayer) at the end in which he supplicates to fulfil the objective for which the Khatam was being held. Sarah (2nd generation) reminiscences about how they used to celebrate this function in their grandmother's house when they used to visit Pakistan:

It was in the daddie's (grandma's) house that we use to do it... so we used to attend them as kids, and it's just like if something bad gets in your house or if somebody passed away... Chaliswa (Khatam organized to seek reward for the deceased)... things like that... We have done them, but we don't believe in them anymore apparently... the thing is that sometimes a family is like... we don't believe in this anymore and I'm like... alright, okay... but I look into it for the reasons why... I'm kind of more inclined to say you know what, ok you don't believe in it, but I'll look into it and then I'll tell you if I believe in it or not... (Sarah 2nd generation).

Sarah affirms that she, along with her family, does not celebrate this ritual anymore. Sarah's emphasis that she does not take religious directives at face value and prefers to do her own research is a typical attribute of the second generation who puts a lot of emphasis on the literal interpretations of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. The prevailing tone on the ritual of Quran Khawani amongst the British Pakistani community particularly the younger generation is evident in the narrative of Qadsia (2nd generation):

Oh yeah... I don't go to these things anymore, but when I used to I just thought it was very odd to like you know just quickly finish Quran... finish it... finish it... so you can get the food... a lot of people were there for the food... again because it wasn't part of the Sunnah... wasn't something that we are supposed to be doing... Yeah... everything's always forty days... There is an obsession with forty, I don't know why... (Qadsia 2nd generation)

Qadsia's sarcastic remark that there is always an obsession with the number '40' signifies that she views these rituals as cultish and cultural rather than anything associated with the pure teachings of the Quran or the practices of the Prophet Muhammad. This resonates with the observations of Hoque (2019) who notes that many British Pakistanis who favoured puritanical Islam of the reformist² felt that the rituals being practised in Pakistan and to a certain extent in the U.K. within the Pakistani community are for the uneducated, rural Muslims in South Asia and should be rejected. It also conforms with the observations of Hoque (2019) that the younger generation of Muslims embraced the existential security of a back to basics principles of certainty. He reasoned that due to the epistemological deviances rampant in the Muslim world these people welcome the powerful idea that Muslims should do as the prophet did and repudiate all of the innovations or changes that came after him (Hoque, 2019).

² Puritanical Islamic of the reformists are the movements compelling to return to the teachings of Quran and Sunnah, as the pure, authentic teachings of Islam and abandoning those teachings, religious practices, and rituals that were not found to be practiced by the early Muslim converts (companions of the prophet) and whose references are not found in the teachings of Quran and the Sunnah (the sayings and practices of the Prophet Muhammad).

5.1.4 Death rituals

Pakistan's culture is distinct, having deeply rooted customs, traditions, and values. Similar to other facets of life, these cultural forces also influence death rituals and grief reactions. According to Suhail et al. (2011), in Pakistani society funeral arrangements, visiting the grave of the deceased, and continuing to supplicate for the deceased person's sin's to be forgiven is practised at both individual and collective levels. The people believe that the rituals observed after the death of an individual particularly the recitation of the Quran and providing food to the guest, neighbours, and the poor will benefit the dead in the afterlife (Suhail et al., 2011). I got a chance to participate in the funeral rites of the grandmother of Sikander which enabled me to observe how these rituals were being implemented in the U.K. Here again, the customs of providing food to the neighbours and relatives were challenged. After the burial of the deceased, I enquired about the food arrangements that are offered to the relatives and the neighbours and was told by Sikander we are not going to do that, in his words:

“It's a cultural thing and it has nothing to do with Islam”
(Sikander, 2nd generation)

The conflict between religion and rituals that are rooted in culture is apparent from Sikander's statement. Later on, we were offered food in the house. However, it was limited to only the very close relatives who came back to the house after burying the deceased, and it did not resemble the commensal meal that is typical during such occasions in Pakistan.

Another distinct death ritual is the communal gathering at certain defined intervals after bereavement, which is believed to aid in the requital of the deceased. Early on the ritual of qul is performed, which involves the recitation of the Quran. Following the death of an individual ceremonial gathering on the third, tenth, and fortieth and also on all the Thursdays before the fortieth day, are the customary bereavement rites. On these days, people pray for the departed, and the family offers a traditional rice dish (chaaval or pulao) and a sweet (halva) to the guest, relatives, and neighbours (Mughal, 2018). Fiza,

while discussing such rituals elicited her aversion to them in the following manner.

So, people think that it's religion telling you that you should give food to all of your thousand family members on somebody's death, but Islam does not say that. Islam says that if some calamity befalls upon somebody's home, then someone else should provide them with food for their ease. It's not their responsibility to arrange for a feast for the people who are coming... It's just that people have twisted their religious teachings. They have mixed it up. They do not know. So here in the U.K., I am not saying I am very young but people younger than me, I know them, when they are learning Islam and when they are putting their logic into it, they think... oh yeah, that makes more sense... why we do this... why are we making things hard? Celebrating every year a person's death, you say Barsi, I don't believe in that. I have a difference with my mother on that. We do not do Quran Khawani because I believe that reading the Quran is not going to help the deceased. All I do is make dua for him, which most of the Pakistanis do not believe. (Fiza, 1st generation)

Similar to the views of Fiza, it was found that in the eyes of a number of participants, extended public gatherings of grief and ritualized bereavements are not in line with the teachings of Islam. These sentiments resonate with the findings of Suhail et al. (2011) who report that the belief that the majority of death rituals are influenced and derived from Iranian and Hindu cultures is the root cause of their rejection amongst the Muslims adhering to global Islam that is free from the remnants of culture. In addition to them being contradictory to Islamic principles, Fiza is also critical of such ritualistic ceremonies citing them to be a further burden on the bereaved family, implying that it is a waste of money. She also highlights that she differs in these opinions from her mother, who adheres to such traditions. Moreover, on this subject, she is swayed by the rationale and justification of the younger generation who are literate and adherent of the puritanical Islam of the reformists.

Our study by exploring several rituals that are widespread and prominent in Pakistan provides empirical evidence of how such practices that were once

considered fixed and sacrosanct are transformed, sometimes irrevocably, occasionally beyond recognition away from their natural settings. The deviance of the British Pakistani ethnic community from rituals and consumption that are indigenous to Pakistan on account of it clashing with their religious assertions is an illustration of the phenomenon termed as the “religion-ethnic cultural distinction” coined by Jacobson (1997b). According to it, ethnicity is assumed to be an affair having attachments to a set of customs or traditions that are non-religious in origin and are rooted in Pakistan. According to this perception, an individual should differentiate between the universality of religious doctrines and the limited applicability and relevance of culture. The premise here is that while religious observance reflects one's acceptance of a set of absolute truths, that are recorded for eternity in the Quran and Hadith (the sayings and practices of the Prophet) and are for the benefit of humanity, ethnic identity is nothing more than the commitment to disparate customs from a far off place. To them, ethnicity is nothing more than outdated traditions from the Indian subcontinent.

Furthermore, scholars argue that this mode of Islam is seen to have a teflon quality which safeguards it from being adulterated and contaminated by the unislamic practices and customs of particular Muslim countries (Ryan, 2014). Nothing sticks to the true religion (Williams & Vashi, 2007) and things that are undesirable, unwise, or unfair are deemed to be part of the culture and can be discarded without undermining the purity of Islamic truth (Warner et al., 2012). It can be argued that the incompatibility of the Pakistani rituals and the associated consumption practices with the religious beliefs of the majority of interviewees is a manifestation of the teflon quality of Islam. The findings also illustrate how Muslims invoke their textual knowledge of the Quran and the Hadith (sayings of the Prophets) to rationalize and justify their choice of not engaging in ritualistic consumption. Religion in this case can be seen as a conscious strategy for emancipation from cultural practices and customs. Such religious interpretations bring to the fore individualised nature of the practice of Islamic consumption.

5.1.5 Ritualistic ethnic consumption construed as inauthentic

Research has often delved upon the philosophical underpinnings of authenticity, various forms of authenticity (for example, existential authenticity, objective authenticity, and constructive authenticity), and the mechanism of authentication, including hot authenticity and cool authenticity (e.g., Zhou et al., 2018; Chhabra, 2012; Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Xie, 2011; Ryan, 1997; Cohen, 1988). However, it is exhorted that contemporary research often overlooks the notion of inauthenticity, which is intrinsically intertwined with the theoretical framework of authenticity. In the eyes of Martin (2010), authenticity is inevitably implicitly assumed as a positive attribute rather than being construed as fake or plastic. This research fills this gap by accentuating how consumption rituals deemed inauthentic from the interviewees' religious standpoint are abandoned. It demonstrates one of the ways by which the interviewees attempt to achieve an authentic religious self through their consumption practices and narratives.

It needs to be underlined that this research adopts a constructivist approach to exploring the phenomenon of authenticity. Constructivists view authenticity as not a static, objectively existing, given phenomenon but as something elicited in social processes (Cohen, 1988). Accordingly, it will be more meaningful to explore authenticity from the viewpoint of the stakeholders, what Xie (2011) terms as certification or authentication. Therefore, it is asserted that the construction of authenticity and, in this case, inauthenticity emerges through negotiations of those involved (Chhabra, 2012; Vannini & Burgess, 2009).

According to Vannini & Burgess (2009), authenticity describes the quality or condition of realness. When people consider something authentic, they acknowledge that it is the real genuine thing/experience/practice and is not imitated, counterfeit, adulterated, or false. The author further expounds that when people apply this assessment to the self (self-authenticity), it is also concerned with the notions of realness or falseness. In this instance, the cognizance of authenticity or realness is the extent of congruence between

individuals' conducts and their core self-conceptions, which comprise of fundamental identities, values, and beliefs that define them and to which they are attached and devoted. Consequently, when an individual's behavior is congruent with his/her core self-conceptions, the self is validated, and the person construes the notion of authenticity. Conversely, when one's behavior does not conform with one's core self, one experiences inauthenticity.

In the context of this study, it is affirmed that religious identity is a salient aspect of the interviewees' identity and, as such, occupies a more pronounced even paramount significance in the hierarchy of multiple identities that constitute the self-concept of these individuals. It follows that for this section of the Muslim community, conforming to their religious beliefs and values has a positive valence and is a powerful intrinsic motivator that confers meaning and purpose to their life. A crucial aspect of their religious belief is to adhere to Islamic practices that are not influenced by culture (see section '4.4' for details). It is argued that practicing ritualistic consumption rooted in the ethnic culture was viewed as inauthentic to true Islam and, as such, is rejected as it prompts a sense of loss or separation for the true religious self.

To further advance the argument, we relate our findings with the motivational component of authenticity. People are motivated to believe that they are real and meaningful to themselves (Vannini & Burgess, 2009; George, 1998). Individuals exist in a world of meaning constructed by virtue of symbolic interactions among human beings (Vannini & Burgess, 2009). In this sense, it is surmised that people are also motivated to attribute, construct and appoint meaning to themselves and the world around them. According to Gupta (2002), realizing that one's self and one's actions are meaningful – for example, in this study, by adhering to the salient religious identity and its associated rituals and practices elicit an experience positive enough to inspire similar behavior in the future.

According to Gecas (1994), the feeling of motivation with respect to authenticity may have a positive or negative valence. In other words, a person may be motivated or unmotivated to engage in a particular behavior because

it is either consistent or inconsistent with his/her sense of self. The experience of authenticity typically has a positive valence. It is an intense intrinsic motivator by way of which people impart purpose and meaning to life.

On the other hand, the opposite of authenticity is inauthenticity. It is an unpleasant state that individuals strive to avoid since it is linked with negative sentiments like shame, self-contempt, meaninglessness, and guilt. The feelings commonly associated with inauthenticity are falseness and a sense of loss or disconnect from the true self. Inauthenticity stems from recognizing that one's actions are no longer congruent with one's sense of true self. It is posited that in the context of this study, the pre-wedding rituals, celebration of the birth of the prophet Muhammad, communal reading of the Quran, and rituals associated with deaths that contradict the religious beliefs of the respondents are deemed inauthentic. It is argued that such practices create dissonance for the interviewees with respect to their religious beliefs and thus elicit a sense of loss and a disconnect from the true self and are therefore avoided.

Moreover, Xie (2011) averred that considering something as authentic may also be linked with the assessment of what is appropriate. We believe that the study respondents' feelings and experiences of inauthenticity are also aligned with Zhou et al.'s (2018) perspective concerning attitudes and values. Zhou et al. (2018) consider attitudes as one's level of acceptance of inauthentic situations. Typically, attitudes are assumed to be part of the socialization process, a kind of social knowledge comprising beliefs, feelings, experiences, or a persisting inclination towards a particular aspect of one's environment. In this case, we contend that inauthenticity is construed in a constructive process of selective perception to determine what is inappropriate. Thus, in the case of the British Pakistani ethnic community, we argue that engaging in ritualistic consumption is deemed inappropriate due to the religious inclinations of the interviewees and is thus considered to be inauthentic.

Zhou et al. (2018) also note that values play an integral role in forming attitudes towards negative elements and phenomena. By integrating Zhou et al's (2018) approach on values in this study, we posit that the formation of inauthenticity

is an experience one views from a modern perspective. Holtorf's (2007) views are pertinent to this discussion, which states that every account of the past mirrors the prevailing expectations and norms of the present in which it was created. The perception of authenticity is a constructive phenomenon that is intertwined and wholly integrated into modern individuals' knowledge, aesthetics, tastes, needs, and background. It is, therefore, reasoned that people abandon/eliminate aspects of the origin in line with their contemporary values. With these assertions in mind, the findings of this study have shown that the current religious inclinations of specific segments of the Pakistani ethnic community have changed relative to the past (i.e., they have become more religious). It is argued that those aspects (e.g., rituals rooted in culture) that are conflicting with these contemporary religious values are thus construed as inauthentic and are rejected.

Another essential concept relevant to this discussion is that of "Emergent authenticity," which is a socio-cultural phenomenon that, as Cohen (1988) observed, means that "a cultural trait or a phenomenon thereof, that at a certain point of time is generally considered as inauthentic or contrived may, at some point in the future, maybe judged as authentic, even by experts. Emergent authenticity refers to the belief that what is regarded as inauthentic may become authentic over time. However, in this study, we provide empirical evidence to the contrary. The findings of this study demonstrate that what is authentic may also become inauthentic with the passage of time. The reason being that people are more likely to avoid and shy away from those phenomena and elements, which are discerned as incompatible with their present selves and thus may cause dissonance (Zhou et al., 2018). It can happen on the individual or the collective level. We argue that this is the case with certain consumption rituals practiced by the Pakistani community in the U.K. It is averred that in contemporary Pakistan, and till recently, even within the broader Pakistani immigrant community, these practices were once considered authentic and sacrosanct. However, in the present scenario prompted by religious transformations in this ethnic community, these consumption rituals are now deemed inauthentic and discarded.

5.2 Subjectivities and paradoxes in religion relative to consumption

A keynote that can be derived from the discussion of rituals that are being practised in Pakistan is the prevalence of an indigenized or localized strand of Islam in that society. This is consistent with Jafari (2009), who emphasizes that historically Islam has been customized and tailored to the cultural settings of the respective societies that embraced Islam. In this way, a large portion of the practices that were embedded in the culture and customs of these societies before the advent of Islam still exists in these communities. In other words, Islam as a lived culture has historically evolved according to the living conditions and socio-cultural traditions of individuals in different localities (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). Scholars underline that the present-day Islamic societies and nations did not have the same level of development when they converted to Islam. Consequently, their comprehension of Islam and religion-related experiences must also be different. It is, therefore argued that peoples' cultural understanding of Islam has a crucial role to play in shaping personalized and localized forms of Islam. Likewise, the rituals being practised in Pakistan corroborate the stance of Jafari & Suerdem (2012) that the prevailing religious practices in the form of rituals and customs that are peculiar to a certain Muslim society are all sites of sociocultural negotiations where the boundaries and limits between the sacred and profane are crossed as cultural sense-making activities.

In the case of the British Pakistani community, the prevailing social norms and mores have given rise to new opportunities to blend and hone ways of being Muslim in a new socio-structural context what scholars term European Islam (Mushaben, 2008). As is evident from our findings of ritualistic consumption in this ethnic community this variant of practising Islam endorses a more authentic and a more textual interpretation of Islam which to a greater extent denounces cultural and religious syncretism. It is argued that in contexts where such strict literal adherence to Islamic injunctions are pursued consumer culture is often presented as a threat that may jeopardize a person's faith as it

promotes hedonism, individualism, excessive lifestyle, and pleasure (Wong, 2007).

However, our findings on the mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption of the Pakistani ethnic community endorse the stance of Jafari & Suerdem (2012) that such a portrayal is oversimplified and is usually a reflection of a narrower view. Insights gained from analysing the interviews contradict the viewpoint that in these communities, material consumption is conceived as the realm of irrational excess and disorder, a realm of blasphemy to be abstained from. On the contrary, similar to Sandikci (2020) our results demonstrate that globally informed ways of consumption are part and parcel of constructing and communicating modern and faithful Muslim identities.

Schielke (2009), in his research, rightly observes that not all Muslims are pious all of the time and not all sinners are morally devoid lacking remorse. On the contrary, Muslims around the world are in a constant state of influx, negotiating incoherent and conflicting moral cues in their everyday life activities. These deliberations are none more so obvious than in Muslim communities that are living in societies where Islamic values are not pervasive and are marginal as in the case with the UK (Hoque, 2019). Our findings demonstrate that in the case of consumption, Muslims do not always abide by the strict interpretation of Islam. Far from it, it is seen that as religion and consumption intersect the meaning of proper Islamic behaviour is transformed. It is argued that the interactions and encounters of varying Islamic discourses with other discourses and relationships provide different interpretations of religiously acceptable and appropriate behaviour. These Different understandings of Islam enable as well as constrain different consumption practices (Sandikci & Ger, 2011). These assertions and findings are organized and discussed under the following three headings:

- Mundane Consumption and Religious Subjectivities
- Conspicuous and Luxurious Consumption and Religious Subjectivities
- Negative connotations ascribed with Islamic marketing

5.2.1 Mundane consumption and religious subjectivities

A number of scholars exhort that the subjectivities portrayed in the everyday mundane practices of Muslims are significantly overlooked or marginalized in consumer research debates (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012; Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016; Sandikci, 2020). These scholars aver that in the mundane consumption of these societies not only do the sacred and the profane exist symbiotically but also the halal (permissible) and haram (forbidden or proscribed), the Mustahabb (acts that are recommended or favoured), and Makruh (acts that although are not haram but are disliked), and the Islamic and the unislamic are all juxtaposed to carve out the mundane consumption behaviour of these communities. Building on these research directions, this study sheds light on the prevailing religious subjectivities in the mundane consumption of the British Pakistani community.

Delving into our daily lives, one cannot ignore thinking about how much consumer behaviour is linked to mundane consumption, which are repetitive practices or situations in which consumers perceive to be neither dramatic nor extraordinary (Holttinen, 2014). These assertions resonate with Gronow & Warde (2001) who note that mundane consumption is typified by routine such as going to work or having breakfast and less by conscious activity. In addition to the preceding characteristic, mundane consumption is also known to be symbolic (Holttinen, 2014). Mundane objects and practices are known to reflect and play a part in identity projects and turn into objects of attachment (Kleine et al., 1993; Wallendorf & Arnould, 1988). Moreover, mundane and inconspicuous consumption facilitates sub-cultures to safeguard their group identity from the dominant, mainstream society (Cronin et al., 2014). With that being said the implications and impact of the intersection of religion and mundane consumption is an area that has remained underexplored (Jafari, 2012; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012; Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Sandikci, 2020).

According to Jafari (2012), religious beliefs are not fixed or static. These beliefs are carved, shaped, and transformed by the prevailing knowledge or the changing context of religion. He further underscores that beliefs may or may

not materialize as practices. This is in line with Warde (2005) who posits that practices such as the ones encompassing the social, cultural, and economic domains are performed qualities of people, things such as knowledge or beliefs. This knowledge or beliefs are elicited in the way of everyday practices depending on their historically influenced situatedness. In the case of Islam as a basis of identity, Jafari & Surdem (2012) contend that Muslims may define their religiosity relative to two main groups the non-Muslims and Muslims from other sects and geographical contexts. One particular way these identity and cultural distinctions are expressed is in the form of mundane socio-cultural practices such as lifestyle choices, consumption culture, and so forth (Jafari, 2012). These views conform with Amiraux (2006), who emphasizes that religious beliefs should be noticed in mundane situations other than those clearly labelled as religious. According to Sandikci (2020), religion in particular with its categorically formulated principles and norms seems to be outside the immanence of the everyday (Robbins, 2016) and continues to be marginalized in studies exploring everyday ethics of consumption. Thus, research should attend to this blind spot and try to highlight the ways in which religion is implicated in mundane consumption practices (Sandikci, 2020).

The findings of this study build upon these assertions and explicate how ordinary practices such as shopping in the local supermarkets and consuming objects such as dates become an ethical problem amid changing relations between religion and the market. A major reoccurring theme that emerged during the interviews was the boycotting of products coming from Israel as a sign of solidarity to the Muslims of Palestine and protesting against the atrocities carried out by the Israeli state. In the words of Nida (3rd generation):

The only openly thing we avoid buying is Israeli products... You know consciously... I don't think I have taken a firm stand on anything else... (Nida, 3rd generation)

Nida unequivocally expressed that she does not consciously buy Israeli products and she was not the only one engaging in such a practice. Sikander, Waleed, Hayyan, Rani, Hoor, Malik, Qadsia, Owais, Sadia, and Sarah all

indicated that they boycotted Israeli products at one time or another. Aneela's (2nd generation) narrative provides a gist of the views of the majority of the participants:

A couple of years ago events in Palestine were quite much in the news, and there was a movement going on about boycotting Israeli products, and I think I downloaded an app to go round and you know sort of see if that product was Israeli or not... I think I stopped shopping at Marks & Spencer's for a while and Sainsbury as well because that was quite in the news... (Aneela, 2nd generation)

Aneela's excerpt highlights another aspect of this religiously motivated boycott, and that was the avoidance of shops and supermarkets that were selling these products. The notion of boycotting stores stocking Israeli products was further elaborated by Hayyan:

For a number of years, I boycotted Marks and Spencers... a lot of Muslims in this country boycotted Marks & Spencers because there was this understanding that Marks and Spencers support Israel and so they gave a lot of money to Israel and Israel as you know are taking away Palestinian lands... they're taking the homes of Palestinians... bulldozing them and building settlements where the Palestinian homes were... so I think a lot of Muslims in this country Boycotted Marks & Spencer for a number of years.... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

From Hayyan's statement, it can be seen that the movement was not limited to abstaining from purchasing Israeli products and goods, but it also precipitated into boycotting the stores and supermarkets that were known to be selling products from Israel, namely Marks & Spencers and Sainsbury. A manifestation of this proscription was especially evident during the month of Ramadan (month of fasting) with respect to dates.

So the main one (boycott) that come into mind is just around the date purchases you know ... during Ramadan (fasting)... so that was quite an active campaign... so

yeah we tend to make sure we buy certain brands of dates (that are not from Israel) (Malik, 2nd generation).

It needs to be underscored that during the month of fasting (Ramadan) religious fervour is at its peak. Dates are an important product during this month because according to the sunnah (traditions) of the Prophet, the fast is broken by eating dates. The majority of the interviewees were of the view that it would be antithetical to the sacrosanctity of this blessed month to open their fast with dates that were imported from Israel. Thus, the majority of the participants, just like Rani meticulously ensured that they did not buy dates from Israel:

The only thing my husband and we all do is we don't buy dates that comes from Israel (Rani, 1st generation)

Thus, from the discourse and actions of the participants, it can be seen that seemingly ordinary and common actions of shopping in supermarkets and eating dates can embrace a whole religious dimension. Asad's (2003) observation that both fields of "sacred" and "mundane" are rather entangled, imbricated, and generated from one another seems to hold true in this context. However, according to Eckhardt & Mahi (2012), there are times when consumers participate in acts of resistance and times when they do not. Thus, there is no dramatic escape but only shifts and ruptures from the market or from the structures and organs that emanate power. No interviewee in our study can be explicitly described as resisting consumption in all areas, although all demonstrated rather strong instances of resistance on certain occasions. Findings indicate that on certain occasions, the participants engaged in self-regulation and control against the dominant forces and in doing so struggled to make and adhere to these consumption choices.

I get messages to boycott products from time to time, but then you just see the whole list, and then you say where do you go then for shopping... there's nothing... nowhere to go if you avoid all these places... (Sadia, 1st generation)

Sadia, in the excerpt mentioned above, expresses frustration over the movement lamenting that the list of products to boycott seems endless and is impossible to adhere to. On a similar note, Sarah who is extremely fond of drinking fizzy drinks says that strictly abiding by such movements is difficult.

I have tried to, but it's hard.... because they're saying like coca-cola and everything... (Sarah, 2nd generation)

Sarah's narrative accentuates the struggle one encounters when they have to give up a product that they love consuming, and in Sarah's case, she did not adhere to the boycott for long. Such conflicts and struggles are consistent with the views of Beruchashvili & Arnould (2005) who contend that there are two facets of contemporary consumption that need to be taken note of. First is that the defining and extending of the self through consumption (Belk, 1988), materialized in the bonding to favourite objects (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1988), is an unavoidable aspect of modern life. Second, in the era of the culture of consumption where the pursuit of religious goals is replaced by the pursuit of material goods, the ease of obtaining things that symbolize convenience, comforts of a good life, and abundance are alluring (Beruchashvili & Arnould, 2005). Qadsia also found herself in a similar situation:

So, there was a period in time when I got really panicked about like what do I buy and what do I not buy because there were like emails going around of every company and brand under the Sun.... even Microsoft... ban Microsoft... now that's like how are you gonna do that... so you have to be like practical as well (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

Qadsia's stance of being practical is attuned with the views of researchers who characterise Islam not only as a collection of constant doctrines (as the uniqueness and oneness of God) but also as context-related variable guidelines, giving human beings the leeway to engage in a critical view of the world. This perspective allows for a symbiotic relationship to emerge between the believer and the environment (Ramadan, 2008, cited in Barylo, 2017). Due to these contexts based guidelines, it can be argued that subjective

interpretations are also prevalent in Islam, similar to any other belief system. These subjective interpretations also become an integral part of the identity of those individuals who express themselves as Muslims. The facet of subjective interpretation is evident in Owais's statement:

I mean I know that a lot of Muslims do not like buying Israeli products... I'm the same, but I mean I have used some products which were from that region, but they are softer products because they are very good... I mean yeah ... it depends on what you are buying... right... if you're buying dates... yeah that's a given, isn't it... you are not going to buy dates from Israel... (Owais, 2nd generation)

Owais's stance of buying certain softer products from Israel and boycotting others can be attributed to individualized reflexivity. He subjectively rationalizes the criteria for drawing a limit when it comes to consuming Israeli products. Thus, Islam has different interpretations according to how its followers identify themselves subjectively, keeping in mind that an individual's personal interpretation can evolve through experience and time (Barylo, 2017). Rani circumnavigates the societal pressure to participate in the religiously motivated boycott in the following ways:

When you are living here and when you go deep into the technicalities... when you think about it, I think the majority of the bigger stores are owned by Jews... So what do you do? So, for me I thought for the amount of stuff that I buy, I just go for the good stuff and buy it... I have known of people that have criticised me for doing that, but then after they criticise me, they boycott it for about six months but then they are back (Rani, 1st generation).

Rani uses pragmatism and the need to buy the best stuff to justify her decision not to participate in the boycott. Eckhardt & Mahi (2012) demonstrated that consumers might re-evaluate the moral standings on consumption when it comes to practical issues. In their study, participants did not consider transgressing or breaking the social codes as dangerous or immoral since they rationalized their choices as being beneficial for the well being of their loved

ones, a widely socially acceptable motivation. They inferred that consumers generally engage in a dialectic with the marketplace, opting to self-govern preferences. In such a situation consumers may overcome and resist prescribing to behaviour strongly imposed through the culture even if this kind of self-governance of choices is seen as immoral or dangerous (Eckhardt & Mahi, 2012). Hoor goes a step further and outrightly dismisses the possibility of succumbing to the pressures of society to engage in boycotts.

I would never stop purchasing certain brands, or you know buying from a certain shop because people say we should boycott it. I would do my own research. I have friends that tell that you should not buy from M&S, but I would go in there and still buy it (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Hoor's unwavering stance to purchase from stores that are being boycotted by her peers and her non-conformist attitudes alludes to individualistic and subjective tendencies. Sandiski (2020) observes that scholars refer to the emergence of a new Muslim subjectivity that is informed by Islam as well as globalized neoliberalism when expounding the changing dynamics between religion and the market (Sandikci, 2018; Rundnckjy, 2009). Such Muslim subjectivity caters to those traits of personhood that privileges consuming freely and stimulates making choices in the marketplace as anchors of identity (Miller & Rose, 1997).

The views, practices, and attitudes of the interviewees when it comes to mundane consumption such as eating dates or shopping in supermarkets suggest the existence of multiple, contradictory, and shifting moral frameworks. Such discourses draw our attention towards the complex and dynamic relationship between individual sensibilities and interests and the collective dominant moral frameworks. These debates also highlight the manner in which these interactions shape the ethical evaluations of mundane practices and objects (Sandiski, 2020). Our findings also coincide with Eckhardt & Mahi (2012), who note that consumers engaging in making consumption decisions are, in fact, actively negotiating their choices. In this way, they are practising reflexivity in the choices they make and the extent to

which they choose to participate in modern consumer culture. These findings add to the debate by Arnould & Thompson (2005) and Kjeldgaard & Askegaard (2006) in terms of accentuating the relationship between globalization, religion, and everyday consumption practices.

5.2.2 Conspicuous and luxurious consumption and religious subjectivities

The discussion on mundane consumption in the previous section provides an empirical substantiation of Jafari & Suerdem's (2012) stance that the nature of perceptible consumption practices in Muslim communities is paradoxical, complex, and dynamic. In a similar vein, analysis of the interviews has shown prevailing religious subjectivities in the conspicuous and luxurious consumption of the British Pakistani community. Our study findings have shown that this particular section of the ethnic community is a staunch follower of the literal interpretations of the religious texts which endows Muslims with a strict way of life. These convictions were explicitly evident in their denouncing of the ritualistic consumption practices which were indigenous to the Pakistani culture. However, it is seen that despite stringent religious proscriptions which particularly dissuade from luxurious and conspicuous consumption, the participants actively engaged in luxurious and conspicuous consumption. A common recurring theme that emerged in this discourse was the minimum role of religion in such consumption practices.

According to Jafari & Suerdem (2012), many contemporary Muslim scholars contend that the mode of consumption prevailing in the West contradicts the fundamental values of the Islamic way of life. In the eyes of such scholars, consumerism fosters western ideals of hedonism and individualism which undermines the family values and the unique Islamic identity of Muslims and as such compromises the very foundations of societal integrity. These values it is argued foreshadow and set the stage for the cultural and economic invasion of the Islamic societies by the West. According to Sandikci & Ger (2011) when it comes to consumption, there has been this trend among certain Muslim segments to treat consumer culture as decadent, crass, and perverting

traditional values. The advocates of this perspective depict consumer culture as immoral, extravagant, and harmful, encouraging hedonism and individualism. They preach to Muslims to live modest lives and abstain from excessive and conspicuous consumption. They offer Islam as an antidote to counteract the vices of consumer cultures associated with “Western values” (Sandikci & Ger, 2011). This stance resonates with the views of Fiza, who considers the Arab sheikhs that are immersed in lavish spending as being deviated from their religion.

The sheikhs... Even here if you go to London to Edgware Road... You see the richest Arabs there... I do not think they are religious. They might be wearing those jubass (traditional clothes), but that's their culture... They are not religious. They do not know their religion and they're just overspending on their selves... They do not know their Deen. They are away from their religion. That's why they're doing that.... (Fiza, 1st generation)

Fiza gives the examples of the Arabs at Edgware road in London which is known for its middle eastern flavour. She contends that these Arabs, even though they are adorned in their native dresses, are incognizant of their religion as they are indulging in excessive spending and consumption. She reasons that exorbitant spending and consumption are tantamount to religious ignorance and derailment. In this respect, a review of the contemporary literature on consumption from Islamic perspectives illustrates that the current discourse mainly revolves around the notion of Islamic modesty in contradiction to the model of consumerism (Sandikci & Ger, 2009). The Islamic concept of modesty is a fundamental pillar of the Islamic consumption narrative and imbues Muslims with a strict manner of life (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). This concept has been so vital in the Islamic consumption discourse that a number of scholars contend that the amount of income earned should not have a marked influence on the consumption behaviour of Muslims (Kalantari, 2008; Kahf, 1996). The justification provided for this viewpoint is that Islam enjoins Muslims to avoid extravagance and to align their lifestyle with the average economic level of their society to curtail the disparity between the rich and the poor (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). In order to deconstruct and explicate modesty,

some Muslim scholars (e.g., Kalantari, 2008; Khan, 1995) classify individual needs into three categories. The first category is termed “daruriyat” which is characterised by the necessities of life like food, clothing, housing, etc. The second category called the “hajiyyat” describes those commodities and facets of life that improve and complement the quality of basic needs. The third category labelled “tahsiniyat” caters to the needs of social status, recognition, and prestige. It is on the grounds of this classification that Muslims are counselled to abstain from indulging in consumption practices associated with the second and third categories because indulging in these needs would entrap a person in the quicksand of consumerism and materialism and would ultimately distance them from Islamic values (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). A number of scholars classify luxurious and conspicuous consumption within the third category (e.g., Arli et al., 2016; Ashraf et al., 2017; El-Bassiouny, 2017; Al-Hyari et al., 2012; Dekhil et al., 2017; Alserhan et al., 2014; Ashraf et al., 2017). The subsequent paragraphs elaborate on the concept of luxurious and conspicuous consumption adopted in this study.

Luxury products or brands are considered as non-necessities associated with the gratification of the senses irrespective of the price (Bian & Forsythe, 2012). This is in line with Brun et al. (2008) who assert that luxurious consumption has often been used to signify distinctiveness, power, and riches and as such primarily serve the purpose of gratification of higher-order desires or wants as opposed to the mere satisfaction of the lower order basic needs. In other words, luxury products or services do not simply aim to fulfil primary basic biological needs, but also cater to indulge the exclusive esteem and ego of individuals (Khabiri et al., 2012). They exude exclusivity, desirability, and pride which surpasses their basic functional utility and imbue their users with a distinguished status through ownership and possession (Moore & Birtwistle, 2005). Luxury brands can be consumed publicly or privately; however, most consumers purchase luxury brands primarily for symbolic reasons to express their status and social goals (Li et al., 2014).

Similarly, according to Piron (2000), conspicuousness pertains to the public and the social display encompassing the consumption of a product. In order for consumption to be considered conspicuous, the consumer expects it to be a social event that is publicly witnessed by other consumers. For this reason, products that are publicly used/displayed are more conspicuously consumed relative to those products that are consumed privately (Al-Hyari et al., 2012). These views are consistent with El-Bassiouny (2017), who explicates that conspicuous consumption depicts extravagant and leisure practices that signify belonging to the privileged upper class. Since luxury brands are generally linked with social status and prestige, where the ultimate emphasis rests on branding, such brands are mostly unencumbered by price considerations (Seo & Buchanan-Oliver, 2015). Because of these inherent characteristics of luxury brands, many scholars have associated luxury consumption with conspicuous consumption (e.g., Giovannini et al., 2015; El-Bassiouny, 2017; O'Cass & Frost, 2002).

Researchers of consumer behaviour are of the opinion that historically the most controversial aspect of consumption relates to luxury and conspicuous consumption (Remaury, 2002, cited in Dekhil et al., 2017). These facets of consumption are associated with materialism and are considered to subvert religious values. This is mostly accounted for by the Islamic puritans who adhere to strict morals and follow religious principles (Dekhil et al., 2017). The attitude of rejection towards luxurious and conspicuous consumption within this section of the Muslim community is rooted in the rationale that Islam dissuades displaying one's wealth or to asserts one's difference publicly (Dubois & Laurent, 1996).

In the lives of many individuals, religion as an agency of social control is influential in providing guidance for doing things in terms of certain axiological precepts (Delener, 1994). It binds individuals to a lifestyle that affects what, why, and how much of something is consumed (Hirschman, 1983). Therefore, prescriptive religious logic is expected to determine how luxurious and conspicuous consumption is perceived and internalized by consumers for

whom religion impacts life choices, as is the case with the British Pakistani community.

According to Alserhan et al. (2014), the religion of Islam adopts a clear stance on luxury and conspicuous consumption and exhorts its followers to practice modesty not only in consumption but in all matters of life. The most authentic and explicit guidelines on luxury and conspicuous consumption can be found in the Quran and the Hadith (the sayings and traditions of the Prophet). Allah said in the Quran:

“O Children of Adam! Take your adornment (by wearing your clean clothes) while praying and going round the Ka’bah, and eat and drink but waste not by extravagance, certainly, He (Allah) likes not Al-Musrifin (those who waste by extravagance)” (Surah Al-A’raf, Verse31).

This verse of the Holy Quran enjoins Muslims to spend and consume moderately and not to indulge in extravagance. These injunctions are further elaborated by Arli et al. (2016) according to whom luxury goods are often seen as status consumption and signify people’s attachment with worldly possessions. This stance seems to contradict the ethos of Islam, which offers the path and inspires to detach from worldly possession. According to many religious scholars, Islam should be practised as a consumer culture transcending faith (Kavanagh, 2006). Such a prescription indicates separation or even an opposition between religion and luxury and conspicuous consumption (Arli et al., 2016). The following two verses of the Holy Quran further substantiate the aforementioned discussion:

“And let not their wealth or their children amaze you. Allah’s Plan is to punish them with these things in this world, and that their souls shall depart (die) while they are disbelievers” (Quran 9:85, version).

“Do not squander wastefully. Surely the squanderers are the fellows of the Satan” (Chapter 17, Verse 27).

Alserhan et al. (2014) encapsulate this debate by highlighting that Muslim consumers are still consumers in spite of the consumption guidelines prescribed in Islam which in turn clearly acknowledges human needs and wants but exhorts them to practice moderation in satisfying them and abstaining from indulgence and excessiveness. The embodiment of excessive indulgence and higher-level extravagances according to a number of scholars is luxurious and conspicuous consumption which is clearly discouraged. In this respect, Sharif (2016) emphasizes that Islam views lavish and conspicuous lifestyles as an expression of injustice where a few indulge in luxury and deprive the masses of their basic needs. In the following excerpt Sikander (2nd generation) provides support for such views:

“yes, because I feel the more someone gets drawn into the luxury products of this life such as driving nice cars, having nice clothes, sometimes they might find it difficult to balance life between religion and living a luxury life. Because people that love living luxury lives the majority might find it difficult to be religious as well. I am not saying that applies to everybody, but I am sure it applies to the majority... From the people that I know, the more religious someone is, the less likely they are to spend a lot of money on designer products. The more religious somebody is, the more they realize that there is more to life than wearing fancy clothing. (Sikander, 2nd generation).”

Sikander's arguments revolve around the premise of balancing religious obligations with living a luxurious life. He believes that luxurious and conspicuous consumption are inversely related to religiosity. The more religious a person is, the more likely he will abstain from engaging in luxurious and conspicuous consumption. However, as was demonstrated in the earlier debate about mundane consumption in relation to consuming dates, the notion of what constitutes the proper way of being and living as a Muslim in a consumption-driven world is subjective. From the interviews, an inquiry into the luxurious brand preferences of the interviewees such as Gucci, Armani, Channel, Burberry revealed that the majority of the participants subscribe to globally informed ways of luxurious and conspicuous consumption and

repudiate the claims that indulging in it is antithetical to Islamic values. Two extracts from interviews with Waleed and Hayyan highlight the rationale behind such thinking when it comes to conspicuous and luxury consumption.

I try my best to think about these things as clearly as I can... And the more I think about it more I think that there is no link if people are spending on high-value brands... It's not an indicator of their personal spirituality, and so on. There are just far too many variables in between to affect their purchase...I think it's an indicator that generally Muslims... The entire society they are moving... They're adopting the consumerist lifestyle ever so more... Increasingly more closely with every passing year. It's just an indicator of that.... The majority of the people I interact with are really brand conscious... I don't really see any demographic boundaries between them being Muslim or not. (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Waleed sees no connection between luxurious consumption and religion. He believes that the consumerist lifestyle has permeated into the Muslim community in the same way as it has done with the rest of the world. He points that majority of his friends are brand conscious and at the same time are also very religious, indicating a confluence between religion and luxurious and conspicuous consumption. This view is shared by Hayyan who despite being a devoted Muslim is extremely fond of luxury sports cars and had recently bought a BMW and is thinking of buying a Tesla. When asked if religion influences his conspicuous and luxurious consumption, he had the following to say:

No... you know... how can a BMW be Islamic... I don't think the people that spend a lot of money on these types of brands... I don't think you can classify them in that way... it just comes down to their background and their level of income or their parent's level of income... it has nothing to do with their practice of religion... if it's just general, you know... consumer products... luxury items phones, computers, laptops, sports cars, or even foods that are permissible, I don't see how someone's religiosity affects their brand choice. (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

These two accounts reinforce the stance of El-Bassiouny (2017) that the values of globalization and modernization have permeated societies resulting in a marked increase in luxury consumption. These views also resonate with Jafari & Goulding (2008) who maintain that amidst multiple interpretations of the self these positive dispositions towards luxurious and conspicuous consumption indicate a congruence of the self with the prevailing social and economic practices of a given society (Jafari & Goulding, 2008). The core of these discussions is the notion that the western model of consumption promotes individualistic tendencies (Giddens, 1991). Scholars like Giddens (1991) contend that modernity draws out the project of the self. In such contexts, markets foster individualism by emphasizing freedom of choice and individual rights (Jafari & Goulding, 2008). In this sense, consumption presents a fertile medium for people to practice their freedom of choice and individuality as well as use the marketplace resources to express their subjective agencies (Firat & Venkatesh, 1995). Hoor's and Rani's stance toward luxurious consumption and the purview of religion is reminiscent of Giddens's perspective of freedom of choice.

I think there is nothing in your religion that says that you can't spend a lot of money on something that you like. I don't think religion plays any part in that at all... I don't think it really is your religion, to be honest. I have got friends that are quite religious that would happily go into Burberry and buy a jacket if they wanted to or buy a top from any brand, but that does not change their religion. I would say there is no connection. (Hoor, 2nd generation)

By citing the examples of her friends, Hoor emphasizes that luxurious consumption is contingent on personal choices, and even religious people indulge in it from time to time. This viewpoint is also shared by Rani:

If you are religious, it does not mean that you cannot go for the good stuff. So that should not really make any difference to your religious activity in any way. Being religious does not mean you can't use brand names. (Rani, 1st generation)

Just like Hoor, Rani contends that the two propositions, i.e. religion and conspicuous as well as luxurious consumption, are not mutually exclusive and can be practised in concert. She accentuates that being a practising Muslim should not impede a person's ability to obtain good stuff. Arsalan further extends the debate and substantiates the compatibility of such consumption practices with religion in light of Hadith (the saying and traditions of the prophet):

The Prophet Muhammad said that Allah is beautiful, and he loves beauty, and Allah loves that his servants show the bounty that he has bestowed upon them... Islam is quite balanced... It does have an aspect of Aestheticism... So, the thing is yeah buying nice shoes should not affect your hereafter... there is no contradiction there ... One of my friends who's really well off is a very religious guy... Although he himself would not use luxury brands, he would often give them as gifts, and I know other people who have got sports cars... (Owais, 2nd generation)

Owais's interpretation of the Prophet's saying that Allah is beautiful and loves beauty and linking and extrapolating it with luxurious consumption illustrates religious reflexivity and subjectivity prevalent amongst the Muslim consumers. Such subjective deliberations are synonymous with scholars like Giddens (2002) who reason that in a world that is continuously changing, in order to uphold and safeguard one's faith individuals reflexively rationalize and justify their religious assertions relative with other socio-cultural norms and circumstances that are in a constant process of regeneration. Besides imparting meaning to the individual self, the exercise of interpretation and reinterpretation of religious dogma is rooted in power struggles that seek to shape the social order in a certain way (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012).

Also relevant to this discourse is an observation by Beruchashvili & Arnould (2005) that the moral and religious implications of conspicuous and luxurious consumption, pose a certain dilemma for religious consumers. On the one hand, such individuals seek to see the world in terms of prescriptive implications linked to the ideals of Islam that enjoins its followers to pursue

simplicity and limited possessions. On the other hand, the ideals of consumption, particularly luxurious and conspicuous consumption, are at odds with the pursuits of religious fulfilment. This point of view is aligned with Burroughs & Rindfleisch (2002), according to whom consumers that simultaneously consider both material values and religious fulfilment important, encounter ambivalence in coping with the divergent pressures and mixed messages that are prevalent in developed nations such as the U.K. One way of coping with this dissonance is rationalizing it through a lens of religious rhetoric which considers wealth as a blessing and a reward for their hard work. Such explanations are noted in the accounts of Sadia and Arsalan.

I've seen some people, and they have plenty of money, and they have plenty of money because they work hard and because they are religious... they think that's their right to spend money on themselves... if they're giving their... you know... sadqa (charity)... then it's fine... (Sadia, 1st generation)

Sadia believes that in addition to working hard, a person gains riches as a reward for being religious and observant. As such, it is their prerogative to spend the money on themselves. This standpoint conforms with Arli et al., (2016), who assert that in many religious societies, acquiring material wealth has become a sign that God has blessed them and has approved their behaviour. Likewise, Arsalan also feels that people that have worked hard for their wealth deserve to lavishly spend it:

I would like to think there isn't any restriction on consuming luxurious brands... It generally tends to be people who are more inclined... who are more wealthy... who for however they got there... they may have worked hard to get there, so they probably think I have worked hard to get here so I feel like I should be spending vast about money... I do not see brands and extravagant spending as being a problem. (Arsalan, 2nd generation)

Sadia and Arsalan's justification for consuming luxurious and conspicuous consumption is akin to Haenni's (2005) inference that the affluent Muslims are shaping an Islamic adaptation of the earthly wealth discourse which is used to

advance personal salvation. These Muslims are proponents of the view that prosperity signifies divine ordination based on selective readings of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's life. Furthermore, similar to the British Pakistanis, scholars have observed that the Turkish Muslims are also splurging on conspicuous and luxurious consumption on account of these and similar justifications (Ergu, 2009, cited in Izberk-Bilgin, 2015).

Thus, our findings suggest that when it comes to luxurious and conspicuous consumption, religious convictions and justifications of Muslim consumers seem to blend with the cultural capital, taste, and related discourses of aesthetics prevalent in the society. It shows that religion provides yet another discourse, one among many others that influence, legitimize and shape consumption practices (Sandikci & Ger, 2009). The emphasis of many of the participants that religion has limited sway over luxurious and conspicuous consumption and that it is a matter of personal taste and choice is reminiscent of the view of a sovereign consumer. The concept of consumer sovereignty encompasses the interaction and association between consumer and market structures and is based on the premise that consumers are aware of what is beneficial for them and exercise their discretion to accept or reject products (Schwarzkopf, 2011).

5.2.3 Negative connotations ascribed with Islamic marketing

In contemporary marketing discourse, there is an ongoing discussion regarding the status and potential significance of Islamic marketing. One stream of scholars questions the nature and relevance of Islamic marketing (Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016). On the other hand, scholars such as El-bassiouny (2014, 2016) emphasize that the notable role of religion in the lives of Muslims warrants segmenting and marketing products and services on the basis of religion. These scholars aver that due to the viable and untapped Muslim market segment, Islamic marketing now seems to be a standalone and emerging field. They exhort that similar to other niche consumer segments such as the African Americans, Hispanics, and LGBT communities in the US, the ever increasing visibility and interest in Muslim consumers boil down to

their increasing purchasing capacity (Sandikci & Ger, 2011). This power is particularly evident in the case of the emerging middle Muslim class which irrespective of their geographic location are presumed to be united in their consumption preferences and the ability to purchase branded products (Sandikci & Ger, 2010). It is thus argued that the changing demographics of Muslim consumers, as well as their increasing purchasing powers, have resulted in rendering the field of Islamic marketing scholarly and managerially worthwhile and attractive (El-bassiouny, 2014; 2016). Notwithstanding the merit of such a strategy, our analysis has shown that promoting brands as Islamic may have certain pitfalls and unintended consequences. An example of such negative orientation towards using religion to promote brands is palpable in Waleed's perception of Islamic brands:

I do not think there are any brands that could be deemed Islamic. Because it is not the purpose of religion to describe one brand as being superior to another. I know a lot of people these days, especially on social media. They try and brand products as being Islamic as though they're selling some experience about religiosity, but I think that's just retrofitting Islam within consumerism and it is not really genuine religiosity... I find it a bit upsetting. I do not look down upon such marketing techniques altogether, but I think it's a bit disingenuous. It's sufficient to say that my product is superior to another product and I ascribe to certain ethical principles for example, and my product complies with that as well, as opposed to saying my product is better than the other. So, I think it's uncalled for to use Islam as symbolism for your self-interest... somebody was saying that oh he is selling a sunnah (way of the prophet) experience and so on. It doesn't appeal to me... (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Waleed expresses negative sentiments towards brands that are marketed as being Islamic. His view that it is not the purpose of religion to endorse one brand over another and his remarks that it is an implausible attempt of retrofitting Islam within consumerism signify his disapproval of using religion for making a profit. This viewpoint validates the assertions of Regany & Emontspool (2015) who noted that one unanticipated outcome of ethnic and religiously themed promotions could be that certain sections of the community

may interpret such approaches as an attempt to commercialize their ethnicity and faith and may relate it to unbridled consumerism. These people are cynical of such marketing strategies and consider them as marketing ploys, tactics for taking advantage of consumer naivety, and tools for consumerist domination (Regany & Emontspool, 2015).

It needs to be underscored that such views and sentiments also have implications with respect to authenticity. From the analysis of the interview accounts, it is posited that in order to authenticate Islamic and religious brands, individuals can call on representations or objects that may be perceived as too stereotypical, i.e., artificially authentic, to the point of seeming counterfeit, hypocritical, or phony. Qadsia recognizes the inauthentic side of multi-national retailers selling Islamic brands and clothing:

I don't really believe in Islamic brands... they're just companies trying to make money, isn't it... now they've started targeting the Muslim pound... it's like, in Debenhams and House of Frasier, you know, there they've got adverts of women in hijab... Models wearing Hijab... they're trying to sell Abayas in these places and in certain supermarkets... they are selling like Ramadan calendars like chocolate ones, and it's all just gimmicks and trying to get people's money really, and they realize that oh Muslims have money now let's get it... I tend not to buy such products from these stores... I don't know... I mean if I want an Abayaa or something I'll go to the Islamic book store or maybe buy them online from a Muslim company... I'd rather buy it from Muslims if I can...Because I don't like being manipulated economically in that sense... like oh... I just feel companies thinking, yeah Muslims... let's get them... I just don't like getting manipulated in that sense. (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

Qadsia, in her statement, makes her aversion to brands and promotions that seemingly portray as being Islamic glaringly obvious. Central to Qadsia's accounts were notions of manipulation and an ulterior motive of making a profit by exploiting the religious sentiments of Muslims. Qadsia's assessments of Debenhams and House of Frasier reflect such perceptions. In this case, the offending brands are viewed as trying to gain profits by stealth through

promoting something as overly Islamic. Once a negative impression of these brands is constructed in the minds of specific segments of Muslim consumers, they are judged as an inauthentic brand by them because of their suspect motives. She believes that their ulterior motive is ultimately to make money by exploiting religion and Muslims. She proclaims that instead of shopping in Debenhams and House of Fraser, she prefers to shop online and in Authentic Muslim shops when it comes to buying Abbaqs and Scarfs. Such practices reinforce the observations of Sandikci (2020) that one way Muslims interpret the urge to develop and market the Islamic version of every product, from halal champagne to halal nail polish is the corporate greed to generate more profits.

Furthermore, Qadsia's frame of mind when it comes to using religion to sell products is elaborated by Schroeder & Borgerson (2005) who argue that marketers sometimes falsely assume that merely including images of marginalised and under-represented ethnic or religious communities in marketing communication would foster sentiments of inclusion within such communities, but this strategy often prompts exoticized images informed by token images and typicality. This perspective is further explicated by Cherrier (2009) who declare that when it comes to interpreting religious and ethnic marketing promotions, there is a possibility that some members of the target audience may interpret these very differently, as is evident in the case of Qadsia and Waleed. In such cases, the consumers' involvement in these marketing campaigns is replaced by a dystopic context with a rejection to grant legitimacy to the retailer and in certain extreme cases results in consumer resistance. Likewise, Owais's reservation is directed towards Muslim scholars who instead of guiding people in the matter of religion, promote services and products:

It depends on what it is... it might be cologne or something... it will track initially, but then I'll question if it is actually Islamic, or people are just labelling it Islamic... a recent trend on Facebook is how to become an Islamic or a Muslim entrepreneur... My friend and I were talking about this, and we were thinking this is abuse... it's an abuse of your standing as an imam or a knowledgeable

person that people respect you, and they come to you for your religion, and you promise them you can make a five-figure salary within a year and it's Islamic ... (Owais, 2nd generation)

The use of religion in the promotion of products and services signifies the commodification of Islamic values. It needs to be underscored that while religious values and norms circumscribe the parameters of the sacred and the profane, the permeations of market logic to every domain of life obscure these boundaries and transform every interaction into a market transaction (Ciscel & Heath, 2001). The views expressed by Owais and the others are instances where individuals contest the commodification of Islamic values on account of their perception that in doing so, religion is being abused for making profits. These findings by implication affirm the apprehensions accentuated by a number of scholars concerning the phenomenon of Islamic marketing which has the potential to render a rather static, limited, and stereotypical understanding and portrayal of Muslim consumers and associated consumption and marketing practices. (Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016).

5.3 Ethnic consumption in the 2nd and 3rd generations

Our findings have highlighted that the ethnic and religious identities of the different generations do not remain static and transform with the passage of time. This is consistent with Jamal & Chapman (2000), who contend that acculturation is continuous and that there is no single, definitive outcome of acculturation. Their research substantiated the changing nature of Berry's modes of acculturation among the different generations of the ethnic community. They emphasized that change in a society is inevitable and that all societies in one way or another are undergoing the process of acculturation. It is noteworthy that this process can entail not only the acculturation of the ethnic immigrants but also of the society's own image of itself – past, present, and future. From this perspective, it is construed that the four modes of acculturation as experienced and perceived by an ethnic community are

expected to transition from time to time (Jamal & Chapman, 2000). Thus, individuals who are found to be segregated at a particular stage of their life could also be considered as being assimilated in another point of their life and vice versa depending upon their experiences and encounters of the phenomenal world. Likewise, an individual who is perceived to be highly acculturated might also indulge in consumption practices that express his deep loyalty and identification with his ethnic culture.

In order to evaluate and assess the relevance and significance of the different cultures in the life of individuals, Wong (2007) stresses the need to understand and explore their everyday life consumption practices as the site for expressions of cultural symbolism. He asserts that in this respect, tastes in fashion and nutrition are the most ubiquitous signs of the accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital. Scholars aver that the choices people make are related to the kind of society they want to live in, and artefacts are chosen to reflect these preferences in clothes, food, cultural products, and so forth (Douglas, 1996). In this manner, cultural allegiances evolve, and they pervade through consumption preferences and practices (Wong, 2007). Consistent with these assertions, our study explored the perception and attitudes of the interviewees with respect to ethnic dress as well as ethnic foods. In order to streamline this discussion, this section is divided into the following two sections:

- Attitudes and perceptions towards ethnic dress – Shalwar Qameez
- Attitudes and perceptions towards ethnic food

5.3.1 Attitudes and perceptions towards ethnic dress – Shalwar Qameez

According to Crane (2012) dress which may consist of clothing, adornments, and even body modifications has the potential to visually manifest the salient ideas, values, and characteristics of a culture. He further explicates that dress serves to make tangible the primary categories a culture draws upon to define its particular conception of reality. These categories include factors such as ethnicity, religion, gender, age, and caste that serve to define an individual's

social location and are made perceptible when cultures make dress prominent as is the case in today's ever more globalized world (Crane, 2012).

Davis (2013) claims that a major underlying reason for the change in clothing and fashion is that our social identities change. Our findings have shown that the role of ethnicity as a significant marker of identity has been attenuating in the second and later generations. This shift in their ethnic identity is manifested in their declining taste of ethnic clothing and fashion. Hayyan's narrative is a testament to the indifference and somewhat negative attitudes towards shalwar kameez:

I never changed the way I dressed... I guess this is where British culture comes in... you know.... So, for example, my father will go out in the street wearing shalwar kameez right, and I haven't been grown up wearing that, so culturally I find that strange... I find that alien... I have to admit when I go out with my father, and he's wearing that, I feel uncomfortable... I'm like, my dad's come out in his pajamas again... I am like, dad this is Scotland... you know... it's like two degrees, are you not cold and then he pulls up his leg, and you can see he's wearing long johns underneath... you know... So the way I dress, you could say, that's the culture that I've grown up in, so that's never changed... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

Hayyan's views bring to light the fact that the dominant British culture is prominent in the consumption habits and attitudes of the second and later generations. Wong (2007) states that taste is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate. It highlights differences by process of distinction. Hayyan's emphasis that when it comes to his taste in dress and fashion it is aligned with the British culture and him feeling embarrassed when his dad wears shalwar kameez signify his appreciation of the dominant host culture and detachment with the ethnic culture. The dislike of shalwar kameez by the younger generation is pronounced by Shahid (1st generation) who is fond of wearing shalwar kameez. To the question of whether he thinks the younger generation prefer to wear shalwar kameez he had the following to say:

No... because I know if they don't want me to wear it how are they going to wear it... (Shahid, 1st generation).

Shahid's narrative epitomizes the views of the younger respondents. They do not want to emulate the first generation in their dressing style. These sentiments are also elicited in discussion with Shadab (3rd generation) where he talks about how often he prefers to wearing shalwar Kameez:

Not often at all... it's just one of those things I guess... I mean, you do not see 18 years old wearing shalwar kameez, like every day to the mosque and stuff like that... If I am new to the mosque, I usually just wear, you know, normal clothes or whatever... even when you are going out that especially is weird in this country... it's not weird because you see all the people (1st generation) doing that but like people my age, of course not! (Shadab, 3rd generation)

Shadab acknowledges that it seems weird to him to wear shalwar kameez outside in public. It is pertinent to note that he accentuates that it's not weird on account of the ethnic dress being uncommon, unconventional, or exotic. He explains that all the older people wear that (Shadab lives in Slough, which has a large presence of Pakistani ethnic community). He reveals that he finds it weird because people his age don't prefer wearing it. These sentiments of Shadab need to be understood in the context of fashion being used to forge personal and social identities. According to Crane (2012), the consumer draws on various discourses to make sense of their connections between their individual identity perceptions and the social identity that is granted by associating with and gaining membership of several social groups that have similar tastes in clothing. This is further explicated by Thompson & Haytko (1997) who state that consumers employ fashion discourses to establish self-defining social boundaries and distinctions, to make sense of the interpersonal dynamics of their social spheres, to interpret their relationship to consumer culture, and to contest and transform social categories. In line with these assertions, it can be inferred that with respect to apparel and fashion Shadab does not want to be ascribed or associated with his ethnic heritage or with the 1st generation. Shadab's clothing preferences illustrate that self-identity can

be acquired and fashioned (Wong, 2007). Thus, by virtue of the expressive symbols of consumption which in this case is in the form of clothing and fashion, individuals are able to construct an identity for themselves enabling them to outstrip previously held perceptions of their ascribed identity (Belk, 1988; Dittmar, 1992). These attitudes are further brought to the fore by Aneela (2nd generation) who describes the situation in which she reluctantly wears shalwar kameez:

I pull it out only when somebody Pakistani is visiting...
Like my parents... Yeah (Aneela, 2nd generation)

The lack of enthusiasm for donning shalwar kameez was apparent in Aneela's conversation. Her statements insinuated that she wore Shalwar Kameez because she was apprehensive of her parent's criticism and to conform to the social conventions and expectations of the wider ethnic community, especially her parents. On a similar note, Qadsia (2nd generation) justifies and rationalizes her preferences of wearing jeans and tops on the grounds of convenience and practicality:

Jeans and tops and Abayays on top (loose over-garment, essentially a cloak, robe-like dress)... I never really used to wear them (shalwar Kameez) when I was young... Probably because Chorab (her husband who is Chinese) does not really like them very much... I think you have to have a really good sense of what goes together for Shalwar Qameez because I don't have that sense especially when you get them made up... I get shown like roles of fabric, and I go this is too difficult... I just go and get a pair of jeans... you don't have to think about it... it's just more practical... I can go out in the garden... I can go for a hike... Yeah... (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

Qadsia's fondness of wearing Jeans and tops and Abayas on top illustrates the coalescence of western and Islamic fashion. However, it should be noted that this sense of fashion is not particularly inspired by her Pakistani ethnicity. These findings are congruent with Bolognani & Mellor (2012), who analysed the negotiation of diasporic identities in young Pakistani women. The

researcher noted that by citing Islamic principles, these individuals were able to argue and justify that they should be able to dress in a style that is both Islamic and western. Moreover, Crane (2012) propounds that clothing can be deemed as a vast reservoir of meanings that can be reconstructed or manipulated so as to improve and augment an individual's sense of agency. Qadsia, in her conversation, talks about convenience and practicality when giving precedence to her western clothing over shalwar kameez. She admits that she is more in control when wearing western clothes and can go hiking and work in the garden. On the contrary, she confesses that she does not have a keen sense of fashion when it comes to shalwar kameez and feels overwhelmed and less in control when customizing and picking ethnic apparel. On the basis of these revelations, it can be argued that for Qadsia the western style of clothing offers a greater sense of agency and control in comparison to shalwar kameez. On a similar note, Hoor (2nd generation) confesses that she does not feel comfortable wearing the traditional Pakistani dress when out in public:

On a day-to-day basis, I wear my normal sort of jeans and my western clothes but if I am going to, for example... to a family member's house, I would normally wear jeans. But, if I am going for like... a dinner, then I will wear Asian clothes... if I am going out for dinner somewhere out either to the house or outdoors... Well to outdoors I would wear jeans. I would never leave the house going to a public place with Asian clothes ... I would never go shopping in my shalwar qameez.... I just don't feel comfortable.... (Hoor, 2nd generation)

Hoor, in her narrative, concedes that she will never leave the house going to a public place in Pakistani ensemble. Crane (2012) expounds that clothing as one of the most perceivable and noticeable forms of consumption has a major role in social identity construction. The choice and preference of clothing is a viable method to study and understand how individuals interpret a specific form of culture for their own purposes. In accordance with these assertions, Hoor's reluctance to be seen in shalwar kameez demonstrate that she is not keen to be identified and associated with her ethnic identity when in public.

Researchers also concur that clothes as artefacts create behaviour through their ability to assert social identities (Crane, 2012). Thus, the disenchantment of the younger generation with the ethnic Pakistani dress “shalwar kameez” can be inferred to signify the detachment of the 2nd and 3rd generation from their ethnic Pakistani culture and attenuation of their ethnic identity.

5.3.2 Attitudes and perceptions towards ethnic food

This section is an attempt to understand the cultural significance of consumption experiences in the context of food consumption. It needs to be underscored that even though the second and later generation may be western in a number of consumption choices, our findings have shown that when it comes to taste and food preferences, these are still very much entrenched and influenced by the ethnic Pakistani culture. Arsalan (2nd generation) elaborates the role of food as a marker of ethnic identity in his life:

Again, it's more towards food in terms of Pakistani identity... I tend to like Pakistani products... products which aren't, sort of sold in the main supermarkets... for example, there is a drink called Mirinda which you will only find in Pakistani shops or Pakistani newsagents... I like, sort of sweet dishes, Khir which is essentially rice pudding... Mathai, which is sort of food again, it's more towards food products rather than in terms of clothing (shalwar Kameez) or in terms of tech... (Arsalan, 2nd generation)

Arsalan talks about how his food preferences gravitate towards Pakistani food items that are not easily available in the regular supermarkets and is a crucial means of associating with the Pakistani ethnic identity. Since all societies have discernible norms and perceptions associated with their food (Mennell et al., 1992), researchers aver that exploring the food consumption attitudes of communities provides an appropriate criterion to identify and reveal any changes taking place during the process of acculturation (Jamal, 1998). It is also noteworthy that in the case of immigrants, studies have enunciated that food consumption is one of the last practices to be altered or adopted after the migration (Jamal, 1998; Mennell et al., 1992). Hayyan (2nd generation) brings

these assertions to the fore when he affirms that his association with Pakistani culture is confined and limited to ethnic food:

As far as Pakistani culture is concerned... I mean, I guess, I'm not very cultural, unless it comes to food, and then I'm very cultural... (Hayyan, 2nd generation)

Hayyan's detachment from his ethnic identity has been explicated in the previous chapter (for details see section 4.5.4). His aversion to Pakistani attire "shalwar Kameez" has also been discussed and noted (for details see section 5.3.1). It seems that in the case of Hayyan, ethnic food consumption is the only substantial connection with his ethnic culture and as such endorses the stance that food consumption is one of the last behaviours to be changed within the ethnic community.

Scholars emphasize that every culture in the world possesses its own food system with its unique patterns of meanings. The consumption and preparation of food are influenced by the cultural, religious, and symbolic meanings that are ascribed to the food and ultimately express the consumers to themselves (Jamal et al., 2018; Jamal, 1998). In the context of immigrants, scholars contend that when ethnic identity is a significant issue, ethnic foods are revived, certain new practices and items are incorporated into the old norms resulting in distinctive patterns of ethnic food consumption (Douglas, 2014). However, in the case of the Pakistani community residing in the U.K., ethnographic studies have illustrated that ethnic food consumption has never been abandoned and has been incessantly reproduced since their arrival in the U.K. (Jamal, 1998). This is why particularly through consuming Pakistani cuisines, the younger generation still holds on to their ethnic bonds and conforms with their Pakistani culture. As a case in point, consider Waleed's (2nd generation) juxtaposition of his British and ethnic modes of consumption:

Majority of the television consumption that I do is British in English and the food I have the majority of the time... it's Asian... (Waleed, 2nd generation)

Waleed, in his narrative, delineates the most notable facets of his British and ethnic consumption. Once again, food is seen as a viable medium to associate and express one's ethnic affiliation. Ethnic food within the younger generation is also perceived as an ethnic-cultural capital that is also appreciated by the broader British community. Qadsia (2nd generation) who is married to a Chinese, shares in her conversation how for her husband Pakistani food served as a means of falling in love with Pakistani culture:

The food... I think that's why my husband fell in love with Pakistani culture... It was mainly the food... (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

The aforementioned excerpts of the interviewees signify that food is seen as a salient symbol of ethnic identity by the younger generation. However, there have been changes some subtle, other drastic in the way ethnic food is prepared amongst the different generations. These differences were reported and described by Nida (3rd generation) in the following manner:

I like my shan masalas (commercial, ready-made ground mixtures - premade spices)... There does seem to be your shan and laziza (different brands of premade spices)... And that's quite a funny story because our moms were kind of very anti-packet masala... You make your rotis (chapatis)... You don't buy store bought rotis... So, we are very much kind of... Let's cut out as much as we can in terms of saving time and standing over the handi (cooking pot) for an hour and a half... So, we do not mind buying the packeted masalas... We don't mind buying our frozen parathas (a type of chappati)... If that makes any sense... but yes it was very difficult for our moms to move on to buy all of that because it took them so long sourcing the packets and sourcing all the kind of masalas they needed... I remember my Gran... We never used to get proper mangoes here so if anybody was going to Pakistan..."AAm lei Aen (Bring Mangoes) "Makhan lei aein" (Bring Butter)... So, I remember people bringing over foods from Pakistan that my gran craved and now they are more or less readily available... You know... Not only in the desi shops... But also, the whole food shops... You know.... The seeds... Even the simple things as the seeds and the nuts... (Nida, 3rd generation).

People constantly seek convenience in today's fast-moving world, and the second and third generation British Pakistanis are no exception, especially when it comes to preparing food. Whereas the older generation preferred to make the traditional meals from scratch the 2nd and 3rd generations don't refrain from using pre-made masalas out of a box or buying already made frozen chapatis from the shop for the sake of convenience and to avoid all the hassle of measuring, toasting, and grinding complex spice blends every day. Furthermore, Nida's account also gives prominence to ethnic stores and supermarkets. As far as dietary preferences and prohibitions are concerned, the presence of a large number of easily accessible ethnic shops and large dedicated supermarkets means there is very little difficulty in acquiring the common and rare ingredients essential of the ethnic culinary requirements (Alam & Husband, 2006). These ethnic stores are thus essential to sustain a current lived ethnicity, instead of a nostalgic and romanticised ossified past when it comes to ethnic food consumption. The next section deliberates upon the consumption difference between the first and the later generations.

5.4 Consumption differences between the first and the later generations

Our findings show that the British culture and identity are also an integral part of the second and third generations of British Pakistanis (for details see section 4.5.6). These affiliations are especially evinced in their consumption behaviour and might sometimes draw criticism from the first generation. Nida sheds lights on these topics in her interview discussion:

I'm quite happy to go to the cinema... Quite happy to go to the restaurants... There weren't many restaurants before, and we are fortunate that there are now where we can go and eat... so I think in terms of the socialising aspect we have not kind of let the so-called as my mom and dad... Well, my mom and gran will say GORA (literal meaning white; a sarcastic way of referring to the local white community) culture will affect us out of the way... "Tusi Bar hi Jante rehnde ho; Tusi Gore hi Bun gau ho" (You guys keep going out; you guys have become white) I think there was always an essence of why do you want

to go out and spend your money eating ... When you get the khana (food) in the house (Nida, 3rd generation).

Nida talks about her outings, especially to the cinemas and eating out in restaurants. This tendency of Nida to eat in restaurants corroborates the findings of Jamal (1998) who note that the younger generation while maintaining their affiliation with their own cultural food is also readily consuming mainstream British foods when they are outside their homes. In the eyes of the first generation these consumption practices are perceived to be an imitation of the local culture and people and as illustrated in the case of Nida might incur criticism from the elders (the first generation). The 1st generation associates such lifestyle with the goras (whites), a witty term or phrase used to describe the local British community. The issue of eating out was also highlighted by Qadsia in her conversation:

They (first generation) don't go out and eat... and if you do, then you feel like... Oh, why did I come out... I feel guilty now... they make me feel guilty (laughing)... You don't want to feel like that... (Qadsia, 1st generation)

Qadsia discloses that she felt guilty when eating out knowing that her parents generally don't approve of her eating out in restaurants. One reason why the 1st generation does not condone this particular activity might be because eating the same type of food and more importantly eating together symbolises family unity in the Pakistani cultural context (Jamal, 1998). When the later generations frequently go out to eat in restaurants, the first generation might consider this activity as splintering their family cohesion.

Our analysis of the interviews revealed another stark difference in the consumption attitudes of the first and the later generations. The first generation seems to be a lot more frugal when it comes to spending. These tendencies of the first generation were evident in Nida's account of how her parents shopped while she was growing up:

We grew up like... "This is how much we have, and this is what we can afford" and we tried to buy what for us

was best and the best would mean... kind of... Quality as opposed to quantity... Things that would give us the value for money... Something that would last for long... you know... for six kids... You buy a handi (cooking pot) it has to last... There were two families in one household... So, everything that was bought was bought with a purpose to last... (Nida, 3rd generation)

This passage of Nida shows that in the case of the first generation quality was a major consideration when purchasing products. However, it is noteworthy that the motive behind purchasing quality products was so that they can last longer and can be used by all their children instead of just one. Nida's portrayal of the shopping attitudes of the first generation was also reported by many other 2nd and 3rd generation participants. Hayyan (2nd generation), Sarah (2nd generation), and Qadsia (2nd generation) juxtapose their shopping behaviour with their parents in the following terms:

I guess they will look for value for money more than I would... (Hayyan, 2nd generation).

Think all of the Pakistani community, our parents' age... When you are a kid, they'll be like... No, you're not buying this, we will just go to the discounted store... they are like... we can't buy that here, you get three for one there... so yeah... I think our generation will get a little bit you know the more of the expensive side of things... spoil ourselves a bit more and also not just the food ... like we'll go out more to eat as well... yeah. (Sarah, 2nd generation)

My mom wouldn't buy anything for like 20 years for herself... and I say Mom I think you need a new coat, and she will say Nahi... Theek hai Theek hai It's fine... it's okay... it's okay... I will use it (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

Hayyan's emphasis that his parents are more concerned about the value of money, as well as Sarah and Qadsia's remarks on the shopping attitudes of the first generation, provide credence to the claim that the 1st generation is typically more frugal, saving and sparing when it comes to buying and shopping in comparison to the second and the third generations. These

tendencies can be explained by understanding the cultural background of the first generation that migrated to the U.K. (for a detailed discussion see section 4.2.1). Most of the first generation of British-Pakistani came from a society where there was widespread poverty, lack of resources, and severe economic constraints. Their priority was to settle in the new country and get established. It can be posited that these circumstances compelled them to be more economical and prudent when shopping for items and managing their expenditures.

On the other hand, the first generation's perceptions of their children are that they are more carefree and unencumbered when it comes to spending money. Shahid's remark about the younger generation's spending habits are as follows:

I like to maybe spend money... be careful with it... my children don't bother (laughing)... reason for that is our background in Pakistan was very poor, and when our children were born here, they were born with a silver spoon in their mouth... when they were born they had ... we had cars... we had good houses... We lived properly... though we were working hard but, our children had a good life... (Shahid, 1st generation)

Shahid believes that the later generations are less concerned about being prudent and thrifty when it comes to spending money. He reckons that the reason for their somewhat profligate spending habit is that contrary to the first generation their children were born with a silver spoon and were provided a good life and were well looked after. The research by Thomas (2010) is relevant in this case in which he observes that the material requirements of the children seem to have grown astronomically within living memory. He explicates that children embody the material status or in Pakistani terms the *quwat* (strength of the family). Consequently, they objectify their parents' most important responsibility of providing their children with the resources needed for a good future. He asserts that ethnic parents also seem to sympathise with their children's desire for transient commodities consumed as objects of fad

and fashion. Shahid (1st generation) relates the following two incidences that affirm this stance:

My eldest son qualified as a pharmacist and it was what do you call it when they go to get the degrees... graduation ceremony... yeah... he wanted to buy a suit, and I went with him... We went to different shops... in every shop, he would say I don't like anything... I think he didn't like anything because I was with him (laughing)... now I was looking for a two to three hundred pound suit and things like that... I said go do it yourself, and the next day he went there and bought an Italian suit for 500 pounds... he didn't dare tell me that's why he is not buying it (laughing)... (Shahid, 1st generation)

If you want to buy a car, you don't have to go buy a brand new car... you could buy a car with the money you have... buy second hand... third hand.... all you need is a car to take you from A to B... that's my personal opinion but for instance Hayyan (Shahid's eldest son)... when he passed his driving test, I bought him a brand new Micra... brand new Micra from the garage... I gave him the keys... you know what he said... I won't be seen dead in it... why... because Micra that's not a car to him... A car is something that goes from nothing to 60 in two seconds... (Shahid, 1st generation)

Shahid's commentary on the purchasing preferences of his children, typify the views that are commonly held within the first generation that consider the later generation to be spendthrift when it comes to shopping. Furthermore, it seems that the second and later generations seem to be aware of the perception that the elders have of their spending habits and acknowledge it. Consider the following excerpt from Nida (3rd, generation):

Your parents are naturally to say... "oh tuse fazool kharchi kar rahe ho" (ohhh... you're squandering money)... I think we are more prone to maybe buying something, even if we don't need it... whereas, for my parents, it was the needs first philosophy... (Nida 3rd generation)

Nida confesses that she understands why the elders might think that the younger generation is thrifless when it comes to spending. She admits that

she is prone to buying things even if she does not need them, something she does not associate with the first generation.

The extrapolation of the interviews also showed a discernible difference in the travel destination preferences of the first generation and their descendants. It is found that whenever an opportunity presents itself, the priority of the first generation is always to travel back to Pakistan and meet their loved ones in the homeland. On the contrary, in the case of the second and third generations travelling to Pakistan has never been much of a consideration, let alone a priority. It was observed that the majority of the second and third generations either had never been to Pakistan or last visited Pakistan a while back (10-15 years ago). All of their recent travel has been to countries other than Pakistan. For example, in the past few years, Sikander has travelled to Japan several times; Hayyan has toured Dubai and Qatar several times; Sania has been to Turkey and Dubai; Arsalan has been to Dubai; Malik has been to Dubai; Owais has been to Egypt. A conversation with Qadsia (who has never been to Pakistan) in which she talks about her travelling plans serves as a prime example substantiating the stance that travelling to Pakistan is quite low in the list of the priorities in this generation of the British Pakistani community:

We're saving right now because we are going to Hong Kong hopefully by next year and Singapore... taking the kids... The husband has an identity card... he has to renew it anyway, and I said you're not going on your own... we will meet his family as well there... but also holiday and also it's the first time my kids will ever be flying... you know, for us, a lot of money goes into this... the year after that, my eldest is going away to Croatia for a week with the scouts... So I want him to have a practice of being away... (Qadsia, 2nd generation)

From the travelling plans of Qadsia in the near future, it can be vividly inferred that travelling to Pakistan with her family is secondary and unimportant especially since she herself has never been to Pakistan. These notions of the second and later generation reinforce the claims of Bolognani (2014) who posit that there is an attenuation of the emotional attachment with Pakistan in certain segments of the British Pakistani community. He observes that many British

Pakistanis, especially the generation raised in Britain, travelling to Pakistan, return with negative perceptions of the natives. They report the local Pakistanis to be dishonest, practising norms and traditions that are deemed unislamic in their eyes and in many other ways are backward (an English term often used in the subcontinent which implies excessive traditionalism or lack of social or economic progress). Pakistani is often referred to as “back home”, by the British Pakistanis born and raised in Britain. However, it is noteworthy that for the second and later generations this phrase instead of connoting emotional attachment with Pakistan is increasingly used to signify that Pakistan is perceived to be backward, or behind in comparison to the U.K. The sentiments of Aneela (2nd generation) serves as a case in point illustrating the cultural detachment and incompatibility experienced by the 2nd and later generations during their visit to Pakistan:

Living in Pakistan was the most challenging... I would say in terms of society... I would have mental clashes with literally everybody I would speak to... I don't know either I am too straight, or too naive, or too simple in my thinking... I do not know... I will find people saying something and meaning something else, and you know... Really... I'm not used to that here... In England, we just say what we mean... (Aneela, 2nd generation).

Aneela's narrative accentuates the increasing cultural gap between Pakistani society and the generations that are born and raised in the U.K. According to Ali & Holden (2011), in the case of the second generation, travelling to Pakistan, results in them questioning their associations with the country and a feeling that they do not belong. In these individuals there exists a sense of restlessness as they realize that their sense of attachment to Pakistan is overshadowed by their British nationality. The outcome of such realizations is that they feel different and detached from the indigenous population and their parents, making it hard to integrate into the Pakistani host society. These experiences engender different and new narratives of belonging, reinforcing the British aspect of the second and later generation's national identity and questioning the preconceived perception of their identity being defined by their parent's country of birth.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explores how the different generations of British Pakistani Muslims' religious, ethnic, and host cultural values and identities are drawn upon in discourse about consumption. This chapter particularly examines how this community engages practically, emotionally, and intellectually with ritualistic, mundane, luxurious, conspicuous, and ethnic consumption practices.

From the findings, it can be concluded that the practices of eschewing ritualistic consumption that is considered to be against the Islamic tenants by the respondents give credence to the notion that Islam is construed as a transcendental religion and ultimately takes precedence over culture and rituals of society. The study findings also reveal how such consumption rituals are deemed inauthentic from the interviewees' religious standpoint and are thus abandoned. Consequently, these findings illustrate the manner by which the interviewees attempt to achieve an authentic religious self through their consumption practices and narratives.

Through the subjectivities identified and highlighted in the mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption of this community it is also argued that individuals do not continuously stay in an ambiguous and ambivalent state, swaying between the sacred and the profane (Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). The views, practices, and attitudes of the interviewees when it comes to mundane consumption such as eating dates or shopping in supermarkets suggest the existence of multiple, contradictory, and shifting moral frameworks. These findings validate the stance that in their daily consumption attitudes and practices, individuals make intentional and conscious choices. They practice religion, based on their individual interpretation of Islam which is plural and subjective. Similarly, the leeway and flexibility noted in the interpretation and deliberation of religious texts in the context of luxurious and conspicuous consumption show that even though modesty and Halal are synonymous with the religion of Islam, how these common denominators of the Islamic doctrines are negotiated, interpreted and experienced in the

everyday lives of Muslims are dynamic and complex. Our findings thus provide further insights on the assertions of a number of scholars that claim that individuals as social agents in their daily life situations do not abide by a strict, literal logic of religiosity. On the contrary, they pursue a practical logic which in essence is context dependent. (Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012; Jafari & Sandikci, 2015, 2016; Sandikci, 2020).

Our research findings also reveal a clear declining shift in attitudes of the second and later generations of British Pakistan towards ethnic Pakistani consumption in comparison with the first generation. The self-consciousness, indifference, and embarrassment associated with the ethnic dress shalwar kameez coupled with their disenchantment of identifying with the indigenous culture and people complement our findings of the attenuating role of ethnic identity in the second and subsequent generations of British Pakistanis (see section 4.5.4). Ethnic food consumption nevertheless still seems to be a crucial marker of ethnic identity in all the generations and has withstood the test of changing generational tastes and choices. Results also reveal that relative to the first generation, the second generation is perceived to spend lavishly and are unencumbered with financial considerations when shopping.

Moreover, the spending and consumption habits of the second and third generation, as well as their deviation from the ethnic culture and norms, can also be attributed to prevailing individualistic tendencies. Thus, the abundance of choices and independence from parental control can be characterised more and more by the manifestation of individualism, increasing anomie and autonomy, and less and less by heteronomy. Contrary to the perspectives that the Muslims are in conflict with western ideals of consumption our study also reveals that the British Pakistani community can comfortably draw on their Islamic and Western modes and aesthetics of consumption simultaneously and skillfully without being conflicted or inconsistent. It is observed that the consumption attitudes and preferences of these individuals are influenced by a combination of religious piety and pragmatic ethics of material enjoyment. It

seems that the balancing of religion and pragmatism offers the most cultural competence in the lives of this community.

Chapter 6 Significance of the study, managerial implications, and future directions

This chapter highlights the significance and contribution of this research and also accentuates the managerial implications of the study. The chapter draws to a close by making recommendations for further studies in the future. This chapter is divided into the following three sections:

- Significance and contribution of the study
- Managerial implications
- Future research directions

6.1 Significance and contributions of the study

This study in the context of the different generations of British Pakistani Muslims in the U.K. contributes to our understanding of the interrelationship between faith, ethnicity, and host culture identity projects. It adds to the ongoing conversation that calls upon the need to re-examine the prevailing assumptions on religion and ethnicity with emphasis on how these two dimensions materialise in everyday life through consumption practices (Izberk-Bilgin, 2015; Jafari et al., 2015; Mathras et al., 2016; Lindridge, 2009). It explores and provides empirical evidence to the contentions raised by a number of scholars that religion will supersede ethnicity as the most prominent marker of identity for the second and later generations of ethnic Muslim communities (Jeung et al., 2012; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). By exploring the different generations of British Pakistanis, this research provides a more in-depth insight into how these identities may be contested and change over time. Findings show that the second and subsequent generations, in particular, have become more inclined towards religion and that Islam has evolved as the most significant marker of identity for them. In the second and third generations of this community, the vacuum resulting from attenuating bonds with the homeland (Pakistan) is compensated by identifying with universal or global

Islam, a phenomenon that is free and unadulterated from the ethnic culture of the parental, first generation. They are able to successfully counter the traditional cultural expectations and demands by invoking their knowledge of the Quran and Hadith.

One key contribution of this study is that it delineates the religious identity formation in the different generations in the Muslim ethnic families. How ethnic minorities construct their identities remains under-researched (Liebkind et al., 2016). Moreover, researchers exhort the need to explicate the identity formation in Muslim immigrants, particularly the second and later generations (Hermansen, 2003; Leonard, 2003; Peek, 2005). This study fills this gap by delineating the different phases of religious identity formation experienced by the different generations of the Pakistani ethnic community.

The issue of religious transmission over generations and how it is associated with other facets of life are essential areas of inquiry in the West (Voas & Fleischmann, 2012). In recent times, there has been a shift in the balance of power within Muslim households because of changing dynamics of intergenerational relationships. Many researchers have objected to the idea of the unidirectional passing on of religion, which assumes that the children are disposed to passive socialization from parents contending that the process is bi-directional (Scourfield et al., 2012). Thus, another important contribution of this study is to bring to the fore reciprocal socialization and bi-directionality with respect to religion within the different generations of Muslim ethnic families, which has been scarcely considered in contemporary research (Vermeer, 2014). By probing the second and third generations, this study affirms that in the case of religious transmission in certain sections of the Pakistani ethnic communities, the unidirectional and asymmetrical perspective of socialization is not valid. Thus, this study demonstrates that in socio-religious contexts, where the later generations of Muslim ethnic minorities increasingly tend to grow up in different cultural environments than their parents, the importance they attach to religion is especially impacted. In such an environment, it is

affirmed that the younger generations act as “religious influencers” while the older generations are the “influenced.”

The role of religion in shaping social capital needs to be probed (Cloete, 2014). It is argued that religion has an important part to play in the public sphere and social issues and, therefore, also in the development of social cohesion and social capital. There is a need to assess how people's understanding of their religious identities impacts social capital and shapes their engagement with others (Hopkins, 2011). An important contribution of this study is delineating the role of religion in shaping social capital and vice versa. From the interviewee's accounts, it is seen that social capital and religious identity are synergically associated. The religious practices of the Pakistani ethnic community result in the formation of social capital that comprises mostly of Muslims. This acquired social capital further reinforces and sustains the religious identity of the ethnic community. This study validates that religious institutions provide bonding capital in ethnic communities. This bonding social capital reasserts and reinforces the religious identities of the ethnic communities and enables them to participate in religious rituals.

There is also a need to study the impact of social class on religious identity (Scourfield et al., 2012; Voas & Fleischmann, 2012; Maliepaard et al., 2010; Maliepaard & Phalet, 2012). This study contributes to the further understanding of the interplay between religion, social class, and education. Contrary to the predominant view, which avers that the rise in education, modernity, and affluence undermine religion's influence, this study shows a contrasting picture. It can be concluded from the analysis of the interview accounts of the second and third generations that, in their case, educational attainment and having an employment status that is consistent with their educational qualifications have a positive impact on religious assertions and identity.

Discussions of authenticity and its vicissitudes occupy considerable volumes in the explorations of tourism, amounting to a sub-disciplinary field of research. However, the phenomenon of authenticity and its paradigm has scarcely been

explored within sociocultural explorations and its related disciplines (Vannini & Williams, 2009). Consequently, this study contributes to the literature of authenticity by exploring the interplay of authenticity and religious identity in the ethnic Pakistani community in the U.K. A key theme emanating from the 2nd and 3rd generation participants' accounts is their quest for authenticity. The study finds that authentic Islam provides a sense of reflective equilibrium in an individual's life. The authentication process in this context is primarily rooted in the literal approach towards understanding the religious texts and an endeavor to imitate the first generation of Muslims (the companions of the Prophet Muhammad), which can be achieved by identifying and abandoning the innovations introduced in religion by culture. In this sense, the notion of religious authenticity entails liberation and emancipation from ethnic, national, and cultural concerns and profanities. It is posited that the appeal of adhering to such religious ideals eclipses a Muslim's pursuit of identity, for it is verily prompted by a deep-rooted form of collective individualism as well as a desire for certainty and purpose. Moreover, a crucial contribution of this research in the consumption domain is that it illustrates how considering and experiencing a salient aspect of one's life (religious identity) as authentic can render another (ritual consumption rooted in ethnic culture) as inauthentic. Exploring such a phenomenon is important because research has often delved upon the philosophical underpinnings of authenticity, various forms of authenticity, and the mechanism of authentication, including hot authenticity and cool authenticity. However, it is exhorted that contemporary research often overlooks the notion of inauthenticity, which is intrinsically intertwined with the theoretical framework of authenticity. This research fills this gap by accentuating how consumption rituals deemed inauthentic from the interviewees' religious standpoint are abandoned.

This project is amongst the first comprehensive investigation on how consumption rituals, choices, and practices are affected by a shift in ethnic and religious identities. It contributes by adding to the contemporary literature on how religious beliefs and identities influence the ritualistic consumption of immigrant communities (Fernandez & Lastovicka, 2011; Werbner, 2014). This

study sheds light on how rituals and ideas that were once considered sacrosanct, static, and fixed in the home culture (Pakistan) are modified sometimes irrevocably, and in certain situations beyond recognition in the ethnic communities. Findings show that with the prevalence of allegedly universal, acultural, and pure way of practising Islam that is rooted in the literal interpretations of the religious texts the Pakistani ethnic community is engaged in a critical re-evaluation of their consumption rituals and norms. Rituals are no longer taken for granted but are questioned and seen as inauthentic. Analysis of the interviews reveals that several aspects pertaining to the rituals of marriage, death, birthdays, milads (Prophet's birth celebration), Quran Khawani (communal reading of the Quran) that are practised in Pakistan have been deemed religiously unacceptable. Findings demonstrate that participants felt that such ritualistic consumption clashed with the pure, universal, and acultural Muslim mode of practice derived from the modern interpretations of religious texts. These attitudes indicate the rejection of ethnic culture on the premise that culture creates false Islam that is tainted with religious innovation. The findings also illustrate how Muslims invoke their textual knowledge of the Quran and the Hadith (sayings and traditions of the Prophet) to rationalise and justify their choice of not engaging in ritualistic consumption. Religion, in this case, can be seen as a conscious strategy for emancipation from cultural practices and customs. Such religious interpretations bring to the fore individualised nature of the practice of Islamic consumption which is another major contribution of this study.

The research findings negate the prevailing assumptions among certain scholars that the Islamic creed is exceptional and completely remains within the realms of the religious and sacrosanct and resist or lack consumerist culture. The study provides a comprehensive understanding of how religion is practised and experienced in everyday life and in specific sociocultural contexts. This study by exploring the mundane, conspicuous and luxurious consumption practices in the context of different generations of British Pakistani's identifies the paradoxes and subjectivities prevalent in the consumption practices of the Muslim community. The views, practices, and

attitudes of the interviewees when it comes to mundane consumption such as eating dates or shopping in supermarkets that are perceived as controversial suggests the existence of multiple, contradictory, and shifting moral frameworks. These findings shed light on the complex and dynamic relationship between individual sensibilities and interests and the collective dominant moral frameworks shaped by religious influences and commitments. Similarly, findings in which individuals subjectively rationalise the criteria for purchasing products that are deemed controversial (e.g. products made in Israel) by the broader Pakistani community signify religious reflexivity and subjectivity prevalent amongst the Muslim consumers. These findings are significant as they show an individualised interpretation of religion that is more aligned with globally informed ways of consumption that are now part and parcel of constructing and communicating modern and faithful Muslim identities.

The findings also highlight that secularity and plurality are also deeply ingrained in Muslims' interpretation of Islam in the realm of consumption. Analysing luxury and conspicuous consumption of this community has shown that they do not abide by the strict codes of religiosity which call upon Muslims to avoid extravagant spending and consumption. These Revelations offer further credence that participants individually interpret Islamic religious injunctions and justify their consumption choices and practices through this. Taken together, the research findings fill the research gaps that call upon substantiating claims that Islamic consumption practices are highly contested, dynamic, and negotiated (Sandikci & Ger, 2011; Sandikci & Jafari, 2013; Jafari & Suerdem, 2012). It elucidates the multiplicities, complexities, and fluidities of the religious and cultural forces shaping consumption attitudes and behaviours. The evidence from this study suggests that as religion and consumption intersect the meaning of proper Islamic behaviour is transformed, resulting in religious interpretations that are subjective, secular, and plural in nature.

Another added value of this study is highlighting that the ethnic identities of the different generations do not remain static and transform with the passage of time. The findings of this research affirm the notion that acculturation is continuous and that there is no single, definitive outcome of acculturation. The evidence from this study complements the claims that the ethnic communities in one way or another are undergoing the process of consumer acculturation irrespective of the generations they belong to. Our research findings reveal a clear declining shift in attitudes of the second and later generations of British Pakistan towards ethnic Pakistani consumption in comparison with the first generation. The self-consciousness, indifference, and embarrassment associated with the ethnic dress shalwar kameez coupled with their disenchantment of identifying with the indigenous culture and people complement our findings of the attenuating role of ethnic identity in the second and subsequent generations of British Pakistanis. Ethnic food consumption nevertheless still seems to be a crucial marker of ethnic identity in all the generations and has withstood the test of changing generational tastes and choices. Results also reveal that relative to the first generation, the second generation is perceived to spend lavishly and are unencumbered with financial considerations when shopping. One of the most obvious findings to emerge from this study is how consumption is implicated in constructing, maintaining, and communicating identities. The empirical findings in this study demonstrate how the consumption practices of the British Pakistani community keeps them close to Islam and at the same time allows them to move away from their ethnic identity (ritual, dress, travel) but still maintain a certain level of connection to their ethnic heritage through food.

Contemporary research has mostly portrayed the second and third generations as passive victims of their circumstances when it comes to making lifestyle choices such as marriages, divorces, and educational pursuits. Scholars note that these individuals tend to live ambivalent conflicted lifestyles and can do little but suffer their parent's imposition of alien cultural values. They have been ascribed the term "torn self" and "fragmented selves" and lives are seen to continually oscillate between their desire to preserve their

ancestral origin and embrace Western culture. By documenting the significant role of the younger generation in influencing religious and consumption norms for all generations, this study highlights the emancipated and independent nature of consumption choices and practices of the second and third generations. In addition, this study finds that participants have the ability to actively choose the extent of their affiliation with ethnic culture thus an alternative view is offered that suggests the second and later generations are not passive victims of their circumstances but are active in shaping their religious and ethnic identities and those of their family members. Moreover, contrary to the perspectives that the Muslims are in conflict with western ideals of consumption our study also reveals that the British Pakistani community can comfortably draw on their Islamic and western modes and aesthetics of consumption simultaneously and skillfully without being conflicted or inconsistent. It is observed that the consumption attitudes and preferences of these individuals are influenced by a combination of religious piety and pragmatic ethics of material enjoyment. It seems that the balancing of religion and pragmatism offers the most cultural competence in the lives of this community.

6.2 Managerial implications

Many managers consider religion as a homogenising force across Muslims as a result of which the Muslim market is seen as a separate and distinct marketing segment. Contrary to this approach, the emphasis of this study was to highlight the multiplicity of the interpretations of Islam found in Muslim communities. The study findings substantiate the need to shift managerial and academic focus from fixating solely on segmentation and the notion that Muslims as consumers are generally inherently different from western consumers to a more situated critical and dynamic engagement with Muslim consumers.

The findings of the ritualistic, mundane, conspicuous, and luxurious consumption of the ethnic Pakistani community demonstrate that their interpretations, negotiations, and experiences of consumption practices are

dynamic and complex. These findings should dissuade marketing managers from presuming the Muslims to be a homogenous segment. The marketers should instead pay attention to the daily practices and needs for which their products may be suitable and come up with solutions through those products for everyday problems in that particular context. For instance, marketers should focus on the solutions that will facilitate Muslim consumers to be better Muslims and to live in accordance with their Islamic beliefs and values instead of overtly focussing on achieving the halalness of the products. It needs to be underscored that such solutions should take into account that the understandings, perceptions, and interpretation of living proper Islamic lives are dynamic, fluid, contested, multiple, and negotiated. For businesses, a one size fits all policy will be unlikely to yield long term success and profits. On the other hand, organisations that endeavour to help consumers solve their day-to-day problems and moral tensions are likely to experience sustainable success. Western Businesses thus need to start developing a situated and co-constitutive relationship with Muslim consumers. This strategy entails approaching each and every market by taking into perspective its specificity, i.e., its moral, competitive, political and sociohistorical marketing context. Such an approach will render a more intercultural, peaceful, culturally pluralist, inter-religious relationship to flourish between the consumers and the businesses.

Marketers should also be mindful of certain challenges that they might encounter when using religion to promote and sell products. Our results indicate (for a detailed discussion see section 5.2.3) that in certain cases Muslim consumers may contest the commodification of Islamic values on account of their perceptions that in doing so, religion is being abused for making profits. Brands and promotions that seemingly portray as being glaringly Islamic are sometimes questioned, and consumers may become critical of such business, assuming that their ulterior motive is ultimately to make money by exploiting religion and Muslims. This section of the Muslim community contends that the urge by companies to develop and market the Islamic version of every product is the corporate greed to generate more profits and as such is an implausible attempt of retrofitting Islam within consumerism.

6.3 Future research directions

It needs to be pointed out that the analysis and extrapolation of the data in this study alluded to the importance of cultural brokers. However, due to the insufficient number of interviewees of this generation and therefore, insufficient data, we could not pursue theorising this line of research in greater detail. There is a need to explore the construct of cultural brokers in greater detail. Cultural brokers are individuals who are considered to maintain interactions and participation in the mainstream culture and also with one or more minority cultures (Herzog, 1972). These people are able to navigate multiple cultures and function as cultural and language bridges among cultures. Consequently, cultural brokers occupy a unique position as they are able to communicate the values and nuances of the mainstream culture to the minority culture and vice versa (Singh et al., 1999). These individuals are thus able to competently experience and socialise life in two cultures and actively participate in both the ethnic and mainstream cultures.

It is posited that cultural brokers, unlike the second and third generations, will exhibit greater affiliation and attachment with the ethnic culture. In a similar vein, it is suggested that, unlike the first generation, they will be more integrated into the dominant host British culture. There is a need for future studies to empirically validate these propositions. Furthermore, there is a need to explore whether and in what ways their consumption attitudes and behaviour are similar and/or different from all the other generations. Inclusion of recent 1.5 immigrants is also necessary because their cultural adjustment experiences may be different from those of immigrant adolescents who have resided in this country for most of their lives (Yeh et al., 2005).

Most researchers agree that biculturalism in the 1.5 generations tends to deliver more benefits to individuals than monoculturalism (Holloway-Friesen, 2008). However, a number of scholars also contend that biculturalism is not the ideal state (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994; Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Keefe & Padilla (1987) who conducted research on Mexican Americans, noted that the study participants described their bicultural experiences and life as tumultuous.

Through the interviews, it was found that living a bicultural life entailed making difficult decisions about ethnic loyalty. Gomez & Fassinger's (1994) corroborated the aforesaid assertions in their study of Latina immigrants. Their research revealed that the 1.5 Latina generations were internally torn as they grappled to identify with two cultures. It needs to be seen how the experiences of the 1.5 generations of British Pakistanis compare and relate with the aforementioned studies. This would be a fruitful area for further work.

It is suggested that the bicultural competence in the 1.5 generations of British Pakistanis can be assessed in light of the LaFromboise et al. (1993) model, which is comprised of six dimensions. The first dimension assesses an individual's knowledge of cultural values and beliefs. The model's second dimension measures the extent of positive attitudes that an individual has towards both the minority and the majority cultures. The third dimension pertains to bicultural efficacy. It describes the confidence or belief that an individual has in one's ability to effectively navigate both cultures without compromising on the sense of cultural identity. Dimension number four looks at the ability of an individual to be able to effectively communicate ideas verbally and non-verbally within the host and ethnic culture. Role repertoire is the fifth dimension of the LaFromboise et al. (1993) model which signifies the range of culturally appropriate roles or behaviours such as religious practices, gender roles, societal conventions, and political issues that an individual can adequately perform. The greater the number of different roles and behaviour that individuals implement the higher is their level of bicultural competence. The final dimension is groundedness and relates to the extent to which individuals possess stable social networks in both cultures.

Another interesting avenue of future research is to explore the interplay of religion, wellbeing, and ethnicity. According to Jafari et al. (2015) in the context of ethnicity other branches of knowledge (e.g. religion, developmental and cultural studies, politics, sociology, and psychology) have already generated a large body of research on the role and significance of religion on different aspects of wellbeing (e.g. economic, physical, cultural, psychological and

social wellbeing). Despite the interest in all other disciplines, the interrelationships and intersections of the nexus of religion, ethnicity, and wellbeing have been overlooked and understudied in consumer and marketing behaviour research. In this respect, researchers should probe societies that are affected by and suffer from religious ethnic tensions. In order to pursue this objective, it is recommended that they identify various types of physical, economic, sociocultural, and psychological risks that endanger consumers' wellbeing and interrogate how they experience vulnerabilities and what are their adaptive or coping strategies.

Researchers should also investigate how the marketplace as well as various marketing policies and strategies such as segmentation, may play a role in the marginalisation of consumers particularly on the basis of their religion and/or ethnicity. Future research should also explore how such practices of marginalisation can be attenuated so that all individuals can actively participate in the marketplace, enhancing their dignity. Prospective studies can also conduct a critical appraisal of the economic, political, and ideological motivations behind market making institutions that take undue advantage of consumer's cultural, emotional, and pragmatic interests in religion and aggravate religio-ethnic antagonism.

It needs to be underscored even though certain aspects of the religious and ethnic identities of my respondents that have been identified from the analysis of the interviews have been alluded to in one way or another by other research studies in the broader context of the Muslim ethnic communities (these have also been highlighted in the discussion chapters), we must take precaution in generalizing the results of this study and assuming that it is applicable on the broader Pakistani community in the U.K. It needs to be reiterated that this is a very small sample of respondents, linked by family ties and living in diverse urban and multicultural cities (London, Glasgow). To generalize the finding to the entire British Pakistani population, there is a need to conduct a broader study involving a larger sample of respondents from different generations, living in both urban and rural areas, coming from diverse backgrounds, and

belonging to different social and economic classes and following different religious sects (both Sunni and Shia Muslims).

With respect to this research and its findings, I would also like to caution that it would be simplistic and premature to assume that greater inclinations towards religious identities displayed by the Pakistani ethnic community are necessarily permanent and that the views and opinions that have been expressed in this study are intransigent and fixed. It is necessary to have a more comprehensive longitudinal research to track and analyse how religious, ethnic, and host identities may change and transform through the individual's life course and its implications on consumption. There is a possibility that due to changing government policies and the attitude of the host society towards ethnic and religious groups, some of the conservatively religious young people might become less religious in the future and vice versa.

Moreover, the majority of the second generation participants of this study were university educated, upwardly mobile British Pakistanis. The next area that this research suggests for further exploration are those families and communities that might reside in ghettos and are less educated and affluent. It would be interesting to see whether their religious, ethnic, and host identities are manifested and negotiated in the same manner as those individuals that are considered upwardly mobile and highly educated. It would also be worthwhile to investigate how their consumption practices and preference differ from the majority of the participants that were explored in this study. Further research about these people can make a significant contribution to understanding the importance of religion in Muslims' identity and practice.

Future studies can also critically evaluate and juxtapose the role religion plays in motivating religious consumers to pursue fair trade, green marketing, ethical consumption, and sustainability initiatives. Many scholars (e.g., Sandikci, 2011; Belhadj & Merdaoui 2017; Ammerman, 2006) aver that religion is a major force shaping the contemporary world and is expected to remain as such. Hence, unpacking the marketing, religion, and consumption interactions

will not only add to the marketing discipline but will also likely contribute to our understanding of the world and its many complexities.

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Appendices

Appendix 01: Interview guide

Questions Pertaining to Religion and Identity

Can you please introduce yourself? Religious affiliation/Age/Martial status/profession/Gender

Can you tell me a little bit about your family's arrival into the Uk.

Can you describe the Social groups (Occupational, gender, ethnic, Religious) with which you identify?

How did you come to associate with this and/ or these groups?

What role does culture be it Pakistani or British culture play in your life? Which one of these two is more prominent in your life?

Do you think of your culture (ethnic/British) in a different way from your parents/children?

Describe the role of Islam (if any) in your life?

Did you grow up in a religious family? Tell me about it?

Was the region or community you grew up in religious?

In your view have you become more or less religious with time (You are more religious now, can you tell me what happened, or what the transition was there?)

Has there been any particular event/s (national/ international/ local) that you consider have had an impact on yours or your family's life as a Muslim in the Uk? Please Describe.

How did these events affect the way you identified as a Muslim?

How do you see your generation of Muslims thinking about Islam? How different is this from your parents/grandparents/children?

Which things would you say signify your being a Muslim?

What are the main issues in your opinion, which Muslims face in today's society, specifically in Britain? The Muslim Ummah Globally?

What language do you use while speaking to your immediate family?

Which language do you consider important for yourself and your family? / For your children, which language/s would you prefer that they are fluent in and are able to read, write and speak?

Do you think you are more British than your parents? In what ways.

What is it like to be a Muslim in a predominantly non-Muslim society? / How well do you fit into the U.K. society?

Do you ever think of settling in a Muslim country instead of in the U.K.

Questions Pertaining to Brand perceptions and attitudes

Where do you usually go shopping? (Grocery, cloths, house things, luxury products) and why?

What are the most important factors that would make you loyal to certain brands, if any?

In what way your brand preferences differ from your (Parents/Children/Grandparents)?

When buying a particular brand where do you get your inspiration from? In other words who influences your brand purchase decisions? How influential is your family/reference group/social group on your consumption behaviour?

Do you think your brand preferences are influenced because of your cultural connection with Pakistan? If so how?

Do you think your brand preferences are influenced because of your religious beliefs? If so How?

Do some brands/products seem more Islamic to you than others?

Are there any products/brands that help you define and express your Muslim identity? Can you describe how these brands help you in doing so? Do you think switching to another brand in this case is hard/risky?

Can you think of any British products/brands that you can never consume?

When you or members of your families visit Pakistan are there any particular products that you buy and bring back to the UK?

Are there any products/brands which you use that are not easily available in the regular British supermarkets and for which you have to go to ethnic stores?

Are there brands that help you define and express your Ethnic (Pakistani) Identity? Can you describe how these brands help you in doing so? Do you think switching to another brand in this case is hard/risky?

In your opinion, does being brand conscious and consuming luxury brands such as Armani, Gucci, Chanel, and Burberry affect one's religious identity? (In what way Positive/Negative)? Is spending more on famous brands religiously acceptable?

Describe the type of Muslims that consume such luxury brands; their degree of religiosity social class; age; ethnic affiliations; appearance; behaviour.

What do you think of them? Do you consider yourself one of them?

How different are Muslims consumers who consume such luxury brands in terms of their mannerism and religious beliefs from the westerners who consume similar luxury brands?

Which influences you more. Muslims consuming these brands or people in the advertisements of these luxury brands? Why?

What do you know about consumer boycott?

Have you ever boycotted a product or brand? (If yes, what were the reasons for your boycotting the product or brand?) (If no, can you think of any reasons because of which you may want to boycott a product or brand.)

What general Perceptions and opinions do you think Muslims of your generation have about brand commercials and advertisements in the media? In your view are these attitudes any different from your children/Parents/Grand Parents.

In your opinion when a Muslim consume such brands how does the non-Muslim community perceive that person. What impression is given to them about the Muslim Community?

Appendix 02: Interview consent form



UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
Business School

Interview Consent Form

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by the doctoral researcher Zeeshan Rafiq from the University of Edinburgh, Business School. I understand that the project is designed to gather information about different generations of British Pakistanis and their consumption habits as well as the factors which effect this consumer acculturation process. I hereby confirm that:

	Please Initial Box
I have been given sufficient information about this research project. The purpose of my participation as an interviewee in this project has been explained to me and is clear.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.	
I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.	
I agree for this interview to be tape-recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis and that extracts from the interview, from which I would not be personally identified, may be used in any conference presentation, report or journal article developed as a result of the research. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission, and that no one outside the research team will be allowed access to the original recording.	
I agree that my anonymised data will be kept for future research purposes such as publications related to this study after the completion of the study.	
I agree to take part in this interview.	

_____	_____	_____
Name of participant	Date	Signature
_____	_____	_____
Principal Investigator	Date	Signature

Appendix 03: Codes

Codes	Sources	References
Consumption	4	5
Assimilating with the host society in terms of consumption	1	1
Boycotts of Brands and Products	9	11
Brand, Product Awareness and consumption Amongst Different Generations	8	11
Consumption in the later generations	2	6
Consumption of Helal food	3	3
Consumption of the first generation	4	5
Difference in consumption & spending amongst the generations	7	20
Ethnic stores	3	3
Expressing Religious and Ethnic Identities Through Consumption	6	10
Food and bringing stuff from Pakistan	9	10
Growing Markets of Abays and Hijabs Brands in the Uk	1	5
Marginal Use of Brands to Express Religious and Pakistani identities	5	7
Products Expressing Ethnic Affiliations	2	3
Shalwar Qameez	6	8
Women Establishing connection with Pakistan through Fashion	3	4

Codes	Sources	References
Small home run businesses preferred over local shops	1	5
Social Media - major medium for connection and Purchase	2	4
Wedding shopping a major reason to travel to Pakistan	1	7
Fashion and People of Pakistan have become more westernized-modern	3	5
Halal and Tayyab	1	1
Interest and things British Pakistanis refrain from consuming	3	3
Joint Family System	1	6
Marginal influence of religion or ethnicity on brand choice, perceptions and consumption	14	39
Marriage and divorce	2	2
Migration to Britain to seek better opportunities	4	6
Perceptions towards advertisements and commercials	3	6
Religion and Luxury Brands	0	0
Expensive luxury brands adversely effects religiosity	2	6
Religion not averse to luxury brands	17	31
Rituals and consumption	5	16
Social anchors in consumption choices ceding - Personal Choice	6	8
Identity	0	0
Cultural brokers and various differences between the generations	4	9

Codes	Sources	References
Ethnic and British Identities	0	0
Criticism of British culture	3	3
Dimishing role of Pakistani culture in younger generation	4	8
Criticism of Pakistani culture	6	7
Dual Identities - Identity crisis	8	12
Residentially segregated communities	2	2
Meaning of British culture amongst different generations	4	4
Predominance of British Culture and identities in younger generation	9	17
Lack of British cultural familiarity amongst First generation	1	1
Language shift from Urdu to English in younger generation	9	13
Younger generation more independent, open minded, averse to interference	5	5
Predominance of Pakistani culture over British in earlier generation	4	6
Giving importance to Urdu	3	4
Restrictions, limitation and lack of freedom prevalent in the earlier generations	3	4
Migrating to a Muslim country	10	11
Religious Identity	2	2
Aspect of Religiosity amongst Different Generations	0	0

Codes	Sources	References
Earlier generation following elders and religious beliefs undiscerningly	4	4
Earlier generations in the past were less religious	5	9
Earlier generation following the younger generation in Islam	5	11
Younger generation becoming more religious	11	19
Sending kids to religious private schools instead of public Schools	2	2
Younger generation have more opportunities for learning and understanding Islam	3	3
Younger generations perception about Islam	2	2
Younger Generation research oriented and require justification	8	10
Criticism of religious practices in Pakistan	7	10
Predominance of religion over culture	8	17
Importance of learning Arabic	2	2
Inclinations towards puritarian Islam devoid of cultural norms	4	5
Significant role of Religion in life and family	3	3
Universal Islam and association with Muslims of other ethnicities	3	5
Social Groups	2	2
More comfortable and relaxed amongst Pakistani friends	2	2

Codes	Sources	References
Religiously and ethnically diverse social groups - Younger generation	9	16
Social groups mostly comprising of Muslims	5	5
Social groups mostly comprising of Pakistanis and Muslims - Elder generation	4	4
Uncomfortable talking about religion with British friends	1	2
Religo-Ethnic Conflicts	3	6
Challenges faced by the Muslim society	6	10
Fear of being deported from the U. K	3	3
Younger Generation feeling more secure than the previous ones	7	8
Sensitive Topic - Difficulty in participant recruitment	2	3