Towards A Comprehensive Model of the Integrative Consumer Acculturation Process: A Study of the South Asian Diaspora Food Consumption in the Kingdom of Bahrain

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

By

Youssef Tarek Nasef

Brunel Business School

Brunel University

United Kingdom

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Abstract

Globalisation is shaping cultures, altering consumer behaviours and dispositions, and impacting the dynamics of migration and population worldwide. In addition, the consumer acculturation literature demonstrates increasing evidence of integration among individuals in multicultural environments. Despite these emerging dynamics and evolving acculturation literature, there is a paucity of research that captures the evolving dynamics of consumer acculturation. The purpose of this thesis is to explore and analyse the South Asian diaspora's acculturation in light of their food consumption behaviour in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

This research utilised a qualitative methodology underpinned by an interpretivist philosophy. A number of qualitative methods, such as in-depth semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, the researcher's observations, photographs, and notes were used to capture and analyse consumers' acculturation process and strategies and multiple identities in a multicultural environment. Maximum variation purposive sampling was implemented in selecting the research respondents. A total of 33 in-depth interviews and two focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted to cover a wide range of respondent groups.

The findings portray the Kingdom of Bahrain as a multicultural platform that allows ethnic community members to co-exist and intermingle. The multicultural environment and diversity within the Kingdom of Bahrain enable the South Asian diaspora to experience products, notions, and interactions from their heritage culture, host culture, other multinational cultures, and the global consumer culture, which influence their acculturation strategy outcomes. Also, the host community serves as an integral and supporting catalyst for the South Asian consumers and for the community's acculturation process and strategy outcomes.

This thesis addresses several gaps within the literature and provides novel insights and contributions to further advance the consumer acculturation scholarship. The evolving acculturation literature reveals increasing evidence of integration due to individuals' interactions in multicultural contexts. This thesis investigates the broad categorisation of integration to reveal different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes (the Three T's: Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi). Another gap exists concerning the constitution of ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities, and a thorough explanation and analyses of the motivations and reasons behind the constitution of ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities is provided. As a result, a multidirectional comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model is provided. Finally, in contrast to prior studies, this is the first research that examines acculturation in a country that has a similar population distribution and numerical equality between the host and migrant populations, and which includes blue-collar respondents, who were previously overlooked.

This study is of significant relevance to marketing practitioners, various commercial institutions, governmental agencies, and academics. The findings have direct implications for the successful segmentation of several consumer groups, particularly to create successful psychographic and behavioural segmentations of the cultural groups within multicultural societies. As a result, this thesis will allow the concerned parties to better understand the segmentation of customer markets, assess market dynamics, and analyse the current and future trends of consumer culture.

Keywords: Acculturation, Consumer acculturation, Consumer behaviour, Food consumption, Integration, Marketing, Migration, Culture, Ethnic identity, Identity, Cultural hybridity, Multicultural, Kingdom of Bahrain

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research Background

Globalisation involves several components and fields of advancement, which occur through interconnected and interrelated networks across geographical areas within different societies (Ozer et al., 2021; Tomlinson, 2007), thus producing diverse and multicultural societies and markets (Dey et al., 2019; Neal et al., 2013; Beck, 2006; Cavusgil et al., 2005). Furthermore, cultural globalisation "refers to the multidirectional, global transmission of ideas, meanings, and values across geographical distance" (Ozer and Schwartz, 2022, p. 2). The ongoing proliferation of globalisation has led to increased worldwide intercultural contact and connectivity (Ozer, 2019). As a result, the dynamics and complexity of globalisation and cultural globalisation have transformed societies worldwide, including societies across various Western countries (Chen et al., 2016) and Middle Eastern countries (Metcalfe, 2008), and led to the development of numerous acculturation processes and theories.

Migration across international borders continues to witness tremendous growth (Banerjee et al., 2021) and had reached 281 million international migrants around the world by 2020, which represents 3.6 percent of the total global population (World Migration Report 2020, 2022). Many countries and metropolitan cities across the world have been experiencing an influx in migration and diversity over the last two decades. The vast number of migrants and immigrants in the Kingdom of Bahrain make up a significant proportion of the Kingdom's population, and they contribute to various socio-cultural, economic, and demographic developments and practices.

Further research on the interactions among ethnic consumers, communities, and institutions within a multicultural environment can provide deeper, novel and nuanced insights to understand how and why they adopt, adapt, and retain various products and attributes of their heritage culture, host culture, global consumer culture, and other cultures. Such research is essential to evaluate the market's structure and characteristics, segment customer markets, and analyse and anticipate the trends of consumer culture and other consumer groups (Dey et al., 2019; Craig and Douglas, 2006; Alden et al., 1999), position brands and businesses appropriately, and make brands meaningful and relevant to target markets (Banerjee et al., 2021). Therefore, diasporic communities create an intricate and diverse multicultural environment that offers a multitude of research opportunities (Dey et al., 2019; Demangeot et al., 2015; Jamal, 2003).

Migrants and immigrants living in a multicultural society are exposed to a variety of cultures. This exposure and interaction with different cultures may affect the migrants' and immigrants' behaviours, lifestyle, and cultural dispositions, eventually leading to acculturation – a term used to refer to the process of learning a new culture by members of a different culture (Peñaloza and Gilly, 1999). This process does not occur in a social vacuum but rather within a complex context that includes intricate intragroup and intergroup relationships and interactions (Kizgin et al., 2018; Jamal

and Chapman, 2000; Horenczyk, 1997). As a result, ethnic groups and consumers around the world encounter numerous cultures, experiences, and interactions that impact their acculturation process, strategies, and outcomes in various manners (Kizgin et al., 2017; Jamal et al., 2015; Askegaard et al., 2005; Peñaloza, 1994).

Acculturation theories explain how, why, and to what degree ethnic consumers retain attributes from their heritage culture, adopt attributes from the host or global cultures, or demonstrate a new culture that varies from their heritage or host cultures (Dey et al., 2017). The inflow of migrants, immigrants, and refugees into the Western countries (Dey et al., 2017) and Middle Eastern countries (Metcalfe, 2008) amplifies the importance and relevance of the acculturation scholarship and research stream.

Initial acculturation studies developed unidirectional models that were based on the premise that ethnic consumers' heritage cultural traits were gradually replaced by the host cultural traits (Dey et al., 2019; Cleveland et al., 2016). On the other hand, bidirectional models considered the adaptations across the host and heritage cultures. For instance, the seminal study by Berry (1980) delineates the primary four classic acculturation strategies – assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalisation – defined across a bidirectional continuum. According to Berry (1980), assimilation occurs when individuals seek to fit into the host culture at the expense of their heritage culture, while separation occurs when individuals preserve their heritage culture and avoid interactions with other cultures and the larger society. Marginalisation occurs when individuals avoid interaction and maintenance of their heritage culture, host culture, and larger social networks. Finally, integration occurs when individuals maintain their heritage culture and adopt the host and other cultures.

However, in multicultural societies and contexts, absolute acceptance (assimilation) or rejection (separation) of the host, heritage, or other cultures are not feasible and represent an oversimplistic notion (Dey et al., 2017). The validity of the bidirectional acculturation model can be contested, since heritage, host, and other cultural attributes are apparent among ethnic consumers across different studies and societies (Weinreich, 2009; Jamal and Chapman, 2000; Oswald, 1999). Peñaloza (1994) built upon Berry's (1980) research and model and devised another set of four acculturation outcomes: assimilation, resistance, segregation, and maintenance. Dey et al. (2019) instigated the notion of multidirectional acculturation models that include other cultures besides the host and heritage cultures. Therefore, a strong research strand and developments have arisen within the acculturation scholarship (Banerjee et al., 2021; Dey et al., 2019, 2017; Cleveland et al., 2016; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Askegaard et al., 2005; Jamal and Chapman 2000; Oswald, 1999).

The extant literature illustrates the significance and relevance of ancestral food habits and consumption behaviours on individuals' acculturation processes and outcomes and ethnic identity (Romo and Gil, 2012; Verbeke and Lopez, 2005). Food is an integral component of an individual's cultural expression, and it exhibits their cultural upbringing, tastes and attitude toward their own and other cultures. In general, food serves as a powerful link between different cultures and countries

(Dey et al., 2019) and it is an influential tool to help individuals to become familiar with and understand cultures and to socialise with family, friends, and colleagues (Wright et al., 2001). In addition, food consumption is contingent on an individual's socio-cultural environment and is culturally sensitive (Halkier and Jensen, 2011). As a result, the context selected in this study, including food consumption, is highly suitable and relevant.

The South Asian diaspora is an integral part of the Kingdom of Bahrain, where the size of the South Asian population is almost equal to that of the host community. Thus, it is important to understand these immigrants' acculturation process and strategies, how they adapt to society and surroundings, and the dynamics of their interactions and encounters. Existing literature mostly focuses on acculturation in contexts where the immigrant community has much smaller representation within the host country (Banerjee et al., 2021). Numerous characteristics and factors that influence ethnic consumers' and communities' acculturation and identities are dependent on the situations and factors (Lu et al., 2016; Askegaard et al., 2005). Contexts contribute and lead to examining, understanding, and theorising of various consumer phenomena (Tian and Belk, 2005). However, this thesis is cautious not to overemphasise the context to avoid weakening the contributions and robustness of this research (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard and Linnet, 2011).

As mentioned earlier, metropolitan cities and countries are increasingly becoming an amalgamation of various cultures, and ethnic consumers' acculturation and identity formation remains an under-researched area, particularly in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Acculturation within the Middle Eastern contexts, particularly in Gulf countries, has received scant attention. Furthermore, existing literature offers only a tenuous understanding of how ethnic consumers and communities acculturate and form dual and multiple identities in multicultural environments across societies within the Gulf region. Therefore, this thesis aims to explore and thoroughly explain the consumer acculturation process and strategy outcomes and the motivations that form the dual or multiple identities of the South Asian diaspora through an analysis of their food consumption behaviours within the multicultural context of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

1.2 Research Gaps

Despite the existing seminal research and advances within the consumer acculturation scholarship (Banerjee et al., 2021; Dey et al., 2019, 2017; Cleveland et al., 2016, 2009; Demangeot and Sakaran, 2012; Jafari and Goulding, 2008; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980), an extensive review of the extant literature reveals several gaps that are pertinent to this research.

Research Gap 1: The evolving acculturation literature indicates that there is increasing evidence of integration as individuals have more opportunities to engage and interact with other communities in multicultural environments (Dey et al., 2019). Unlike Hispanic communities in the

US in the 1990s, as found in Penaloza's (1994) work, ethnic consumers in today's multicultural societies are more exposed to host, global and other ethnic cultures. On the other hand, it has been found that even third generation immigrants often adhere to their ancestral cultures while interacting with other cultural groups (Dey et al. 2017). Hence, the evidence of two extreme types of acculturation strategies (separation and assimilation) identified in existing literature (Kizgin et al., 2018; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1981) has decreased in the current world. However, although integration appears to be the most viable and widely preferred acculturation strategy, it is not a monolith. Ethnic consumers are likely to have a wide range of attributes and motivations behind their integrative acculturation strategy. Existing literature does not offer any clear and structured typology for the integrative acculturation strategy. Even within this broader classification of integration, there exists scope for further classification. That said, this is the first gap that offers theoretical motivation for this research.

Research Gap 2: The existing literature does not provide complete explanations behind the motivations and formation of dual and multiple identities by ethnic consumers. Prior literature lacked explanations regarding the dichotomies that exist within ethnic consumers' behaviours and cultural dispositions (e.g.: Dey et al., 2019; Cleveland et al., 2016; Jaspal, 2015 Askegaard et al., 2005). In addition, some of the extant literature has been further criticised due to the context-specific arguments provided (e.g.: Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry 1980). Therefore, a gap exists regarding how ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities are constituted, and they require further investigation and delineation.

Research Gap 3: On most occasions, acculturation studies have been conducted in contexts where migrant and immigrant populations are smaller in number (Banerjee et al., 2021). In addition, the majority of acculturation studies have been conducted in Western and European societies. Recently, Banerjee et al. (2021) have attempted to bring consumer acculturation to light in different contexts, such as in Dubai, UAE, where the host community is significantly smaller than the migrant community. The dynamics of acculturation in a country where the host population is larger than the migrant community differ from those found a country where the host and migrant populations are similar in distribution, such as the case in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Therefore, the Kingdom of Bahrain presents a novel context for consumer acculturation research.

1.3 Research Aim, Objectives, and Questions

Drawing on the above-mentioned gaps in the current consumer acculturation scholarship, this thesis aims to explore and analyse the consumer acculturation of the South Asian diaspora through an analysis of migrants' food consumption behaviours within the multicultural context of the Kingdom

of Bahrain. In order to achieve this aim, this research will address the following objectives and questions:

- Objective 1: To analyse the motivation behind and the nature of different groups of consumers who demonstrate integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes.

    - Question 1: What are the different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes?
    - Question 2: How do the South Asian diaspora living in Bahrain constitute and shape the integrative acculturation process?

- Objective 2: To analyse the motivations and reasons behind the formation of dual and multiple identities of ethnic consumers.

    - Question 1: How are the identities and journeys within acculturation influenced by the different factors, dynamics, and institutions?
    - Question 2: How and to what extent do the macro and personal level factors interplay together to shape integrative consumer acculturation behaviours and identities?

- Objective 3: To analyse how and to what extent acculturation occurs within a country that has a similar population distribution and numerical equality between the host and migrant populations? In doing so, this research will analyse the role of the host community in shaping the acculturation strategies and behaviours of the migrant community.

    - Question 1: What are the different perceptions that migrant community members have towards the host country?
    - Question 2: How do the host community members shape the acculturation of migrant communities?

1.4 Social Identity Theory and Situational Ethnicity

Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory (SIT) posits that an individual's association with a particular group defines their sense of self within society and causes them to behave more favourably towards that group. An individual strives to maintain a positive self-image through the enhancement of the status of the group with which they associate. Therefore, individuals tend to divide their environment into 'them' and 'us' through a process known as social categorisation (Das

and Mukherjee, 2020). To improve his/her self-image, an individual seeks positive aspects regarding the in-group with which s/he is associated and negative aspects regarding the out-groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) postulated that through the process of social categorisation, social identification, and social comparison, an individual forms certain evaluations and associations of 'us' (in-group) and 'them' (outgroups). SIT stipulates that people are an amalgamation of multiple identities (Das and Mukherjee, 2020), and this theory is essential in understanding the acculturation process (Côté, 2006).

Situational ethnicity further complements SIT and acculturation. Situational ethnicity is based on the notion that specific contexts determine and shape an individual's identity and behaviours (Okamura, 1981). It consists of self-designated ethnicity, which refers to individuals' initial identification with a particular group, and felt ethnicity, which indicates the strength of an individual's identification with a particular group (Banerjee et al., 2021; Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). Therefore, situational ethnicity influences an individual's consumption behaviours (Belk, 1975), consumer acculturation process (Xu et al., 2004), and identities (Banerjee et al., 2021; Stayman and Deshpande, 1989).

The consumer acculturation process and strategy outcomes and formation of consumer identities can be associated and conceptualised with the underpinnings of SIT (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and situational ethnicity (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). Acculturation is a phenomenon that involves a universal mechanism that influences human social life (Padilla and Perez, 2003); moreover, that universal mechanism is related to SIT, and more specifically to the notion of social categorisation and in-groups and out-groups. In the extant consumer acculturation literature, SIT has been proven to be a viable theoretical underpinning to analyse consumer acculturation. Therefore, this research will utilise SIT and situational ethnicity as theoretical underpinnings and perspectives to analyse the consumer acculturation process and outcomes of the South Asian community in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

1.5 Contextual Background

As mentioned earlier, a gap exists within the literature regarding the contextual understanding when the host and migrant communities are similar in their population distribution and size. Thus, this research embarks on investigating the South Asian diaspora in the Kingdom of Bahrain, since they have the same population distribution and number compared to the host community. Therefore, this subsection provides a contextual background to further illustrate and present the geographical background of the Kingdom of Bahrain and food consumption as a particular dimension of culture.

1.5.1 Geographical Background

The Gulf region, or simply the 'Gulf', is a term used by various entities to refer to countries located on a peninsula located in the Middle East between the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. Specifically, the Gulf states are the United Arab Emirates (UAE), the Kingdom of Bahrain, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Sultanate of Oman, the State of Kuwait, and the State of Qatar (Ramazani and Kechichian, 1988; Rizvi, 1982). Prior to the discovery of hydrocarbon sources, mainly crude oil and natural gas, the Gulf states and the Persian Gulf area were largely rural (AlShehabi, 2016; Perry and Maurer, 2003), and were populated by nomads, farmers, and fishermen (Jain and Oommen, 2016; Perry and Maurer, 2003).

Until 1920, the Gulf states, mainly along the coastal areas, depended on trading pearls with Indian merchants in exchange for spices, cloth, and various commodities (Abhyankar, 2008; Gardner, 2008; Perry and Maurer, 2003). The Kingdom of Bahrain's discovery of oil reserves in 1932 (Zahlan, 2016; Jain and Oommen, 2016), generated a wave of oil discoveries across the remaining Gulf states (King, 2017). Despite the early discoveries of oil in the Gulf region, the Gulf states were not able to commercialise and export oil in profitable quantities until the 1950s (King, 2017; Zahlan, 2016) due to various obstacles such as World War II (AlShehabi, 2016) and competition between Britain and the USA to secure oil contracts (Holmes, 2014).

The Gulf states were identified as British protectorates, not colonies (Gardner, 2010), but this status still placed them legally under the British Indian Empire or British Raj, as well as the British Empire (Onley, 2009). This period of British dominance over the Gulf states in external and internal affairs, including the oil industry, lasted from 1820 to 1971 (Holmes, 2014), paving the road to the oil boom of the 1970s and a fruitful era for the Gulf states (Wickramasekara, 2015). In May 1981, the six Gulf states formed the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) with various economic, political, and cultural aspirations (Ramazani and Kechichian, 1988). The establishment of the GCC mainly aimed to bolster the relationships between member states and encourage cooperation among the states' citizens (Ramazani and Kechichian, 1988), achieve the common goals of economic development and diversification (Sturm et al., 2008), and contain internal insurrections and mitigate external security threats (Rizvi, 1982).

The Kingdom of Bahrain, an archipelago of 33 islands, is located in the Middle East and specifically lying in the Arabian Gulf to the east of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (UNDP in Bahrain, 2019). The Kingdom of Bahrain was occupied by the Babylonians, Sumerians, Greeks, Portuguese, and others over a period of 5,000 years (UNDP in Bahrain, 2019); moreover, at various instances it was known by various names, such as Dilmun, Tylos, and Awal (Gardner, 2010). The GCC, particularly the Kingdom of Bahrain, maintains a prime geographical location, which allows it to become a major junction that links the Eastern and Western economies (Zahlan, 2016; Nakhleh, 2012). By the nineteenth century, the Kingdom of Bahrain had become completely intertwined with

the Indian Ocean's mercantile trade routes: as a result, it was considered the principal market for pearls in the Arabian Gulf and its pearls were made available in various markets across the world (Zahlan, 2016; Lorimer, 1908).

The Kingdom of Bahrain has been and still is a unique island with a plethora of cultures, nationalities, ethnic backgrounds, and religions. It has become a safe haven for ethnically diverse individuals and an oasis of mutual tolerance of various cultures and religions (Mofa.gov.bh, 2019). According to the CIA World Factbook (2019), the various religions in the Kingdom of Bahrain are as follows: Muslim 70.3%, Christian 14.5%, Jewish 0.6%, Hindu 9.8%, Buddhist 2.5%, other 2.3%. The population structure in the Kingdom of Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, and UAE is notable, since the number of non-citizens exceeds the number of citizens in those countries.

According to the Bahrain Information & E-Government Authority, in 2020 the total population in the Kingdom of Bahrain was 1,501,635 (Iga.gov.bh, 2020), of which 52.56 percent or 789,273 of the total population were non-citizens and the remaining 47.44 percent or 712,362 were citizens. Among the top 20 nationalities, in terms of highest number of employees in the Bahraini employment market, were five South Asian nationalities; India was in first place with a total of 236,577 employees, followed by Bangladesh, with 128,307 employees, and Pakistan, with 42,232 employees. Nepal was in fifth place, with 17,285 employees, and Sri Lanka was in seventh place, with 3,989 employees in the Kingdom of Bahrain (Labour Market Regulatory Authority, 2020). As a result, the total number of South Asian employees in the Bahraini employment market in mid-2020 was 428,390 employees, which amounted to 57.3 percent of the total employees in the Kingdom of Bahrain. From the previous statistics, it is apparent that a tremendous dependence on non-citizen employees and workers exists in the Kingdom of Bahrain and the rest of the GCC.

Unlike the UAE and Qatar, where the South Asian population is substantially larger than the population of local citizens, the South Asian population in the Kingdom of Bahrain is almost equal to the population of local citizens. The larger South Asian Populations in some GCC countries and the equal population distribution between the South Asians and local Bahraini citizens offers a complete contrast to the United Kingdom and other Western countries. The populations of South Asian and other immigrants in the United Kingdom and Western countries represent significantly smaller proportions of the indigenous white Caucasian populations. The previous statistics and population of the various GCC countries are summarised and displayed below in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: Gulf Cooperation Council Countries' Population Census and Information 2020

Country	Total Population**	Population of Citizens**	Population of Non-citizens**	Total South Asian Population**	South Asian Percentage of Total Population**	South Asian Percentage of Non-citizen Population**
Bahrain	1,501,635	712,362 (47.44%)*	789,273 (52.56%)*	650,996	43.35%	82.5%
United Arab Emirates	9,282,410	1,065,621 (11.48%)*	8,216,789 (88.52%)*	5,005,075	53.92%	60.91%
Saudi Arabia	35,013,414	21,760,837 (62.15%)*	13,252,577 (37.85%)*	6,965,000	19.89%	52.55%
Kuwait	4,464,521	1,365,171 (30.58%)*	3,099,350 (69.42%)*	1,729,171	38.73%	55.79%
Oman	4,457,418	2,721,012 (61.04%)*	1,736,406 (38.96%)*	1,234,585	27.70%	71.1%
Qatar	2,684,329	303,329 (11.29%)*	2,381,000 (88.71%)*	1,492,487	55.60%	62.68%

**Percentages calculated based on the 'Total Population' column*
***The population numbers are as of the year 2020, according to the latest population census*

Source: Central Statistical Bureau, Kuwait, 2021; Dubai Statistics Center, 2021; Federal Competitiveness and Statistics Centre, 2021; GCC Statistical Center, 2021; General Authority for Statistics, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 2021; National Centre for Statistics & Information, 2021; Planning and Statistics Authority, 2021; Iga.gov.bh, 2020; Central Intelligence Agency, 2019; Information and eGovernment Authority, 2019; Labour Market Regulatory Authority, 2019

The term 'South Asian' was coined in the early 20th Century by several Western academics and institutions to classify the various regions within the Indian subcontinent (Jain and Oommen, 2016) and to distinguish the different communities emanating from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka (Mohammad-Arif, 2014). Around the 18th century, affluent British employees of the East India Company enjoyed and maintained lavish lifestyles in India; moreover, the notion of enslaving South Asian servants, nursemaids, and nannies was prevalent to complement their opulent lifestyles and estates (Visram, 2015). As a result, many British employees, regardless of position or level, returned to Great Britain with their South Asian servants (Visram, 2015), which initiated the first incident of South Asian migration to Great Britain (Jain and Oommen, 2016).

With the onset of the First World War in 1914 came drastic changes, as the native working class started to leave Great Britain to join their fellow soldiers (Jain and Oommen, 2016); as a result, the proliferation of South Asian migration became a global occurrence. Trade relations, cultural contacts and early instances of South Asian migration to the Gulf states predate most historical recollections and records (Gardner, 2008; Jain, 2005). The British Empire's presence in the Gulf

region and colonisation of the Indian subcontinent further solidified the relationship between the Gulf states and the Indian subcontinent (Abhyankar, 2008; Gardner, 2008; Jain, 2005) and assisted in the establishment of various South Asian communities across the Gulf region as merchants, bankers, pearl traders, government officials, importers and exporters, and other professional various occupations (Jain and Oommen, 2016; Gardner, 2010). The British administration employed South Asians from the Indian subcontinent in various administration occupations in the Gulf states to ensure the smooth operation of British colonial governance within the region (Jain and Oommen, 2016; Abhyankar, 2008).

By the early 1970s, all Gulf states had gained their independence from British control, including full control over oil production. As a result, the Gulf states experienced an unprecedented influx of wealth and advancements due to the oil industry (Jain and Oommen, 2016; Jain, 2005), which eventually lead to the modernisation and development of these states through the construction of schools, hospitals, airports, residential dwellings, roads, mosques, infrastructure projects, and numerous other projects (Gardner, 2010; Abhyankar, 2008; Jain, 2005). South Asian entrepreneurs and highly skilled professionals resided in the Gulf region during this period; however, the demand for semi-skilled and low-skilled workers, who were needed to support the modernisation projects, significantly increased following the oil boom in the 1970s (Jain and Oommen, 2016; Abhyankar, 2008). Along with the advent of the oil boom era in the Gulf region, many migrants started pouring into the Gulf region, most of whom were from South Asia. Poverty, unemployment, and various political issues were among the main factors that led to the increased migration of South Asians to the Gulf region (Jain and Oommen, 2016).

The shortage of semi-skilled and low-skilled labourers was apparent in the various Gulf states after the discovery of oil reserves, as had been the case with Great Britain in the post-war era and during the industrialization period. In addition, many South Asians willingly migrated to the Gulf region to take on occupations as entrepreneurs, professional skilled workers, domestic workers, semi-skilled and low-skilled workers, labourers, cooks, nurses, and various other service occupations (Abhyankar, 2008; Perry and Maurer, 2003). The Gulf states preferred South Asian migrants due to their political neutrality (Jain and Oommen, 2016), conformity with rules and regulations (Gardner, 2010), flexibility, and willingness to work at marginal remuneration and longer hours (Kapiszewski, 2006).

1.5.2 Dimension of Culture: Food Consumption

Over the years, the consumer acculturation literature has investigated different dimensions of culture, such as food, clothing, religion, language, and celebration of events, among others. Given that culture is multifarious and has many dimensions, it is reasonable to analyse a particular dimension in culture, such as food consumption, to allow greater depth and breadth of analysis.

Food is essential to people's sense of identity and the human relationship to food is undoubtedly complex (Fischler, 1988). Fischler (1988) noted that food ranges from a biological (nutritional function) to a cultural (symbolic function) dimension. In addition, food links the individual (psychological) with the collective (social) dimension. Hartwell et al. (2011) concur with Fischler (1988) by noting that food and food consumption behaviours are central to shaping individual and collective identities, which are rooted in various cultural practices, norms, and processes (Bardhi et al., 2010; McDonagh and Prothero, 2005). Through food consumption habits, behaviours, and associations, an individual is constructed biologically, psychologically, and socially (Bardhi et al., 2010).

Food serves as a strong indicator for cultural identity (Chapman and Beagan, 2013), and culture is acquired through experience by interacting with other individuals and institutions (Cleveland et al., 2009). Fieldhouse (1995) stated that "food habits are part of this dynamic process in that whereas they are basically stable and predictable they are, paradoxically, at the same time undergoing constant and continuous change" (p. 2). Thus, food is considered as more than just a means of sustenance, but also as a key cultural expression (Peñaloza, 1994).

Ethnic consumers' food habits tend to be resistant to change (Cleveland et al., 2009), since food habits and behaviours carry practical and symbolic meanings associated with a particular culture (Fieldhouse, 1995). Food that constitutes an individual's diet, recipes and ingredients used to prepare meals, and the manner in which food is consumed convey the specific ethnic group or culture to which that individual belongs (Chapman and Beagan, 2013). Uhle and Grivetti (1993) found that Brazilian Swiss immigrants in Switzerland still maintained many of their traditional food products and habits even a century after their relocation from their home country. In addition, Oswald (1999) found that food consumption can allow immigrants to adapt to the host culture while maintaining their heritage culture, as with the Haitian immigrants in the USA. As a result, food is used by ethnic immigrants to convey and explain meanings while constructing their sense of self (Vallianatos and Raine, 2008) and to express overlapping social group identities and memberships (Oswald, 1999; Reilly and Wallendorf, 1987).

Jamal (1998) noted that studying food consumption provides the researcher with a strong foundation to examine and identify any changes that occur in the acculturation process. This is due to the different food consumption behaviours, perceptions, and norms that exist across different societies (Mennell et al., 1992; Douglas, 1984). In addition, food is usually among the last items to be altered or adopted after migration or emigration (Jamal 1998; Mennell et al., 1992; Murcott, 1983). Prior consumer acculturation research (e.g.: Dey et al., 2019; 2017; Cleveland et al., 2016; 2009; Üstüner and Holt 2007; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999) referred to consumption as a significant aspect of individuals' acculturation process in negotiating their identities (Bardhi et al., 2010). Food serves as a familiar and reassuring source of support and reminds an individual of their sense of self and their identity when their sense of self experiences vulnerability as a result of unfamiliar cultural cues in a

foreign context (Bardhi et al., 2010). In addition, "food consumption simultaneously asserts the oneness of the ones eating the same and the otherness of whoever eats differently" (Fischler 1988, p. 275). Food consumption is essential in defining an individual's identity (Lupton, 1996), and food is crucial because it serves as a guide for accepted behaviours in societies and cultures (Bardhi et al., 2010). Therefore, this research examines ethnic immigrants' consumer acculturation processes, outcomes, and identities through their food consumption habits and behaviours.

1.6 Research Structure

This thesis is organised according to the following structure:

Chapter 1 – This introductory chapter provides a thorough background and rationale for this research. Next, various research gaps in the extant literature are identified and discussed. Then, the research aim, objectives, and questions are presented, followed by a presentation and explanation of SIT and situational ethnicity. The contextual background is provided by discussing the geographical background and its relevance, and the relationship and significance of food consumption and consumer acculturation. Finally, the structure of this thesis is outlined and presented.

Chapter 2 – This chapter presents an extensive review of the extant literature pertaining to consumer acculturation and relevant theories and concepts. The chapter begins by presenting relevant theories to consumer acculturation, particularly SIT and situational ethnicity. It then provides a thorough description of acculturation and consumer acculturation processes and meanings, followed by a chronology of seminal research and a complete overview of the remaining influential key studies in the consumer acculturation scholarship. Next, a critical literature review and analysis is presented to identify the strengths and gaps among the previous studies. Finally, a summary of the chapter is presented.

Chapter 3 – This chapter describes the methodology utilised by this thesis. It starts by discussing the research philosophy and approach, namely interpretivism as the underlying philosophy. Then, the research type, purpose, strategy, and design are presented. The chapter then provides a comprehensive discussion of the research protocol, methods of data collection, and a description of triangulation and design validity. In addition, it describes the procedure used to select the participants who took part in the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions and how the observations and photographs were collected. Finally, the chapter presents an extensive explanation of the data analysis, including descriptions of how the data were coded, categorised, and interpreted.

Chapter 4 – This chapter reports and presents the findings of this research and follows the chronology of the thematic data collection and analysis set out in the literature review and methodology chapters. The chapter outlines the various themes (Communal interactions within a

multicultural hub; Social interaction; Institutional interaction; Familial interaction; and Media interaction) and presents the related interviews and interpretations. It then provides an overview and explanation of the integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. Finally, interviews, interpretations, and relevance of the host community are presented.

Chapter 5 – This chapter provides a discussion of the findings from the research undertaken in light of the extant literature and outlines the theoretical and empirical contributions of this thesis. A consumer acculturation framework is developed and contains the consumer acculturation process (Three D's: Drivers, Dynamics, and Dilemma) and the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes (Three T's: Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi). As a result, a comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model was developed that serves a theoretical framework and a contribution of this study. Finally, the theoretical and empirical contributions are presented and explained.

Chapter 6 – The final chapter concludes the thesis by addressing how this research achieved its aim, objectives, and questions. In addition, it presents the practical implications. Finally, the chapter presents and highlights the research limitations and suggestions for future research directions.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This chapter provides an extensive literature review through a detailed presentation, discussion, and critical review of the literature pertinent to this thesis. This literature review sheds light on seminal studies that have been conducted in the consumer acculturation scholarship, presents prominent relevant theories, and identifies the gaps found in the extant literature. The limitations within the extant literature are addressed to identify and present gaps and scopes for further advancement and to develop a conceptual comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model. The purpose of this chapter is to develop a theoretical backdrop for this research, unpack empirical works on acculturation, and identify gaps in light of the theoretical underpinning and extant literature.

This chapter is structured as follows. This chapter starts with section 2.1 and its subsections discuss and present the various theories relevant to consumer acculturation and this thesis. Section 2.2 presents the meaning and interpretations of acculturation and consumer acculturation The chapter continues with section 2.3 and its subsections, which is a chronological presentation of the seminal studies within the consumer acculturation literature. Section 2.4 is a critical literature review analysis that thoroughly dissects prior literature and identifies the gaps and scopes for further advancement. Then, section 2.5. Finally, the chapter is summarised in section 2.6.

2.1 Theories Relevant to Consumer Acculturation

This thesis is informed by two prominent theories – Social Identity Theory and Situational Ethnicity. This section extensively investigates and examines these two theories to construct the theoretical basis for this research.

2.1.1 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel and Turner (1979) introduced the Social Identity Theory, which postulates that group memberships define an individual's sense of self in society. Groups (e.g.: family, profession, sports teams, nationality, etc.) provide individuals with a sense of belonging to a society and in terms of self-esteem; moreover, group memberships help individuals define and understand themselves and allow individuals to evaluate their relationships with other individuals (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel, 1978; 1974; 1959). An individual will behave differently in varying social contexts or situations depending on the group membership the individual identifies with; furthermore, the groups an individual identifies with or belongs to are called 'ingroups', whereas other comparable groups that an individual does not identify with or belong to are called 'outgroups' (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Through research and experiments, Tajfel and Turner (1979) discovered that individuals have the tendency to categorise themselves and other individuals into groups in order to evaluate and define themselves and other individuals in terms of groups and group memberships rather than as separate individuals. Individuals strive to maintain a positive sense of self or social identity by maintaining their ingroup's favourable social standing or position compared to other relevant groups or outgroups; as a result, individuals tend to overstress the similarities within the same group or ingroups and differences between outgroups or between ingroups and outgroups (Tajfel, 1981; 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979). The central hypothesis of the Social Identity Theory is that group members of an ingroup will seek to find negative aspects of an outgroup, thus enhancing their self-image. Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed the Social Identity Theory to explain the phenomena and relationships between various cognitive processes and behavioural motivations.

The theory of authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950), the theory of frustration, aggression, and displacement (Berkowitz, 1965; 1962), and many of the studies on social identity and social psychology studies mainly focused on the intraindividual or interpersonal psychological processes (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) stated that the intricate mesh of interpersonal behaviour with the social processes of intergroup conflict has not been concentrated on by social psychologists. In support of Tajfel and Turner (1979) regarding previous theories and studies, the focus has been mainly focused on the attitudes, behaviours, and perceptions towards outgroups resulting in a biased or incomplete one-sided view. Previous studies and theories produced single dimension models, perceptions, and theories; on the contrary, both ingroup and outgroup process, interactions, and behaviours must be considered to develop a multi-dimensional model and theory.

The definitions and concepts of ingroup and outgroup have been made popular by Henri Tajfel and John Turner throughout their research and development of the Social Identity Theory. An ingroup is a social group that an individual identifies with or belongs to, based on certain psychological or demographical variables, such as race, religion, gender, culture, etc.; on the other hand, an outgroup is a social group that an individual does not identify with or belong to (Tajfel, 1982; 1981; 1974; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Furthermore, Tajfel and Turner (1979) developed the social identity theory and addressed the missing pieces and perceptions found in previous studies; as a result, they defined and conceptualized a group as a collection of individuals that portray themselves as members of a similar social category, share common definition and identification of themselves, and agree on the evaluation of their group and membership within that group. Tajfel and Turner (1979) shared a similar definition of intergroup behaviour as Sherif (1966), and their definition is that any behaviour displayed by an individual towards others is based on the individual's self-identification and the others belonging to different social categories or groups.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) state a distinction between two extremes of social and intergroup behaviour: interpersonal and intergroup behaviour; moreover, they indicated that these extreme forms

are not likely found in their 'pure' form in 'real' life or social situations. Interpersonal behaviour in its most extreme or purest form is when the interaction between two or more individuals is fully determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics, and not affected by social groups or categories they identify with (Tajfel, 1982; 1978; 1959). On the other extreme, intergroup behaviour involves interactions between two or more individuals that are fully determined by the social groups or categories they belong to and are not affected by interindividual personal relationships or individual characteristics of the individuals involved (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

According to Tajfel (1974), members of an ingroup are able to dislike or discriminate against an outgroup when those members achieved a sense of belonging to a group that is distinct from the other group or groups they dislike or discriminate against. In past social psychology and related literature, many ideas were developed regarding the existence of outgroups, such as: outgroups are perceived as threats or enemies, the presence of outgroups increases the intensity of ingroup associations, or the strength of the ingroup depends on the relationship between the ingroup and relevant outgroups (Tajfel 1974). Tajfel (1974) does not deny the fact that such relationships, behaviours, and phenomena between ingroups and outgroups exist and are valid; however, Tajfel argues that these studies and findings have been too on-sided or biased. Tajfel (1974) states that an adequate social psychological theory of intergroup behaviour must consider both causal directions – ingroup processes to outgroup behaviours and vice versa. Ingroup preference can produce negative, prejudice, and discriminatory behaviour in individuals; however, ingroup preference and outgroup discrimination are two separate ideas and these ideas do not necessarily influence or predict the other (Tajfel, 1982; 1978; Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Furthermore, Tajfel (1974) argues that even if social groups are created as a shield or to protect from external threats, an individual encounters many multifaceted decisions regarding a complicated network of groupings and relationships into which he or she must place or fit himself or herself. One of the most important and toughest social problems faced by an individual in society is discovering and identifying his or her place within society or within those complicated network of group and relationships (Tajfel, 1981; 1974). In addition, an individual's ingroup and outgroup behaviours and perceptions are determined by the ongoing process of self-definition (Tajfel, 1974).

In our societies, especially societies across the Middle East, individuals strive to achieve and maintain a positive self-concept or self-image; moreover, individuals seek a sense of belonging to various ingroups and approval from other ingroup members regarding their behaviours and motivations. The Social Identity Theory proposes three cognitive processes individuals go through in order to develop ingroup and outgroup classifications: Social Categorisation, Social Identification, and Social Comparison (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

The first process is Social Categorisation, which refers to the processes of organising individuals into various social categories to understand, define and identify individuals based on the groups or categories they belong to (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Social Categorisation is analogous to

the process of categorising various objects into distinct groups based on similar characteristics or attributes these objects share. Social Categorisation focuses on grouping individuals based on several factors, such as race, occupation, and nationality.

An individual can belong to different categories simultaneously; however, the importance or relevance of each category depends on the social context or situation (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Moreover, individuals often tend to define and evaluate themselves and others based on their social categories rather on individual characteristics or attributes. In addition, individuals define appropriate and acceptable behaviours based on the norms of the groups or categories to which they belong to (Tajfel, 1981; 1959; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) stated that social categorisation not only involves cognitive classification of events, objects, or individuals, but also includes a process infused with values, culture, and social representations.

The second process, Social Identification, is the idea that individuals identify as a group member and adopt the identity of the group they belong to. Individuals behave and act according to the norms of the groups that they belong to; as a result, individuals develop an emotional attachment with the group and their self-esteem will be associated with the group membership (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

The third process, Social Comparison, states that after individuals categorise themselves within a group and identify as being members of that group, individuals compare their groups to other groups based on social standing or relative value (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In order to maintain self-esteem, individuals must perceive their group (ingroup) to be more favourable in terms of social standing or relative value compared to other groups (outgroups) (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

The SIT and particularly the social categorisation influences an individual's consumption behaviour and decision. In addition, consumers are drawn to products and brands that are associated with their social and national identities (Forehand et al., 2002). Moreover, individuals tend to be attracted to products and brands that are associated with or represent their in-groups (Das and Mukherjee, 2020).

2.1.2 Situational Ethnicity

Paden's (1967) study on ethnic categorisation in urban Africa resulted in the amalgamation of two concepts, social situation and ethnicity, to produce the term 'situational ethnicity' (Okamura, 1981). Paden (1967) noted that situational ethnicity is based on the observation that specific contexts dictate an individual's communal identities or allegiances at a particular point in time (Okamura, 1981). Ethnicity is not just who a person is but how that person feels in and with regards to a specific situation (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). As a result, O'Guinn and Faber (1985) and Faber et al.

(1987) noted this influence and measured the effect of acculturation roles on consumption (Stayman and Deshpande, 1981).

Self-designated ethnicity refers to when individuals first identify with an ethnic group (e.g.: heritage nationality and culture, religion) that they belong to (Banerjee et al., 2021; Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). In addition, an individual experiences felt ethnicity, which indicates how strong he or she identifies with a group. Felt ethnicity depends on the contextual environment and it is more situation specific (Banerjee et al., 2021; Stayman and Deshpande, 1989).

Another closely related concept is Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identification, which refers to the process where individuals identify as a group member and adopt the various aspects and identity of that group. An individual's ethnic identity shapes their sense of self within an ethnic group, including the attitudes and behaviours associated with that sense of self (Banerjee et al., 2021; Crul, 2016; Xu et al., 2004). Therefore, McGuire et al. (1978) and Paden (1967) both concur on the notion that the influence of ethnic identity on a person depends on a particular social situation and that person's perspective of that situation (Stayman and Deshpande, 1981).

Belk (1975) investigated the influence of situational ethnicity on consumption and identified five objective dimensions of situations: physical surroundings, social surroundings, temporal perspective, task definition, and antecedent states directly preceding choice. Stayman and Deshpande (1989) argued that the antecedent state and social surroundings are the most relevant to situational ethnicity. An antecedent condition refers to how an individual feels before a decision. For instance, a South Asian individual (e.g.: Indian, Bangladeshi, etc.) during the Diwali festival or national day festival, given the heightened state of felt ethnicity, will probably choose to visit a South Asian restaurant or event. Therefore, this individual's felt ethnicity regarding their behaviour is the result of their self-designated ethnicity and the antecedent condition before the resulting behaviour (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989).

In addition, many social surroundings and situations include different ethnic behaviours and norms. For instance, the type of food and appropriate clothing at an Indian wedding compared to a British wedding. As a result, the association between behaviour and ethnicity is influenced by the type of product being considered or used (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). This was also evident in Xu et al.'s (2004) research on situational ethnicity regarding the ethnic consumers' acculturation and their food choice and consumption behaviours in different social contexts. In addition, Dey et al. (2019) discovered a range of different behaviours and acculturation results of ethnic consumers in London in different social surroundings and situations.

2.2 Consumer Acculturation

Refield et al. (1936, p. 149) were among the first who presented the rudimentary definition of acculturation by stating: "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". Berry (1997; 1990), discovered that in practice acculturation tends to produce more change in one group than the other. Peñaloza and Gilly (1999) explained that acculturation is defined as the process of learning a new culture by members of a different culture; moreover, acculturation involves integrating into new cultures, preservation of originating cultures, and amalgamating new and originating cultures.

The Social Science Research Council (1954) furthered this discussion by stating that assimilation is not the only type of acculturation; furthermore, acculturation may be the result of direct cultural transmission. In addition, the dynamics of acculturation involve selective adaptation of value systems, processes of integration and differentiation, and includes certain determinants and personality characteristics (Social Science Research Council, 1954).

Originally, Graves (1967) created a distinction between psychological acculturation and acculturation as a collective phenomenon (Berry, 1997). Acculturation at the group level is a change in the 'culture' of the group; on the other hand, psychological acculturation is a change in the psychology of the individual (Berry, 1997). At the group level, acculturation creates "physical, biological, political, economic, social and cultural changes in the acculturating group or in the society as a whole" (Satia-Abouta 2003, p. 73). Acculturation at the individual level involves changes in a person's behavioural character, attitudes, beliefs, and values (Berry 2005; Satia-Abouta 2003). Changes at the group level due to acculturation tend to be significant; however, the degree to which each individual changes and reacts to acculturation within the community tends to vary immensely (Furnham and Bochner 1986; Berry, 1970).

Closely related to acculturation, consumer acculturation is a term that portrays an engagement in consumer behaviour in one culture by an individual from another culture (Peñaloza, 1989). More specifically, consumer acculturation refers to the process of adapting to social norms and cultural environments (Kizgin et al., 2017; Peñaloza, 1994) and learning to purchase, consume, and attribute meaning to oneself through various goods and services (Peñaloza, 1989). As a result, altering one's behaviour in response to certain stimuli in a new culture by members of a different culture (Kizgin et al., 2017; Peñaloza, 1994). Consumer acculturation is a comprehensive process of learning and exhibiting consumption behaviours and knowledge (Peñaloza, 1989).

Luedicke (2011) states that consumer researchers' interest towards studying immigrants/migrants' adaptations and behaviours in Western consumer cultures increased in the 1980s. Consumer acculturation researchers Reilly and Wallendorf (1987; 1984), Deshpande et al. (1986), and Saegert et al. (1985) founded the field of consumer acculturation through studying various

consumers' consumption behaviours and levels of assimilation. Following the footsteps of these initial scholars, Peñaloza (1994; 1989), Oswald (1999), and Askegaard et al. (2005) founded the 'postassimilationist' concept and frameworks. Numerous scholars followed on this stream of consumer acculturation literature to produce a wealth of knowledge and insights that are beneficial to marketers, theoreticians, politicians, governments, and social activists (Luedicke, 2011). The consumer acculturation field possesses a unique characteristic, such that consumer acculturation processes and outcomes are investigated and examined within multicultural contexts (Luedicke, 2011; Peñaloza, 1989).

2.3 Chronology of Consumer Acculturation Literature

Several seminal studies were paramount to the advancement and transformation of consumer acculturation literature. Furthermore, a chronology and an overview of these seminal studies are mentioned in the following section below.

2.3.1 Berry's Model of Acculturation

Berry (1997) stated that several societies become plural or pluratic due to immigration and migartion. Therefore, individuals from various cultural and ethnic backgrounds live together in cities, countries, or societies that are multi-cultural or culturally diverse. As a result, these various cultural groups experience different levels of power and influence based on financial, economic, and political factors (Berry, 1997). The different level of power and influence among various cultural groups living together lead to the increased use of certain terminology, such as "mainstream, minority, ethnic group, etc." (Berry, 1997, p. 8). Berry (1997) also noted the distinction between the terms: dominant and non-dominant; moreover, the term dominant refers to the cultural group and its individual members that have the highest level of power and influence, whereas the term non-dominant refers to the cultural group or groups and its individual members that have either the lowest level of power and influence or less power and influence than dominant cultural group.

There are various types of cultural groups that may exist in multi-cultural societies and this variety is due to three factors: mobility, voluntariness, and permanence (Berry, 1997). Some cultural groups, such as immigrants, become part of the acculturation process voluntarily; however, other cultural groups, such as refugees or indigenous people, have involuntarily been a part of the acculturation process (Berry, 1997). Various cultural groups, including immigrants, have migrated to other locations; on the other hand, new cultures or cultural groups have been introduced or brought to local cultural groups, such as indigenous people or local minorities (Berry, 1997).

Lastly, some cultural groups have permanently migrated and are settled in various locations; however, other cultural groups' situation is temporary, such as international students, temporary or

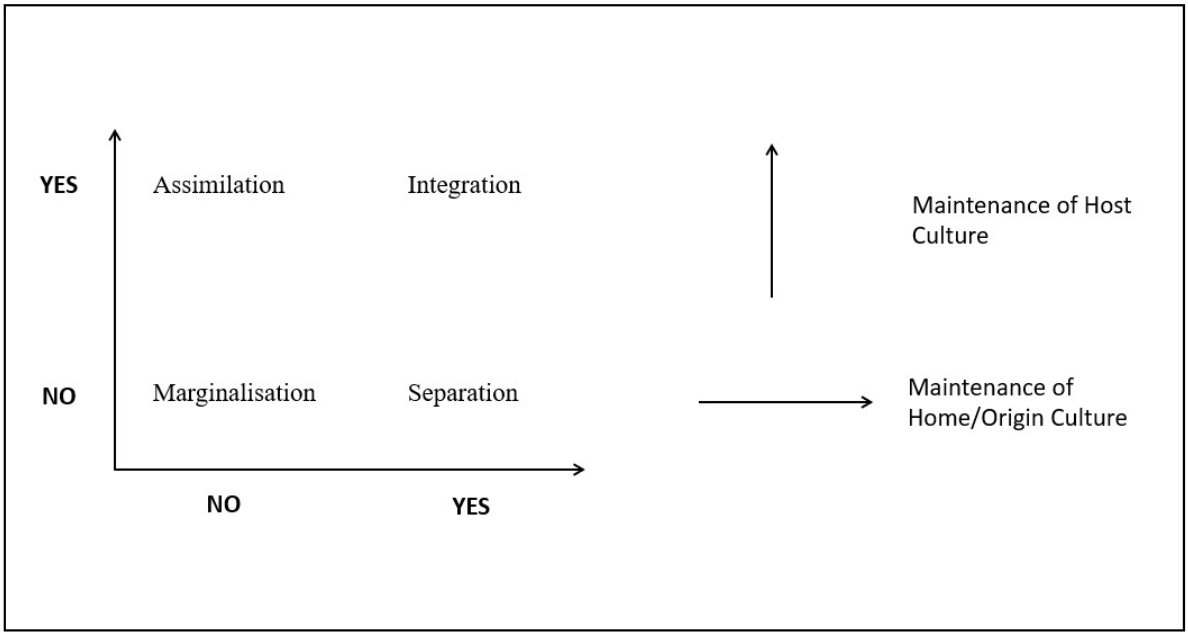
guest employees, or unstable asylum seekers (Berry, 1997). Berry and Sam (1996) argue that despite the distinct three factors leading to acculturation, these various cultural groups experience the basic process of adaption. In addition, differences occur with the journey, level of difficulty, and the outcomes of acculturation (Berry, 1997).

Berry's (1980) influential research developed and explained a model of acculturation that was based on two dimensions: maintenance of one's original cultural identity and maintenance of relationships with other cultural groups or the larger society. As a result, Berry (1980) intersected these two dimensions in the model of acculturation to produce four strategies: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (shown in Figure 2.1). Assimilation occurs when individuals do not wish to maintain their ancestral cultural identity and seek to interact with the host or other cultures; on the other hand, separation occurs when individuals place value on holding on to their heritage or ancestral culture and avoiding interaction with other cultures (Berry, 1980). Integration occurs when individuals maintain their heritage or ancestral culture and integrate with other cultures or the larger social network; furthermore, marginalisation occurs when individuals are not interested in maintaining their own heritage culture and are also not interested in interacting with other cultures or the larger social network (Berry, 1980).

Berry (1997; 1980) postulated that reasons for the occurrence of marginalisation can be due to enforced cultural loss or exclusion or discrimination; moreover, Berry's (1980) model of acculturation was developed and presented on the "assumption that non-dominant cultural groups and their individual members have the freedom to choose how they want to acculturate" (Berry, 1997, p. 9). Berry (1997) stated that this is not always the case; moreover, when the dominant cultural group enforces or restricts certain choices of acculturation then other strategies or terms need to be implemented.

As a result, Berry (1997) adjusted the model of acculturation to include separation, as shown in Figure 2.1 below. Individuals sometimes choose the separation strategy to acculturate; however, when the dominant cultural group enforces or restricts freedom of choice on non-dominant cultural groups or individuals, the result becomes segregation (Berry, 1997). Berry (1997) further stated that people rarely choose the option of marginalisation but become marginalised due to forced assimilation (pressure cooker) combined with forced exclusion (segregation).

Figure 2.1: Berry's Model of Acculturation



Source: Berry, 1997, p. 10

2.3.2 Peñaloza's Model of Consumer Acculturation

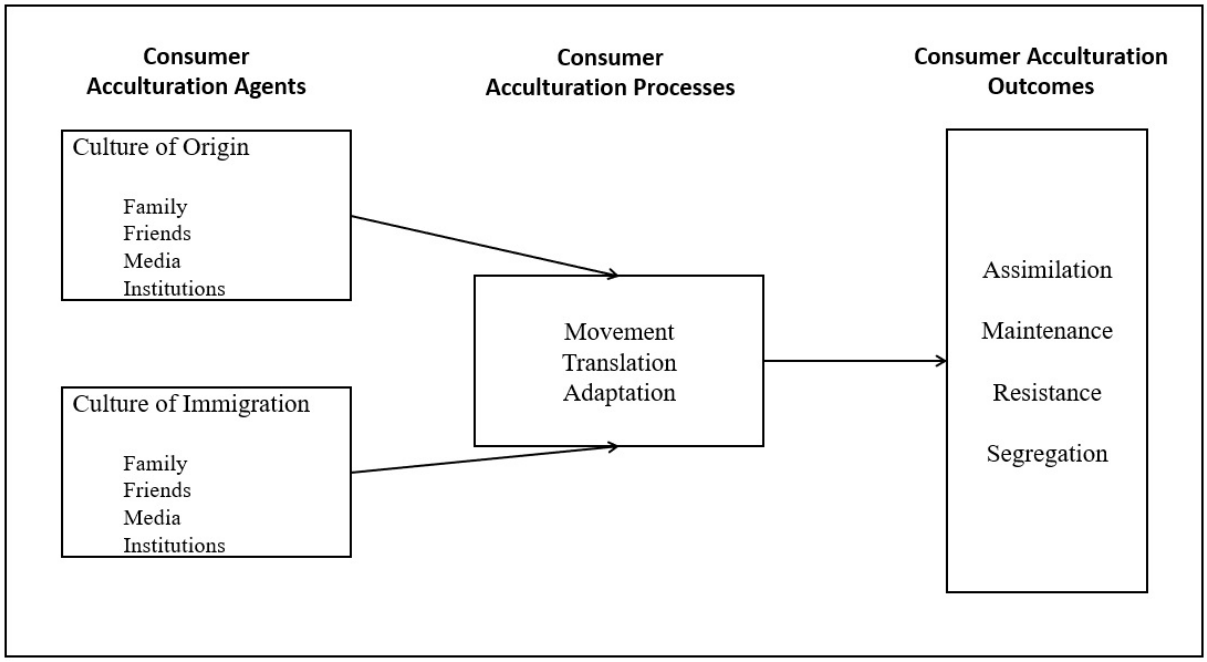
Lisa Peñaloza's (1989) groundbreaking and influential work began with her exploration of the development of "skills and knowledge relevant to engaging in consumer behaviour in one culture by members of another culture" (p. 110). Peñaloza's (1989) study focused on the acculturation processes associated with Mexican immigrants in the United States of America.

On the other hand, Peñaloza's (1994) subsequent study was aimed at learning how Mexican immigrants learn to purchase products and services in the United States of America; as a result, Peñaloza (1994) came to realise that Mexican immigrants' consumption learning process was either influenced by the existing culture in the United States of America, previous culture in Mexico, or a hybrid combination of both cultures. Furthermore, Peñaloza's (1994) theoretical framework that guided her research altered the focus from a socialisation orientation in the consumer learning literature to a transcultural orientation to become more. The constructs developed by Peñaloza (1994), consumer movement, translation, and adaptation, described the Mexican immigrants' consumer acculturation process in a precise and consistent manner.

The participants involved in Peñaloza's (1994) research were a diverse group of Mexican immigrants in the United States of America with various resources and skills. Peñaloza observed and realized that Mexican immigrant participants purchased products and services rapidly upon their arrival into the United States of America; moreover, the degree of acceptance associated with

purchasing products and services among the participants were affected by: cost, language dependence, social visibility, suitability and compatibility in informants' lives, and product symbolism in relation to the U.S. and Mexican consumer cultures (Peñaloza, 1994). Based on Berry's (1997; 1980) model of acculturation, Peñaloza (1994) formulated another model of consumer acculturation, as shown in Figure 2.2, with four consumer acculturation outcomes: assimilation, resistance, maintenance, and segregation.

Figure 2.2: An Empirical Model of Consumer Acculturation



Source: Peñaloza, 1994, p. 48

Assimilation was apparent through the participants' purchase behaviour regarding products and services associated with the U.S. (American) consumer culture, moreover, the more frequent purchased products and services were low in cost, high in degree of social visibility, and absent of language barriers, such as clothing (Peñaloza, 1994). Products and services that facilitated and preserved socialising, social networks, and the opportunity for shared financing were also more frequently purchased and accepted, such as automobiles and telephones (Peñaloza, 1994).

Maintenance is related to preserving certain aspects of the Mexican culture; therefore, participants' consumption behaviours were consistent with maintaining their ties with their culture and families; furthermore, participants maintained these ties through the use of different products and services such as telephone contact, food consumption, leisure activities, and Spanish media outlets (Peñaloza, 1994). Peñaloza (1994) recognised that Mexican immigrants adapted to the American consumer environment in ways that were extremely more complicated than just purchasing a product

or service related to the American or Mexican culture; in addition, Mexican participants experienced pressure to adapt, and they resisted the 'pulls' of the American (Anglo) and Mexican culture. Participants opposed and resisted "to varying degrees the materialism, time fixation, isolation, and discrimination they associated with U.S. culture"; on the other hand, participants also resisted characteristics of the Mexican culture, such as the restrictions associated with individual autonomy and certain aspects of its holiday traditions (Peñaloza, 1994, p. 49). Lastly, participants occupied certain locations, such as marketplaces, households, or neighbourhoods, in the United States of America that were physically segregated from the U.S. 'mainstream'; moreover, in those locations occupied by participants, Peñaloza observed a thriving Latino consumer culture apart from mainstream U.S. culture (Peñaloza, 1994).

Peñaloza noted that there were some 'paradoxes' regarding these four outcomes of the consumer acculturation process; furthermore, Mexican immigrant participants assimilated certain consumption behaviours and patterns associated with U.S. consumer culture, but they also maintained aspects of the consumption behaviours and patterns they had obtained in Mexico (Peñaloza, 1994). Peñaloza (1994) stated that the participants' consumption behaviour indicated assimilation; however, the products and services were consumed in a manner that suggested maintenance to their Mexican culture. Participants conveyed their concerns and resisted being involved in certain aspects of the U.S. culture and they resisted certain aspects of their previous Mexican culture as well; furthermore, the majority of participants inhabited locations across the United States of America that were segregated, physically and socially, from the mainstream (Peñaloza, 1994).

2.3.3 Askegaard et al.'s Postassimilationist Model of Consumer Acculturation

Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) demonstrated how consumer acculturation does not result in assimilation; moreover, to analyse the effectiveness and application of various post-assimilationist theories (Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994), Askegaard et al. (2005) examined post-assimilationist theory in a non-North American context and specifically among Greenlandic Inuit migrants in Denmark. As a result, Askegaard et al. (2005) found that Greenlandic consumer acculturation aligns and matches the post-assimilationist theories in previous research; however, the consumer acculturation process in the Danish context resulted in different outcomes among Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark compared to the outcomes in previous research.

Askegaard et al. (2005) claimed, in order to extend the 'postassimilationist' theory beyond the North American cultural domain, they question the generalisability of the culture-swapping model. Askegaard et al. (2005) further explored the Greenlandic participants and their reactions and consumer behaviour to various acculturative pressures; in addition, they built on Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) idea that consumers use products and consumption behaviours to negotiate differences between cultures and derive identities from those differences (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Askegaard et al. (2005) stated that Denmark's Greenlandic Inuit population provides a context to assess the robustness of the postassimilationist perspective of ethnic consumer behaviours since the context is free from legal or political factors as found in North America. As opposed to the Haitian immigrants (Oswald, 1999) and Mexican immigrants (Peñaloza, 1994) in the United States of America, Greenlandic immigrants' legal status is unquestioned; however, Greenlandic immigrants still experience discrimination and isolation (Askegaard et al., 2005). Furthermore, Askegaard et al. (2005) state that in Denmark, they find themselves in an immigrant's situation that is completely different from the home culture.

Askegaard et al. (2005) developed four acculturation outcomes or identity positions that are the discursive outcomes of negotiating between the three institutional acculturation forces: Greenlandic, Danish, and global consumer culture. The identity positions overlap but are not similar to Peñaloza's (1994) four outcomes. The four outcomes or identity positions developed by Askegaard et al. (2005) as shown in Figure 2.3 are: hyperculture, pendulism, assimilation, and integration.

Greenlandic hyperculture was the identity outcome of several informants observed by Askegaard et al. (2005). The Greenlandic immigrant informants associated their national dress or other cultural possessions directly to their identity, thus honouring their cultural origin (Askegaard et al., 2005). In addition, through the consumption of Greenlandic products and services such as food, national costumes, etc. in Denmark, an individual's ethnic identity becomes more Greenlandic than Greenlandic leading to the notion of hyperculture (Askegaard et al., 2005). Askegaard et al. (2005) also observed the hyperculture identity outcome in other informants and realised that Greenlandic materials or products to hype, emphasise, and form a Greenlandic sense of identity.

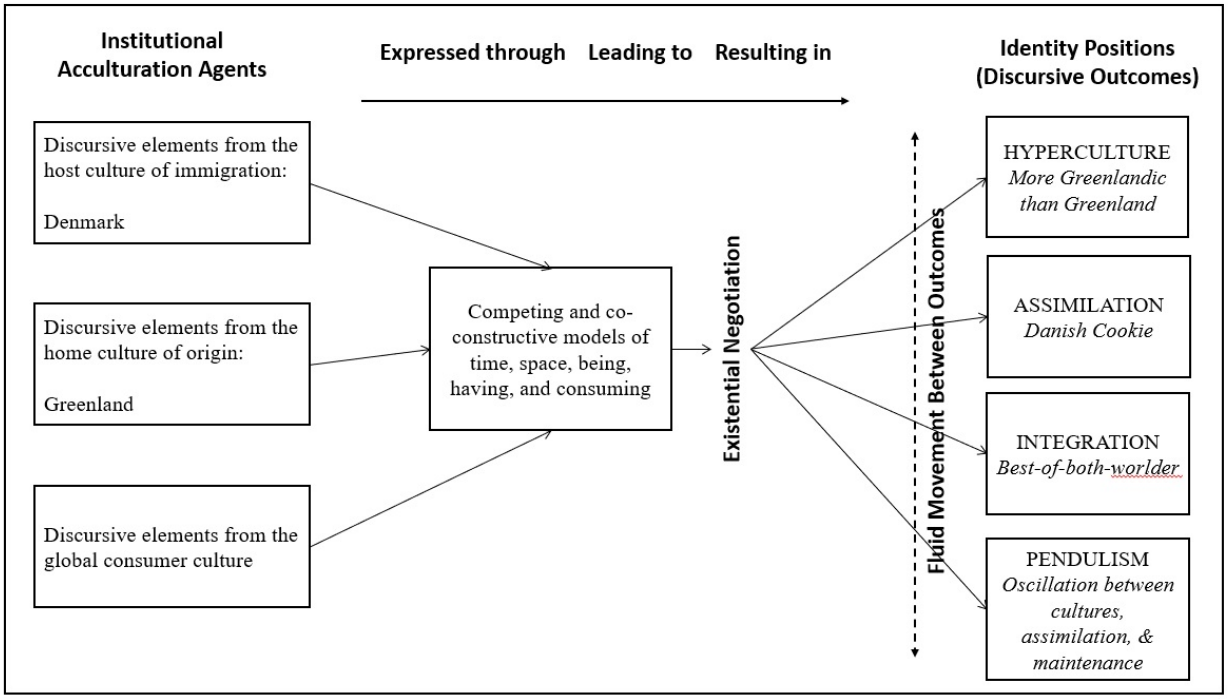
Pendulism or the pendulum is another identity outcome found among the informants. Askegaard et al. (2005) explain the pendulum identity outcome as an individual who experiences the hostilities and attractions of Greenland and Denmark. Some informants expressed the need to escape or retreat certain aspects related to strictures in the Danish world through repeated physical visits to Greenland; in addition, they desired having periodic doses of Greenlandic food, socialising, family, and to recharge and reenergise (Askegaard et al., 2005). On the other hand, some informants feel that while being in Greenland, they would long for having the freedom they had in Denmark regarding responsibilities and family obligations (Askegaard et al., 2005).

The pendulum identity outcome is very different from Oswald's (1999) outcome of culture swapping, and it has not been discussed by Berry (1997; 1980) or Peñaloza (1994). According to Askegaard et al. (2005), the pendulum identity outcome involves assimilation and maintenance, but the term emphasises the oscillation and the problems related to constant biculturalism. The assimilation identity outcome occurs when a newcomer is fascinated and bombarded with various market possibilities and freedom in a more developed consumer culture of Denmark (Askegaard et al., 2005). Some informants stated the difference between Greenland and Denmark in terms of brand choices, ease of shopping, cost, variety of products and services, and possibilities. Askegaard et al.

(2005) referred to the assimilationist as the 'Danish Cookie'. The Danish Cookie is the most assimilated in Berry's (1980) terms, and at the same time the most decultured (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Integration or the best-of-both-worlder is the fourth identity outcome and it includes young individuals, individuals of mixed ethnic heritage accepting their bi-cultural identity, or older Greenlandic immigrants established in Denmark accepting the balance between two cultures (Askegaard et al., 2005). The best-of-both-worlders value both social worlds and cultures, and they favour consumables that represent both environments, particularly music and food (Askegaard et al., 2005). In addition, the best-of-both-worlder is synonymous with the integration outcome in past research (Peñaloza 1994; Berry 1980). Finally, Askegaard et al. (2005) state that these identity outcomes are not a matter of strategic choice made by the informants but are fluid.

Figure 2.3: Post-assimilationist Acculturation Process and Outcomes



Source: Askegaard et al., 2005, p. 168

2.3.4 Dey et al.'s Multi-dimensional Model of Consumer Acculturation

Globalisation produces diverse and multicultural societies and markets; in addition, migration results in sociocultural and demographic changes to the structures of various societies around the world (Dey et al., 2019, Neal et al., 2013; Beck, 2006; Cavusgil et al., 2005). Dey et al. (2019) explain that due to the development and increase of multicultural societies, organisations require adjustments in management (Sarpong and Maclean, 2015; Janssens and Zanoni, 2014; Rossiter and Chan, 1998) and changes in customer relationships and management are also inevitable (Gaviria and Emontspool,

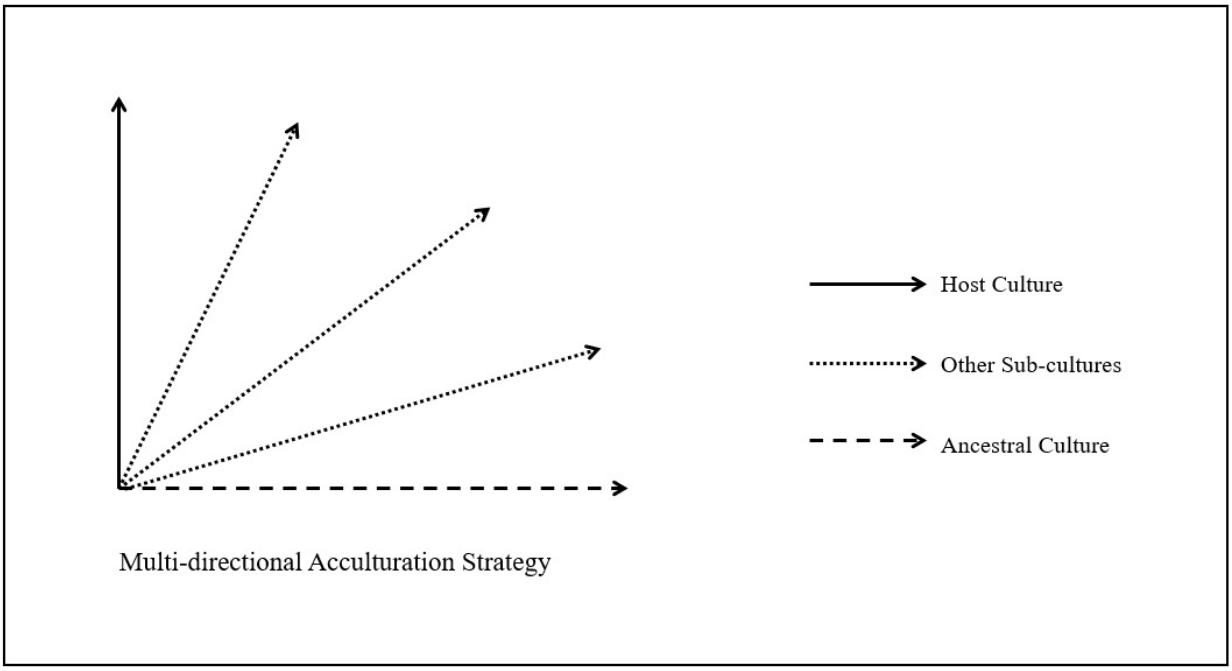
2015; Riefler et al., 2012; Jamal, 2003). As a result, Dey et al. (2019) postulate a substantial and critical consideration that increasing diversity has become an important part of Western metropolitan societies; moreover, further research on their ethnic populations can offer further insights into how and why they adopt and resist different characteristics of their ancestral, host, and global societies' cultures. Thus, this is essential to provide an understanding on how to segment consumer markets, assess market dynamics, and analyse consumer culture trends (Craig and Douglas 2006; Alden et al. 1999). Acculturation strategies of immigrants, migrants, and sojourners are of intertest to cross-cultural marketing (Demangeot et al., 2015; Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013; Poulis et al., 2013; Schilke et al., 2009).

Dey et al.'s (2019) research focused and was implemented in the city of London in the United Kingdom, due to high number of individuals born into immigrant families. In addition, London possesses a multicultural setting, whereas English villages tend to have a monocultural setting (Dey et al., 2019; Demangeot et al., 2015). As a result, Dey et al.'s (2019) focused on and observed first and second-generation immigrants and sojourners from various ethnicities based in the city of London; moreover, the observation focused on ethnic consumers' food consumption behaviour in London to examine their interaction with mainstream and other cultures and its effect on related food consumption behaviour. Furthermore, Dey et al. (2019) defined a cosmopolitan person as someone who is open and willing to explore and learn from other cultures and willing to engage with the 'Other'. The term 'cosmopolitanism' is often associated with a cultural orientation within a complex socioeconomic environment that resulted from the increasing pace of globalisation (Dey et al., 2019; Thompson and Tambyah, 1999).

Dey et al. (2019) contend that due to consumer behaviour and interactions in multicultural environments, previous acculturation strategies require revisiting (Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980). These strategies interact with and are influenced by the host culture, home country culture, other ethnic minority cultures, global consumer culture, and more multinational cultures (Dey et al., 2019). Multi-directional acculturation strategies and bi-directional analysis between home and host cultures exist partially in previous literature (Askegaard et al., 2005); however, further research is required to develop robust acculturation models and to obtain a substantial understanding of multi-directional acculturation, as shown in Figure 2.4 (Dey et al., 2019).

Due to such a gap in the acculturation research, Dey et al.'s (2019) aimed to examine the dynamics and outcomes of acculturation strategies in multicultural societies and develop a theoretical underpinning for multi directional acculturation; moreover, their research focused on analysing food consumption patterns of various ethnic communities in London and the individual's acculturation identity outcomes.

Figure 2.4: Bi-directional and Multi-directional Acculturation



Source: Dey et al., 2019, p. 19

As a result, Dey et al. (2019) developed a multi-directional acculturation model and produced four outcomes: resonance, rarefaction, refrainment, and rebellion. Resonance occurs when individuals or ethnic consumers adopt the characteristics of other cultures that are resonant to their heritage or ancestral culture (Dey et al., 2019). Some ethnic consumers may adopt characteristics of other cultures due to their acceptance of other cultures, but their adoption may be guided by the level of correspondence and agreement between their ancestral culture and the aspects of the host and other cultures (Dey et al., 2019). Dey et al.'s (2019) research findings suggest that the resonance outcome for food consumption is influenced by the consumer's food taste, experience and knowledge.

In Dey et al.'s (2019) research, a participant of Bangladeshi ethnic origin was not very fond of British Indian restaurants in London since she believes that those restaurants do not serve authentic South Indian foods and the taste of the food does not match her taste; in addition, another participant of Indian ethnic origin was grocery shopping with his family, his wife encountered many choices of chicken but she chose the one seasoned with Brazilian spices since it was the closest to their taste. Dey et al. (2019) stated that acculturation strategies are usually guided by resemblances between the host and ancestral cultures, and resemblances among several cultures encourage the consumer to adopt other cultures. Furthermore, ethnic consumers or immigrants adjust their foods in their host country to fit their traditional home country recipes and as a result transformation of food consumption occurs through adoption and adaptation and culture is not a static construct (Dey et al., 2019).

Rarefaction refers to the acculturation strategy or outcome portrayed by having a loose connection with both ancestral and other cultures; moreover, individuals that experience a rarefaction identity outcome identify themselves with being or having a global identity and not being devoted to a certain identity (Dey et al., 2019). A participant of Ghanaian origin explains how she has a loose connection to her Ghanaian culture, while simultaneously not being fully attached and involved with the British culture; on the other hand, another participant of Gujarati ethnic origin prepares and enjoys various multicultural foods with his friends but enjoys traditional Gujarati food at family events (Dey et al., 2019).

Both participants have a loose attachment to their ancestral cultures and are not willing to oppose or challenge it; in addition, they are both open and accepting to other cultures, but are not immersed with any culture (Dey et al., 2019). Consumers are exposed to the interaction between several coexisting cultural characteristics and are likely to experience complex and diverse identities (Cleveland and Laroche, 2007); furthermore, a higher level of cosmopolitanism leads to a rarefaction strategy (Dey et al., 2019).

Refrainment is the acculturation strategy or identity outcome that involves a strong attachment to one's ethnic ancestral culture, therefore leading to cautious behaviour within one's ancestral cultural values and norms' boundaries (Dey et al., 2019). Dey et al. (2019) found that despite some ethnic minorities' regular or infrequent interaction with the British culture and other ethnic cultures, the evidence indicates that their behaviour is confined to their ethno-religious boundaries. Refrainment is apparent and evident with food and food consumption since they closely affiliated with ethnic, religious, and familial lives (Dey et al., 2019).

One of the participants, of Pakistani ethnic origin, has been living in the UK for around 15 years always seeks to preserve his identity and maintain his ancestral food consumption habits and lifestyle; as a result, he is able to consume British or other non-Pakistani foods for up to a maximum of four days before having to consume Pakistani food (Dey et al., 2019). Another Polish participant expresses that he and his wife enjoy living in London; however, they prefer consuming Polish meat products from specialised East European grocers since they think it tastes better than British meat products (Dey et al., 2019).

Thus, refrainment occurs when an individual controls or limits their behaviour by setting a point or reference not to cross, as a 'threshold point' or 'red line' defined by religion, cultural, or familial values (Dey et al., 2019). Berry (2005) explained that the separation acculturation outcome occurs when an individual decides to detach themselves from other cultures and only restrict and involve themselves to their ancestral culture only; on the other hand, Dey et al. (2019) argue that the rarefaction strategy applies to individuals that do not completely isolate themselves from other cultures and interact with other members even though they prefer to remain within their own cultural boundaries.

Lastly, rebellion occurs when individuals tend to challenge or reject their ancestral culture (familial, cultural, religious authority or control) to adopt other cultures (Dey et al., 2019). Dey et al. (2019) state that their observations and interviews indicate that religious barriers limit the participants' flexibility and distance them from the multicultural environment. Dey et al. (2019), further explain that alcohol is usually treated as a forbidden item among Muslims; in addition, Muslims prefer consuming food items that are 'halal', which are consistent with the Islamic religious principles and values regarding food consumption.

Most of the Muslim participants in Dey et al.'s (2019) research preferred to maintain and adhere to such religious values and principles in terms of food consumption. Two Muslim participants in Dey et al.'s (2019) seem to have contrasting views and opinions regarding certain food consumption behaviours; furthermore, one participant was London-born Iranian and the other is a first-generation Bangladeshi, both had views that challenged and opposed their religious norms and values. The participant of Iranian origin comes from a liberal Iranian family and explains that his family adheres to most Islamic values and norms such as eating 'halal', not consuming alcohol, and praying; however, his mother and sister dress liberally and are not conservative (Dey et al., 2019). Moreover, his view on consuming alcohol is not aligned with Islamic values and norms and his parents yet liberal, do not condone such behaviour.

On the other hand, the Bangladeshi participant lives with his wife and children in London and his wife adheres to all Islamic norms and does not consume alcohol and eats 'halal'; however, he possesses a different view on the use of alcohol and his wife's protests did not change his views on alcohol consumption (Dey et al., 2019). As a result, both participants show rebellious behaviour and challenge the authority of their religion and family members (Dey et al., 2019). Another participant, of Malaysian origin, demonstrated rebellious behaviour towards socio-cultural norms due to reasons other than religion; furthermore, the Malaysian participant dislikes spicy Malaysian food and has a British girlfriend, thus the participant's mother has disapproved of such behaviour but has accepted the reality eventually (Dey et al., 2019).

Ethno-religious identities tend to produce contradictions among individuals belonging to ethnic minorities and they usually interpret religion in a manner to justify their behaviour (Jafari and Süerdem, 2012). Dey et al. (2019) argue that such behaviour that disregards an individual's ancestral culture may lead to rebellious tendencies. The rebellion strategy portrays a consumer's effort to go beyond the boundaries and experience cosmopolitanism at the highest level (Dey et al., 2019).

2.3.5 Overview of Key Influential Consumer Acculturation Studies

Luedicke (2011) categorised the initial consumer acculturation literature into two waves of research: 'The first wave: assessing migrants' consumption patterns' and 'The second wave: exploring consumer acculturation experiences'. The first wave of research in the field of consumer

acculturation was initiated to understand and examine immigrants' or ethnic groups' consumption patterns in relation to their host community members. To examine the differences between immigrants' and host community's consumption patterns and the level of assimilation to the local culture or cultural context (Luedicke, 2011).

Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) compared food consumption behaviours and patterns of Mexican Americans to Anglos residing in the same region and Mexicans residing in Mexico City. The results opposed the traditional model of assimilation created by Berry (1997; 1980). Furthermore, the food consumption behaviours of Mexican Americans were not a simple amalgamation of Mexican and Anglo food consumption behaviours, and Mexican American food consumption behaviours suggested a unique cultural style and 'over-assimilation' (Luedicke, 2011; Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983).

On the other hand, Mehta and Belk (1991) discovered an opposing result, 'anti-assimilation', in their comparative study of favourite possessions of Indians living in India and Indians living in the United States of America. The results of Mehta and Belk's (1991) research revealed that Indian immigrants in the USA adopted American possessions, which matched the predictions and results of the assimilation model; furthermore, Indian immigrants in the USA tended to show 'hyper identification' with India in terms of cultural context and Indian identity (Luedicke, 2011; Mehta and Belk, 1991).

In addition to this 'first wave', Deshpande et al. (1986) noted that previous studies assumed that there was "a general homogeneity within subcultures"; therefore, Deshpande et al. (1986) built upon Hirschman's (1981) studies and were among the first consumer researchers to reveal the differences in consumption patterns and behaviours not only between immigrant and host groups but mainly between consumers within the same subculture or ethnic backgrounds (Luedicke, 2011; Deshpande et al., 1986, p. 214). As a result of the research undertaken by Deshpande et al. (1986) and subsequent ethnic and immigrant/migrant consumption studies did not assess ethnicity through the use of 'socio-demographics' such as country of birth, nationality, language, etc., but through identification with an ethnic group (Luedicke, 2011, p. 225).

This first wave of consumer acculturation research revealed that the acculturation process is not unidirectional and it does not follow an expected linear pattern of cultural assimilation, but it follows multiple and less predictable paths (Luedicke, 2011). In addition, Berry's model of "level of acculturation" ignored the outcomes of "over-assimilation and hyper identification" (Luedicke, 2011, p. 226; Berry, 1997; 1980). Furthermore, "agents of acculturation" such as mainstream culture, American mass media, etc. can have a significant effect on immigrants' assimilation outcomes (Luedicke, 2011, p. 226; O'Guinn et al., 1986). Findings of the first wave of consumer acculturation research produced major developments in acculturation theory and therefore paved the way for the second wave of consumer acculturation researchers and insights.

The second wave of consumer acculturation research was initiated by Peñaloza (1989); moreover, Peñaloza revealed undiscovered findings regarding how immigrant consumers obtain the skills and knowledge relevant to consumer behaviours in foreign cultural environments, rather than focusing on measuring the degree of consumer acculturation among her subjects (Peñaloza, 1989). Peñaloza's (1994) influential work continued by examining the acculturation processes and the environment surrounding the Mexican immigrants in the United States of America. Peñaloza's (1994) study revealed that Mexican immigrants quickly adopted various products following their arrival to the USA; moreover, the degree of product acceptance by the informants depended on the cost, language acceptance, social visibility, compatibility with participants' lives, and product symbolism relevant to the U.S. and Mexican consumer cultures (Peñaloza, 1994).

As a result, the study revealed that the participants adopted products that were low in cost, high in visibility, and lack language barriers, for example clothing and automobiles; in addition, the participants' consumption behaviours and patterns also showed a link to their Mexican culture and heritage through their contact through the telephone, the food they prepared and ate, use of Spanish media, and leisure activities (Peñaloza, 1994). Peñaloza's (1994; 1989) studies are influential due to three distinct reasons. First, Peñaloza conceptualised "consumer acculturation as a general process of movement and adaptation to consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country" and opposed Berry's (1997) assumption that immigration leads to assimilation (Luedicke, 2011; Askegaard et al., 2005, p. 161; Peñaloza, 1994).

Second, Peñaloza utilised and explored "dual sets of consumer acculturation agents aligned with Mexican and U.S. culture served to mediate the two cultures by representing them and helping to reproduce them in the United States"; moreover, the agents that were utilised in the study were family, friends, media, commercial establishments, social institutions, and religious institutions (Peñaloza, 1994, p. 49).

Third, Peñaloza (1994) developed a model that included a set of four acculturation outcomes – assimilation, maintenance, resistance, and segregation – slightly similar to Berry's model (1997; 1980); however, the acculturation outcome of resistance produced by her Mexican informants went beyond Berry's more passive marginalisation outcome (Luedicke, 2011; Peñaloza, 1994). As a result, Peñaloza (1994), Mehta and Belk (1991), and Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) "falsified Berry's claim for a 'universalist perspective' (Rudmin, 2003; Berry, 1997, p. 5; Berry and Sam, 1997, p. 296) by highlighting cases that were not fully captured by Berry's prevailing four-fold matrix" (Luedicke, 2011, p. 227).

The second wave of consumer acculturation included Oswald's (1999) research that studied Haitian families in the United States of America. Oswald revealed how ethnic consumers 'culture swap' through the use of products and services to move or swap between different cultural identities; moreover, to move between host and home country cultures (Oswald, 1999). In addition, Oswald (1999) found that Haitian immigrants' acculturation outcomes resulted in swapping between cultures

and identities, rather than resulting in fixed acculturation outcomes as in prior studies (Luedicke, 2011).

Askegaard et al. (2005) bolstered Oswald's (1999) research by discovering that the acculturation processes in the Danish environment led immigrants to adopt identity positions that were not consistent with the ones reported in prior postassimilationist consumer research. Askegaard et al. (2005) developed a set of four acculturation outcomes or identity positions that coincide with with those of Peñaloza (1994), but they are not homologous with them. Furthermore, they revealed that Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark interchange or switch between the four identity positions of pendulism, integration, assimilation, and hyperculture (Askegaard et al., 2005).

2.4 Research Gaps and Critical Literature Analysis

Despite the existing literature and progress within the consumer acculturation scholarship (Banerjee et al., 2021; Dey et al., 2019; Dey et al., 2017; Cleveland et al., 2016; Demangeot and Sakaran, 2012; Cleveland et al., 2009; Jafari and Goulding, 2008; Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Firat and Venkatesh, 1995; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980), several gaps are evident and exist within the consumer acculturation literature. Therefore, the gaps and literature pertinent to this thesis are extensively discussed and analysed below.

Research Gap 1: The evolving acculturation literature reveals growing evidence of integration due to individuals possessing greater opportunities to interact with other individuals within communities in multicultural contexts (Dey et al., 2019). Prior literature has examined the broader classification of integration, but a scope for further classification of the broader integration category exists since the extant literature does not provide a structured typology for the integrative acculturation strategy outcome. As a result, this first gap provides a theoretical motivation for this thesis.

Acculturation literature and theories describe how and to what degree ethnic immigrants/migrants adopt the host country's culture and cultural aspects, retain their heritage culture or cultural aspects, or display a new form of culture that differs from both their heritage culture and the host country's culture (Dey et al., 2019). Initial acculturation research was based on the colonial past notion that denotes Western countries (e.g.: UK) as more civilised countries compared to the immigrants'/migrants' home countries (Dey et al., 2017). In addition, the unidirectional acculturation concept and models is built on the idea of ethnic immigrants/migrants replacing their heritage culture and cultural aspects with the host country's culture (Cleveland et al., 2016). On the other hand, the bidirectional acculturation concept and models consider that ethnic immigrants/migrants adopt and adapt to various cultures and cultural aspects from both their home and host country's cultures.

The seminal work of Berry (1980) developed and demonstrated four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. Berry's (1980) model is based on a

bidirectional continuum of acculturation between the host and heritage cultures but based on the notion that Western cultures seem superior to the ethnic immigrants'/migrants' cultures. Furthermore, in multicultural contexts and societies, complete assimilation of or separation from the host, heritage, and other cultures is an overly simplistic and impractical since immigrants/migrants displayed various behavioural dispositions and outcomes from the host, heritage, and other cultures (Dey et al., 2019; Weinreich, 2009; Jamal and Chapman, 2000; Oswald, 1999). As a result, the notion of Berry's (1980) continuum appears doubtful (Dey et al., 2017) and the resulting outcomes of assimilation and separation also seem questionable (Schwartz and Zamboanga, 2008; Üstüner and Holt, 2007).

A robust research strand (Dey et al., 2019; 2017; Weinreich, 2009; Askegaard et al., 2005; Jamal and Chapman, 2000; Peñaloza, 1994) supported the bidirectional acculturation concept and outcomes where ethnic immigrants/migrants adopted cultural aspects from the host culture while simultaneously retaining their heritage cultural aspects. Derived from Berry's (1980) acculturation model, Peñaloza (1994) developed four consumer acculturation outcomes: assimilation, resistance, maintenance, and segregation. Peñaloza (1994) states that despite assimilation, the Mexican immigrant consumers in the USA maintained their heritage culture and consumption behaviours synonymous with their Mexican culture. For instance, the Mexican immigrants assimilated to the U.S. mainstream culture through the consumption of different products (e.g.: automobiles, clothing) while simultaneously maintaining their Mexican identity through various behavioural dispositions (e.g.: food consumption).

Therefore, this thesis aims to address this gap and present a novel typology that demonstrates the integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes and describes the different types of integration. Prior key studies (Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry; 1980) did not incorporate the dynamic evolution of migration and its effect on acculturation. This research aims to provide a novel perspective and typology of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes that is uniquely distinct from prior studies.

Research Gap 2: The existing literature lacks to provide complete explanations and reasons behind the motivations and formation of dual and multiple identities of ethnic consumers. In addition, the extant literature did not provide sufficient explanations regarding the dichotomies and attributes that exist with ethnic consumers' behaviours and cultural dispositions (e.g.: Dey et al., 2019; Cleveland et al., 2016; Jaspal, 2015 Askegaard et al., 2005). Therefore, a gap exists how ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities are formed, and they require further investigation and explanation to further advance the consumer acculturation scholarship.

Peñaloza's (1994) influential study paved way to a new stream of research and dimensions within the consumer acculturation literature. Oswald's (1999) study investigated Haitian immigrants in the USA and discovered their dual identity and culture swapping behaviours. Subsequently, Askegaard et al. (2005) explained the concept of 'pendulism' to represent the dual cultural identity of Greenlandic immigrants/migrants in Denmark. However, Askgaard et al. (2005) noted that Peñaloza's

(1994) study was context-specific and not applicable as a universal framework across all societies or ethnic groups. Both Peñaloza's (1994) and Oswald's (1999) postassimilationist studies offered novel concepts and described the notion of dual cultural identities (Dey et al., 2017), but their studies are context-dependent and do not depict acculturation in societies outside the USA (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Although, contexts are imperative in consumer acculturation studies, processes, and outcomes, both Peñaloza's (1994) and Oswald's (1999) studies do not fully capture the dynamics of the multicultural contexts that affect consumer acculturation in societies in other countries (Dey et al., 2017). In addition, Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) failed to delineate the reasons behind the formation of dual cultural identities. For example, Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) did not include second-generation or third-generation immigrants in their research, since they born and/or raised in the host country and differ from first-generation immigrants (Dey et al., 2017). In addition, Hindu and Muslim individuals have distinct religious practices and values and thus may encounter difficulties assimilating to Christian majority Western host multicultural societies. As a result, the Mexican American immigrants' contextual dynamics and acculturation process and outcomes in the USA (Peñaloza, 1994) will differ from South Asian immigrants in the UK (Dey et al., 2019), Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark (Askegaard et al., 2005), or South Asian immigrants/migrants in Bahrain.

Askegaard et al. (2005) focused on the dual cultural identities of ethnic consumers and identified a new acculturation outcome, 'pendulism', which refers to oscillation between assimilation and maintenance. Those studies (Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994) immigrants/migrants pursue various dual or hybrid identities (Üstüner and Holt, 2007). Peñaloza (1994) and Askegaard et al. (2005) developed the concept of acculturation agents (e.g.: family, media, transnational consumer culture), but they addressed these agents generically rather than using these agents as sociocultural dynamics and structures to explain influences on consumers' acculturation processes (Üstüner and Holt, 2007) or describe the reasons behind the formation of dual or multiple identities.

Üstüner and Holt (2007) described the 'shattered identity projects' based on the investigation of Turkish migrant women that moved from villages to the city to live in squatter camps. Moreover, the Turkish migrant women experienced frustrating situations and acculturation under hegemonic modern cultural conditions and constraints, specifically insufficient financial and social capital (Luedicke and Pichler, 2010). Jafari and Goulding (2008) extended Firat and Venkatesh's (1995) notion of the 'fragmented self', thus developed the concept of the 'torn self' that depicts the conflicted and indecisive behaviours of Iranian youth living in the UK by maintaining their heritage cultures and adopt Western or UK cultural aspects (Dey et al., 2017).

For instance, Iranian women in Iran are expected to and have a duty to wear a head veil, whereas in the UK it is a choice. However, as Dey et al. (2017) argues that immigrant/migrant consumers' dual or multiple cultural identities could be due to various reasons and are not necessarily

due to identity conflicts between the host and home countries' sociocultural and political conditions. Ethnic communities and consumers are likely to have dual or multiple cultural identities (Dey et al., 2017; Jamal, 2003). Therefore, contrary to the prior literature, these dual or multiple cultural identities need to be investigated further (Dey et al., 2017) and assessed on a different scale (Luedicke, 2011). In addition, Luedicke (2011) noted that these dual cultural identities have been studied under conditions that are shielded from interactions with and within the broader social environment.

Cleveland et al. (2009) investigated the acculturation and food consumption behaviours of Lebanese Canadians within the multicultural context of Quebec. The study discovered that the Lebanese immigrant consumers consumed French Canadian food products as part of their individual acculturation strategies and that situational factors influenced the type of food consumed by the Lebanese immigrant consumers. Cleveland et al. (2009) concurred with Peñaloza (1994) on the notion that situational contexts affect the immigrant/migrant consumer's consumption choices.

Demangeot and Sakaran (2012) demonstrated that in multicultural environments, ethnic consumers' cultural plural acculturation strategies varied in individuals with different products categories depending on the chosen strategy, rather than on personal traits and environmental cues. Therefore, they state that it would be unwise to segment consumers based on their ethnic origin or personal traits. Both studies provide rich and deeper insights into the dualism and pluralism of ethnic consumers and their acculturation, but further advancement is required to critically analyse and explain ethnic consumers' cultural pluralism and the motives and dynamics that lead to those identities. In addition, the situational limitations and constraints on ethnic consumers that obstruct their adoption or acculturation processes have not been examined (Dey et al., 2019).

Cleveland et al.'s (2016) study examined and compared Canadian and Chilean consumers by focusing on their strength of national identity (NID) and acculturation to global consumer culture (AGCC) on consumption. Cleveland et al. (2016) suggest that certain socio-cultural contexts and governmental policies supported multiple cultural identities and integration. In addition, consumers' acculturation outcomes (assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation) varied across different product categories and impact of culture was greatest for food products and least for appliances (Dey et al., 2019; Cleveland et al., 2016). However, the study required further delineation regarding the motives and reasons behind ethnic consumers' interactions with other cultures and integration/creolisation in a multicultural context (Dey et al., 2019).

Dey et al.'s (2017) research examined the South Asian community and immigrant consumers' cultural dispositions and acculturation within major cities across the UK. The South Asian consumers experienced dual cultural identities, which are formed due to four reasons: "consonances with ancestral culture, situational constraints, contextual requirements and convenience" (Dey et al., 2017, p. 809). This 'quadripartite' perspective and theoretical model of acculturation presented by Dey et al. (2017) is not based on a specific context. However, the study does not consider a multicultural

perspective that examines other cultures and the global consumer culture and can further investigate other ethnic communities and cultures that go beyond the UK and South Asian communities.

Dey et al.'s (2019) study explored various ethnic immigrants' cosmopolitanism and acculturation processes and outcomes through their food consumption behaviours within the multicultural environment of London. The research developed and classified four ethnic consumers' multidirectional acculturation strategies: rebellion, rarefaction, resonance, and refrainment. This research further advanced the acculturation scholarship through the multidirectional acculturation model and examined the role of consumer cosmopolitanism in consumer acculturation (Dey et al., 2019), but the research did not involve the host community and did not examine the dynamics of how and why the host community's role and acculturation process and outcomes within a multicultural context.

Banerjee et al.'s (2021) furthered the understanding of the evolving dynamics of acculturation by examining identity negotiation and acculturation. The study included ethnic consumers from various cultures in the UK (host society is the majority population) and in the UAE (host society is the minority population). Banerjee et al. (2021) discovered that ethnic consumers employ 'indifference' as an identity negotiation mechanism in both contexts, the UK and UAE. Furthermore, ethnic consumers preferred not to fit in or stand out in work and social settings within the host and home country societies. However, the study included various consumers from different cultures in different countries and aggregated the results on an overall level, therefore including larger data sets and examining cross-cultural differences might provide further and clearer findings. In addition, this study might benefit by further comparing and examining other studies' consumer behaviours and identity negotiation mechanisms (e.g.: Dey et al.'s (2019) rarefaction and refrainment) to the 'indifference' identity negotiation mechanism.

The dual identity interrelationship of ethnic consumers between host and heritage cultures may not be feasible when the ethnic consumers interact with other cultures or global consumer culture or within their religious, social, and commercial institutions in multicultural environments (Dey et al., 2019). The existing literature does not completely delineate the dichotomies, idiosyncrasies, and multiplicities in ethnic communities' cultural identities and behaviours. In addition, ethnic consumers' interactions and acculturation were mostly shielded from the broader social contexts in prior literature (Luedicke, 2011). Prior literature provides partial understanding of ethnic communities' cultural identities and behaviours, especially with regards to the motives and reasons behind these multiple identities and acculturation processes and outcomes. Acculturation is the result of dynamic, iterative, and complex processes that are affected by various contextual situations, variables, and constraints and their dynamic interrelationships and interactions that require the generalisation of a comprehensive theoretical model. As a result, this research addresses these issues and aims to produce a broader conceptual underpinning and construct a comprehensive acculturation model, which includes novel outcomes to be generalised.

Research Gap 3: More prevalently**,** acculturation studies have been conducted in contexts that have smaller migrant/immigrant populations (Banerjee et al., 2021) and within Western and European societies. Banerjee et al.'s (2021) study is currently the first to attempt to bring consumer acculturation to different contexts (U.A.E.) where the host community has a significantly smaller population compared to the migrant/immigrant community. The dynamics of acculturation significantly differs in a context where the host community population is significantly smaller or equal compared to the migrant/immigrant population distribution, as witnessed in The Kingdom of Bahrain. The Kingdom of Bahrain presents a novel context and gap within the consumer acculturation literature. Therefore, this research is the first research to investigate and examine the consumer acculturation of the South Asian diaspora in the multicultural environment of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

The Kingdom of Bahrain possesses a distinctive population composition compared to other contexts included in the extant acculturation literature. The South Asian population in the Kingdom of Bahrain is almost numerically equivalent to the population of the host community members. In addition, the overall population of the host community members is 47.44% of the total population and the remaining 52.56% consists of individuals from a collection of other cultures. This provides a unique gap and contribution since the contextual environment and majority-minority dynamic differs from the extant consumer acculturation literature.

In contrast to the majority of prior acculturation studies, this research includes respondents from diverse social classes simultaneously, particularly blue-collar South Asian respondents. Blue-collar individuals have been included in other scholarships and research areas, for instance blue-collar respondents have been researched from an economic perspective. However, blue-collar respondents are seldom researched or included in the consumer acculturation scholarship. The blue-collar South Asian migrants are a crucial part of the population and economy across the GCC region, including the Kingdom of Bahrain. They contribute tremendously to the overall economy of the region as they are substantially responsible for the evolving infrastructure developments, construction of residential and commercial projects, and numerous societal aspects and projects across the various countries within the GCC region. Therefore, this is another gap to be addressed in this thesis to provide novel contributions regarding the contextual factors that have not been previously researched.

Table 2.1 summarises some of the seminal studies on consumer acculturation, contributions, and possible scopes for further advancement in this domain.

Table 2.1: Summary of Consumer Acculturation Scholarship in Marketing, Contributions, and Scope for Further Advancement

Author and context of research	Contribution	Scopes for further advancement
Peñaloza (1994) Mexican American community	A dynamic postassimilationist consumer acculturation model that results in four outcomes: assimilation, maintenance, resistance, and segregation.	As argued by Askegaard et al. (2005), the theoretical and empirical contributions are context-specific (Mexican American in the USA). Identity formations reasons require further exploration and delineation.
Oswald (1999) Haitian American community	Developed the concept of 'culture swapping' to explain dual cultural identity through consumption choices of Haitian Americans.	The reasons and motives that led to 'culture swapping' and dual identities require further examination and explanation. In addition, the study is context-specific (Haitian American community in the USA) and omits global cultural factors.
Askgaard et al. (2005) Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark	Developed the concept of 'pendulism' to explain duality of cultural identity. Also, identity formation is due to consumers' self-reflexivity.	Requires further reasons and motives regarding the movement of consumers between the host and heritage cultures. In addition, other and global consumer cultures need to be examined.
Üstüner and Holt (2007) Batici women in urban Turkey	Described the 'shattered identity projects' based on the study of Batici Turkish migrant women that moved from villages to the city to live in squatter camps. The Batici Turkish migrant women experienced frustrating situations and acculturation under hegemonic modern cultural conditions and constraints.	The hegemonic and counterhegemonic inter-relationship are not necessarily the resulting acculturation outcomes for other ethnic communities in other societies (Dey et al., 2017). Paradoxes and contradictions exist with individuals' acculturation process and outcomes, therefore further examination and exploration is required.
Jafari and Goulding (2008) Iranian youth in the UK	Firat and Venkatesh's (1995) notion of the 'fragmented self' was extended, in order to create the concept of the 'torn self' that depicts the conflicted and indecisive behaviours of Iranian youth living in the UK. Iranian youth were conflicted by maintaining their heritage cultures and adopting Western or UK cultural aspects (Dey et al., 2017).	Dey et al. (2017) argues that immigrant consumers would likely experience dual or multiple cultural identities in multicultural societies and therefore that could be due to various reasons, which are not necessarily due to identity conflicts and contradictions between the host and home countries and cultures. Therefore, the reasons and motives leading to dual cultural identities are not fully captured or explained by concept

		of the 'torn self' and require further investigation.
Demangeot and Sankaran (2012) Multicultural migrants/residents in the UAE	Developed a cultural pluralism taxonomy in multicultural environments. Also, their research demonstrated that ethnic consumers' cultural plural acculturation strategies varied with different products depending on the chosen strategy in multicultural environments.	The study provided rich insights into pluralism of ethnic consumers and their acculturation. However, further advancement is required to explain ethnic consumers' cultural pluralism and the reasons that led to those identities. In addition, Dey et al. (2019) noted that situational limitations and constraints that obstruct the adoption or acculturation processes have not been explored.
Cleveland et al. (2016) Acculturation for global consumer culture (AGCC)	Certain socio-cultural contexts and governmental policies supported multiple cultural identities and integration. The consumers experienced four acculturation outcomes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. The authors highlighted a specific form of integration, referred to as Creolisation. The outcomes depended on different products and cultural impact was the greatest for food products and least for appliances (Cleveland et al., 2016).	The study requires further explanation regarding the motives and reasons behind the consumers' interactions with other cultures and integration/creolisation in a multicultural environment (Dey et al., 2019). In addition, an interpretive and qualitative approach would provide richer and deeper insights into the dichotomies and complexities of dual and multiple cultural identities.
Dey et al. (2017) Young British South Asian adults in the UK	The research explored the South Asian immigrants' cultural behaviours, tendencies, and acculturation across various major cities across the UK. The South Asian immigrants' dual cultural identities are shaped due to four reasons: "consonances with ancestral culture, situational constraints, contextual requirements and convenience" (Dey et al., 2017, p. 809).	The model of acculturation presented by Dey et al. (2017) is not based on a specific context. However, the study does not include a multicultural perspective and context to examine ethnic immigrants' acculturation among other cultures and the global consumer culture. This study can further examine and explore other ethnic communities and cultures that go beyond the UK and South Asian communities.
Dey et al. (2019) First- and second-generation multicultural immigrants in London	This research contributed to the acculturation scholarship by developing a multidirectional acculturation model and examining the role of consumer cosmopolitanism within consumer acculturation. Different ethnic immigrants' cosmopolitanism and	This research did not include the host community nor examined the dynamics of how and why the host community's role and acculturation process and outcomes within a multicultural context. The study requires further delineation of the reasons and motives behind the

	acculturation were explored and examined through their food consumption behaviours within London's multicultural context. The study produced four classifications for ethnic consumers' multidirectional acculturation strategies: rebellion, rarefaction, resonance, and refrainment.	ethnic immigrants' dual and multiple identities.
Banerjee et al. (2021) Immigrants/migrants in the UK (host country majority population) and UAE (host country minority population	This study further advanced the comprehension of the dynamics of acculturation by examining identity negotiation and acculturation. The study involved ethnic immigrants from different cultures in the UK (host society is the majority population) and in the UAE (host society is the minority population). Ethnic consumers preferred not to fit in or stand out in both social and work environments. As a result, ethnic consumers use 'indifference' as an identity negotiation mechanism in both contexts, the UK and UAE.	The study included ethnic consumers from different cultures in different countries, but the authors aggregated the results on an overall level. Therefore, including a larger data set and examining the cross-cultural differences might provide richer, clearer, and deeper insights. Moreover, this study could benefit from further exploration and comparing ethnic consumers' behaviours and identity negotiation mechanisms with other studies.

2.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter presented a panoramic and comprehensive literature review. First, prominent theories that are relevant to the consumer acculturation scholarship and this thesis were presented. Then, the delineation of acculturation was discussed and presented, followed by further elaboration regarding consumer acculturation. Then, a chronological review of key influential studies within the consumer acculturation scholarship were emphasised and discussed. Moreover, additional significant studies within the acculturation scholarship were further presented and reviewed. Next, a thorough and critical analysis of the complete literature was conducted to identify existing gaps and scopes for further advancement within the extant literature. Finally, this research was initiated and built upon from the findings and contributions of the existing literature and aims to further the consumer acculturation scholarship by addressing those gaps within the extant literature and presenting novel contributions.

Chapter 3. Methodology

This chapter outlines, develops, and justifies the adopted research methodology. The identification and selection of the research methodology depended on the most suitable approach discussed and justified in the extant literature. In addition, the research methodology utilised in this thesis is the most appropriate to achieve the main aim of this research. This thesis implemented interpretivism as an underlying philosophy and underpinned by an ethnographic principle. Accordingly, a qualitative methodology was adopted in this thesis.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.1 presents the research philosophy and approach by revealing the author's ontological, epistemological, and axiological convictions and the justifications for the selection of an interpretivist philosophy and approach. Section 3.2 discusses and explains the explorative research type and purpose of this thesis. Section 3.3 delineates the research strategy and design and discusses quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methodologies. Section 3.4 presents and outlines the various data collection and research tools and includes the population target and sample, sample size, sampling technique, and data collection methods. The following subsections were included under section 3.4: section 3.4.1 included the interview protocol and question design, section 3.4.2 presented the in-depth interviews performed with the research participants, section 3.4.3 presented the focus group discussions undertaken in this research, section 3.4.4 discussed the observations implemented in this research, section 3.4.5 presented the photographs that were taken, section 3.4.6 discussed the triangulation and respondent validation and reliability, and section 3.5.7 presented the design validity and reliability. Section 3.5 thoroughly presented and discussed how the data analysis was conducted, developed, and presented in this research. The following subsections were included under section 3.5: subsection 3.5.1 discussed the coding process and subsection 3.5.2 presented the code associations and analysis. Finally, section 3.6 provides a brief summary of this chapter.

3.1. Research Philosophy and Approach

The fundamental philosophy of this research determines the path and direction for data collection, analysis, interpretation, and development of knowledge; therefore, it is imperative to illustrate and outline the guiding philosophy of this research. A paradigm or worldview is made up of specific beliefs that guide and shape actions and research (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln and Guba, 2000; Mertens, 1998; Guba, 1990), and determine the researcher's philosophical, ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions (Lincoln and Guba, 2005; Crotty, 1998). Positivism and interpretivism are the two predominant paradigms used in social sciences and consumer research.

This research utilises interpretivism as its underlying philosophy and underpinned by an ethnographic principle.

A positivist paradigm was mainly used in social sciences until the mid-twentieth century (Tuli, 2010); moreover, this was an approach that was prevalent among the natural sciences, such as biology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics (Tuli, 2010; Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Researchers that utilise a positivist paradigm seek to explain various phenomena by using logical reasoning in an objective, rigorous, and precise manner (Collis and Hussey, 2013). Positivists postulate that social phenomena and human behaviours should be treated and researched in the same manner as phenomena in natural sciences; moreover, positivists employ a quantitative method of analysis rather than a qualitative method. Ontologically, positivists adopt realism when faced with the question of 'what is the nature of reality?' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994); moreover, positivists detach themselves from their research and believe that social and physical phenomena exist separately of people's perspectives of themselves (Saunders et al., 2019). The epistemological question of 'how do we know what we know?' and 'how we obtain knowledge' are sought by positivists through a deductive and scientific approach to discover and confirm a generalisable universal truth. Axiologically, positivist researchers tend to keep their research free from personal values or beliefs to avoid any biases.

The positivist approach is criticised for various reasons such as that it has become inflexible, narrow, assertive, and unidimensional in its philosophy (Esterby-Smith et al., 2008; Guba and Lincoln, 1994); in addition, positivism cannot portray the complexities and depth of the human experience and rather demonstrates simpler solutions and surface realities (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995). In addition, the ontological assumption of positivism has received criticism in such that positivism separates the researcher from what is being researched and does not consider the researcher's observations, which can lead to further data collection, insights, and development of a priori hypotheses. Moreover, positivism has marginalised the lifeworld (Vattimo, 1992; Habermas, 1984) and this "reduced the world into simple dichotomous categories: subject/object, male/female, producer/ consumer, culture/nature, signified/signifier, Occident/Orient, and so on" (Firat and Venkatesh, 1995, p. 240).

The disadvantages of the positivist approach have created various obstacles for this research; furthermore, this research aims to closely observe and understand various ethnic consumers' acculturation behaviours with respect to food consumption. Individuals' acculturation behaviours are subjective by nature and include multiple realities; in addition, the researcher's involvement is an integral part of this research since the researcher's observations and values of the cultural and social contexts and phenomena will provide substantial insights and knowledge.

On the contrary, interpretivism argues that research in the social sciences cannot emulate research in the natural sciences. Miles and Huberman (1994a) classify phenomenology to be a part of interpretivism. According to the Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, phenomenology is the study of structures of consciousness from the first-person perspective or the study of phenomena; moreover,

phenomena is the way things appear according to our experience or the ways we experience things (Plato.stanford.edu, 2019). Ontologically, interpretivists embrace a subjective perspective and acknowledge the idea of multiple realities; moreover, interpretivists argue that it is impossible to separate the researcher from what is being researched (Saunders et al., 2019; Creswell, 2007) and their social contexts (Collis and Hussey, 2013; Tuli, 2010). Examples of multiple realities in research can be portrayed through distinct quotes or varying perspectives from various participants (Creswell, 2007).

Epistemologically, qualitative researchers are engaged in the field and contextual surrounding to obtain as much information and knowledge as possible. The objective of an interpretivist approach is to develop novel and rich insights and interpretations of social communities and contexts (Saunders et al., 2019); furthermore, through a qualitative research approach, interpretive researchers explore and delineate social environments (Tuli, 2010). Interactions between the researcher and what is being researched is a dynamic and continuous process (Cohen et al., 2000; Bassey, 1995). As a result, interpretive researchers find it necessary to examine historical, geographical, and socio-cultural contexts (Saunders et al., 2019) to thoroughly comprehend and unfold how multiple realities are experienced (Cunliffe, 2003).

Therefore, interpretivism does not keep the ontological argument of 'what is the nature of reality?' distinct from the epistemological question of 'how do we know what we know?'. Researchers that implement interpretivism tend to make their values explicit within their research; moreover, axiologically, researchers tend to incorporate their interests and values into the research. Interpretivism and qualitative methodologies are characterised to be inductive, focused on discovery, ensure high validity, and concerned with a thorough understanding of the research and context and not on generalisability (Tolley et al., 2016).

Saunders et al. (2019) and Carson et al. (2001) depict the differences between positivism and interpretivism in the following Table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Comparison between Positivism and Interpretivism

	Positivism	**Interpretivism**	**Relation to this Research**
Ontology			
What is the nature of reality?	Single reality	Multiple realities	Acculturation process, strategies, and behavioural outcomes cannot be separate from culture, society, institutions, and individuals
What is the world like?	Universalism Granular (things)	Relativism Flowing (processes)	
Epistemology			
What is considered acceptable knowledge?	Numbers	Written, spoken, and visual accounts	Comprehension of various phenomena is based on the surrounding contextual environment and in-depth analysis
How can we know what we know?	Possible to obtain hard secure objective knowledge	Understood through perceived knowledge	

Relationship between reality and research?	Research focuses on generalisation and abstraction Thought governed by hypothesis and stated theories	Research focuses on the specific and concrete Seeking to understand specific context	
Axiology *What is the role of values in research?* *Role of researcher*	Value-free Detached and external observer Clear distinction between reason and feeling Aims to discover external reality rather than creating the object of study Strives to use rational, consistent, verbal and logical approach	Value-bound Researchers want to experience what they are studying Allows feelings and reasons to govern actions Partially creates what is studied, the meaning of the phenomena.	Researcher's perspective and experience regarding Socio-cultural environment, culture, social relationships, values, and rules are related and intertwined with the collection and interpretation of data
Methodology *Focus of research*	Concentrates on description and explanation.	Concentrates on understanding and interpretation.	This is a qualitative research based on interpretation and descriptive data
Methods *Techniques used by researcher*	Formalized statistical and mathematical methods predominant	Primarily non-quantitative	In-depth semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and researcher's observations, photographs, and notes are the qualitative tools utilised for this research
Source: Saunders et al., 2019, p. 119; Carson et al., 2001			

It would be arduous to delineate how various social and cultural factors affect various ethnic consumers' consumption behaviours to develop a dynamic acculturation framework through statistical analyses, lab experiments or surveys; moreover, a researcher's close observation would provide further knowledge and a better understanding. To provide rich interpretations and explanations of the participants' perceptions and the various social phenomena, the researcher must be fully engaged in the research and with the participants. In addition, the contextual understanding is an integral part in the analysis and interpretation of data. Peshkin (1993) developed four categories of analysis and outcomes from qualitative research – description, interpretation, verification, and evaluation. These outcomes could be achieved by using qualitative methods and tools; moreover, this research will utilise description and interpretation.

This research aims to explore and understand the consumer acculturation process of various individuals from the South Asian diaspora in a multi-cultural environment within Bahrain; in addition, to understand how the acculturation process result to certain outcomes and behaviours. It is crucial to understand and analyse the relationship between consumers, acculturation process, and the socio-cultural environment; as a result, the findings of this research would fit under the descriptive category. Delineating previous literature and acculturation theories, explaining various behavioural outcomes, and extending or developing theories are all part of the interpretation category developed by Peshkin (1993). Qualitative approaches and interpretivist paradigms have made substantial contributions to the fields of consumer research (e.g.: Andrews and Boyle, 2008; Hogg and McLaren, 2008; Agafonoff, 2006; Goulding, 1998; Belk, 1995; Holbroook and Hirschman, 1993; Venkatesh, 1992) and consumer acculturation (e.g.: Dey et al., 2019; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980). These are the two major academic fields that are relevant to and associated with this research.

As a result, the positivist paradigm or approach will not be suitable for this research compared to the interpretive approach. An interpretivist approach would provide better insights into and explanations regarding the participants' interactions with the various cultures, acculturation process, and how that is reflected in their consumption behaviours. Deetz (1996) argued that an interpretive approach attempts to understand phenomena through individuals' interpretation of these phenomena. In addition, Reeves and Hedberg (2003) stated that the interpretivist approach emphasized the need to place the analysis within the context. Therefore, this research is concerned with various ethnic consumers regarding their consumption behaviours in relation to the concepts of acculturation and cultural and social identification; as a result, a deep and thorough interpretivist approach would be the appropriate approach to fit this research to understand subjective experiences of individuals and social behaviours.

3.2. Research Type and Purpose

Each research possesses a different research purpose; furthermore, there are three classifications of a research purpose – exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory (Saunders et al., 2019; Collis and Hussey, 2013). Exploratory research is based on exploring a problem or phenomenon to discover new insights or to evaluate it from a different perspective (Saunders et al., 2019), furthermore, exploratory research investigates phenomena that have not been previously investigated and generally does not lead to conclusive results. Exploratory research intends to provide greater awareness and leads to further research that is more focused (Hair et al., 2019; Collis and Hussey, 2013); moreover, the data collected could be either quantitative or qualitative. On the other hand, descriptive research aims to meticulously describe characteristics of a population, situation, or phenomenon (Robson, 2002); in addition, descriptive research focuses on depicting and understanding

the ‘what’ and ‘how’ of the research subject (Collis and Hussy, 2013). Lastly, explanatory research seeks to delineate and understand the ‘why’ of the research subject. Explanatory research tends to explain and measure the causal relationships between variables (Saunders et al., 2019; Collis and Hussey, 2013).

The purpose of this research is to understand, explore, and thoroughly assess how and why South Asian consumers’ behaviours are influenced by the acculturation process within the multicultural environment in Bahrain, the strategies and strategy outcomes, and what are the reasons behind the formation of dual or multiple identities. In addition, this research developed and extended previous acculturation theoretical frameworks to produce a comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model. As a result, this research applied an exploratory research type and purpose.

3.3. Research Strategy and Design

The dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative research methodologies has been an ongoing focal debate among various researchers, scholars, and academics. The research methodologies are quantitative, qualitative, and an amalgamation of both quantitative and qualitative referred to as multiple methods (Saunders et. al, 2019), multi-methods (Brannen, 1999), and mixed methods (Bryman, 2006; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). Over the years, academics and researchers have associated the terms ‘deductive’ and ‘positivism’ with quantitative methodologies; similarly, the terms ‘inductive’ and ‘interpretivism’ have become synonymous with qualitative methodologies (Saunders et al., 2019). Stainback and Stainback (1988) argue that the differences in quantitative and qualitative research do not indicate the superiority or inferiority of one methodology compared to the other; rather, the choice and differences between methodologies depend on the research question, objectives, and needs (Punch, 2013; Kvale, 1996).

A quantitative methodology is a research approach that stems from natural sciences. A quantitative methodology involves utilising a positivist epistemology, deductive approach, and seeks to test theories and explain causal relationships (Saunders et al., 2019). Quantitative methodologies are designed to ultimately test theories and generalise findings (Bryman and Bell, 2003); in addition, quantitative methodologies are highly structured to achieve replication and utilise various statistical analysis methods and tools (Habib et al., 2014). On the contrary, a qualitative methodology stems from social sciences.

A qualitative methodology uses an interpretive epistemology, inductive approach, and seeks to explore and understand intricate details of phenomena, social and cultural meanings, and experiences (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Surveys and questionnaires are quantitative data collection tools, and statistics and graphs are quantitative data analysis procedures that result in numerical data; on the other hand, interviews and observations are some qualitative data collection tools and coding

and categorising data are qualitative data analysis procedures that result in non-numerical data (Saunders et al., 2019). Table 3.2 shows the major differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies:

Table 3.2: Major Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Methodologies

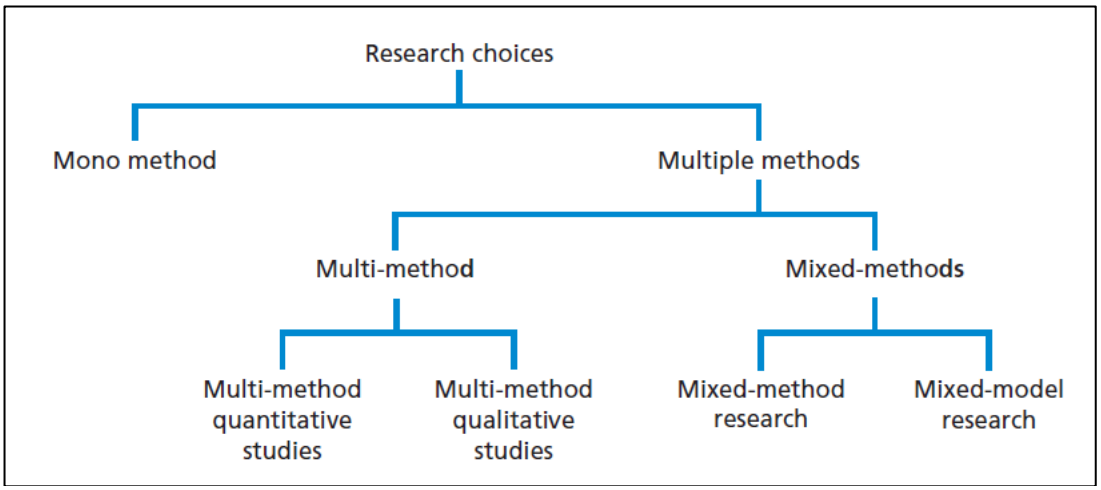
Dimension	Quantitative Methodology	Qualitative Methodology
Purpose	Prediction and control	Understanding
Reliability	Stable – reality is made up of facts that do not change	Dynamic – reality changes with changes in not change people's perceptions
Viewpoint	Outsider – reality is what quantifiable data indicate it to be	Insider – reality is what people perceive it to be
Values	Value free – values can be controlled	Value bound – values will impact on understanding the phenomena
Focus	Particularistic – defined by variables studied	Holistic
Orientation	Verification	Discovery
Data	Objective	Subjective
Instrumentation	Non-human	Human
Conditions	Controlled	Naturalistic
Results	Reliable	Valid – the focus is on design and procedures to gain real, rich and deep data

Source: Stainback and Stainback, 1988, p.8

Implementation of a quantitative or qualitative research methodology with a single data collection tool and related data analysis procedures is known as mono method; moreover, the use of more than one data collection tools and related analysis procedures is referred to as multiple methods (Saunders et al., 2019). The practice of using multiple methods within the field of management is highly supported (Curran and Blackburn, 2001). Multi-method combines more than one data collection tool or technique along with the relevant analysis procedures; however, the multi-method is confined to either applying a quantitative or qualitative methodology (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003).

On the other hand, the blend of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies is referred to as mixed methods and are subdivided into two types: mixed-method research and mixed-model research (Saunders et al., 2019). Mixed-method research uses both quantitative and qualitative data collection tools and analysis procedures in a simultaneous or sequential manner; moreover, quantitative data are analysed quantitatively, and qualitative data are analysed qualitatively (Saunders et al., 2019). Whereas mixed-model research blends quantitative and qualitative data collection tools and analysis procedures. Jick (1983) encourages the belief that quantitative and qualitative methodologies should be considered as complementary rather than as opponents and argues that those who support mixed methods tend not to provide sufficient guidelines regarding the process. Below, Figure 3.1 portrays the different research methodology choices.

Figure 3.1: Research Methodology Choices



Source: Saunders et al., 2019, p. 152

Following the previous explanations provided above regarding the various research methodologies, a multi-method qualitative methodology was found to be the most suitable approach for this research. This research implemented a range of qualitative tools such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, ethnographic observations, and photographs. This research possesses an inductive and interpretive nature to explore and understand the acculturation process and resulting food consumption behaviours of South Asian consumers; moreover, this research strived to gain deep insights into and understanding of the inter-relationships between consumers, acculturation process, and the socio-cultural environment. This research implemented a qualitative research methodology since it is thorough, more invasive, and less structured compared to quantitative research and suitable when the research is exploratory (Jarratt, 1996). As a result, a multi-method qualitative methodology and research is exploratory in nature, therefore it results in richer and thorough data.

Ethnography was utilised as an underlying philosophy in this thesis mainly due to the COVID-19 pandemic limitations. In addition, this research implemented observations using the fundamental spirit of ethnography.

The etymology of the word ethnography stems from two Greek words – 'ethnos' meaning people and 'graphein' meaning writing; moreover, anthropologists often refer to ethnography as 'culture writing' (Wolcott, 1999). Ethnography originated in ancient Greece by the father of history, Herodotus. Herodotus journeyed through a variety of cultures to document laws, traditions, social customs, religions, and various socio-political practices among people during the third century B.C. (Clair, 2003). Ethnography resonated further among historians, poets, and missionaries during the mercantilist period in Europe to preserve various cultures that were colonised by the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and British empires. Historians, poets, and missionaries employed the concept of ethnography to explore and preserve cultures, customs, religions, traditions, languages, and various aspects of their colonies (Clair, 2003).

Ethnographic research methods and techniques have been increasingly applied to the fields of marketing, marketing research, and consumer behaviour (Mariampolski, 2006). Ethnography allows the researcher to gain deep insights regarding consumers' or individuals' behaviours, emotions (Mariampolski, 1999), cultural beliefs and norms (Desai, 2002), actions and motives (Goulding, 2005), consciousness (Hirschmann, 1989), and language (Mariampolski, 1988) in relation to brand and product consumption. Venkatesh et al. (2015) further elaborate that ethnography provides a better understanding of individuals in cultural contexts regarding their actions, behaviours, feelings, experiences, and how they use certain objects and products. Mariampolski (1999) further postulates that ethnography is a 'truth serum' of research and it is the closest a researcher or marketer can get to the consumer.

Over the past decades, ethnography has gained immense popularity in the fields of acculturation (e.g.: Dey et al. 2019; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980) and consumer research (e.g.: El-Amir and Burt, 2010; Agafonoff, 2006; Moisander and Valtonen, 2006; Elliott and Jankel-Elliott, 2003; Jamal and Chapman, 2000; Pettigrew, 2000; Fellman, 1999; Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994). Peñaloza (1994) for example used ethnographic research to examine the consumption experiences of Mexican immigrants in the United States of America and developed an acculturation model. Similarly, the use of ethnography in consumer research has greatly proliferated over the past decades to explore product and brand consumption patterns and consumer attitudes and behaviours (Malefyt, 2009).

Webster et al. (2010) investigated how consumers transformed and used household consumer products through the use of videography and close observation. Ethnography permits a dynamic relationship between the researcher and participants; moreover, it allows the researcher to pursue further explanations of the participant's responses and allows the opportunity to test researcher's interpretations. According to Pettigrew (2000), ethnography can effectively address and explain consumer behaviour and consumption phenomena. On the other hand, the use of surveys or other quantitative tools do not provide a dynamic relationship between the researcher and participant, and therefore the researcher obtains information and responses in a static and non-interactive manner.

Handwerker (2001) argues that a necessity for quick or rapid ethnography continues to grow among various disciplines, including business, education, nursing, public health, and even graduate students; moreover, ethnographers possess a need for research that is efficient and productive. Applying rapid ethnography in an effective and productive manner does not necessarily discount the overall quality of the ethnographic research or process (Handwerker, 2002). Traditional ethnography requires long-term engagement and observation of research participants in their natural environments and accommodation. As a result, this limitation can be viewed by research participants as an invasion of privacy and discomfort (O'Brien, 1999). In addition, the field of consumer behaviour and research also has similar limitations when observing research participants using various consumer products (Elliot and Jankel-Elliot, 2003).

Many scholars have argued and supported that there is no one method of ethnographic analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2019; Millen, 2000; Hughes et al., 1992; Hammersley, 1990; Stanley, 1990; Lofland, 1971). Millen (2000) further noted that there are common elements shared among ethnographic research; however, these elements can either be applied simultaneously, separately, or as required depending on the research question and objectives.

As a result, Millen (2000) established a compressed version of ethnographic research called 'rapid ethnography'; moreover, rapid ethnography is based on three key points:

- First, narrowing the focus of the field research before commencement. (e.g., replacing open-ended interviews and observation with more focused and condensed interviews and observations, focusing on the important activities for observations)
- Second, implementing multiple interactive observation techniques to increase the probability of discovering exceptional and useful behaviours (e.g., implementing rapid assessment procedures (RAP), which includes interviews, behavioural observations, and focus group discussions)
- Third, utilising collaborative and iterative data analysis methods (e.g., triangulation of data collection, iterative data collection and analysis)

Weillanmann (2001) stated that shorter periods of ethnographic research and observations can still produce valuable findings and minimises participants' privacy invasions and discomfort; in addition, researchers should focus on the key topics of investigation to avoid delays and unrelated findings.

The duration of the data collection in this research lasted for eight months (April 2020 – November 2020). First, semi-structured interview questions were used to narrow the focus of the field research; moreover, semi-structured questions allowed for participants to share as much information as possible within the scope of related topics and minimised interviewer bias or control. Second, multiple interactive observation techniques were implemented by using RAP (in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and behavioural observations). Third, collaborative and iterative data collection and analysis methods were implemented; furthermore, respondent and data collection triangulation were implemented *(further discussed in section 3.4.6. Triangulation and Respondent Validation and Reliability).*

Hammoudi and Borneman (2009) indicate that ethnographers may encounter intentional and unintentional instances in their fieldwork that could be considered in their research. As a result, flexibility is an essential characteristic of ethnography. In this research, the researcher had to consider and accommodate the unforeseen circumstances and restrictions set forth by the COVID-19 pandemic; furthermore, the numerous differences between white-collar and blue-collar participants,

the individual and group dynamics, ethical considerations, and biases. The support of native speakers from Kerala, India was required to be able to communicate with the focus groups that comprised of blue-collar South Asian participants.

Close observation of the South Asian research participants within their social and cultural environments will provide an in-depth understanding of their acculturation processes. In addition, it would also provide the opportunity to explore and comprehend their social and cultural interactions and dynamics that lead to certain acculturation strategies and behavioural outcomes. The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in various constraints especially in terms of communication and face-to-face contact; moreover, the COVID-19 restrictions prevented the implementation of some face-to-face interviews, and those interviews were conducted using video calling. In addition, COVID-19 limited the implementation of ethnography and thus ethnography was utilised as an underlying philosophy. Moreover, this thesis implemented observations using the fundamental spirit of ethnography due to the COVID-19 pandemic limitations.

3.4. Data Collection and Research Tools

Qualitative research utilises various data collection techniques, either simultaneously or separately depending on the nature of the research. The researcher collects data that describes various behaviours and phenomena through interviews, observations, documents, and various artifacts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995; Spradley, 1980). According to Creswell (2007), interviews and observations are the most prevalent forms of data collection. Creswell (2007) observed that new forms of qualitative data continued to emerge and evolve in various literature; however, all these forms could be categorised into four basic types of information: observations, interviews, documents, and audio-visual materials (e.g., photographs, compact disks (CD), videotapes, etc.). Table 3.3 illustrates Creswell's (2007) various data collection techniques in qualitative research:

Table 3.3: Compilation of Data Collection Techniques in Qualitative Research

Observations ▪ Gather fieldnotes by conducting an observation as a participant ▪ Gather fieldnotes by conducting an observation as an observer. ▪ Gather fieldnotes by spending more time as a participant than as an observer. ▪ Gather fieldnotes by spending more time as an observer than as a participant. ▪ Gather fieldnotes first by observing as an "outsider" and then by moving into the setting ▪ and observing as an "insider".
Interviews ▪ Conduct an unstructured, open-ended interview and take interview notes. ▪ Conduct an unstructured, open-ended interview, audiotape the interview, and transcribe the interview. ▪ Conduct a semi-structured interview, audiotape the interview, and transcribe the interview. ▪ Conduct a focus group interview, audiotape the interview, and transcribe the interview.

▪ Conduct different types of interviews: e-mail, face-to-face, focus group, online focus group, telephone interviews.
Documents ▪ Keep a journal during the research study. ▪ Have a participant keep a journal or diary during the research study. ▪ Collect personal letters from participants. ▪ Analyse public documents (e.g., official memos, minutes, records, archival material). ▪ Examine autobiographies and biographies. ▪ Have informants take photographs or videotapes (e.g., photo elicitation). ▪ Conduct chart audits. ▪ Review medical records.
Audio-visual Materials ▪ Examine physical trace evidence (e.g., footprints in the snow). ▪ Videotape or film a social situation or an individual or group. ▪ Examine photographs or videotapes. ▪ Collect sounds (e.g., musical sounds, a child's laughter, car horns honking). ▪ Collect e-mail or electronic messages. ▪ Gather phone text messages. ▪ Examine possessions or ritual objects.
Source: Creswell, 2007, p. 130

3.4.1. Interview Protocol and Question Design

An interview protocol was developed and applied with all research participants to ensure consistency in the interviews, results, and analysis of interview data. As a result, the implementation of this interview protocol assisted with the improvement of reliability of the qualitative studies (Yin, 2009). According to Thompson et al. (1989) and McCracken (1988), the interview procedure was developed using prior theory and literature in the areas of acculturation and consumer acculturation (e.g.: Dey et al. 2019; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980). The interview protocol contained the details of the research participants, research participant information and consent forms, preliminary interview schedule, ethical considerations, and an overarching semi-structured interview that contained specific themes and questions that allowed participants to share in-depth responses and allowed the interviewer to gently probe when required (see Appendix A, B, D, E, and F).

The interview protocol was initially tested to allow the researcher to practise, review, and revise the questions or any part of the procedure (Parkhe, 1993; Eisenhardt, 1989). Minor adjustments, refinements, and additions were applied to some of the interview questions to improve data collection and further clarify information to the participants.

The participants were contacted prior to conducting the interviews and received the consent and information forms. In addition, the interviews started with a general introduction to make the participants aware of the researcher, purpose of interview, ethical considerations, and any inquires or

issues the participants had. In addition to the interviews, observations were used to observe the participants' food consumption and other behaviours during the interviews. The researcher continued to assess the overall impression of the interviewing process to avoid and minimise biases, misunderstandings, and improve the questions.

3.4.2. Interviews

Interviews are an effective data collection technique and have been constantly used across various disciplines over time; moreover, Denzin and Lincoln (2007) stated that interviews are the key data collection technique used in qualitative research. Kahn and Cannell (1957) define an interview as a purposeful conversation between two or more people. Interviews help a researcher to gather reliable and valid data that are relevant to the research objective (Saunders et al., 2019). The purpose of interviews in qualitative research is that it allows the researcher to obtain descriptions from the interviewees relative to understandings of the described phenomena (Kvale, 1996). Jarratt (1996) argues that qualitative research techniques are more invasive and less structured compared to quantitative research techniques; as a result, this allows the interviewer to gain deep insights and rich data about a specific area of interest.

According to Saunders et al. (2019), there is an overarching classification of interview type and purpose – standardised and non-standardised interviews. Standardised interviews are generally used to gather data to be analysed in a quantitative manner (e.g., structured interview in the form of a survey); on the other hand, non-standardised interviews are used to gather data to be analysed in a qualitative manner (e.g., semi-structured or in-depth (unstructured) interviews). Saunders et al. (2019) further postulates that there are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured, and in-depth (unstructured) interviews. Structured interviews are used to collect quantifiable data through surveys or questionnaires, also referred to as quantitative research interviews. On the contrary, semi-structured and in-depth interviews are referred to as qualitative research interviews. The researcher usually has a list of themes and questions to be covered using semi-structured interviews; in addition, this allows the researcher to freely omit or adjust the questions in particular interviews according to the situation or depending on the flow of the discussion (Saunders et al., 2019). In-depth or unstructured interviews are informal and non-directive interviews that allow the interviewee to express themself without being constrained due to the scope of questions or the structure or flow of conversation.

Non-standardised interviews, semi-structured and in-depth, are usually used to understand the 'what' and how' and to explore the 'why' (Saunders et al., 2019). This research utilised semi-structured interviews as an overall interview type and the nature of conversation between the interviewer and interviewee adopted the essence of in-depth interviews when required by either the interviewer or interviewee. According to Sampson (1972), in-depth interviews is an approach to qualitative research, and it can either be semi-structured or non-directive (unstructured); moreover,

during non-directive interviews, it is crucial for the interviewer and interviewee to establish a relaxed and supportive relationship so that probing does not cause bias in responses. Therefore, the establishment of a relaxed, friendly, and supportive relationship between interviewer and interviewee in this research was imperative in order to minimise any biases and collect accurate, purposeful, and rich data.

On the other hand, Sampson (1972) argues that semi-structured in-depth interviews lets the researcher cover specific topic areas and allocate and distributes time to each question or area as required; moreover, this open structure allows unexpected information or attitudes to be easily explored. Although the interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach and protocol, research participants were allowed to elaborate, delineate, and digress in an unstructured and in-depth manner whenever needed. As suggested by Carson et al. (2001) and successfully implemented by Underwood (2003), the interview questions were asked in a sequence based on the interviewer's responses and not based on the sequential order of questions in the interview protocol. This technique was applied and followed to avoid using an a priori framework on the participants and create natural and unbiased conversations (Allam, 2005).

The interview data collection technique was selected for this research for various reasons. Interviews allow experiences to be shared between the interviewer and interviewee, in addition, it allows the researcher to observe behaviours, feelings, opinions, and collect deep insightful data that cannot otherwise be collected (Collis and Hussey, 2013; Fontana and Frey, 1998; Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992). In addition, Collis and Hussey (2013) stated that semi-structured interviews offer the researcher flexibility in preparing, organising, and asking the questions based on various circumstances rather than being constricted to a fixed template and procedure.

Semi-structured and in-depth interviews are important tools for researchers using an interpretivist epistemology, since the researcher aims to explore and understand the meanings that participants assign to various phenomena (Saunders et al., 2019). The nature of semi-structured and in-depth interviews may lead a researcher to various discussions, areas, and concepts that will further add substance and depth to the data obtained; as a result, the insights and data obtained using semi-structured and in-depth interviews might not be obtained or successfully achieved using other methods or techniques.

3.4.2.1. Interview Population, Sampling, and Sampling Techniques

In research, a population is a group of items under study for the purpose of research (Collis and Hussey, 2013) or a full set of cases where a sample is extracted to be studied further (Saunders et al., 2019). Generally, studying an entire population in research is possible if the population size is manageable; however, population sizes are normally not manageable in research and require sampling techniques. It is impractical to study an entire population due to size, limited budget, time, and effort;

moreover, sampling techniques has proven to be a cost-effective method that resulted in quicker data collection speed and more accurate results (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). Saunders et al., (2019) indicated that sampling techniques can be divided into two types: probability (representative) sampling and non-probability (judgemental) sampling.

Probability sampling is based on statistical methods and is associated with survey and experimental research strategies; moreover, it consists of five different techniques: simple random, systematic, stratified random, cluster, and multi-stage (Saunders et al., 2019). On the other hand, non-probability sampling is based on the researcher's subjective judgement; moreover, it consists of five different techniques: quota, purposive, snowball, self-selection, and convenience (Saunders et al., 2019). According to Saunders et al. (2019), non-probability sampling techniques, except quota sampling, there are no specific rules, and the sample size is vague; however, the relationship between the sampling technique and purpose of the research is crucial.

Creswell (2007) indicates that purposeful or judgemental sampling is generally applied and used in qualitative research; moreover, the researcher selects research participants to purposely gain an understanding of the research problem and phenomenon. Maximum variation purposive sampling is an approach that differentiates research participants based on certain criteria that allows the researcher to select participants using those criteria (Creswell, 2007); moreover, maximum variation purposive sampling allows the researcher to collect data to delineate key themes that can be observed or emerge (Patton, 2002).

This research used and implemented maximum variation purposive sampling to select research participants. Maximum variation purposive sampling allows the researcher to maximise the differences among participants, thus increasing the possibility that the findings will demonstrate multiple and diverse perspectives, and this is an ideal outcome in qualitative research (Saunders et al., 2019; Creswell, 2007). Participants in this research were identified and selected using maximum variation purposive sampling (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The criteria used for identifying and selecting participants from the South Asian diaspora in Bahrain and local Bahraini individuals include religion (e.g.: Muslim, Christian, and Hindu), linguistics (e.g.: Arabic, Hindi, Malayalam, Tamil, Bengali, Urdu, English, etc.), and various sociodemographic factors (e.g.: age, occupation, education, area of residence, etc.). The sample selected for this research were of South Asian ethnicity (e.g.: Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi due to their shared cultural heritage) and part of the sample included individuals of Bahraini ethnicity to gain an additional and comparative perspective. Both first-generation and second-generation sojourners and immigrants were included in the sample. Participants were recruited from occupational and personal networks, universities, and community organisations.

In total, 33 in-depth interviews were conducted with various research participants; moreover, 26 participants were of South Asian ethnicity and the remaining 7 interviews were with Bahraini nationals. The research data collection and fieldwork commenced in early April 2020 and continued

for eight months till the end of November 2020. During the initial phase of data collection, in-depth interviews were conducted at the participants' residence, which was their preferred interview location. 19 out of 26 interviews with the South Asian participants and 5 out of 7 interviews with Bahraini participants were conducted face-to-face at their residence. As the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak started to increase in number, restrictions and lockdowns were imposed between June 2020 and August 2020. As a result, the remaining 7 interviews with South Asian participants and 2 interviews with Bahraini participants had to be conducted online using video calls through Skype, Zoom, or Apple Facetime; moreover, observations and photographs were also not possible due to the COVID-19 restrictions.

However, as the COVID-19 infection numbers started to decrease and stabilise, the restrictions and lockdown measures were lifted around the beginning of September 2020. Follow-up interviews, observations, and photographs were conducted with selected participants; in addition, some participants prepared meals for the follow-up interviews at their residence, and this allowed the researcher to conduct further observations and take photographs. To protect the privacy of research participants, pseudonyms were used to conceal their identities; as a result, concealing the participants' identities allowed them to become comfortable and reveal information in an organic manner during the interviews. Research participant profile details are displayed in Appendix B.

On average, the in-depth interviews lasted between 60 to 90 minutes. The in-depth interviews were all conducted in English and audio recorded. The in-depth interviews were categorised according to specific themes and included questions on participants' personal and socio-demographic backgrounds, recency of arrival, areas of residence, living conditions, religious values, perceptions of various cultural lifestyles and values, daily routines, daily food habits, food and shopping habits, food consumption behaviour (home, host, and other cultures), places of worship, social life and activities, community participation, national and religious holidays, effects of COVID-19 on lifestyle and habits, and their intention to integrate with the Bahraini community and other ethnic communities. The detailed interview protocol and questions is presented in Appendix A.

The use of in-depth interviews is essential and preferred in management, consumer behaviour, and marketing research given their ability to collect rich data through detailed and organic discussions (Yin, 2009; Alam, 2005). The limitations resulting from the influence of group dynamics are non-existent in one-to-one in-depth interviews; as a result, in-depth interviews produce data that is higher in quality and quantity (Palmerino, 1999). The sample size is an important factor in the data collection process and the researcher must collect extensive detail and insights from their sample (Pinnegar and Daynes, 2006). This research continued to collect data and conduct interviews until data saturation was achieved; moreover, towards the last 4 interviews there were no additional or new insights or data being generated (Saunders et al., 2019).

3.4.3. Focus Group Discussions

A focus group discussion is a form of group interviewing with a clearly defined topic and facilitation of an interactive discussion among participants (Carson et al., 2001). Focus group discussions are beneficial due to the rich information provided by the participants (Krueger and Casey, 2000); moreover, FGDs are most useful when the participants are similar and cooperative, time horizon is limited, and when in-depth interviews are unfeasible or when participants are hesitant to provide information (Morgan, 1988; Krueger, 1994; Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). During FGDs, the researcher or moderator must encourage equal participation and minimise domination of the discussion; as a result, the researcher allowed equal participation and a balanced discussion among participants to gain the maximum number of purposeful insights and information (Creswell, 2007).

3.4.3.1. FGDs Population and Sampling

Two focus group discussions (FGDs), consisted of a total of 11 unskilled and semi-skilled participants, were conducted to investigate and understand the behaviours and experiences of the unskilled and semi-skilled participants in Bahrain. The first FGD consisted of 6 participants from Calicut and Kerala in India and were employed in a residential and commercial construction company. The second FGD consisted of 5 participants from Kerala, India and were employed in an aluminium fabrication and installation company. All FGDs were conducted before the COVID-19 restrictions through face-to-face communication at the participants' residence location.

The unskilled and semi-skilled participants lacked the ability to proficiently communicate in English and Arabic, and the researcher did not have the ability to communicate in Malayalam or other languages the participants used. Therefore, the support and assistance of an external interpreter was requested by the researcher to communicate in Malayalam with the unskilled and semi-skilled participants and transcribe the interviews into English. One-to-one in-depth interviews were avoided with the unskilled and semi-skilled participants since it was understood that it might cause the participants to feel uncomfortable due to hierarchal barriers and other job-related risk factors. All necessary preparations and measures were taken to overcome language barriers, ensure participants' safety and comfort, encourage fluency of discussion, gain purposeful and organic insights, minimise biases and discussion dominance, and ensure the implementation of ethical standards. All FGDs were conducted face-to-face at the participants' residence location before the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak, restrictions, and enforced regulations.

3.4.4. Observations

Observations and photographs supported the use of FGDs and in-depth interviews, as discussed previously in section 3.4.2. Ethnography. The observations implemented allowed the researcher to gain further insights into the participants' food consumption behaviours, shopping patterns, cooking patterns, eating habits, and lifestyles within the broader socio-cultural environment. According to Saunders et al. (2019), observation involves structured observation, recording, analyses, and depiction of an individual's behaviour. Participant observation, applied to this research, is qualitative and is more concerned with discovering the meanings behind people's actions; on the other hand, structured observation is quantitative and is more concerned with the frequency of people's actions (Saunders et al., 2019).

The researcher visited 11 out of 26 South Asian participants' households to dine with them and conduct observations and follow-up interviews. Visiting and dining in with participants was limited due to the increase of COVID-19 infections and imposed restrictions. However, follow-up interviews were conducted face-to-face or through video calls with all participants to corroborate the data analysis, findings, and observations. Observations and photographs were used to confirm and triangulate the interview responses of the participants who were visited in their homes for initial in-depth interviews, follow-up interviews, and dining. As a result, observations provided rich and detailed data and helped in the analysis of the data and responses collected from in-depth interviews and FGDs.

3.4.5. Photographs

The use of photographs and researcher's diary notes helped the researcher with recording observations. Photographs are 'worth a thousand words' and support the responses in the interviews. Participants allowed the researcher to take photographs of their kitchens, kitchen equipment and tools, spices, food pantry and ingredients, general artefacts, and the meals they prepared. Photographs are used a visual data in research and are considered as a valid source of data in the fields of management and marketing research (Bryman and Bell, 2003; Flick, 1998). In this research, photography supported observations and interviews to provide a better understanding and to strengthen the validity and reliability of the data collected and findings.

3.4.6 Triangulation and Respondent Validation and Reliability

In qualitative research, triangulation is using various data sources or methods to gain a rich and thorough understanding of phenomena (Paton, 1999); in addition, triangulation is also used as a

validity tool and strategy through the convergence of data from different sources, thus findings tend to become robust, accurate, and convincing (Yin, 2009; Miles and Huberman, 1994b). Denzin (1978) identified and formulated four types of triangulations: triangulation of data sources, triangulation of theories, investigator triangulation, and methodological triangulation. As a result, triangulation has become widely accepted and implemented in research to further bolster and improve the analysis, interpretation, and findings (Blaikie, 1991).

Denzin (1978) stated that each triangulation method has its strengths and weaknesses, and no single method is superior. In addition, a consensus exists among researchers across social sciences, management and marketing, and other disciplines on the effectiveness of the four types of triangulations identified by Denzin (Hales, 2010).

Triangulation of theories involves using different perspectives from different theories to analyse and interpret data (Patton, 1999; Denzin 1978); moreover, the theories can be similar or divergent to identify issues and insights (Hales, 2010). Investigator triangulation involves the use of two or more researchers to provide varying perspectives, observations, and conclusions (Patton, 1999; Denzin 1978). Therefore, multiple researchers can discuss and corroborate the findings to enhance the credibility of the findings and decrease bias (Hales, 2010).

This research implemented triangulation of data sources and methodological triangulation. Triangulation of data sources involves collecting data from different types of individuals, locations, times, or communities to gain varying perspectives and validation of data (Yin, 2009; Patton, 1999; Denzin, 1978). Data triangulation strengthens the conclusions and findings and reduces misinterpretations in the analyses of data (Hales, 2010; Bryman and Hardy, 2004).

This research collected data from different South Asian participants as shown in Appendix B. The South Asian participants were from different countries and cities across the Indian subcontinent, specifically from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. In addition, this research included South Asian participants from different genders, ages and generations, religions, and residence locations. The South Asian participants possessed various education qualifications (e.g., high school, bachelor, master, and doctorate degrees), occupations (e.g., students, university professors, employees, business owners, home makers, and unskilled and semi-skilled employees), and varying recency of arrival and living duration in Bahrain. Similarly, the Bahraini participants included in this research possessed different aspects and contributed to the collection of different data sources.

Methodological triangulation involves the use of multiple methods of data collection (e.g.: interviews, focus group discussions, observations, field notes or diaries, etc.) to reduce inadequacies, inconsistencies, and biases that result from the use of a single method (Bryman and Hardy, 2004; Denzin, 1978). For example, the strengths of a particular method can compensate for the weaknesses of another method (Hales, 2010). As result, this research implemented methodological triangulation through the collection of data using in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observations, photographs, and researcher's dairy notes. The in-depth interviews provided rich, deep, and novel

insights and findings for this research; however, the FGDs provided unique, different, and meaningful perspectives and data that would have remained undiscovered if only one collection method was implemented. In addition, observations, photographs, and researcher's diary notes further bolstered, enhanced, and corroborated the findings and data analysis and interpretations in this research. The use of various data collection methods provides richer and more accurate findings compared to the implementation of a single data collection method (Denzin, 2017; Shih, 1998).

Investigator triangulation involves the use of more than one researcher, investigator, or interviewer in a study to further bolster the credibility and validity of the findings. Due to the nature of this thesis, the complete implementation of investigator triangulation was not feasible; however, there were some techniques relevant to investigator triangulation that were implemented through the participants and my thesis supervisor. A validation technique relevant to triangulation is referred to as respondent validation (e.g.: Fielding and Fielding, 1986; Bloor, 1978) or member checking (e.g.: Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Respondent validation involves the response of participants regarding information in initial interviews, observations, and findings to confirm their accuracy (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Follow-up observations and interviews were conducted with participants at their places of residence and through video calls to confirm the accuracy of initial interviews, observations, and findings. The research participants were invited to comment and corroborate the interview transcripts and analyses to curtail discrepancies and misinterpretations. In addition, the academic advisor was also invited to comment and verify the concepts, themes, and aggregate dimensions to ensure that they reflect the phenomena being examined and investigated (Noble and Smith, 2015).

Triangulation is an integral technique and tool to corroborate and confirm the findings in a study or research with the findings from other sources and research, methods, researchers, and theories (Hales, 2010). Comparing and contrasting findings and perspectives regarding a particular phenomenon provides a valuable approach to distinguish inconsistencies, divergences, and convergences in the data (Denzin, 2017). In addition, data and methods triangulation bolster the credibility, validity, and reliability of the findings (Hales, 2010) and provides a comprehensive perspective and justification regarding a particular phenomenon and produces novel insights (Blaikie, 1991).

3.4.7 Design Validity and Reliability

This thesis ensured to include inference, analytical, and design validity in accordance with prior literature (Srivastava and Chandra, 2018; Noble and Smith, 2015; Venkatesh et al., 2013). Qualitative research is constantly criticised for lacking rigour (Noble and Smith, 2015) and the adoption of certain validity and reliability criteria ensures rigour in qualitative research (Rubin and

Rubin, 2011; Leininger, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Moreover, design validity highlights the rigour in the design and gathering of qualitative data to ensure credibility.

Design validity was ensured through selecting suitable respondents for this research (shown in Appendix B) and designed an interview protocol to gather robust and detailed responses (shown in Appendices A, D, E, F). To ensure consistency, the interview protocol and questions were designed according to the existing literature and other academics. The participant information sheet (Appendix F) and consent form (Appendix E) outlined and thoroughly explained the purpose of the study and the interview process and were distributed and shared with all respondents before conducting the interviews (Saunders et al., 2019). A total of 33 in-depth semi-structured interviews and two FGDs were conducted according to the interview guidelines proposed by Corbin and Strauss (2008). This research used and implemented maximum variation purposive sampling to select research respondents that possess different demographic profiles, such as age, occupation, gender, ethnicity, and income (shown in Appendix B).

Repetition in the interview responses was apparent towards the last 4 interviews, and new insights or data were not produced leading to data saturation (Saunders et al., 2019; Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Respondent validation was implemented to further bolster validity and reliability of this research (Noble and Smith, 2015). Research respondents were invited to comments and corroborate the interview transcripts and analyses. In addition, the academic advisor was also invited to comment and substantiate the concepts, themes, and aggregate dimensions to ensure that they are aligned with the phenomena being examined and investigated.

3.5. Data Analysis

Collis and Hussey (2009) acknowledged the challenges of analysing qualitative data due to the collection and management of large volumes of data. In addition, qualitative research has been criticised over the years leading to scepticism around analysing and theorising based on thin evidence and the lack of clear and structured method of analyses (Gioia et al., 2013; Robson, 2002). However, qualitative research has a long, rich, and revered history and is associated with eloquent and expressive attributes (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

3.5.1 Coding

Qualitative data analysis is essentially based on coding and abstraction (Graneheim and Lundman, 2004; Spiggle, 1994). Coding is an analytical process that involves deconstructing large volumes of data (e.g.: transcribed interviews or text) into smaller manageable segments to categorise the data. Coding involves descriptive and informative labelling of various classified occurrences

within the qualitative data either derived from the interview transcripts (called in-vivo codes) or from extant literature (theoretical or thematic) used to deduce common or recurring key themes (Corbin and Strauss, 2008); moreover, the researcher assigns various descriptive labels to the codes, whether dependent on the data collected from interview transcripts (in-vivo) or previous literature (based on theoretical or thematic analysis and coding of empirical data) (Charmaz, 2006). Abstraction allows a researcher to connect the categorised data segments and thus build, extend, or challenge theories (Strübing, 2007).

Coding and abstraction are iterative processes that are based on constant comparisons and evaluations among different data, codes, concepts, and themes (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006). The grounded theory approach is based on an inductive approach to qualitative data analysis and includes theoretical and thematic coding (Bryman, 2006; Flick et al., 2004). Thematic analysis consists of searching for themes that emerge and develop from the data to delineate various phenomena (Daly et al., 1997); moreover, thematic analysis involves recognising patterns within the data and therefore themes that emerge from the data are categorised and analysed (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). Furthermore, Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) conducted a deductive thematic analysis and implemented inductive coding to allow themes to emerge directly from the data. On the other hand, theoretical coding consists of three parts:

- **Open coding:** precise and impartial reading, evaluation, comprehension, and labelling of qualitative data established on word by word, line by line, or instance by instance coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).
- **Axial coding:** identifying and relating connections among the codes and coded instances to create categories that are based on extant codes or new abstract categories (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).
- **Selective coding:** culmination of the theoretical coding process to construct a new theory or modify and extend an existing theory. Connecting and linking previous categories produced in the axial coding step to develop a core category or categories that represent and describe the central phenomenon of the study (Corbin and Strauss, 2008; Charmaz, 2006; Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

Gioia et al. (2013) devised a systematic approach to theoretical development, inductive research, and coding that is qualitatively rigorous. Gioia et al. (2013) developed the systematic presentation of a 1st order and 2nd order analysis; moreover, the 1st order analysis implements participant-centric terms and codes, and the 2nd order analysis implements researcher-centric themes and dimensions. The combination of the participants' and researchers' voices and input developed a

qualitatively rigorous connections among the data that resulted in high-quality qualitative research (Gioia et al., 2013).

The coding implemented in this research is based on Gioia et al.'s (2013) systematic approach, which is built upon Strauss and Corbin's (1998) theoretical coding approach. Furthermore, the coding implemented in this research screened, organised, analysed, and categorised the data to further develop and extend previous theories. This qualitative research utilised a priori, and posterior forms of coding and both the literature review and interview transcriptions were used to develop themes (Sinkovics et al., 2005; Ryan and Bernard, 2000). The in-depth interviews and FGDs were transcribed after the completion of the in-depth interviews, household visits, and other data collection. All interviews and FGDs were audio recorded and manually transcribed. The transcribed data and photographs were transferred to NVivo for further organisation, markup, and analysis. The initial stage of the analysis involved keeping the codes in NVivo as 'free codes' to allow the researcher flexibility; moreover, these 'free codes' were further developed and grouped in the further stages and during the iterative analysis process.

3.5.2 Code Associations and Analysis

Similar to Strauss and Corbin's (1998) idea of open coding, Gioia et al. (2013) noted that a copious amount of information, terms, categories, and codes emerge from participants in the initial stages of the research. During the 1st order analysis, the number of categories tend to grow in an exponential manner; however, during the 1st order analysis, the terms and categories are strictly related to the participants and should not be filtered (Gioia et al., 2013). As a result, the amount of 1st order categories can easily reach 100 or more and can initially create an overwhelming experience. As a result, a researcher can become lost and perplexed (Gioia, 2004). Gioia et al. (2013) noted the importance of getting lost at this stage to eventually find the answers and insights.

The initial review and 1st order analysis was applied to the participants' interview and FGDs transcripts to screen the participant's terms and content to find emerging patterns. The transcripts were all carefully reviewed and certain participant-centric terms, patterns, codes and key themes were identified and labelled. The number of 1st order categories and patterns were well over 160; however, as the research progressed, similarities and differences among the categories were observed; moreover, this process is similar to Strauss and Corbin's (1998) notion of axial coding (Gioia et al., 2013). As a result, the categories or concepts were reduced to a more manageable number of 60 categories; moreover, these categories were labelled or described based on the participants' terms as shown in Figure 3.2. As Gioia et al. (2013) postulated that in order to reach a clear understanding at this stage, the researcher must think at multiple levels simultaneously.

Gioia et al. (2013) stated that once the 2nd order analysis commences, the researcher enters the theoretical realm and begins searching for emerging themes that might describe the various

phenomena observed. Glaser and Strauss (1967) noted that the process of the theme and concept development eventually leads to theoretical saturation; moreover, Gioia et al. (2013) further state that once theoretical saturation is achieved, the researcher should investigate if it is possible to filter the 2nd order emerging themes further into 2nd order aggregate dimensions. Once the full set of 1st order concepts, 2nd order themes, and aggregate dimensions are completed, then a data structure could be assembled as shown in Figure 3.2. Gioia et al. (2013) stated that the data structure not only allows the researcher to construct a visual aid for the data, but it provides a graphic representation of the process starting from raw data and resulting in themes. In addition, this is a crucial element that demonstrates rigour in qualitative research (Gioia et al., 2013). The data structure allows the researcher to think about the data theoretically and not just methodologically.

After the commencement of data collection and initial stages of analysis, there was an iterative movement between emergent data, themes, concepts, dimensions, and relevant literature to ensure rigours and multiple reviews of data; moreover, this iterative process allowed the discovery of findings' precedents, specific themes, and new concepts. For instance, the participants displayed varying degrees of integrative consumer acculturation outcomes as analysed in the data and those were developed as emergent aggregate themes – traditional desi, transient desi, and temerarious desi. Furthermore, these aggregate dimensions were based on the acculturation outcome of integration found in relevant literature (Cleveland and Laroche, 2007; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Mehta and Belk,1991; Berry, 1980).

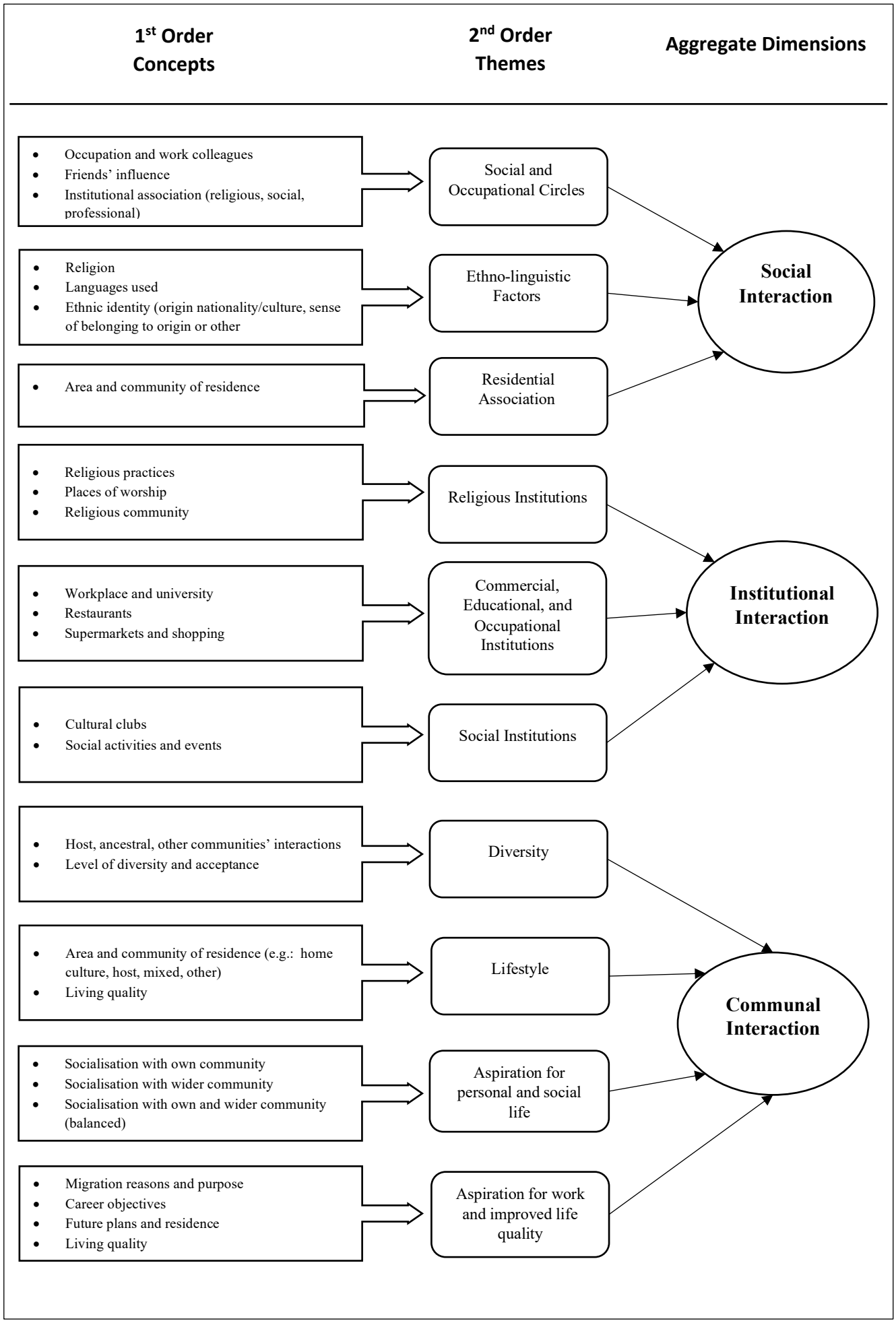
Initially, the 1st order concepts were derived from the participants and labelled according to the participants' descriptions and experiences; as a result, these 1st order concepts were then analysed further and developed into 2nd order themes based on relevant literature and previous theories. For example, the 2nd order themes of the desire for minimal integration, desire to explore within familiar territories to achieve balanced integration, and desire to go beyond conventional boundaries and fully integrate resulted in the aggregate dimensions of Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi respectively. Similarly, Communal Interaction, Social Interaction, Familial Interaction, Institutional Interaction, and Media Interaction were the remaining aggregate dimensions developed based on the guidance of relevant literature and theories; in addition, the 1st order concepts, and 2nd order themes were extracted in the same manner previously mentioned.

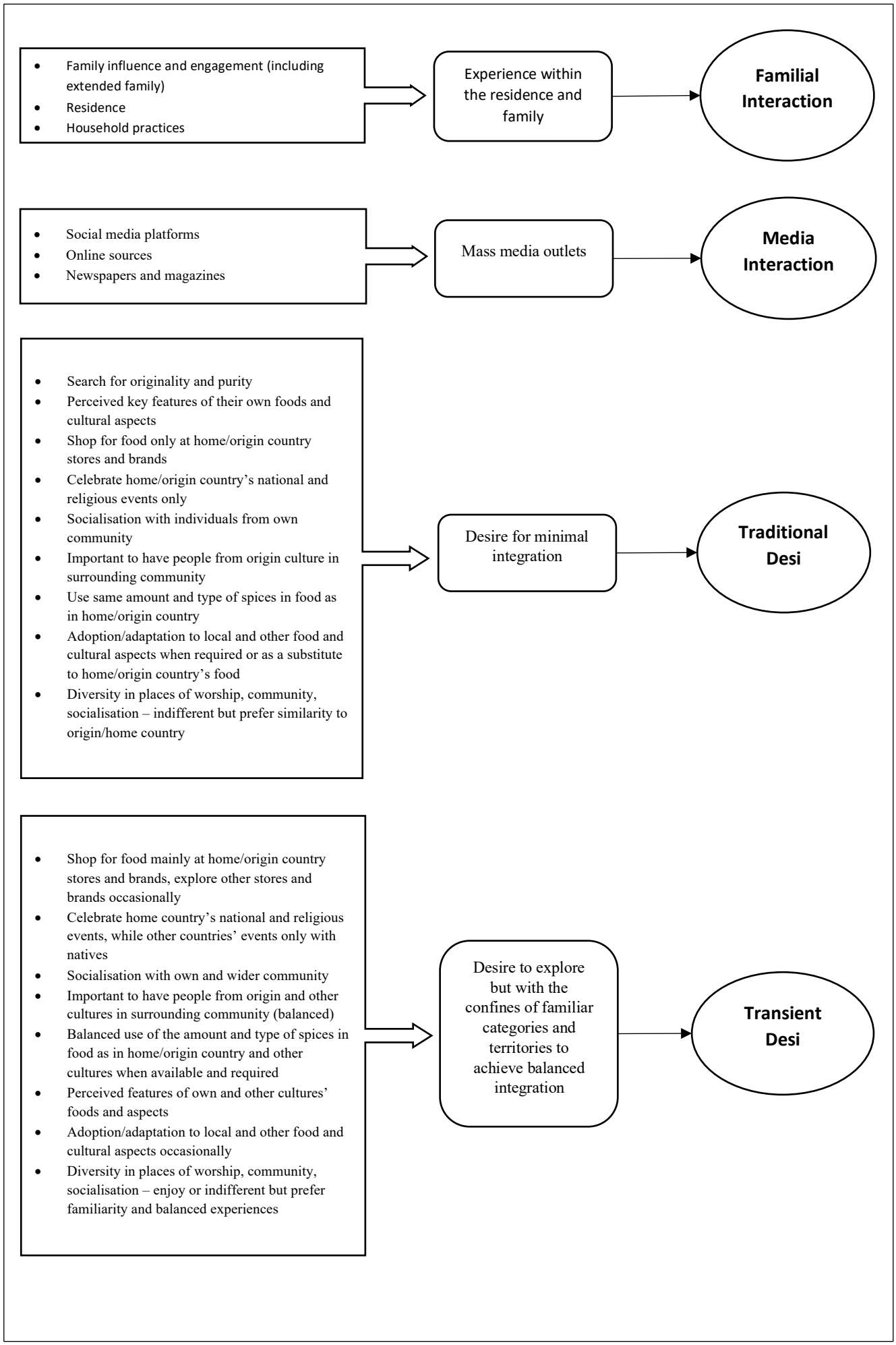
The interpretation and analysis of the transcriptions and coded texts were not a direct and smooth process. Testing the reliability of the codes is an integral part of the coding process; moreover, the development of an effective framework involves determining the applicability of the codes to the raw data (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998). Gioia et al. (2013) suggested to have different authors or researchers interpret the data, transcriptions, terms, and codes when attempting to finalise the coding and data analysis; furthermore, if the agreements about the codes are low or mismatched, then the data should be revisited and reanalysed to achieve mutual interpretations. This

step ensures the reliability of the codes, a rigorous analysis, and bolsters the researcher's confidence in their assertions and findings (Gioia et al., 2013; Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

Following the interpretation and analysis of the transcriptions and coding process, my supervisor was invited to analyse and code the transcriptions as well. The results were compared, and minor adjustments were performed to a few terms to arrive at consensual interpretations. For instance, the term 'recency of arrival' was adjusted to 'migration history' to better reflect a more complete understanding of the participants' past migration history and current situation. In addition, the 2nd order theme of 'Ethnic Factors' was adjusted to 'Ethno-linguistic Factors' to include both ethnic and linguistic factors.

Corroborating and legitimating the coded themes is an essential task to ensure and confirm the findings (Crabtree and Miller, 1999). The analysis of and interaction between the transcribed interviews, concepts, codes, coding process, and themes involved several iterations before the interpretations were finalised; moreover, all stages were closely scrutinised and analysed to ensure the concepts, themes, and aggregate dimensions were representative of the data and codes. In addition, during the various iterations, the participants were contacted with follow-up interviews to confirm and corroborate the analysis and findings. The 2nd order themes were further developed into aggregate dimensions to articulate and describe the meanings that underpinned the dimension. As a result, this rigorous analysis and process allowed the development and extension of an explanatory framework that is consistent with the data.


1st Order Concepts
2nd Order Themes
Aggregate Dimensions
Occupation and work colleagues
Friends' influence
Institutional association (religious, social, professional)
Social and Occupational Circles
Religion
Languages used
Ethnic identity (origin nationality/culture, sense of belonging to origin or other
Ethno-linguistic Factors
Area and community of residence
Residential Association
Social Interaction
Religious practices
Places of worship
Religious community
Religious Institutions
Workplace and university
Restaurants
Supermarkets and shopping
Commercial, Educational, and Occupational Institutions
Cultural clubs
Social activities and events
Social Institutions
Institutional Interaction
Host, ancestral, other communities' interactions
Level of diversity and acceptance
Diversity
Area and community of residence (e.g.: home culture, host, mixed, other)
Living quality
Lifestyle
Socialisation with own community
Socialisation with wider community
Socialisation with own and wider community (balanced)
Aspiration for personal and social life
Migration reasons and purpose
Career objectives
Future plans and residence
Living quality
Aspiration for work and improved life quality
Communal Interaction


Family influence and engagement (including extended family)
Residence
Household practices
Experience within the residence and family
Familial Interaction
Social media platforms
Online sources
Newspapers and magazines
Mass media outlets
Media Interaction
Search for originality and purity
Perceived key features of their own foods and cultural aspects
Shop for food only at home/origin country stores and brands
Celebrate home/origin country's national and religious events only
Socialisation with individuals from own community
Important to have people from origin culture in surrounding community
Use same amount and type of spices in food as in home/origin country
Adoption/adaptation to local and other food and cultural aspects when required or as a substitute to home/origin country's food
Diversity in places of worship, community, socialisation – indifferent but prefer similarity to origin/home country
Desire for minimal integration
Traditional Desi
Shop for food mainly at home/origin country stores and brands, explore other stores and brands occasionally
Celebrate home country's national and religious events, while other countries' events only with natives
Socialisation with own and wider community
Important to have people from origin and other cultures in surrounding community (balanced)
Balanced use of the amount and type of spices in food as in home/origin country and other cultures when available and required
Perceived features of own and other cultures' foods and aspects
Adoption/adaptation to local and other food and cultural aspects occasionally
Diversity in places of worship, community, socialisation – enjoy or indifferent but prefer familiarity and balanced experiences
Desire to explore but with the confines of familiar categories and territories to achieve balanced integration
Transient Desi

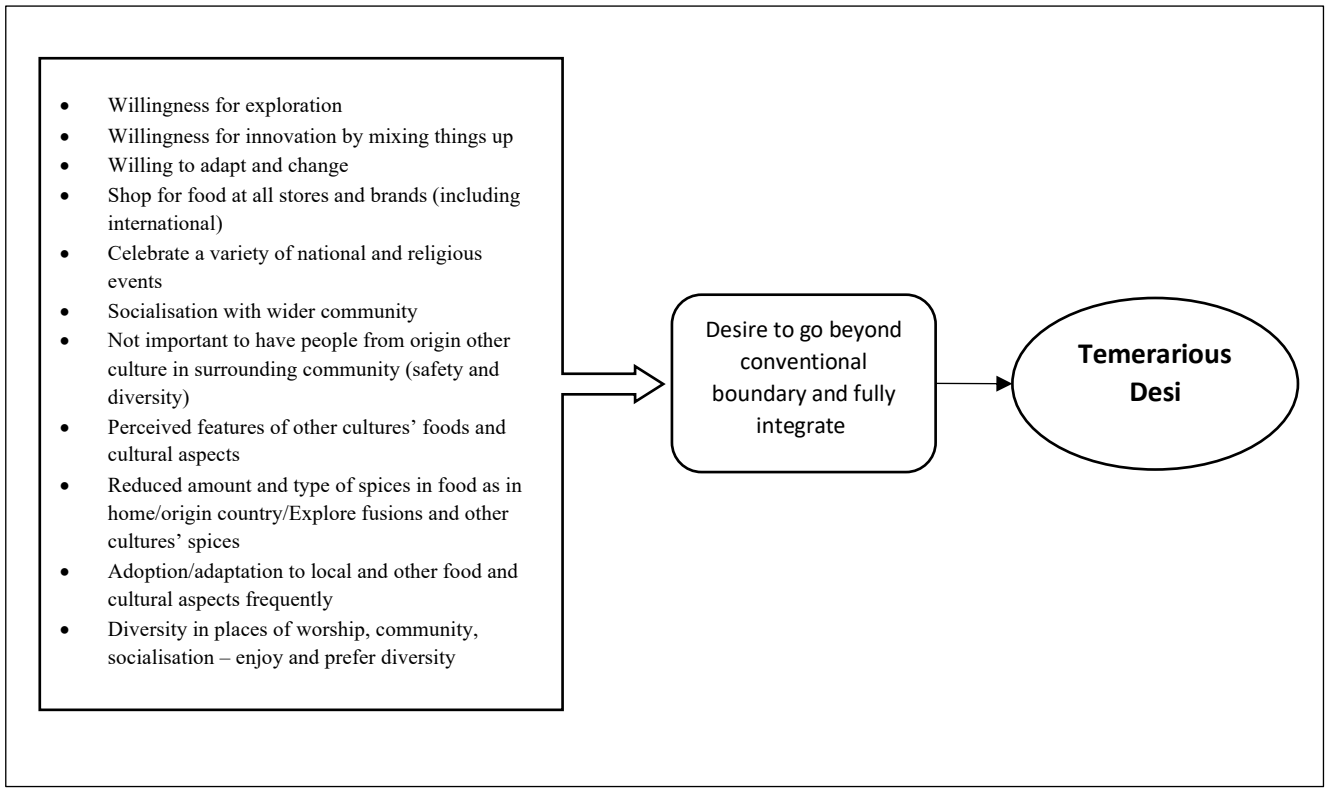


Figure 3.2: Sample Coding– Concepts, Themes, and Aggregate Dimensions

3.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter provided an extensive review of the various philosophical paradigms and approaches, research purpose and types, research strategies and designs, and the wide range of data collection methods, tools, and data analysis techniques. The selection of the appropriate philosophical approach, paradigms, and methods that are aligned with the aims and objectives of this thesis is of utmost importance to the foundation and robustness of this thesis.

This thesis adopts a qualitative methodology, an inductive approach, and an interpretivist philosophy to achieve a descriptive and subjective understanding of the South Asian consumers' acculturation process and outcomes and cultural identities. Therefore, this research implemented an exploratory research type and purpose. The ethnographic investigation was the fundamental spirit of this research as it provided further insights and bolstered the understanding of the various phenomena. Numerous data collection methods and tools were utilised, thirty-three in-depth interviews were conducted, two FGDs were conducted that included a total of eleven unskilled and semi-skilled participants, and observations and photographs were collected. Maximum variation purposive sampling was implemented to maximise difference among participants and achieve diverse perspectives.

Finally, a rigorous data analysis and coding process was implemented to achieve and develop a thorough framework that is aligned with the data. Moreover, Gioia et al.'s (2013) systematic

approach to coding and theoretical framework development was utilised in this research. Various first order concepts, second order themes, and third order aggregate dimensions were developed and resulted in a high quality and rigorous qualitative research.

Chapter 4. Findings

This chapter provides a detailed depiction of the findings, which are presented in a chronological manner following the aggregate dimensions developed in the data and thematic analysis in the previous chapter. The findings presented in this chapter are substantiated by exemplar interview quotes and additional information and photographs are included in Appendices A and C respectively.

The findings under each of the aggregate dimensions, major sets, and codes are presented and this chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.1 presents the communal interaction and related subsections within this aggregate dimension. Section 4.2 and its subsections illustrate the social interaction aggregate dimension. Section 4.3 describes the institutional interaction dimension and related subsections. Section 4.4 presents the familial interaction aggregate dimension and relevant subsections. Section 4.5 describes the media interaction and related subsections. Section 4.6 presents the integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes, and section 4.7 describes the host community and related subsections. Finally, section 4.8 provides a chapter summary.

4.1 Communal Interactions Within a Multicultural Hub

The interviews revealed and reinforced various indicators that portray Bahrain as a rich multicultural hub; moreover, they evidenced constant inter-cultural and intra-cultural interactions amongst a plethora of cultures. Respondents indicated various influences and encounters with the host culture, heritage culture, global consumer culture, and other cultures in Bahrain.

4.1.1 Diversity

This section discusses and demonstrates the cultural diversity, interactions, and multi-dimensional cultural platform within Bahrain. The evidence of diversity and aspiration for personal and social life can be viewed and obtained from the interview responses. All the participants in this research had experienced various types of interactions and co-existed with individuals from numerous cultural backgrounds.

Darika, an Indian participant from Gujarat, shared her experience:

> *Bahrain has a lot of diversity in terms of culture, religion, and nationalities. I am very proud of Bahrain for being culturally diverse. Diversity is an extremely important aspect to have in any country around the world nowadays. As diversity allows people to tolerate each other and borrow and share different experiences together.*

Lipika, an Indian participant from Bangalore, expressed her views towards diversity in Bahrain:

This is my home. I love the people of Bahrain, they are so nice, so welcoming, open-minded and a lot of respect. I have never been in a situation where I have been discriminated against or treated badly because of my origin […] I really enjoy the diversity in my workplace, we have people from everywhere and it is a multi-cultural environment. This allows me to understand and adapt to other cultures and for other people to understand and adapt to mine as well.

Darika experienced a sense of pride regarding the diversity in Bahrain and acceptance of various cultures, religions, and nationalities in Bahrain. Lipika also expressed her fondness for Bahrain in terms of people's acceptance towards other cultures, diversity in the workplace among co-workers, and safety and security. Darika and Lipika also stated how diversity and acceptance allow individuals to adopt and adapt to various aspects across different cultures. Faiza, a Bangladeshi participant from Dhaka, demonstrated the cultural and religious freedom available to individuals from various backgrounds in Bahrain:

Yes, of course it is very diverse. I just moved from Saudi Arabia recently and I can clearly see the difference in terms of diversity and freedom. For example, it is only a 45- minute drive between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain; however, Bahrain has no objection towards people who want to celebrate the Holi festival in any way they please. The freedom and diversity in Bahrain really amazes me.

Tanvi, an Indian participant from West Bengal, expressed her experience for the diversity and acceptance in Bahrain regarding the various religions, festivals, nationalities, and living conditions:

Bahrain is a very diverse and multi-cultural place. Bahrain has been ranked as one of the best places for expats to live in. Bahrain has accepted various religions and cultures of other countries and allowed people to practice their own religion and culture freely. Bahrain is a very liberal country and I like that about it. Diwali, Dasara, and Holi are some of the famous festivals that Indians look forward to, and since living here I have not missed a single occasion of these festivals.

Muzafar, an Indian participant from Kerala, shared his experience and compared Bahrain and India:

Living in Bahrain is easy. People are flexible, they are friendly, and there are different cultures. See, if you are staying back home in India, you only learn more about the Indian culture as I told you before. But if you stay in Bahrain, you can meet Bahrainis, Americans,

Europeans, so you learn more about their cultures and it is not only about one culture as in India.

Hence, the socio-cultural and contextual environment had a bearing on the level of diversity and acceptance. Muzafar discussed the differences between a mono-cultural environment and a multi-cultural environment in terms of his exposure and acculturation to various cultures. Despite the differences in lifestyle, resources, accommodation, and social status, participants in the two focus group discussions (FGD) with migrant South Asian workers shared similar opinions and experiences regarding the cultural diversity in Bahrain. Participants in FGD 1 stated that they interact and meet with individuals from various cultures, as it is part of their work:

Bahrain is very diverse and has many nationalities. We do not really socialize or mix with Bahraini nationals or other cultures as much here, except during our work and installation. We interact with people from different cultures during our work, while we shop for food at markets, at places of worship, and on the streets. We believe the Bahraini culture is very friendly since they provide us with complete freedom to live our lives and practice our own cultures and religion freely.

Participants in FDG 2 shared similar experiences with diversity and cultural freedom:

We do not go out very much and mix with a lot of people here, but it is diverse here. We interact with Indians from all over India, Pakistanis, Bengalis, Bahrainis and many other nationalities here in Bahrain. We believe the Bahraini culture is very respectful and welcoming because we can freely go anywhere, practice our religion, and live our lives.

4.1.2 Aspirations for Personal and Social Life

In this section, the findings involved aspirations for personal and social life, which included socialisation on a personal level (e.g., friends and family) and on a broader or general level (e.g., workplace and community). All participants socialised or interacted with individuals and aspects from various cultures in a voluntary or involuntary manner; moreover, interactions among individuals from various cultural backgrounds occurred daily within the workplace, shopping malls, grocery stores or supermarkets, restaurants, and other locations. However, on a personal level with family and friends, most participants chose to socialise or interact with the wider community or with individuals or aspects from their heritage culture, host culture, other cultures, or global consumer culture. Some participants preferred to socialise or interact with friends and family from their heritage culture only.

Evidence of aspirations for personal and social life is presented through the participants' responses in the interviews.

4.1.2.1 Balanced Interactions and Socialisation

Azza, an Indian participant from Tamil Nadu, mentioned:

> *My family is very social, and we do participate in a lot of cultural events that are organised by various Indian clubs, festivals, and so on. My father is one of the founding members for the Tamilian Club in Bahrain and he helps with many newcomers or bachelors that live in Bahrain.*

Azza demonstrated how her family organises various religious and cultural events for members of the Tamilian Club in Bahrain. In addition, they attend and participate in local charity and entertainment events, and celebrate Bahraini and Indian events and religious and cultural festivals. This demonstrates that Azza and her family socialise and interact with individuals and aspects from various cultures. Similarly, Fatima, a Pakistani participant from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, states:

> *I participate in events with people from the same culture and other cultures as well. Recently, my father's Bahraini friend got married and we were invited to their wedding. We are not part of any Pakistani clubs or other clubs. Almost all my friends and my family's friends are from Pakistan.*

Fatima and her family also demonstrated a balanced socialisation and interaction experience with their heritage culture, host culture, and other cultures. Similarly, Dhara, an Indian participant from Kerala, explained:

> *We do not prepare food for Eid or Ramadan at home, but other family friends that celebrate Eid and Ramadan invite us over and have a feast. Also, during our festivals or religious events we invite them to our house and have a feast as well. Our family friends are Indians that are Muslim, Hindu, and Christian.*

4.1.2.2 Interactions and Socialisation with Heritage Community and Aspects

Amna, a Pakistani Muslim participant from Karachi, mentioned:

> *We are not part of Pakistani clubs or attend many social activities or events due to the nature of our work, as we do not get enough free time to do that. There are many Pakistani clubs and*

they encourage us to join, but we have a very busy work schedule and three children. I cannot afford to spare extra time. I have a small group of Pakistani friends and that is enough for me.

In addition, Samesh, an Indian Hindu participant from Tamil Nadu, stated:

At my place of work, my colleagues and students are from different cultures and I interact with them daily at work. But outside of work, we mostly meet with our group only, which has people with similar culture and religion to us.

Even though Amna and Samesh have limited interaction with other cultures in their personal life, it appears that they still have to interact with people from various cultural backgrounds in their daily lives at their workplace or other locations. Moreover, Ridhi, an Indian Hindu participant from West Bengal, further articulated:

We visited the Indian Club because my son used to be part of the cricket tournaments there. We have a club for Indians from West Bengal, and my husband and I are active members of the club and we do a lot of things. We organize pujas, festivals, annual picnics and competitions, and many other events as well.

The above participants were exposed to a multicultural environment that could not be completely avoided. As a result, given the abundance of time, knowledge, or friends from other cultures, the participants may be willing to interact with other cultures in their personal lives.

4.1.2.3 Interactions and Socialisation with Wider Community and Aspects

Lipika, an Indian Christian participant from Bangalore, shared her experience regarding interaction with the wider community:

We participate in different events and activities. For example, for religious activities, it depends on whether the Church is organizing a certain activity like charity events, Iftar party for the laborers, community outreach programs, labour camps, health programs, and such events...We have Arabic friends and we have been invited during Ramadan for Iftar events and 'Gergaoon'.

Lipika and her family are involved in various types of events and activities from numerous cultures and religions. In addition, they have adopted and adapted to various cultural aspects, such as wearing Bahraini traditional dress, participating in Gergaoon (the Arabic equivalent to ‘trick or treat’

during Halloween), and attending events that deal with people from different cultural backgrounds. On the other hand, Nidra, an Indian Muslim participant from Delhi, reflected on her experience:

> *Yes, I do participate in local social events and activities, but not with people from my own culture. I like to keep a cultural distance because some of the people here do not respect other cultures, which makes me uncomfortable. I participate in Riffa Views, the gated community I am living in, and we have lots of things such as the farmer's market, cultural events like Gergaoon, Ramadan, annual dinners at the Royal Golf Club, and many other events as well.*

This shows a fascinating view of an immigrant – they love to remain connected with different cultures, but they also seek comfort and cultural sensitivity. Guneet, an Indian Hindu from Tamil Nadu, also shared a similar experience:

> *The relationships we have with all people in Bahrain in general is not the same as our relationships with our family and friends in India. We do not share everything and have a close relationship with our Indian friends here. Yes, we do speak the same language, but I might share more information with my Bahraini friends than with my Indian friends here in Bahrain.*

Guneet believed that people from the same nationality in a foreign country might hurt rather than help each other. He also believed that learning about and interacting with people from other cultures tends to be interesting and rather fascinating. On the other hand, Kubra, a Pakistani Muslim participant from Karachi, explained:

> *I would definitely prefer diversity everywhere, because it increases and encourages acceptance of all nationalities and people. The diversity and exposure to different cultures in Bahrain allows me to explore and accept the different cultures. In Bahrain, my best friend is an Indian and this is something impossible to have in Pakistan.*

4.1.3 Lifestyle and Aspiration for Work and Improved Life Quality

The findings in this section highlight the participants' motivations and reasons for migration, career objectives, future plans, and improved quality of life. As Peñaloza (1994) stated, the consumer acculturation process begins upon movement from one country to another, attracted by various factors. Participants left and migrated from various locations across South Asia due to the scarcity of jobs and low income; moreover, participants migrated to Bahrain due to better job opportunities, higher quality of life, higher incomes, better education and healthcare, and improved consumption patterns.

4.1.3.1 Living Quality and Area of Residence

Almost all of the white-collar participants lived in or came from urban communities in South Asia; however, the blue-collar workers lived in or came from rural communities. Nineteen of the 26 participants preferred to live in a multi-cultural cosmopolitan city in Bahrain. The remaining seven participants preferred to reside in a city or community that consisted of people with similar cultural backgrounds to their own. On the other hand, the blue-collar workers were limited in their choice of residence and location, since their accommodation was provided by their employers. The participants' responses and experiences are presented and evidenced further below. Muzafar, an Indian Muslim participant from Kerala, explained how he enjoyed being global, learning and adopting from other cultures, and enjoying multicultural environments.

> *I lived all over Bahrain. I lived in Manama, Riffa, Adliya, and Juffair. I am flexible and not rigid with my community. See, I live in communities where it is not fully Indian. I lived in communities with Arabs, Pakistanis, Bengali, Indians, Americans, and Europeans, it was a mixed culture.*

Faiza, a Bangladeshi Muslim participant from Dhaka, shared a similar experience. Faiza enjoyed living in a cosmopolitan environment that is multicultural and preferred being close to the city centre.

> *It is not important for the individuals in my surrounding community to be from the same culture as myself. Although my friends live in the area of Saar, I moved to Juffair, as it is more active and lively.*

Faiza, however, was faced with a dilemma, as she missed her parents but was not able to readjust to living in Bangladesh.

> *Living in Bahrain gives you a fully secure life. As I told you before, I feel more secure here and I do not feel threatened by anyone or by crime. There is hardly any crime in Bahrain. However, I really miss my parents, but I do not see myself living in Bangladesh anymore.*

Lipika explained how she preferred a multicultural community, but she was allocated by her workplace to an area that is predominantly Indian. However, she explained that she preferred the convenience of being closer to her workplace. Even though the area is predominantly Indian, she enjoyed the company of the small numbers of people from Pakistan, Egypt, and other countries.

In the building I am in there are people from Pakistan and Egypt. But it is not about choice to look for a place where we look for an Indian community. Initially, it depended on where the company allocated us. When we moved to Juffair, we wanted a little more "open" culture and we right now just moved to Hoora for convenience.

Nidra, an Indian Muslim participant from Delhi, reminisced about how her parents raised her to become accepting of other cultures and religions. She decided to live in a multicultural, educated, and safe gated community in Bahrain, called Riffa Views.

The surrounding community is important to me, but here it differs to me. I was brought up with the learning to accept and respect other communites. At home we always had my mother's colleagues and my father's students visiting from various cultures and we had an appreciative and admirable attitude towards people. There was always a curiosity to know different cultures and backgrounds and so probably this connects back to my childhood and that is why I am where I am currently.

Similarly, Mahika, an Australian Christian of Indian origin from Delhi, also preferred to live in the multicultural and secure gated community of Riffa Views.

We live in Riffa Views, and it has been the same place we moved to since we came to Bahrain. I spent my childhood around greenery, nature, trees, and open spaces. Riffa Views community reminds me of that and it has an open and multicultural society within a gated community.

On the other hand, Suhani, an Indian Hindu participant from Tamil Nadu, preferred to live in an area that was predominantly occupied by Indian families. Suhani believed that being surrounded by people from the same culture was an important aspect, along with access to various restaurants, services, and facilities.

My husband and I felt more comfortable living in Umm Al Hassam because our friends were all there and most Indian families reside in Umm Al Hassam. Also, there are many restaurants, shops, and services around. Having people from the same culture and community is very important. Also, many of my husband's friends and colleagues live in this area and around 90 percent of the people living in our building are Indian.

Even though Suhani preferred to live in an area that was similar to her home culture, she felt more comfortable in Bahrain than in India. She went on to explain how the quality and standard of living is higher in Bahrain compared to India. As a result, she expressed her feelings towards Bahrain

and was concerned about a permanent return to India, especially after comfortably adapting to life in Bahrain.

> *I feel very comfortable and safe in Bahrain. I consider India as my home country and Bahrain as my second home. Sometimes I feel more comfortable in Bahrain than in India and I wonder why this is happening. Also, when I go to India for a holiday for around two months and then come back to Bahrain, I feel that I am back home. I do not know why I feel that way about Bahrain, but I feel that I am in my place.*

Guneet from India explained the subtle differences between India and Bahrain from his perspective; moreover, despite Guneet's preference for a dominant Indian community, he still interacted with people from many different cultural backgrounds and seemed to enjoy it.

> *I would say it is very similar. The environment seems to be the same here and in India; however, here I deal with people from various cultures and more cultures than the people in India and that is a nice thing. Also, in Bahrain the main language is Arabic and English whereas in India it is different.*

Jeevika, an Indian Hindu participant from Tamil Nadu, shared her preference for living in an area with a dominant South Asian community, access to food, and furnished flats. Jeevika felt comfortable socialising with individuals of different cultural backgrounds from the South Asian subcontinent. She argued that communication is easier with individuals from the South Asian community, as they understand each other's language, sense of humour, food, and shared common issues.

> *I am very comfortable to live in the areas that have large South Asian communities. I feel very comfortable speaking to an Indian, Pakistani, and Bangladeshi since our language connects us and we have similar problems in our home countries. The connection is easier, and they would be able to understand and communicate easily.*

Jeevika compared various aspects of the quality of living in Bahrain, the UK, and India. She explained that the availability of Indian food, Indian movies in cinemas, and Indian communities allows her to feel close to home and her culture. This displays how cultures adapt and adopt various cultural and social aspects from each other.

> *I like how clean Bahrain is and how they always remove the garbage on the streets. There are a lot of residents from Tamil Nadu and Indians in general in Bahrain, so this allows me not to*

miss the food in India. There are a lot of Indian communities here and this allows me to feel more like home. Also, there are so many Indian movies and new Indian movies that are released and displayed in the cinemas.

The FGD with South Asian migrant workers revealed similar emotions and experiences:

We all live in the same accommodation provided to us by the company and that is located close to the workshop in the city of Salmabad. We all lived in different places and areas in Bahrain according to the job and accommodation provided to us by the company we work for. We do not really choose or pick the areas we live in since our accommodation is provided to us by the company we work for. However, we usually live along with our co-workers and the areas surrounding us usually have many people from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and other cultures.

The workers in FGD 1 interacted with individuals from various cultural and religious backgrounds despite their limitations in terms of choosing their area of residence. In addition, they explained the issues faced in India and the overall improved quality of life in Bahrain.

Living in Bahrain is much better than living in India in terms of income, opportunities, services, corruption, availability of food and healthcare, and many other factors as well. There is much less corruption in Bahrain compared to India, and laws are enforced and followed in Bahrain, unlike India. Politicians in India always try to bend the laws to their own benefit to gain more money; however, this does not happen here in Bahrain like in India. Overall, life is much easier and the quality of living is higher in Bahrain compared to India.

The workers from FGD 2 went on to explain their struggles in India compared to Bahrain. They did not have the chance to experience life in Bahrain and interact freely due to various limitations, such as income, social status, and overall lifestyle.

We do not really experience living in Bahrain fully since we are mainly here for collecting as much income as possible. Bahrain is much cleaner, less crowded, has better opportunities [....] For us, life in India is very hard and we cannot make enough money to support or even feed our families. Life has become expensive for us, and things are much cheaper in Bahrain.

4.1.3.2 Migration and Immigration Reasons, Career Objectives, and Future Plans

All participants migrated to Bahrain due to various economic and personal goals; moreover, several push and pull factors also motivated their migration. The majority of participants planned to remain in Bahrain permanently; however, six participants, including the workers in the FGDs, aspired to return to their respective home countries to live with their families and serve their communities. Darika, a third-generation Hindu immigrant from Gujarat, India, described her motivations and future aspirations:

> *I was born and raised in Bahrain and my parents were also born and raised in Bahrain. My grandparents moved to Bahrain around 70 years ago. It was my grandfather's decision to move to Bahrain for his gold business. I do not know whether I will continue to stay in Bahrain or not. At the moment, I have no plans to go back and settle in India.*

Darika is young and she felt the need to explore other countries and cultures; however, she and her family did not plan to return to India. Initially, her family immigrated to Bahrain due to economic and financial goals regarding the establishment of their family business to sell gold in Bahrain. Similarly, Azza illustrated her experience as follows:

> *I was born and raised in Bahrain. My parents moved to Bahrain around 35 years ago in 1985. The pearl business was very famous in Bahrain around that time, and my father and uncle were interested in that business and so they came to Bahrain and started a business here. We are willing to apply for the Bahraini citizenship and we actually tried a few times, but our application got rejected.*

Likewise, Faiza shared her perplexed thoughts on her future aspirations and experience:

> *In 2010, I moved to Bahrain ... I really miss my parents, but I do not see myself living in Bangladesh anymore. I have no intention in going back and settling down in Bangladesh at my old age currently; however, I do go back and visit temporarily or visit for certain occasions only. I do miss the cultural aspects about Bangladesh, but here in Bahrain we do celebrate and perform those cultural things.*

Faiza immigrated to Bahrain due to economic motivations based on an attractive job offer; moreover, her career aspirations were achieved in Bahrain by becoming an architect. Faiza has adapted to living in Bahrain and had no intention of returning to Bangladesh. She described how her adaptation to life in Bahrain and adoption of other cultural aspects affected her perspective on living

or retiring in Bangladesh. In addition, Farha, a Pakistani Muslim from Islamabad, explained how she had adapted and adopted many aspects of the Bahraini culture and wanted to remain in Bahrain.

> *I came to Bahrain in 2000 around 20 years ago. I was born in Pakistan, but I grew up in Bahrain. Half of my extended family were living in Bahrain before I was born and my uncles in Bahrain are actually Bahraini and have the citizenship. We have already adopted and adapted to many aspects of the Bahraini culture, and we wish to have the citizenship.*

Shahid, a Pakistani Muslim participant from Karachi, explained his motivations for immigrating to Bahrain from Pakistan and aspired to remain there for the foreseeable future. He shared his experience between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain.

> *I moved to Bahrain from Saudi Arabia in February 2014. I moved to Saudi Arabia around 2010 and before moving to Saudi Arabia I was in Pakistan. There are 2 reasons why I chose to move to Bahrain. The first reason is an obvious reason, which is the difference in salary compared to Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. The second reason is that it is more of a friendly environment compared to Saudi Arabia.*

On the other hand, some of the participants wanted to return to their respective home countries due to familial attachments and community commitments. Ridhi migrated to Bahrain due to economic motivations and a lucrative opportunity. However, despite being comfortable in Bahrain, she and her husband planned to return to India to join their families and serve their communities.

> *I came to Bahrain in 2005 because my husband received a job offer in BAPCO. No, no, no. Even though I love Bahrain so much and I love staying here, we never thought of applying for citizenship or settling down here. We eventually want to go back to India and want to give back to our society and community as my husband has a plan.*

Similarly, Faizal, an Indian Muslim participant from Bihar, migrated to Bahrain for a better opportunity and to raise a considerable amount of money to build a school for his community in India. He felt obliged to help his community, which had supported him as its only graduate: therefore, he planned to return to India and retire there.

> *I plan to stay in Bahrain for at least another five years…The ultimate goal I would like to achieve is to build a really good school for my local community where I was born because I am the only graduate from my state. The population in my state is around 10,000 to 15,000 and I*

am the only graduate. My community has supported me and helped me to become a graduate and I would really want to give back to them.

The migrant unskilled and semi-skilled workers had all migrated to Bahrain due to economic motivations; moreover, the workers needed to provide their families with an improved quality of life and support them financially in their respective countries. All workers aspired to return to their home countries and live with their families and communities. The workers in FGD 1 explained:

We have been in Bahrain for a long time. Two of us have been in Bahrain since 2006, another two of us have been here since 2008, and one of us has been here since 2013. We came to Bahrain through our friends, family, and recruitment offices that helped us to find jobs in Bahrain. We needed the higher income and better opportunities to support our families in Kerala and that is why we came to Bahrain. No, no, of course we all want to go back to India. We all want to go back to Kerala and live with our families there. We do not want to retire or stay in Bahrain for the future.

A worker in FGD 2 also provided a similar response:

Two of us have been in Bahrain for 16 years, another two of us have been here for 8 years, and then the remaining two have been here for 6 and 5 years. We all came to Bahrain for a better opportunity and our main goals are to make as much money as we can to support our families in India. We want to provide our families with better living conditions in India, have our children go to school, provide them with food, buy land or a house, and make sure they are safe. We all came to Bahrain through friends or recruitment offices that helped us with finding jobs and getting visas to go to Bahrain. We miss Kerala and our families of course and we prefer living in Kerala with our families as long as we have enough money to support our families there. We all plan to return to India some day and do not plan to stay or retire in Bahrain.

Even if the workers were given the opportunity to remain in Bahrain, they simply rejected the idea of applying for Bahraini citizenship and were eager to return to their families in India.

4.2 Social Interaction

Social Interaction, the aggregate dimension that emerged from the data and is presented here, involves the sense of belonging to different social and occupational groups, cultural and religious

sections, and residential communities. Identification with various groups and conformation to a group's norms, values, and customs vary among individuals (Berry, 2008). In addition, Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory demonstrates how individuals understand, explain, and discover themselves through group memberships. Therefore, the notion of identity and group affiliations creates a "sense of shared socio-cultural experiences, interactions, values, and norms; plus feelings of belongingness, pride in, and commitment towards a particular group" (Cleveland et al., 2016, p. 1091).

4.2.1 Social and Occupational Circles

This section presents the participants' institutional, occupational, and friendship associations. Amna, a Pakistani Muslim from Karachi, explained her exposure to different cultures and social aspects through her associations:

> *When we moved to Bahrain, we have been continuously exposed to many cultures, whether it is next to the place we live, work, school, and so on. Especially, where I work and at my department, most of the faculty members are from many different parts of the world and have learned a lot.*

Lipika shared a similar experience and illustrated that her exposure to a multicultural environment stemmed from her workplace.

> *My main interaction was with the Arabic community, mainly at the university. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, my students stopped going to university and my colleagues are not coming and this is my Arabic or multi-cultural environment.*

On the other hand, Faiza described her interactions with work colleagues as formal and less personal than her interactions with friends from similar cultural backgrounds.

> *We have Arab colleagues at work, but we do not socialise in the same way we socialise with the people from my country or culture. We socialise with our Arab colleagues at work, but not in our personal life or life away from work. That is mainly why there has not been an influence on me from other cultures here in Bahrain.*

Jeevika illustrated her encounters with various types of food from the host culture and global consumer culture, to which she was introduced by her work colleague:

When I first came to Bahrain, I was invited by an Egyptian colleague to go eat at a buffet restaurant. There was a large section for sushi and it was the first time I had seen that kind of food. I could not stand the way it looked, smelled, or tasted. However, I really like khuboos[1], hummus[2], mutabal[3], kebbeh[4], arayes[5], and grills.

Jeevika enjoyed some of the food dishes and types, such as the local Bahraini bread, called *khuboos* in Arabic, baked fresh at various local bakeries. Her friend influenced and encouraged her to migrate to Bahrain.

Samesh, an Indian Hindu participant from Tamil Nadu, discussed the various cultural impacts, including food. He expressed his fondness for a local Bahraini dish, which consists of rice and chicken and is called *machboos* in Arabic.

There are many impacts from the Bahraini culture and other cultures, and also from the food culture. I was introduced to machboos at work and I used to tell my work colleagues and students that I like machboos so much and not just as a joke, but I really like this dish.

Arin, an Indian Christian participant from Mumbai, described his associations with the Church and his place of work.

My social life is basically restricted to the colleagues and individuals I have and know in the university. Otherwise, on Fridays when I go to Church and interact with the people there since our entire family is a practicing Catholic Christian family.

In addition, Arin's eating habits, food choices, and shopping habits had been impacted by various cultures and individuals in those associations. He also explained how his family had integrated with the different cultures, including the host culture in Bahrain.

The Bahrani and other cultures has impacted our eating habits as sometimes we try different Bahraini or Arabic food. Especially during Ramadan and Eid our shopping increases during

[1] *Khuboos* is the Arabic word for bread, and in Bahrain, people generally use the word to refer to the local freshly baked bread found across all residential communities

[2] *Hummus* is a Middle Eastern dip made from chickpeas, tahini, lemon juice, and garlic.

[3] *Mutabal* is a Middle Eastern dip made from eggplant, yoghurt, lemon juice, tahini, and olive oil.

[4] *Kibbeh* is a Middle Eastern starter made from ground meat, bulgur wheat, onions, and spices.

[5] *Arayes* is a grilled or baked pitta bread stuffed with a ground meat mixture.

that time. You know the times like in Ramadan or Eid has also become special for us, so there is a kind of integration in a way.

Darika explained how her family is connected to their community and religion; therefore, they are associated with many clubs, festivals, and events related to the Hindu religion and their community in Bahrain. Darika did not attend or participate in other religious or cultural events but might attend concerts or food festivals.

Yes, I do participate in social and local activities and events related to our community and Hindu religion or other events or events from different cultures, but I might go to concerts or local food festivals sometimes.

The migrant semi-skilled and unskilled workers in FGD 1 explained that their interactions and living choices were dependent on their workplace. Their accommodation was provided by their employer and their interactions were limited to their co-workers, individuals they met through their work, and their surrounding community.

We all live in the same accommodation provided to us by the company and that is located close to the workshop in the area of Salmabad. However, we usually live along with our co-workers and the areas surrounding us usually have many people from India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and so on.

In addition, a participant in FGD 1 described their association with their cultures and Hindu religion. They have created a Hindu temple at their accommodation and have tried to adapt by trying beef, but it did not suit their taste preferences.

We are all Hindus and we do practice our religion freely in Bahrain. It is an important part of our life, and we also have a temple at our accommodation where we pray. We tried everything, including beef, but most of us here do not like the taste of beef or mutton. We usually have vegetables more than meat, but we also eat chicken and fish sometimes.

One of the participants in FGD 2 shared similar experience regarding their work associations and interactions:

We currently live in the accommodation provided by the company that we work for. We do not really care which area we live in as long as our accommodation is paid and suitable for us to live in.

Due to their concern with providing for their families in terms of food and income, and the living and eating costs in Bahrain, the Hindu workers do not follow their religious or cultural food restrictions. However, the Muslim worker in their group has managed to follow his religious and cultural food restrictions, since his needs are readily met in Bahrain, which is a Muslim country. Therefore, the workers have adapted to their cultural surroundings based on the availability of food and the requirements of their work.

> *There are many religions, cultures, and castes within India. We all get along very well with each other, and we all respect each other's values, religions, and cultures here. We are all from different castes, but we all respect each other, eat together, and help each other. In terms of food, the Hindus here do not really follow the restrictions due to our lifestyle, cost of food, and the energy needed from food, since our jobs are labour intensive. We eat beef, mutton, chicken, fish, and so on even if we are not supposed to according to our Hindu religion, but we still eat and have whatever is available in the market. As for me, as a Muslim I stick to Halal food and eat everything since I am in an Islamic country.*

4.2.2 Ethno-linguistic Factors

This section presents the ethno-linguistic factors with which the participants associated and to which they were exposed. These factors include multifarious ethnic identities, languages, and religious associations. The majority of participants identified with their heritage cultures and did not want to obtain Bahraini nationality and lose the nationality of their countries of origin. However, some of the participants identified and associated more with the host culture or other cultures and had either applied for or gained different nationalities. These ethno-linguistic factors are all evidenced and presented in the participants' interview responses. Darika identified strongly with her heritage culture but also identified partly with the host culture. Moreover, both cultures have affected the way she dresses, her lifestyle, food habits, and products used.

> *I identify with the original culture that we come from, which is the Gujarati culture in India. I speak Gujarati at home and I speak English or Hindi with everyone else. We have been in Bahrain for over 70 years, but we have not lost our connection to our original culture and our religion as Hindus. Overall, my original culture, Bahraini culture, and religion have all affected our values, lifestyle, food habits, and our life in general.*

Lipika, from Bangalore, shared a similar experience:

Basically, in the university and workplace I speak English. I can understand Arabic, but I cannot speak it. At home, we use a mixture of English, Kannada, and Malayalam. Inside me, I am still the traditional Indian but I have definitely changed the way I look at things. But today when I look at it, I have better tolerance towards all religions. We practice our Catholic religion, and at the same time they do not mind saying "Asalam Alaikum", "Inshallah", and so on.

Despite Lipika's traditional Indian identity and Catholic Christian values, her family had adopted and use local Bahraini and Arabic phrases such as 'Asalam Alaikum' (peace be upon you) and 'Inshallah' (if God wills') in their daily conversations. Nidra illustrated her strong association with her ethnic identity, family, and religion; however, she has adapted to certain cultural aspects and languages, since English was her predominant language.

I fluently speak my mother tongue, which is Urdu. Also, I speak my national language Hindi and I speak English which was my medium of instruction from my very first day of schooling. When I hear Arabic, I remember my dad and Arabic sounds familiar and it makes me feel very nostalgic with memories with my dad. Overall, yes, I identify with the same culture now compared to growing up and it is very similar to the culture here in the Gulf or Bahrain

Suhani, from Tamil Nadu, also identified with and was affiliated to her Indian ethnicity and religion; however, she welcomed and adopted positive aspects from other cultures and religions. She explained how the environment in India is monocultural compared to Bahrain, which is multicultural, and means that influences are inevitable.

I can speak one of the ancient languages and my mother tongue, Tamil. Also, I can speak Malayalam and English. At home, we prefer to use Tamil and at work I use English. Actually, I still identify with my Indian culture. However, any good deed or quality from other religions or cultures we do accept it and welcome it.

On the other hand, Faiza strongly identified with and was very proud of her Bangladeshi ethnicity and religion but was willing to obtain Bahraini nationality. She described that her religion influenced her lifestyle and food choices.

I speak Bengali and English fluently. I know some Arabic, 'showaya, showaya', but just a little and not fluent. I cannot speak in Hindi that well, but my Indian and Pakistani friends would understand what I am trying to say. I am Muslim and Islam does affect my everyday life and

food choices. If I had the opportunity to apply for the Bahraini citizenship, then yes of course I will apply […] I am proud to be a Bangladeshi woman.

Similarly, Kaenat, a Pakistani Muslim participant from Lahore, shared her associations and experience.

I speak Urdu, Hindi, English, and Arabic fluently. I graduated from an Arabic high school. At home I speak Urdu and outside I speak any of the languages depending on the person. When we were younger, we used to follow the Bahraini culture in every way and even in the way we talk, dress, eat, and so on. We used to think that the Pakistani culture is not as good and we did not want to associate with it. However, when we grew up our views changed and we decided to practice and associate with our Pakistani culture. We started to speak in Urdu, wearing our national Pakistani dress, eat our Pakistani food, and so on.

On the other hand, Farha explained that she had adopted and adapted many aspects from the host culture, such as lifestyle and traditions. She identified more with the Bahraini culture compared to her culture of origin and was willing to accept Bahraini nationality.

I speak Urdu, English, and Punjabi. I understand a little bit of Arabic but I am still learning. At home, we use Urdu and outside it depends on the person […] We follow Islamic values in our everyday life and we apply these values […] I feel that I am 60% Bahraini and 40% Pakistani.

The migrant semi-skilled and unskilled workers from FGD 1 were all from Kerala, India and mainly spoke their native languages fluently and knew rudimentary English and Arabic. The workers expressed strong objections to the notion of losing their Indian nationality or obtaining another nationality. They displayed an intense association to their Indian ethnicities, nationality, and religion. In addition, familial attachments were their primary motivation to migrate to Bahrain and to return to their home countries.

We all speak Malayalam and Hindi. Some of us also speak some English and Arabic as well. No, no, no, we do not want to apply for the Bahraini citizenship. We want to keep our Indian citizenships and to us that is better. Our mothers, fathers, wives, children, and all of our families are back in India.

The migrant participants from FGD 2 were all from Kerala as well and displayed similar perspectives and associations. The workers also displayed deep associations with their Indian

ethnicities and religion and identified themselves as ‘Kerlites’ (from Kerala). They explained that they adapted and adopted various cultural and social aspects as a survival mechanism, with the ultimate goal of providing an income and an improved quality of life for their families. The workers in FGD 2 only spoke their original languages from India and rejected the concept of applying for any other nationality.

> *We can all speak Malayalam, Tamil, and Hindi only. Malayalam is our mother tongue. We have always identified with our Indian culture and identify as 'Kerlites' and we identify with our Hindu religion. We cannot lose our Indian nationalities to get the Bahraini nationality. We usually go to India every 2 years to visit our families, and if we lose our Indian nationality then we would not be able to easily visit India. Also, if we lose the Indian nationality then we cannot own property and it will cause a lot of issues for us and our families. Also, we plan to stay in Bahrain as long as we need the income to support our families and buy property there. All of us would want to be able to go back to Kerala and live comfortably with our families there. Therefore, it would be hard for us to live here and adjust to Bahrain.*

4.2.3 Residential Associations

This section presents the residential associations displayed by participants depending on different factors related to their communities and areas of residence. Participants associated with their communities and areas of residence due to cultural, social, occupational, and financial reasons, as evidenced in the interview responses provided. The majority of participants associated with areas and communities that were multicultural in nature and experienced different cultures, as well as the global consumer culture. Some participants preferred to associate with communities that were predominantly of specific South Asian ethnicities; however, others were limited in choice due to occupational or financial constraints. Muzafar preferred to be in a multicultural community to learn and adopt different aspects from all cultures.

> *I am flexible and not rigid with my community. See, I live in communities where it is not fully Indian. I lived in communities with Arabs, Pakistanis, Bengali, and Indians, it was a mixed culture. So when I look for accommodation or a flat, I prefer a mixed community and I want a mixed community. Because it gives us a chance to learn their culture also.*

Dhara preferred a multicultural community and acknowledged the influences from various cultures through friends and the surrounding community.

We live in the area of Zinj. We live in this area because it is located in the central part of Bahrain and it is easy to move around and it is not crowded. Maybe there has not been a direct influence, but indirectly there has been a little influence. So, there has been some or little changes due to the influence from other cultures but overall, we still maintain our Indian culture

Nidra preferred a gated community that provided a multicultural environment. She valued the acceptance of other cultures and religions, and her curiosity allowed her to experience and learn from other cultures, and from global consumer culture as well.

There was always a curiosity to know different cultures and backgrounds and so probably this connects back to my childhood and that is why I am where I am currently. As you know, Riffa Views is a gated community and it has a very multi-cultural setup with people from many different places and they respect your privacy and are helpful.

4.3 Institutional Interaction

The data from the participants' interviews revealed an aggregate dimension that was named Institutional Interaction. This dimension is presented in the following section and includes second-order themes: Religious Institutions, Occupational Institutions, Commercial Institutions, and Social Institutions. Various institutions have shaped consumers' acculturation processes and contributed to their consumption behaviours in multicultural environments (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018). This section presents how various institutions influenced the participants' acculturation process and consumer behaviours.

4.3.1 Religious Institutions

Religious institutions consist of places of worship, religious communities, and religious practices. Twenty of the 26 participants encountered varying levels and experiences of acculturation with the host culture, heritage culture, global consumer cultures, and other cultures through different religious institutions and communities.

Amna described the opportunity to attend different mosques around Bahrain. She illustrated her exposure to the way people from different cultures and nationalities dress through visits to different mosques. Amna had also noted and adapted some differences between Bahrain and Pakistan during Eid and Ramadan.

As women, we never imagined to pray in a mosque in Pakistan unless it is a monumental mosque found in major cities – then we get a chance to pray. In Bahrain, we have the privilege of being able to go to different mosques every Friday to experience the different mosques around Bahrain and we really enjoyed this experience. We celebrate Eid and Ramadan mostly with our Pakistani friend circles. There are different traditions in Bahrain for Ramadan that we do not have in Pakistan.

Lipika explained her encounters with a plethora of cultures at the church she and her family attend. She described how her daughters prefer to attend church services in English, since it is what they have been used to at school and within the global consumer culture. Therefore, they have adapted to attending services in English and experiencing different cultural and social aspects at church. Also, Lipika and her family enjoyed celebrating Ramadan and Gergaoon (a local Bahraini 'trick or treat' during Ramadan).

Q: Are the places of worship here the same as to the ones in your home country? Did the places of worship affect your lifestyle here? If yes, how so?

Lipika: I go to the Sacred Heart Church in the city of Manama, it is a Catholic Church. They have services in almost all languages; however, I will go for the English service because my family is comfortable with English. Since we go for the English service, you will end up seeing a mini world out there and you will see people from the UK, people from the US, Philippines, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Nepal, and many more.

Suhani had adapted to the lifestyle in Bahrain in terms of religious food consumption practices; moreover, she explained how her family could not avoid eating non-vegetarian food on Fridays and Saturdays due to work and family schedules.

Q: Do you have any restrictions on your food habits or consumption (related to religion, culture, dietary health restrictions, etc.)?

Suhani: Yes, on Fridays and Saturdays we are not supposed to eat non-vegetarian food. However, after coming to Bahrain our days off are on Fridays and Saturdays and so we had to shift and change. Now we do eat non-veg on Fridays and Saturdays. We do not eat beef and we still follow that.

In addition, Suhani illustrated how her family had adapted to the temples and religious experiences in Bahrain. Also, she preferred having diverse cultures and backgrounds at her place of

worship in order to learn more and become tolerant towards other cultures. Suhani and her family celebrate their own religious and cultural festivals and events, but they have also adapted to and adopted some aspects of the Bahraini culture by preparing biryani and going out to shop during Eid and Ramadan.

Q: Are the places of worship here the same as to the ones in your home country? Did the places of worship affect your lifestyle here? If so, how?

Suhani: The spiritual aspect is the same, but the language is different. We have a temple here in Manama called the Krishna Temple, but it is managed by North Indians. The worship is really different than the type of worship we have in South India. The architecture of the temples in Bahrain are totally different than in India of course. We have to be practical since in India the temples are huge and old and grand and we cannot expect to have the same thing here. In India, I have not seen diversity or a mix of people from different locations or nationalities in the temples. However, I have seen diversity in churches in India. It is better to have diversity and a mix of people from different cultures or nationalities.

Priyanka, an Indian Hindu participant from Rajasthan, has been exposed to various cultures and religions since her childhood and by attending a Christian missionary school. In addition, Priyanka visited AlFateh Mosque in Bahrain during Eid and came to terms with the different types of food and desserts from the Bahraini and other cultures.

My family and I are all Hindu. I am not against any other culture or religion, but I feel proud of my Hindu religion. I really love what has been taught to me since my childhood regarding Hinduism. I have attended a Christian missionary school, but it did not have any influence on me and did not change my views towards Hinduism. I really like the local desserts like baklawa, kunafa, and so on. During Eid holidays in Bahrain, the main Juffair mosque is open to the public and every year we go to that mosque so that we can have all the sweets there. I prepare hummus, falafel, and zaatar at home sometimes. I can adapt to food that is delicious, spicy, and vegetarian. I also prepare Chinese food at home as well.

Priyanka expressed her fondness and adaptation to different food from other cultures that could fit her lifestyle and religious values. Also, she illustrated her experiences and the disparities in the places of worship between Bahrain and India.

The Hindu temples in Bahrain are completely different than the temples in India in terms of construction and design. You cannot compare the temples in India with any other country

because they are luxurious, magnificent, and very beautiful. Spiritually and performing the pujas are the same everywhere because you set the atmosphere and what you do.

Similarly, Jeevika articulated how religion did not affect her lifestyle and how she believed in good deeds. Moreover, she used the Arabic word 'khalas' (which means 'finish' or 'that is it') in her articulation. Jeevika was willing to visit different places of worship from different cultures and religions; in addition, she had visited the AlFateh Mosque and experienced different cultures and food as well.

I come from a Hindu background. Personally, religion does not have a huge effect and it does not control my life. I believe that a person should be good and do good, and finish, 'khalas', that is it. If you are good and do good deeds, good things will happen to you. I believe in the idea of karma and that everything you do will happen to you in return whether good or bad. I do not mind going to a mosque, church, temple, or any place of worship. No, I do not have any restrictions on food.

Faizal followed his own religious practices and compared the places of worship in Bahrain and India; in addition, he acknowledged that mosques in Bahrain are better equipped with facilities, more spacious, have grander architecture, and allow him to experience people with diverse cultural backgrounds. However, Faizal noted that diversity was not a quality that mattered to him at a place of worship, since he visited a mosque to pray and practice his faith.

We have religious restrictions on pork and alcohol and stick to Halal food, but everything else is alright […] The mosques in Bahrain larger, have better facilities, and they are better equipped compared to the mosques in India. The mosques in Bahrain have air-conditions and are more spacious and grander in their architectural designs. The spiritual and religious factor is the same in Bahrain and India. The mosques in Bahrain have people from diverse backgrounds, cultures, and communities and they are all in the same place.

Dhara shared a similar experience regarding the diversity at her place of worship; moreover, Dhara explained that temples are for worship, not to socialise. She also shared her religious practices and illustrated the lack of influence from temples, since she only visited temples occasionally or on important dates.

My family and I are Hindu and follow the religion of Hinduism. In our religion, we are not supposed to eat beef, but my father eats beef. However, I do not eat beef because I do not like it. Our religion is not that strict, and it really depends on the people. It is not like it says not to eat

something, but it is more of a choice for each individual. So, we are not very strict or strictly follow religion, but it is a way of life for us […] In my case, I do not really go to the temples; moreover, my family and I do go occasionally on certain dates, but we do not visit the temples regularly.

The unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers in FGD 1 explained that Hinduism was an integral part of their daily lives and that they had created a temple at their accommodation. They only attended Hindu temples in Bahrain during festivals and specific events; moreover, they noted the differences between India and Bahrain regarding the diversity of people at temples, but this was not a significant issue from their perspective and had not influenced them.

FGD 1: We are all Hindus and we do practice our religion freely in Bahrain. It is an important part of our lives, and we also have a temple at our accommodation where we pray. We tried everything including beef, but most of us here do not like the taste of beef or mutton. We usually have vegetables more than meat, but we also eat chicken and fish sometimes. However, all of us now do not eat beef or mutton.

Q: Are the places of worship here the same as to the ones in your home country? Did the places of worship affect your lifestyle here?

FGD 1: We do visit the temples in Bahrain, but only during festivals and certain events. We have a temple at our accommodation. The temples in Kerala are huge and much nicer in the design. The temples in Bahrain are very small and not magnificent like in India. Also, there are many temples in India, whereas we only have a few in Bahrain. However, we are pleased that we have the chance to visit Hindu temples in Bahrain.

Respondents from FGD 2 shared a similar experience in terms of attending the places of worship and the various festivals and religious events; however, some of these participants did not follow their religious practices in terms of food products and consumption due to financial and work limitations. The participants set their religions, castes, and cultures aside to help and support each other to reach their goals.

There are many religions, cultures, and castes within India. We all get along very well with each other, and we all respect each other's values, religions, and cultures here. We are all from different castes, but we all respect each other, eat together, and help each other. In terms of food, the Hindus here do not really follow the restrictions due to our lifestyle, cost of food, and the energy needed from food since our jobs are labour intensive. As for me, as a Muslim I stick

to Halal food and eat everything since I am in an Islamic country…We do visit the temples in Bahrain during certain festivals or certain events. However, normally we would pray and worship here since we have created a temple in our accommodation. As for me, I would go to the mosque on Fridays for 'Friday Prayer'. Otherwise, I would pray my daily prayers in our accommodation…We do celebrate Onam, Diwali, other festivals as well.

4.3.2 Commercial and Occupational Institutions

This section presents the commercial and occupational institutions that influenced participants' consumption behaviours and acculturation. Commercial and occupational institutions include places of work, supermarkets, restaurants, and other shopping outlets.

The majority of participants frequented areas and communities that were multicultural in nature and experienced different cultures, as well as the global consumer culture. Some participants preferred to associate with communities that were predominantly of specific South Asian ethnicities; however, others were limited in choice due to occupational or financial constraints. Twenty of the 26 participants encountered varying levels and experiences of acculturation with the host culture, heritage culture, global consumer cultures, and other cultures through different religious institutions and communities.

Muzafar preferred a multicultural community in which he could learn and adopt different aspects from all cultures. On the other hand, Amna illustrated the differences between Indian and Pakistani food, specifically the biryani dish. In addition, she explained the influences of the Indian culture, other cultures, and the global consumer culture on individuals in Bahrain, including her children. Moreover, Amna explained that schools, friends, and fast-food restaurants had all affected her children's preferences and consumer behaviours.

Of course, there is an influence from the Bahraini culture and other cultures. Everyone thinks that Pakistani and Indian food are the same, and that is a very big misunderstanding. For example, biryani is one of our national dishes and most people know the taste of biryani from Indian restaurants here. If you really know authentic Pakistani food, you can easily know the difference. There are very few Pakistani restaurants that have authentic Pakistani food and I believe the Indian influence is huge in Bahrain.

Amna further explained the types of restaurants that her family ate at or ordered from, which included a variety of Bahraini, Italian, Indian, and fast-food restaurants. Amna's children preferred fast food restaurants such as McDonald's or a similar local Bahraini restaurant called Jasmi's. Her family preferred to shop at an international Indian brand called LuLu Hypermarket for their groceries due to the wide variety of South Asian spices and products, although they preferred Pakistani

specialty stores for seasonal fruits, vegetables, and other items such as mangoes.

We do visit Pakistani specialty markets for seasonal items such as Pakistani mangoes since they Pakistani shops have better quality seasonal items. We do not go to Pakistani shops as much because the prices are more expensive and we only buy seasonal items. Also, we usually visit the central market to buy Pakistani meat since it is more affordable. Also, next to our house there are smaller grocery stores in case we run out of something and we urgently need an item.

Lipika also shared her daughters' experiences with the global consumer culture, host culture, heritage culture, and other cultures. In addition, she demonstrated how her daughters prefer Bahraini food, Arabic food, and fast food over Indian food. Lipika shared her family's adoption of various Bahraini and Arabic desserts, and they had adapted to sometimes having *kuboos* (Bahraini bread baked at local bakeries that is similar to Indian naan bread; '*kuboos'* means 'bread' in Arabic) instead of chapati, roti, or naan. Lipika explained how her children preferred to order burgers and pizza; however, she preferred eating and experimenting with various Indian, Bahraini, Iranian, and Asian restaurants.

Q: The restaurants you choose or go to, are they a certain type of cuisine?

Lipika: We actually experiment with things. We go to different Indian restaurants and we keep changing them to taste different dishes. Similarly, we also experiment with Arabic dishes. We also go to places which are multi-cuisines so we get all of this. The places which I do not sit down and eat much are the fast-food restaurants because it is not our choice, my husband and I do not like fast food.

Q: Is the type of food you eat here similar to your home country's food?

Lipika: Mostly, mostly because we taste from different restaurants and then finally we would say, okay the 'chicken tikka' is good from this restaurant because it tastes authentic. Or the 'butter chicken' is good from this place or the 'dal' is good from that place. You now we experiment and we know who cooks almost close to the authenticity of the dishes we have in India. So we do not order from a place where the spices is not matching or the taste of the food was not cooked in the right way. So by thirteen or fourteen years we kept experimenting and we have identified the restaurants that mostly can satisfy the taste we have.

Lipika prefers larger supermarkets and specifically LuLu Hypermarket or Carrefour Market, since they have all food items and choices that she needs. However, if she needs a specific spice or ingredient such as a certain masala, then she visits the Indian ethnic stores.

Q: In terms of the spices and ingredients you cook with that are available in Bahrain, is there something you wish that was available?

Lipika: I am happy, everything that I need is available in Bahrain. Sometimes, some things are not available in the supermarkets such as in AlOsra supermarket, Lulu Hypermarket or Carrefour Market. However, if I go to the Gudaibiya city then I can find small local ethnic shops that have what I need if I do not find something in the bigger supermarkets.

Q: Where do you prefer to shop for food products? If you order food to be delivered, which restaurants or cuisines do you prefer? Do you prefer shopping for food products at large supermarkets or smaller stores? What are the reasons?

Lipika: Usually, I prefer to go to the large supermarkets because I get all the choices and items I need. The groceries, vegetables, meat, frozen items, stationery, and everything I need is available in the supermarket. On the other hand, the smaller ethnic Indian stores are more for traditional spices like masala and so on.

Suhani described her family's preference for Indian, and especially South Indian, cuisine. Most of the food she orders is from various Indian restaurants; however, when it is only her and her son, they like to explore other options, such as Turkish, Lebanese, and Bahraini restaurants. In addition, Suhani shops for their groceries from larger supermarkets such as LuLu Hypermarket or Mega Mart. When Suhani needs specific Indian spices or food products, she would visit an exclusive Indian supermarket called Al-Adel Supermarket.

Faiza discussed the diversity of restaurants and cuisines from which her family orders food, such as Indian, Arabic, Italian, American, and fast-food restaurants. In addition, Faiza cooks Bengali food at home and sometimes creates fusions such as pasta with Bengali spices and flavours. She also noted that the Covid-19 pandemic had decreased the amount of food that she ordered from restaurants.

When we order food from outside, we have food from many different cuisines. For example, we order from Indian, Arabic, Italian, and American restaurants. We order Indian biryani, kebabs, pizza, burgers, and many other types of food. However, at home we cook and prepare our regular food, which is mainly Bengali cuisine. Rice is the main component in our food and

along with rice I prepare chicken or fish. My son and I do not eat beef that much, and recently my son stopped eating mutton as well. We mainly prepare vegetables, chicken, and fish. Sometimes I prepare other types of food and it becomes a fusion, like pasta with Bengali spices or flavours and so on […] I stopped ordering food from outside since the beginning of Covid-19; however, we used to order from restaurants or eat outside around once a week.

Faiza usually shops at the Indian brand LuLu Hypermarket for most food products and shops at Bangladeshi and Indian specialty stores for specific food items.

I prefer to go to a supermarket where I know the racks and location of the food items there. I usually shop at Lulu Hypermarket for most of my food, but sometimes I do visit Bangladeshi or Indian markets for certain items. For example, there is a type of rice dish we make called Pulao and we need certain chilli and spices which are not available in Lulu Hypermarket or other supermarkets, therefore I go to the specialty Indian or Bengali markets to get those items.

Arin illustrated that his family's food at home is mostly Indian food; however, they do order and buy other food and products occasionally during Eid, Ramadan, and special occasions. Arin stated that his family orders food from Indian, American, Italian, and Arabic restaurants, usually once a week. In addition, Arin prefers shopping at LuLu Hypermarket, since it is large enough to meet all her needs. Global consumer culture and brands such as McDonald's and KFC have had an influence on his family's food choices as well.

Arin discussed enjoying 'karak' tea from local traditional tea vendors (a Bahraini concoction influenced by the Indian culture that consists of red tea, condensed milk, sugar, and cardamom). He also explained that restaurants have more of an influence in Bahrain compared to India.

Q: How important is food in your culture? Has that changed since you moved to the Kingdom of Bahrain?

Arin: For our normal meals, it is Indian food, and on special occasions or once a week it can be something other than Indian food. In India, we rarely order food from outside and if we do it might be once a month or once every two months. In Bahrain, ordering food from outside is more regular and it is done around once a week. In the Indian culture food is also a central part of festivals, parties, weddings, family and friend gatherings and so on.

Samuel, a business owner from India, explained that he prefers shopping at LuLu Hypermarket for all their grocery needs and since they offer a wide variety of Indian products. On the other hand, Samuel's wife and children prefer AlJazira, a large supermarket with a variety of products including

various international brands and products. Samuel and his family are influenced by a variety of cultures, including global consumer culture; moreover, they order food from American, Chinese, Italian, Bahraini, and Arabic restaurants.

Kubra, an undergraduate student from Pakistan, revealed the influences restaurants had on their food preferences, such as having food from Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Bahraini and American restaurants. Kubra's family also prefers shopping at larger supermarkets such as Carrefour Market for their groceries, but when they need a specific Pakistani spice or ingredient, they visit the specialty Pakistani supermarkets.

> *It really depends on our mood, but we usually order Turkish grills, Middle Eastern food, Arabic food such as kebabs, shawarma, and different dishes. We also order pizza, burgers, KFC and other fast-food restaurants. We rarely visit Pakistani, Indian, and Chinese restaurants…We prefer shopping at large supermarkets such as Carrefour Market mainly. We visit local Pakistani supermarket, when we need a specific spice.*

Muzafar, a property and management consultant from India, was influenced by various cultures including global consumer culture. He and his family prefer Arabic, Bahraini, Indian, Chinese, Thai, and American restaurants and cuisines. Muzafar expressed his fondness for coffee, and said that he particularly enjoys his weekly cup of coffee from Starbucks.

> *Q: So, do you eat outside or order food only once a month?*
>
> *Muzafar: We eat outside once in a week. On Fridays, we go out and have food from outside, but it depends where. We have Arabic food or we have like, see we mostly have Arabic food only or Indian, not fast food.*
>
> *Q: Do you have snacks in between your meals as well?*
>
> *Muzafar: I also have coffee more than anything, like Starbucks. I still have coffee at least once in a week from Starbucks.*

Muzafar preferred shopping for groceries at LuLu Hypermarket due to the wide variety of products and the availability of specific products and spices from Kerala. He visits certain ethnic Indian shops, specifically from Kerala, for fresh vegetables.

Q: Do you prefer shopping for food products at ethnic supermarkets or stores or smaller/special stores? Or do you prefer mainstream brands?

Muzafar: I buy vegetables from Manama. There are small shops there and they bring fresh vegetables.

Q: Is there a reason why you buy your vegetables from there?

Muzafar: Because they have fresh items and they bring it mostly from outside. If you go in the morning, you will find fresh items.

Q: And those are Indian stores?

Muzafar: Yes, Indian stores, mostly Kerala stores.

Q: If you order food to be delivered, since you told me earlier that you order food or go out about once a week with your family. What are the restaurants or cuisines you mainly prefer or go to most of the time?

Ridhi elucidated how her family's lifestyle and food habits had changed compared to India due to their exposure to other cultures as well as their home culture; in addition, she is more health conscious, which is reflected in the family's food and restaurant choices. Ridhi prefers Arabic, Bahraini, Italian, Chinese, and Indian cuisines.

Our lifestyle before, for example we used to have dinner late, but we realised that people around us are more health conscious and with time we also changed our dinner timing and have dinner early now. Also, in India we used to have a lot of spices and oil in our food, but now we prefer having less spices and oil and more healthier options. Also, we like having grilled food and salads, which is a major change in our diet that has been influenced by other cultures and the local culture here.

Ridhi expressed her preference for larger supermarkets and specifically LuLu Hypermarket or Macro Mart, both large supermarkets with a variety of food products. She further explained that her family visits Indian specialty shops when required, since she brings all her spices and food products from India.

We prefer large supermarkets either Lulu Hypermarket or Macro Mart. We like having fresh and good quality food items and we do not shop at the smaller shops. We do not go to Indian specialty stores as much since we bring all of the spices and items we need from India. However, if we ever need something we have AlAdel Indian Supermarket, which is a famous Indian specialty store here in Bahrain. Overall, we do not have any problems finding the items we need here in Bahrain.

The migrant workers from FGD 1 illustrated that they prepare and cook the majority of the food they consume at home to be able to save money and support their families. However, they enjoy having grilled food, such as grilled Bahraini meat, chicken tikka and whole grilled chicken, every four months or whenever possible. They also mentioned that they miss the food and flavours they obtain from their families in Kerala, which cannot be found in Bahrain.

We have 3 meals a day. We have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. We cook our food ourselves and we mainly have food from the Kerala cuisine. We have grilled chicken from restaurants from time to time, maybe once every four months […] In terms of food, we like grilled chicken and grilled tikka in Bahrain when we are able to have it. The grilled food in Bahrain is delicious and very cheap compared to India. Food is also much cleaner and available all the time here in Bahrain. However, we miss the flavours and food cooked by our families in Kerala and that is hard to get here in Bahrain.

The workers indicated that they prefer to shop at Nesto Supermarket, an Indian-owned brand offering a variety of products at competitive and affordable prices. Restaurants and supermarkets seemed to have minimal influence on the workers, since their main concern was providing their families with the highest possible income and sustaining themselves with affordable and nutritious food.

We prefer shopping at Nesto Supermarket since it is close to our accommodation, and they always have the best offers and prices. We have a system that we all follow for our food shopping and cooking. Each one of us contributes 5 to 8 Bahraini Dinars every week to buy the food we need to cook for that week; however, we take turns and one of us has to cook the food for everyone for that week and that person will not pay for that week since they are the one cooking. We prefer cooking since it is much cheaper and we need nutritious food to give us energy and helps us last for the day of work. This helps us save money and therefore we can send as much money as we can to our families in Kerala.

4.3.3 Non-religious social events and institutions

This section presents the social institutions that affected participants' consumption behaviours and acculturation. Social institutions included various cultural clubs and social activities and events. Fifteen out of 26 participants acknowledged participating in various activities, events, and cultural clubs; however, the remaining participants avoided social events and cultural clubs, or were constrained by time or work.

Darika illustrated her participation in Indian cultural, social, and religious events and activities. She also noted the importance of food and her occasional participation in local concerts and food festivals.

> *Food is extremely important in our culture. Gujaratis are hardcore 'foodies' and everything revolves around food. We have festivals for food and food is always available in all events and occasions…Yes, I do participate in social and local activities and events related to our community and Hindu religion.*

Lipika demonstrated her exposure to various cultures through her participation in a wide variety of clubs, volunteering services, and initiatives. She also participates in various functions, events, and festivals related to the Bahraini and Indian cultures.

> *We have Arabic friends and we have been invited during Ramadan for Iftar events and 'Gergaoon'. We enjoy these celebrations and events. We also enjoy dressing in the Bahraini traditional dress that ladies wear during those times and my daughters wear those as well. Onam is the state festival of Kerala, so we celebrate that because I grew up in Kerala when I was young and my family are still there.*

Faiza praised Bahrain and its government and appreciated the religious and cultural freedom. Moreover, she explained that she is connected with the Bangladeshi embassy in Bahrain and is keen to attend all the events and activities related to the Bangladeshi culture. She reminisced about the various celebrations and festivals in Bangladesh and mentioned that she ensures that she participates in all events and activities that occur throughout the year in Bahrain.

> *I do miss the cultural aspects about Bangladesh, but here in Bahrain we do celebrate and perform those cultural things. I have friend circles and we are connected with the Bangladeshi embassy here as well. I really miss several cultural occasions in Bangladesh like the Boi Mela festival that happens in February of every year. Boi Mela means the Book Fair Festival and the*

atmosphere is great during that time. Also, Pohela Boishakh which is the first day of the Bengali calendar on the 14th of April and it is a huge celebration in Bangladesh.

On the other hand, Nidra discussed her participation in various events and activities through her gated community members and management; moreover, being a part of such a community allows her to attend the weekly farmer's market, become a member of the Royal Golf Club, and experience events with people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Nidra avoids social and cultural events and clubs related to her heritage culture, since individuals do not respect her personal space. There seemed to be a wide range of influences from various cultures, clubs, and activities.

Azza shared a similar experience and discussed her family's participation in various Indian clubs; in addition, she stated that her father is one of the founding members of the Tamilian Club in Bahrain. They are very social and greatly influenced by the Indian cultural clubs and activities, and by some local Bahraini events.

My family is very social and we do participate in a lot of cultural events that are organised by various Indian clubs, festivals, and so on. My father is one of the founding members of the Tamilian Club in Bahrain and he helps with many newcomers or bachelors that live in Bahrain. We organise a lot of events whether they are related to culture or religion to make people feel like home and we enjoy those events. We also attend a lot of charity events and local entertainment events like food festivals and so on.

Priyanka conveyed that her exposure to the South Indian culture was through Bahrain and not India; moreover, the South Indian culture influenced her food habits, festivals, and activities. She and a significant group of Indian families celebrate various events such as Gandia, Diwali, and Holi.

I have been brought up in a joint family system with strong cultural ties and identity. Of course, my Indian culture has a huge influence on my life and is part of every damn little thing I do. Yes, we do participate in local events and social activities. We used to go and celebrate Navaratri and we play Gandia for 9 days, and we also celebrate Diwali. We do celebrate Christmas and Bahrain National Day as well, we do not know how to celebrate them, but we go out and enjoy our time.

On the other hand, some participants did not participate in cultural or social clubs and events for various reason. Amna described that her lack of participation in Pakistani or other cultures' clubs, activities, or events is due to the scarcity of available time.

We are not part of Pakistani clubs or attend many social activities or events due to the nature of our work, as we do not get enough free time to do that. There are many Pakistani clubs and they encourage us to join, but we have a very busy work schedule and 3 children and I cannot afford to spare extra time. I have a small group of Pakistani friends and that is enough for me.

Samuel illustrated the freedom and diversity of cultures, religions, events, and festivals in Bahrain. He had participated in cricket clubs in Bahrain but stopped after getting married due to the lack of time and other commitments. Samuel attends various social events with his families through their church.

Yes, Bahrain is very diverse and we have a lot of freedom in Bahrain. All festivals and events that we celebrate in India, we can easily celebrate here in Bahrain. There are no restrictions or opposition against any religion or culture here in Bahrain. We celebrate each and every festival we want, and you can see that all festivals in India are celebrated here in Bahrain.

Jeevika expressed apprehension about attending any social or cultural clubs, events, or activities. She lives alone in Bahrain and prefers to avoid uncomfortable situations or encounters.

I feel if I get involved in any of the clubs, I would get in trouble. People might start to show interest and ask questions about me living alone and so on. They might ask for my number or might want to go out or visit me at home. I try to avoid these situations and I prefer to control the situations I am in.

The participants from FGD 1 illustrated the significance of food during certain festivals and religious rituals; however, the workers did not have the time or inclination to participate in any social or cultural clubs or events. However, they did create cricket tournaments with other migrant workers living in the same area.

Food is important in our culture and in our religion as Hindus. Food for us in Bahrain has become a way to help us survive and do our daily work to be able to send as much money as we can to our families. In Bahrain, the importance of food is more for us during our festivals and offerings to our gods. For example, during Onam and Vishu festivals we celebrate and cook food related to those festivals […] On the days we have off, we like to play cricket and have tournaments with other groups and people from India and from Kerala as well. This is what we mainly participate in, but nothing else.

The migrant workers from FGD 2 also shared a similar experience. They demonstrated their laborious day at work and said that they are not part of any social or cultural clubs or events in Bahrain. In their free time, they preferred to eat, sleep, call their families in India, and play cards or *Carrom* (a tabletop game of Indian origin) together.

> *We start our work at 7 a.m., but we have our breakfast at 9 a.m. Around 1 p.m. we have our lunch and then around 7 to 8 p.m. we would have our dinner. We have a day off from work on Fridays, but we rarely go out. The reason is that we have to think carefully about spending money and if we go out then we would definitely have to spend money, therefore the money we can send back home to India would be less if we go out […] We are not part of any clubs and do not participate in events here. When we are done with our work, we are very tired and we would just want to eat and sleep. During our day off, we play cards, Carrom, and call our families over the phone.*

4.4 Familial Interaction

Family Interaction, another aggregate dimension that unfolded from the data, includes family influence and engagement, household practices, and residence. Familial social networks serve as a fundamental component of the consumer acculturation process (Peñaloza, 1994); moreover, families influence types and levels of interactions with various cultures (Dey et al., 2019). Family networks serve as powerful social structures through which participants adopt and adapt to various cultural and social aspects, and to the overall consumer environment (Peñaloza, 1994; Kizgin et al., 2018). As a result, the findings in this section highlight how participants relied on their families to find economic opportunities, support, entertainment, and knowledge. In return, the participants' families, residing separately in their countries of origin, served as motivators, relied on participants for financial support and improved quality of life, and yearned to be reunited in the near future. Families were a key element in the participants' adoption of and adaptation to various aspects of their heritage culture, host culture, other cultures, and global consumer culture.

4.4.1 Family Influence and Engagement, Household Practices, and Residence

Darika discussed the strong bond and support her family maintains by living together in a joint family system in Bahrain, as they did in India. She explained how the joint family lifestyle has been experiencing a decline, especially in India, but her family's influence and values regarding this lifestyle remains significantly evident.

I currently live in a joint family, and we are 18 people living together. I live with my parents, my father's brothers, and my grandparents. Both my parents are Indian and from the same place. My family are all Indian and from the same place in India as well.

Darika and her family consume a variety of food from different cultures; however, the Gujarati cuisine and authenticity are the most dominant. Her family is keen to preserve their Gujarati culture and values through their food, festivals, and events.

I have three meals a day and snacks in between. I have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. We prepare and cook our meals at home. We have a chef that prepares our food for us. Now, we stopped ordering food from restaurants due to Covid-19. However, before we used to order from restaurants that had Italian, Mexican, North Indian, South Indian. Lebanese, and Arabic cuisines. We used to order food from restaurants around once or twice a week […]

Amna similarly shared her experience with the joint family living system in Pakistan and noted some similarities and subtle differences compared to the joint family living system in Bahrain. Moreover, she discussed the fact that her immediate and extended families all lived in a joint family system. Amna also reflected on her family's cultural and religious traditions and celebrations in Pakistan.

Actually, I come from living in a joint family system in Pakistan. My mother and family all still live in a joint family system. I was living in a joint family system with my in-laws as well. This idea also exists in Bahrain, and I can see it here. I miss the traditions and preparations that happen during Ramadan and Eid in Pakistan since it ties the whole family together and everyone participates in it and has a different role.

Lipika explained that her migration to Bahrain was due to her husband's job opportunity. However, Lipika and her husband both plan to return to India eventually to be with their families.

Q: Why did you choose to come to Bahrain?

Lipika: Look, the history goes like this. My father-in-law has been working in Bahrain for over twenty-five years and my husband was also working here. So, after marriage my husband stayed in India for a short while and then he moved to Bahrain. I went for a while and then I joined him.

Lipika illustrated how her family's food choices are influenced by her children, who in turn are influenced by their friends and school. Their food choices and meals are a combination of Indian, Bahraini, American, and Italian cuisines.

Lipika expressed the importance of food in the Indian culture and how it creates a familial bond. She also reminisced about the aroma of her mother's biryani, which reminded her of her childhood. Family is an important element and influence in Lipika's life. She demonstrated her preference for eating food using her hands when she was with family; however, in public or other functions, she would adapt and preferred to use utensils.

> *Lipika: When I say 'biryani', what comes to my mind is the way my mother cooks and I actually sense the aroma of the food and relate it to my childhood and family. We Indians enjoy food, and it is a part of our family gatherings and part of family life and social life. We gather at the weekends with our friends, everyone cooks a dish and brings it to share with everyone.*

> *Q: How do you prefer to eat your food (by hand, with plastic utensils, stainless steel utensils, chopsticks, etc.)? How is food usually eaten in your home country or culture? Has the way you eat changed over time? Are there other cultures here that influenced the way you eat?*

> *Lipika: Yes, if we are at home with nobody around and just family then we eat by hand. But if we are in a social setup like a friend's gathering in the weekend then we prefer to use a fork and spoon. In a restaurant, we definitely use a fork and spoon. Only within the family or our house we eat using our hands. In India, nobody minds using your hands and it is acceptable but here somehow I feel we have to consider people are from various cultures and places in Bahrain and it may not be acceptable.*

Suhani shared a similar experience regarding her migration being dependent on her husband's move to Bahrain. She and her husband both wish to return to their families in India soon.

> *I was married in 2002 and my husband was residing in Bahrain at that time. So, I had no choice and had to follow my husband to Bahrain […] Actually, my husband prefers to go back to India after a few years. We do not know for sure yet, but our whole family and my husband's family are all in India and we would like to join them. So, around 2 years from now we might go back to India and that is why we did not want to apply for the Bahraini citizenship.*

Suhani demonstrated the influences from other cultures over time, especially certain familial practices that reminded her of her family in India. She discussed the Bahraini influence on her son's sleeping patterns, food choices, and lifestyle; as a result, some of these changes influenced them as a

family. Suhani also mentioned the changes and influences on her, such as greeting each other in Arabic according to the Bahraini or Arabic culture.

> *Although, my son was born in India, he is 85% Bahraini. In India, my son sleeps around 8 or 9 p.m. and he wakes up at 6 a.m. However, during the holidays it is the reverse and he goes to bed at around 12 or 1 a.m. and he wakes up the next day in the afternoon. He prefers eating Bahraini food such as grills, machboos, and other dishes. Like many in India, we do not prefer having meat as much but my son loves to have chicken at least 3 times a week.*

She expressed her perspective on the joint family system and how that is a positive aspect that she strongly supports.

> *I strongly believe that we need to have a joint family system. It is always good to stay with family. I come from a big family and so I strongly believe in joint family system. It is nice to have support from family. The new generation are slowly not practicing the joint family system due to globalisation and opportunities in different places.*

Suhani explained how her family's eating habits and mealtimes are similar to those seen in the Indian culture. She also expressed her preference for eating food using her hands and sitting on the floor with family and friends, although she uses utensils in public. She also prefers the notion of eating collectively as a group, preferably with family or friends.

> *Our breakfast is between 8:30 and 9:30 a.m. Lunch really depends on my classes and work, so sometimes it is around 2:30 or 3 p.m. When I do not have classes I prefer my lunch between 1 to 2 p.m. I prefer having my dinner between 8 and 9 p.m. but my husband prefers having dinner between 9:30 and 10:30 p.m. So we settled to have our dinner at 9:30 p.m. In India, it is not that different as they have dinner by 8:30 p.m. and breakfast is around 8 a.m.…I also prefer eating our food sitting on the floor. Even in India, we have dining tables but we prefer sitting on the floor.*

Jeevika explained how her household is matriarchal and that this is influenced by her mother. She discussed her perspective on joint family systems and how those traditions and values are slowly disappearing in India.

> *When it comes to my household, it was matriarchal, and my mother was dominant and controlled the whole house. However, majority of households in India are patriarchal and dominated by men. I have developed the same thing with my husband as well, due to how my*

mother was. I cannot just say yes to my husband without being convinced about the issue or decision myself.

Jeevika enjoys cooking and has been influenced in this regard by her mother, aunts, and family in India, since this is part of the Indian culture. In addition, her meal timings, habits, and choices are similar to the Indian culture and patterns.

I eat three meals during the day and I have fruit in between the meals. I have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. In the morning around 8 a.m. I might have eggs with toast slices or other Indian items for breakfast. Around 11 a.m. I might have watermelon, apple, mango, or some kind of fruit. Then around 1 p.m. I would have my lunch, which consists of rice or chapati with daal and vegetables. Around 4 to 5 p.m., I would have some red tea or chai. At 7 or 7:30 p.m., I would have a small snack or usually fruits, and then around 10 or 10:30 p.m. I would have my dinner. I tend to have lighter food in the evening, such as chapati, vegetables, and salad.

Shahid described how he and his family have adopted certain aspects from the Bahraini culture regarding family gathering traditions or practices; for example, he prefers to have males and females in separate sections of the house when socialising and gathering with friends. He also explained the similarities between Pakistan and Bahrain regarding the joint family system.

We do eat Bahraini and Arabic food as we do eat our Pakistani food as well. All items are available to make Pakistani food and we usually prepare and cook our food at home. The Bahraini or other cultures did not really affect us, but of course we do have Bahraini or Arabic food sometimes for nutrition and health reasons. Most of the time and for many things I am sticking to my Pakistani culture, lifestyle, and values. However, one thing I adopted from the Bahraini culture is how people meet, gather at home, or visit their relatives. I adopted this from the Bahraini culture because I found it to be better than how we have it in Pakistan in terms of how we visit and gather.

Mahika expressed her longing for India and especially her family. She illustrated the various aspects she adored about being Indian and being connected to people and family. The food, environment, people, traditions, cultures, and connection with family and friends influence her daily choices and thoughts.

I miss my family so much. Home is where your heart is, and family is part of that. The environment and chaos in India is somehow connecting and brings you back to your roots.

Even though it is messy, there is dirt, it is not clean, traffic is bad, but somewhere inside misses all of that.

Migrant workers in FGD 1 and FGD 2 were deeply influenced by their families and strived to provide them with an improved quality of life and financial support. As a result, the migrant workers migrated to Bahrain alone and left their families in India. Participants from FGD 1 described the lack of influence from other cultures and explained how their food, flavours, and cooking are influenced by their families and the Kerala cuisine. The participants prefer to use their hands to eat while sitting on the floor; moreover, they preserve their familial spirits by cooking and eating collectively as a family in their accommodation. Their meal timings, patterns, and food habits in Bahrain are all similar to those in Kerala.

There has not been any influence from the Bahraini culture or other cultures in Bahrain on our own lifestyle, values, food habits, or anything else. Our food is only from the Kerala cuisine and south Indian food. We cook rice, chapati, different kinds of rasam and sambar, biryani, chicken, fish, a lot of vegetables, and many other Kerala dishes as well. We stick to making the food we know and prefer to eat, which the Kerala cuisine. We cook our food according to the spices and flavours we know from Kerala. We did not adapt to the local or Bahraini food, except for grilled food from time to time. We always use our authentic flavours and spices in our food. We all eat using our hands all the time and that is the way everyone eats in Kerala. We prefer eating together on the floor and not on the table. We always eat together as a group or at least with someone else since this is how our culture is in India. We do not like to eat alone…We start work at 8 a.m. and finish at 4 p.m. We have our breakfast around 6:30 to 7 a.m., then our lunch is at 1 p.m., and our dinner is around 7 to 8 p.m. Our meal timings are similar to the timings of meals in Kerala.

The workers in FGD 1 lived in joint family systems with their families in Kerala and expressed their desire to return to their families whenever possible.

No, no, of course we all want to go back to India. Some of us are planning to go back in 2 to 3 years and some of us plan to go back in 5 to 6 years. We all want to go back to Kerala and live with our families there. We do not want to retire or stay in Bahrain for the future […] All of our families that are still in India live in a joint family system. Since we are all here alone, we live together in the accommodation provided to us. However, if our families are here, then we would live in a joint family system as well. Of course, we all miss our mothers, fathers, wives, children, and families the most. We also miss living within our villages and spending time outdoors in the nice weather and nature.

The migrant workers in FGD 2 shared a similar experience regarding their household practices; moreover, they stated that they all support and help each other with the various cooking, shopping, and cleaning tasks and responsibilities as a family. They also prefer to cook collectively as a group.

> *We all have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. We prepare and cook our own meals here. We have a food and cooking system that we all follow together. We take turns cooking and so everyday 1 person is responsible for cooking the meals for everyone, but we all help with chopping and preparing the vegetables, meat, and ingredients needed for the meal. We stay in a large floor area right on top on the workshop that we work in. Four of us sleep in a large room and the remaining 2 of us sleep in another room. There are 6 toilets, 3 showers, and a large shared kitchen with all of the equipment and appliances we need. We buy our food together and then we divide and split the total cost between us. So, it is similar to a military system in terms of how we live, our duties and responsibilities, and food. Also, we clean our area weekly based on the duties and responsibilities that are divided between us all.*

4.5 Media Interaction

Various media outlets provided participants with access to search for opportunities and migrate or immigrate to the GCC region. In addition, participants were exposed to the global consumer culture, host culture, heritage cultures, and other cultures through food consumption, including cooking and recipes, fashion and clothing, festivals, religious and social events, and various social and cultural aspects. With the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, participants' use of various media outlets and platforms was further amplified, as evidenced in their interview responses.

4.5.1 Social Media Platforms, Online Sources, and Newspapers and Magazines

Samesh explained his experience of finding and applying for a job through newspapers in Bahrain.

> *Honestly, at that time I applied in many places, and I was selected by an Indian School in Isa Town in Bahrain to be a teacher, and before that I was teaching in a college in India. At that time, around 1999, there was not much information available through the internet and we used to know through newspapers.*

Kaenat illustrated how she and her siblings were reintroduced to various interesting aspects of her Pakistani culture through social media, family, and friends. She also explained how her friends'

circle, consisting of people from Pakistan and India, remained in touch through different social media platforms and phone calls during the Covid-19 pandemic.

> *With time, we recognized how rich, fun, and interesting the Pakistani culture is through social media, family, and friends. I have a mix of Indian and Pakistani friends and we continued to stay in touch through social media and through the phone during the Corona virus.*

Farha shared her experience:

> *Yes, I know how to cook, and I learned from my mother and watching YouTube videos.*

Ridhi shared a similar experience as Farha:

> *Cooking is my passion and I learned from my mother, friends, and online such as YouTube and Instagram.*

Farha and Ridhi learned how to cook from their mothers and were influenced by YouTube to explore recipes and food from their cultures, global consumer culture, and other cultures as well. Imran, a Pakistani Muslim participant from Islamabad, also shared the influence of online media on his family's cooking and eating habits:

> *Yes, the food we cook and eat here is similar to the food in Pakistan. We mostly cook our Pakistani dishes and cuisine at home. Sometimes, we do cook Bahraini dishes and my wife gets the recipes online.*

Imran and his wife explore the local Bahraini cuisine by learning recipes to cook on YouTube and different websites. Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, Lipika avoided visiting supermarkets to buy her groceries and started purchasing her groceries online. In addition, she demonstrates how she had to attend her religious services at Church through Zoom, an online communication software.

> *Because of the Corona virus and to avoid the risk, I order online and sanitize the products. During Easter, this is the first time in our lives we see the Church closed and so we had an online service provided by the Church through Zoom and we participated from home.*

Faiza described how YouTube helps her to explore various cuisines and cultures. In addition, during the Covid-19 pandemic, Zoom allowed her to communicate with her friends and family around the world and not just in Bahrain. Her interactions with various individuals from different cultures and

exposure to different food and food products have been achieved through various online media outlets and platforms.

> *I enjoy cooking and have YouTube, which helps me a lot with trying different recipes and cuisines. I see my friends more often now than I did before, since we have Zoom calls around 2 to 3 times every week. Our calls include my friends from all over the world and not just my friends in Bahrain. I have more interaction with all my friends now than I did before.*

Dhara highlighted the importance of food in her culture. During gatherings, people want to show off and impress their guests by ordering various types of food from different cuisines and cultures. Therefore, instead of cooking, various types of food ordered from different restaurants or caterers are exhibited lavishly to display one's financial capability and diverse knowledge. Dhara also explained how photographs of these displays would be taken and posted on various social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchat.

> *The importance or idea of food has not changed in Bahrain. At events or gatherings, people prefer ordering food instead of cooking. People want to show off and present something that astonishes the other guests, also showing that they can afford such lavish items and expenses. Also, the way food is presented becomes great for photography and display and would be posted on Instagram, Facebook, and Snapchat.*

On the other hand, the migrant workers from both FGDs used various phone applications, such as WhatsApp, to interact and connect with their families in their home countries.

4.6 Integrative Consumer Acculturation Strategy Outcomes

The following section examines the South Asian participants' social and cultural behaviours within Bahrain's multicultural environment. The participants displayed different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. Contrary to the traditional acculturation outcomes found in prior literature, the participants rather displayed integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. However, they displayed different types of integration depending on the different cultural aspects, products, and interactions they encountered and experienced. The integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes were as follows:

- Traditional Desi: Desire for minimal integration.
- Transient Desi: Desire to explore but within the confines of familiar categories and territories to achieve balanced integration.

- Temerarious Desi: Desire to go beyond conventional boundaries and fully integrate.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word 'desi' (which originally means 'belonging to the country, local') is used by the South Asian community to indicate whether a person, place, or thing stems from the Indian subcontinent. All participants demonstrated different types of integrative behaviours and as a result their acculturation strategy outcomes were classified as traditional desi, transient desi, or temerarious desi.

4.6.1 Traditional Desi

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2022), 'traditional' means a "person who adheres to traditional ways, practices, or beliefs; a traditionalist" and "of a person or group: adhering to tradition, or to a particular tradition. Also, of behaviour: characterized by such adherence". Therefore, a traditional desi is a participant who adapts to, adopts, and retains cultural aspects and products that coincide with their heritage culture. As traditional desi, the participants were open to the other cultures; however, their stronger attachment to their heritage culture led to cautious behaviour within the boundaries of their heritage culture and to minimal integration (Dey et al., 2019).

The findings suggested that as a traditional desi acculturation outcome for perceived key features of own food and cultural aspects, shopping for food using stores and brands from one's country of origin country stores and brands, use of spices, and search for originality and authenticity were influenced by the participants' preferences for food types and flavours, experience, and knowledge. Lipika expressed a strong attachment to her Indian culture. She stated that she is still a 'traditional' Indian but has slightly changed over the years. She and her husband prefer to eat Indian food at home and at restaurants, but occasionally have Arabic food at restaurants. However, they are slightly influenced sometimes by their children's preference for fast food and Bahrani food. Lipika explained how they have sometimes adapted to substituting chapati and naan with *kuboos* (a local Bahraini bread baked fresh at various neighbourhood bakeries); in addition, if traditional Indian snacks were not available to have with tea, then she would find a suitable replacement around her office premises.

> *Q: How would you describe your usual day in Bahrain in terms of your food consumption? How many meals do you eat in a regular day? Snacks? How do you prepare your meals? Do you cook your own meals or order food from restaurants?*
>
> *Lipika: We regularly eat three meals and we snack in between. We have breakfast and it depends on the preference of my children. Basically, my children are like Bahrainis, they like sandwiches and stuff. We may end up eventually eating traditional Indian breakfast, like some of the traditional dishes like 'chapati' and so on. But the children prefer sandwiches, chicken*

nuggets, or similar fast-food items. For lunch, we usually eat rice and maybe sometimes biryani, white rice with fish curry, or chicken curry with vegetables. Lunch is for sure with a rice variety and dinner is optional. Sometimes the kids prefer dinner which is a little bit fast-food like burgers, pizza, or pasta. They also like grills, 'kuboos', and similar things. Dinner is not compulsory, and it is not a rice-based dish, it can be optional. We also eat chapati, naan which is like 'kuboos' it is an Indian bread, and we do not mind 'kuboos' as sometimes we eat grills and 'kuboos", so this is our dinner.

In addition, Lipika illustrated her experience with experimenting with various Indian restaurants in Bahrain over a span of fourteen years to discover the most authentic flavours and foods that would satisfy and match her taste palate. For example, she mentioned how the biryani at Moti Mahal is extremely authentic and has the right balance of spices and flavours, as in Bangalore. As a result, Lipika and her husband would choose restaurants based on the type of dish they prefer to ensure authenticity and originality.

Lipika expressed how she grew up as a traditional Catholic Indian with rigid views, traditions, and customs; however, she has developed a sense of respect and tolerance due to her exposure to other cultures and religions. She also explains that this has not changed her cultural or religious identity as a Catholic Indian from Bangalore.

I am still the traditional Indian, but I have definitely changed the way I look at things. ..I think I have changed in terms of my tolerance towards religion and my tolerance towards other cultures and other people's practices and their traditions. I can respect and tolerate it much better than how I was, back as a child.

Lipika is a first-generation Christian migrant from Bangalore and she and her husband, and their two daughters, have been in Bahrain since 2004. She further illustrated how her daughters think and act like Bahraini girls, since they have grown up in Bahrain. Lipika noted that her daughters prefer Bahraini grilled food over Indian biryani, and they do not feel intimidated about being outside late at night; furthermore, Lipika and her daughters have adopted various local phrases and words in their everyday vocabulary and conversations, such as 'mashallah' (meaning *'what God wills or has willed'*) and 'inshallah' (meaning *'if God wills'* or *'God willing'*). Lipika enjoys and is comfortable with both Bahraini and Indian food, but her daughters prefer Bahraini food. They are keen to retain their Indian cultural aspects but are willing to slightly adapt and change and adopt various cultural aspects that coincide with their heritage culture; as a result, they displayed a traditional desi acculturation outcome across various notions and themes.

In addition, Lipika displayed a traditional desi acculturation outcome through her way of eating. Lipika preferred using her hands to eat her food, as she would in India, and would always do

so, especially when at home or with family and friends. However, sometimes she must use utensils to eat her food, especially in public settings or environments. As a result, the contextual settings determined the way Lipika ate her food.

In addition, the findings revealed some participants' overall acculturation outcome as traditional desi. For instance, some participants prioritised socialisation with individuals from their own community and stressed the importance of having people from their heritage culture in their surrounding community. Suhani articulated the importance of having Indian families and friends within their residential community and surrounding area. Despite being offered accommodation on the university's campus, Suhani and her husband did not want to reside in an area without an Indian community, shops, services, or essence.

In addition, Suhani preferred to shop for groceries mainly from large Indian supermarkets such as Lulu Hypermarket and from specialty Indian stores such as Al Adil Supermarket. Suhani's preference for Indian supermarkets is due to the availability of fresh vegetables and fruits, specific Indian spices, and religious artifacts. This preference for shops from her heritage culture demonstrates her traditional desi acculturation outcome

In addition, Suhani normally prefers South Indian food, displaying a traditional desi acculturation outcome regarding her food consumption practices:

> *If my husband is at home, we prefer ordering Indian food and especially South Indian food. If my son and I are at home we prefer having food from Turkish, Lebanese, and Bahraini restaurants. My son and I like to explore and try different kinds of food, but we mainly stick to those three cuisines. We do not explore other cuisines.*

Occasionally, Suhani and her son enjoy exploring Turkish, Lebanese, and Bahraini cuisines. Those three cuisines are generally related in their flavours and spices compared to the Indian cuisine. Suhani migrated to Bahrain in 2005 with her husband and son. Suhani and her family plan to retire and return to India in the future; however, she shared her conflicting emotions between India and Bahrain. Upon her return from a holiday in India, Suhani felt more comfortable, and was very happy to be back in Bahrain. She also indicated that the overall quality of life is much better in Bahrain than in India and expressed apprehension towards her future plans to leave Bahrain. However, Suhani expressed how she considers India as her first home and Bahrain as her second.

> *I feel very comfortable and safe in Bahrain. I consider India as my home country and Bahrain as my second home. Sometimes I feel more comfortable in Bahrain than in India and I wonder why this is happening. Also, when I go to India for a holiday for around 2 months and then come back to Bahrain, I feel that I am back home. I do not know why I feel that way about*

Bahrain, but I feel that I am in my place. So, I keep wondering about many things when we go back to India permanently. Will we experience and get the same comfortable life as in Bahrain?

Suhani and her family were impacted and influenced by other cultures in a positive manner. Over the years, she had observed similarities between the Bahraini and Indian cultures; moreover, she explained that people in both cultures preferred to eat collectively, lived in joint family systems, and attached and guided by their religion. Suhani illustrated how her son was born in India but grew up in Bahrain and has become 85% Bahraini. He prefers Bahraini grilled food, rice dishes such as 'machboos', and other dishes; furthermore, as Hindus, Suhani explained that her family does not consume large amounts of meat, if any, but her son eats chicken at least three times a week. Suhani has adopted local Bahraini phrases and words and uses the word '*salaam'* (meaning 'peace' or 'peace be upon you') to greet people. This shows that Suhani and her family are willing to explore, change, adopt, and adapt to those specific cultural aspects, notions, and products of the Bahraini culture. As a result, Suhani displays an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome and retains many aspects from her heritage culture, but still experiences influences and aspects from the host culture and other cultures as well.

Tanvi displayed the acculturation outcome of a traditional desi, especially regarding various perceived cultural aspects and key features of her heritage culture. Tanvi discussed the strength of her emotional attachment and connection to her homeland, India. She described that the taste and flavours of food in India are better compared to Bahrain; in addition, certain food products and specifically certain Indian fish species are not available in Bahrain.

Q: How would you describe living here in the Kingdom of Bahrain compared to your home country?

Tanvi: First, emotionally I am more connected to my country. The very first time when I went back to India after coming to Bahrain in 2010, I could feel the smell of my motherland. I am little emotional, and I feel more connected in that sense to my homeland, India. However, Bahrain is a very liberal country, and we can live our lives the way we want to here. Bahrain has given us so many things and that is why we never found it difficult to adjust to living in Bahrain.

Mahika demonstrated how her daughter's friends have adapted to her family's authentic Indian food flavours and spices: they were initially reluctant to eat chilli and Indian spices, but have developed a preference for them with time and experience. She described that their food at home, is Indian with authentic flavours and spices, as it would be in India.

Q: How have you and your family coped/adapted to the local food consumption pattern?

Mahika: I love spicy food and so does my daughter. My husband can't eat too much spice and so when I am cooking for him I have to be cautious. However, my daughter and I put chili and spice in all our food. I would cook food for my daughter and she would take it to school. Her friends initially, who are mostly Bahraini, would take 1 spoon from her food and would start jumping and scream about how spicy the food is. Now, all my daughter's friends love and enjoy my cooking and would eat chili and spices because of me.. So, they adapted to our food, and it was the other way around!

Amna shared her experience with religious and national events and celebrations. She celebrates her heritage culture's religious and national events with her Pakistani friends only. She expressed the differences between the traditions and practices in Pakistan and Bahrain, even though both countries are Islamic. Amna preferred her heritage culture's preparations, atmosphere, and traditions regarding national and religious events and celebrations.

We celebrate Eid and Ramadan mostly with our Pakistani friend circles. There are different traditions in Bahrain for Ramadan that we do not have in Pakistan. We do invite each other from our friends' circle for iftar during Ramadan. Sometimes, we get invitations from the Pakistani embassy for the National Day of Pakistan and we try to go sometimes and these celebrations also happen at my children's school where we attend as well.

Amna displayed an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome for many aspects, of her life including socialisation with individuals of similar culture, attending religious and national events and celebrations, and adopting cultural and food aspects from the host and other cultures. Amna explained that her family's breakfasts and dinners consist of traditional Pakistani food but that they have adapted to a healthier lifestyle through having a lighter lunch compared to the usual lunch served in Pakistan. Amna also explained how their food is freshly prepared at home, including chapati, paratha, and other types of food.

We have breakfast, lunch, and dinner. We have a traditional breakfast in the morning and we try to avoid bread from the bakery, but we make our own paratha with butter so that you feel full for a long time. We have lunch at home and we usually have fruit salad, regular salad, or a sandwich. In Pakistan, this is not the normal lunch, but we have developed this habit to fit our lifestyle here in Bahrain. Then, after Maghrib prayer, we would have our proper dinner. We might have snacks, light meal, or water at work depending on our schedule. We cook all of our food at home, but during the weekends we would usually go out with the children to different

restaurants, and since Corona the children would order food from restaurants during the weekends. Normally, all of our food is prepared and cooked at home, and we even make fresh chapati at home.

Amna further described how people in Bahrain are diverse in terms of culture and nationality; moreover, she and her family have been constantly exposed to various cultures at their area of residence, work, school, and at other institutions and locations. Amna describes the misconception around Pakistani and Indian food, noting that they are very different and not similar as people think. Amna and her husband display an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome. They are very selective in their food choices and prefer to eat Pakistani food that is prepared at home. She explained that Pakistani restaurants in Bahrain are scarce and their food is not authentic. Amna feels that her children are more influenced by Bahraini and other cultures, since they have been exposed from a younger age through their school and friends. As a result, Amna displays an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome.

Samesh discussed how his decision to migrate to Bahrain was due to its religious and cultural freedom. In addition, he explained that the majority of Indian products are available in Bahrain, and this allows him to have the same food as in India.

Honestly there is no change. Like the point I mentioned before and why people prefer coming to Bahrain is due to the religious freedom. If there was no religious freedom here, then people would have stayed here for a short time and would have had other plans. Even though we are away from our families in India, we still have the family setup here and we follow our religions and culture. Also, the food, whatever food we prepare and used to have in India, we also have here and we prepare the same food.

Samesh displays an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome, as evident in his practices within places of worship and socialisation with individuals from his own community. Moreover, Samesh prefers the practices in the temple he attends in Bahrain, since the temple follows practices from Tamil Nadu, which where he is from. Samesh prefers socialising with individuals from the same state in India, religion, and culture. He also does not celebrate other cultural or religious events.

Mostly we meet with our group only which have people with similar culture and religion to us. Preferably, we do not participate in events or activities with people from different cultures or different states in India even. We prefer people from the same culture and religion honestly. We celebrate the festivals related to our religion and other major festivals here as well.

All participants in this research had a sense of pride and nationalism regarding their heritage culture, nationality, and origin, as evidenced from their responses. Participants who displayed the traditional desi acculturation outcome opposed the idea of obtaining a different nationality or citizenship due to the possibility of losing the nationality of their heritage country. Suhani articulated her perspective:

> *Actually, my husband prefers to go back to India after a few years. We do not know for sure yet, but our whole family and my husband's family are all in India and we would like to join them. So, around 2 years from now we might go back to India and that is why we did not want to apply for the Bahraini citizenship. In my opinion, I would apply for the Bahraini citizenship if I had the chance since I feel very comfortable here in Bahrain.*

Hence, attachment to family in the heritage country and loss of heritage nationality had an influence on the participants' decisions about obtaining Bahraini nationality. A similar response was also provided by Amna:

> *Actually, I do not have the citizenship and I will not apply because you cannot have dual citizenship in Bahrain. I would not like it if I lost my Pakistani nationality, because all of my family are back in Pakistan. Therefore, I will not apply for Bahraini citizenship. I plan to move back to Pakistan at some point, and I do not plan to stay in Bahrain very long.*

The participants from both FGD 1 and FGD 2 displayed a strong sense of pride towards their heritage culture, religions, and country. As a result, the acculturation outcome of traditional desi was apparent among most of the cultural aspects, notions, and products they encountered. FGD 1 and FGD 2 completely opposed the notion of obtaining any other nationality besides their heritage nationality due to concerns about losing their families, properties, and national identity:

> *No, no, no, we do not want to apply for the Bahraini citizenship. We want to keep our Indian citizenships and to us that is better. Our mothers, fathers, wives, children, and all of our families are back in India. If we get the Bahraini passport, then we would need a visa to go to India, we would not be able to own property in India, and everything would be much harder for us. We want to keep our Indian nationality and to us it is much better. At some point, we all want to go back home to Kerala and we also want to own property in Kerala. We also have respect for our Indian nationality and we all feel proud to be Indian […] No, no, of course we all want to go back to India. Some of us are planning to go back in 2 to 3 years and some of us plan to go back in 5 to 6 years. We all want to go back to Kerala and live with our families there. We do not want to retire or stay in Bahrain for the future.*

Participants in FGD 2 had a similar response to those in FGD 1 and all intended to return to their heritage countries within a specified amount of time in the near future:

All of us here have family back in Kerala and we are all here alone. We cannot lose our Indian nationalities to get the Bahraini nationality. We usually go to India every 2 years to visit our families, and if we lose our Indian nationality then we would not be able to easily visit India. Also, if we lose the Indian nationality then we cannot own property and it will cause a lot of issues for us and our families. Also, we plan to stay in Bahrain as long as we need the income to support our families and buy property there. All of us would want to be able to go back to Kerala and live comfortably with our families there. Therefore, it would be hard for us to live here and adjust to Bahrain.

Both FGD 1 and FGD 2 searched for originality and authenticity in the food they prepared, used correct and authentic spices in their food, shopped for products at affordable stores from their heritage cultures, and usually adopted other products that resembled those from their heritage culture. FGD 1 shared their experience and perspective:

Q: Is the type of food you eat here similar to your home country's food?

FGD 1: Yes, our food is only from the Kerala cuisine and south Indian food. We cook rice, chapati, different kinds of 'rasam' and 'sambar', biryani, chicken, fish, a lot of vegetables, and many other Kerala dishes as well. We stick to making the food we know and prefer to eat, which the Kerala cuisine.

Q: How have you and your family coped/adapted to the local food consumption pattern?

FGD 1: We cook our food according to the spices and flavors we know from Kerala. We did not adapt to the local or Bahraini food, except for grilled food from time to time. We always use our authentic flavors and spices in our food.

Participants from FGD 2 shared a similar response and perspective:

Q: Is the type of food you eat here similar to your home country's food?

FGD 2: We prepare and cook food that is purely from Kerala. We stick to the cuisine and food from Kerala in all the dishes we prepare. We love fish and have it in many ways in the food we prepare such as fish curry, fried fish, vegetables, rice, and so on. We have chicken once or

twice a week as well. Fish is very cheap in Bahrain compared to India and we enjoy having fish here.

The migrant workers from FGD 1 and FGD 2 proudly expressed their practice of eating food using their hands and sitting on the floor, as in their heritage culture; moreover, these practices are exercised freely anywhere, and were their only preference. In addition, participants from FGD 1 and FGD 2 explained their preference for eating collectively as a group with their co-workers, as they would eat together with their families in their heritage countries. FGD 1 participants articulated their experience:

Q: How do you prefer to eat your food (by hand, plastic utensils, stainless steel utensils, chopsticks, etc.)? How is food usually eaten in your home country or culture? Has the way you eat changed over time? Are there other cultures here that influenced the way you eat?

FGD 1: We all eat using our hands all the time and that is the way everyone eats in Kerala. We prefer eating together on the floor and not on the table.

Q: Do you prefer to eat alone or with family/friends? Would you say your home country or culture prefer to eat as a collective group or individually? Did other cultures here have an effect or change how you prefer to eat?

FGD 1: We always eat together as a group or at least with someone else since this is how our culture is in India. We do not like to eat alone.

Similarly, FGD 2 described their experience and perspective:

Q: How do you prefer to eat your food (by hand, plastic utensils, stainless steel utensils, chopsticks, etc.)? How is food usually eaten in your home country or culture? Has the way you eat changed over time? Are there other cultures here that influenced the way you eat?

FGD 2: We all use our hands and prefer to use our hands all the time to eat. Also, we do have a table here, but we never use it. We like to sit on the floor and eat our food using our hands. Actually, we only use the table to play 'carrom' with each other.

Q: Do you prefer to eat alone or with family/friends? Would you say your home country or culture prefer to eat as a collective group or individually? Did other cultures here have an effect or change how you prefer to eat?

FGD 2: We have our meals together as a group always and we prefer sharing our meals and helping each other with cooking.

The migrant workers from FGD 1 and FGD 2 displayed a traditional desi acculturation outcome across the majority of cultural aspects, ideas, and products. The participants from both groups had limited interactions with people they encountered and socialised with people from their own and other communities. In addition, they adopted some food products from the local and other cultures depending on what items were most affordable. They also shared their perspectives on some key cultural features between their heritage countries and Bahrain, noting that quality of life is better in Bahrain. FGD 1 shared their limited experiences and interactions with various people during work, shopping for groceries, places of worship, and on the streets:

FGD1: Yes, Bahrain is very diverse and has many nationalities. We do not really socialize or mix with Bahraini nationals or other cultures as much here, except during our work and installation. We interact with people from different cultures during our work, while we shop for food at markets, at places of worship, and on the streets. We believe the Bahraini culture is very friendly since they provide us with complete freedom to live our lives and practice our own cultures and religion freely.

4.6.2 Transient Desi

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2022), 'transient' means a "person who passes through a place, or stays there for only a short time" and "a thing or being that is transient in time; something passing, or transitory". Therefore, a transient desi is a participant who retains aspects from their heritage cultures, while adopting and adapting to cultural aspects and products from the host and other cultures in an occasional manner. As a transient desi, the participants were open to the other cultures; however, they wished to explore them within the confines of familiar territories and categories to achieve a balanced integrative experience. The meaning and interpretation of cultural aspects, ideas, and products change along with the ethnic consumer's movement between two or more cultural references (Oswald, 1999; Douglas and Isherwood, 1979). Participants adopt and adapt to different cultural aspects, ideas, and products from various cultures; however, these aspects might become permanent, replaced, or disposed of with time.

Darika was a third-generation Hindu participant from Gujarat, India. Her grandparents migrated to Bahrain in 1950 and both Darika and her parents were born in Bahrain. Darika and her family retain their heritage cultural identity and values, but still feel part of the Bahraini culture and have been influenced in different ways. Darika displays an overall transient desi acculturation outcome, as evident in the way she dresses, which has been influenced by the Bahraini culture.

I identify with the original culture that we come from, which is the Gujarati culture in India. We have been in Bahrain for over 70 years, but we have not lost our connection to our original culture. Even as an adult now I would still feel the same way and identify with the Gujarati culture. Of course, a small part of me is Bahraini and has Bahraini influences.

Darika went on to share her experiences regarding her family's food consumption behaviours.

Our dinners are always different, and we do have other types of food and cuisines in our dinners sometimes. Our breakfast and lunch are always purely Gujarati cuisine and food, but our dinners are always different. We usually prepare or order Italian, Mexican, North Indian, South Indian, Lebanese, or Arabic food for our dinners.

Darika comes from a large Gujarati family, and they all live together in a joint family system. They require large amounts of groceries and food products to sustain the whole family. Most of the time, they prepare Gujarati food, but as a transient desi acculturation outcome, they venture into different types of familiar food and cuisines for their dinners. On the other hand, Arin explained the influences on their eating and shopping habits. Moreover, Arin demonstrated his family's integration with the Bahraini culture and their increase in shopping during the Ramadan and Eid holidays.

The Bahrani culture has impacted our eating habits as sometimes we try different Bahraini or Arabic food. Especially during Ramadan and Eid – our shopping increases during that time. You know the times like in Ramadan or Eid have also become special for us, so there is a kind of integration in a way.

Arin prefers larger supermarkets and avoids ethnic or smaller Indian markets or shops for his grocery requirements. Arin and his family enjoy ordering food from restaurants associated with global consumer culture, such as KFC and McDonalds; in addition, they order food from Arabic and Indian restaurants.

We do not shop at the ethnic or smaller Indian convenience stores or supermarkets since we find everything, we need at Lulu Hypermarket. If we decide to order food from outside for home delivery, we order from KFC, McDonalds, or an Arabic restaurant. When we order food from local or Arabic restaurants, we usually go for a full roasted or grilled chicken or shawarma for example. Otherwise, there are occasions when we go to KFC, McDonalds, or Indian restaurants sometimes. However, we rarely go to Indian restaurants because there are a few restaurants in Zallaq or close to where I live.

Arin migrated to Oman and then moved to Bahrain in 2009. He explained that in India, his church would provide services in different languages, but he attended the service in Malayalam with his parents and family; however, in Bahrain, Arin prefers to attend English services. People from various nationalities and cultures attend these services and the main events are performed in English. Arin further explained that there are many Christian Indians in Bahrain from different states in India, and he prefers not to attend the service in Malayalam to avoid being associated with a specific community or group. As a result, Arin displays an overall transient desi acculturation outcome and prefers diversity in places of worship, community, and food within familiar territories.

Arin and his family enjoy celebrating their heritage culture and religious events and festivals; in addition, they celebrate Bahrain's cultural and religious holidays and events, such as Eid and Ramadan.

> *Q: Do you celebrate Eid, Ramadan, and/or other national or religious holidays in Bahrain? Do you prepare foods that are related to those occasions?*
>
> *Arin: Yes, we do celebrate Christmas, Eid, birthdays, Easter, and so on. We also prepare food and have food related to those events as well. We also fast on Good Friday and we have our meal only once a day at night.*

On the other hand, Imran preferred shopping at larger supermarkets and occasionally explored smaller Pakistani shops, especially for fresh fruits and vegetables. Imran's family primarily enjoy Pakistani cuisine at home and use the same authentic spices and flavours as they would in Pakistan; however, they sometimes enjoy visiting or ordering from Turkish, Lebanese, or Bahraini restaurants.

> *When we go to restaurants or order food, we go the places that have grilled food or fast food. For example, we go to restaurants that have Turkish grills, Lebanese grills, Bahraini grills, and so on since we mostly have Pakistani food at home always and the kids get bored and always want fast food. Of course, the food in Pakistan is more authentic and the taste and flavours are better in Pakistan.*

Similarly, Samuel preferred to shop at a large Indian supermarket for the majority of his family's grocery needs and would occasionally visit AlJazira Supermarket for international products. Samuel articulated his adoption of various products and aspects due to living in Bahrain for a long period of time.

> *When my wife and children want something specific from AlJazira Supermarket, then they go by themselves and buy whatever they need. I do not really go to specialty Indian supermarkets*

since we are not really that attached or specific with our food. We have been in Bahrain for a really long time and therefore we adapted to the items available in the market here in Bahrain. Lulu Hypermarket offers a large variety of Indian products, and we find everything we need there.

In addition, Samuel displayed an overall transient desi acculturation outcome. He illustrated how he and his wife prefer to eat using their hands but have adapted to sitting at a dining table and not on the floor, as they had done in India. His daughters prefer to use utensils to eat their food, but this is criticised and discouraged by people in India.

My wife and I prefer to use our hands all the time to eat our food. However, my daughters prefer to use cutleries to eat their food. When we go to India, people look at my daughters and wonder why they wouldn't use their hands to eat their food. Even my family in India ask why they are using cutleries and not their hands. We all use the dining table to eat all our meals.

Priyanka displayed an overall transient desi acculturation outcome, as evident in her adaptation to certain food products and socialisation with own and wider community. She expressed her fondness for local and Arabic desserts, and for certain food products, such as hummus, falafel[6], and zaatar[7]; moreover, she adopted various local food products and prepared them at home as they became part of her family's regular meals. In addition, although Priyanka and her family are Hindu, they visit the main Al-Fateh Mosque in Juffair during the Eid holidays to enjoy the experience, desserts, and food.

I really like the local desserts, like baklawa, kunafa, and so on. However, other than that, most of the food here in Bahrain is non vegetarian and we cannot eat it. During Eid holidays in Bahrain, the main Juffair mosque is open to the public and every year we go to that mosque so that we can have all the sweets there. I prepare hummus, falafel, and zaatar at home sometimes. I can adapt to food that is delicious, spicy, and vegetarian. I also prepare Chinese food at home.

Rahima displayed a transient desi acculturation outcome, as evident in her positive perspective regarding diversity in places of worship and in the community, but within familiar territories. Rahima illustrated the key features and differences between Pakistan and Bahrain regarding the architecture, design, and overall practices of mosques. She expressed her satisfaction towards the availability of women's sections and the diverse mix of cultures at the mosques in Bahrain

[6] Falafel: a Middle Eastern deep-fried fritter made from chickpeas or fava beans and fresh herbs and spices.
[7] Zaatar: a Middle Eastern condiment made from dried oregano, thyme, sumac, marjoram, and sesame seeds.

Rahima and Ridhi both displayed an overall transient desi acculturation outcome. Both reported that they balance the amount and types of spices and chili used in their food. Rahima prefers authentic spices and flavours when preparing Pakistani food; however, Rahima and her family have adapted to using fewer spices and reduced the amount of chili in their food compared to Pakistan, where the use of chili is excessive.

> *I prefer Pakistani more than any other type of food. However, if I have no choice, then I can eat anything else. When we cook Pakistani food, we use authentic Pakistani spices and flavours. In Pakistan, people prefer having spicy food and they use a lot of chili, but my family and I do not prefer very spicy food and the excessive use of chili. We prefer a moderate amount of chili and not very spicy food: that is the only difference or adaptation. When we go to Pakistan, our family there try to prepare the food according to our taste in terms of the amount of chili used.*

Similarly, Ridhi uses authentic spices and flavours in the Indian dishes she prepares at home; however, she and her family have also adapted to using less spice and oil in their food. Ridhi also prepares Bahraini dishes such as 'machboos' and uses authentic spices but reduces the amount of spices and oil in these dishes as well.

> *I use completely authentic spices in our Indian dishes, but I use a smaller amount of spices and oil. For example, when I cook machboos or biryani, I cook it the Arabic way, since I learned how to cook these two dishes here in Bahrain. Otherwise, all of our food is Indian and cooked according to Indian recipes and authentic spices.*

Celebrations of religious and national events of one's heritage culture, while celebrating other cultures' religious and national events only with natives, is associated with a transient desi acculturation outcome. Ridhi, her husband, and their son all migrated to Bahrain in 2005. She shared her experience and various cultural influences in Bahrain regarding her family's adaptation and changes in their lifestyle and food habits; moreover, Ridhi and her family changed their meals timings and started eating dinner earlier, reduced the use and quantity of spices, reduced their consumption of oil and opted for healthier food choices. The university she works at requires a formal attire; however, to respect the local culture, Ridhi has willingly changed her style of dress and avoids wearing short or sleeveless shirts.

4.6.3 Temerarious Desi

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2022), 'temerarious' means a person who is "characterized by temerity; unreasonably adventurous; reckless, heedless, rash". Therefore, a

temerarious desi is a participant who retains aspects from their heritage culture while adopting and adapting to different cultural aspects, ideas, and products from various cultures in an adventurous manner. As temerarious desi, the participants were open to the global consumer culture, host culture, and other cultures; moreover, they desired to go beyond the conventional cultural and social boundaries and integrate with the host culture. Participants valued the plethora of cultures and social contexts surrounding them. In addition, the participants appreciated various cultural aspects, notions, and consumer products from their multicultural environments and integrated them into their everyday lives as complements or experimental fusions (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Institutional influences and family circles had a strong connection with participants' acculturation outcomes and willingness to adapt, change, and explore. Nidra initially migrated with her husband and son to Saudi Arabia in 2001 and then moved to Bahrain in 2011. She is currently single and continues to live alone in the gated community. Nidra displayed an overall temerarious desi acculturation outcome, as evident in her perspective towards the diversity of cultures in the surrounding residential community, and stated that the presence of people from her heritage culture in her residential community is not important. She prefers to live in a multicultural community with educated, courteous, social, and safe individuals; moreover, Nidra demonstrated that her views on diversity have been influenced by her mother and father since her childhood.

> *The surrounding community is important to me, but here it differs to me. The way I was brought up by my parents was in a very accepting way of different communities. At home we always had my mother's colleagues and my father's students visiting from various cultures and we had an appreciative and admirable attitude towards people. There was always a curiosity to know different cultures and backgrounds and so probably this connects back to my childhood and that is why I am where I am currently. As you know, Riffa Views is a gated community, and it has a very multi-cultural setup with people from many different places and they respect your privacy and are helpful.*

Nidra further illustrated the differences between Bahrain and India in terms of personal space and privacy; moreover, she prefers the aspect of respecting one's personal space and privacy in Bahrain and has adapted to that way of living. Nidra has a small group of friends, who happen to be her neighbours, and they are from India and Pakistan. Nidra noted that she participates in local social events and activities, but not in large events with people from her own culture, since they do not respect her personal space and privacy. She further explained that she does not avoid people from her heritage culture, but she avoids large or public events and festivals; furthermore, in Saudi, she used to host large celebrations for Diwali at her house and various individuals from her heritage culture would attend and participate.

I think I like my social life here in Bahrain because the main reason is that people respect privacy here a lot because the culture is very westernized. Back home in India, we are still very backwards, and we still like to interfere into people's privacy and spaces. I like my social life here better and I am not very social because I feel people socialise very hard in India and I feel very uncomfortable in those situations. I have a small group of two ex-colleagues that I meet with, and we enjoy our time reflecting back and I have three friends, which are my immediate neighbours and that is all of my social life […] I do participate in local social events and activities, but not with people from my own culture. I participate in Riffa Views, the gated community I am living in, and we have lots of things such as the farmer's market, cultural events like Gergaoon, Ramadan, annual dinners at the Royal Golf Club, and many other events as well.

Nidra was fascinated by the delicious flavours of lamb, shawarma, mandi, and other food in Saudi, even though the spices used were minimal. She can shop for groceries anywhere, since she has adapted to using less spices in the food she cooks and only requires basic spices such as salt, black pepper, red chili powder, and other light spices. Nidra has adapted and changed her use of spices, since she enjoys the natural flavour of food with less spice, and also because she needed to adjust to her ex-husband's health condition. She noted that people from her heritage culture did not prefer to experiment with food; however, she displays a temerarious desi acculturation outcome and prefers to create a fusion of various flavours and experiences. Nidra explained that her food is not authentically Indian, but it is a fusion of flavours inspired by her father's food, her own flavours and experiences, and adaptations and adoptions of local food and other cultures.

I also like the fact that the local Bahraini or Saudi food is very natural without the use of heavy spices like back home in India. When I had 'kharoof' (lamb) in Saudi or 'Mandi' I like how natural the flavour is without using a lot of spices. That is why I am okay with getting spices from anywhere because I only need very basic spices such as salt, black pepper, red chili powder, and other light spices here and there, that is it. I am not into heavily spiced food, and this is something that has changed for me here because when I go back to India, people have very aromatic flavours in food, and I eat it but I do not make that my regular diet.

Faizal is from a small village called Bihar and he is the only person from his village to obtain a university degree after his secondary education. Faizal described his roots and culture from Bihar remain strong; however, he has adopted and adapted to various cultural aspects from the different cities and countries in which he has lived. He further illustrated that one cannot avoid integration or influence from other cultures. As a result, his basic core values remain unchanged, but his secondary values have changed and adapted over time.

I was born in my hometown Bihar, and then I moved to Mumbai and finally moved to New Delhi for my studies. Eventually I moved to Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Over the years, I have adopted some aspects of the different places I have lived in, but of course my roots and culture from Bihar remains strong within me. I have changed over the years, and I accept other cultures more. I have more of an open mind and I can accept other opinions and differences as well. Of course, you will not change completely but there will be some change and adaptation. Your basic core values remain but secondary values change.

Faizal went on to explain how he had adopted various aspects from different cultures that would fit within his and his family's lifestyle. In addition, he witnessed people around him constantly adopting and adapting to various aspects from the Bahraini culture and other cultures.

Q: What are your perceptions of the Bahraini culture and other cultures that you have experienced here?

Faizal: I believe that the Bahraini culture is the dominant culture here. There are many people here from different cultures, such as Indians, Bengali, Pakistani, and so on. I see myself and other people adopt many aspects from the Bahraini culture and other cultures around. Also, I adopt the aspects that are good and that fit in with my family's lifestyle. I can see people around me adopt and adapt aspects of the Bahraini culture and other cultures all the time.

Faizal described how the attitudes, behaviours, and the accepting nature of the local Bahraini people encouraged people to adopt and adapt to each other's cultures, food, languages, and festivals. He has observed many of his Bahraini friends preparing Indian food in their homes and consuming chapatis, samosas, curries, and many other Indian food products.

Q: Did the Bahraini culture or other cultures' values, lifestyle, and food products influenced your personal lifestyle or your family's lifestyle? If yes, in what way?

Faizal: Yes of course. Most of my Bahraini friends buy or cook Indian food in their homes, and they have chapatis, samosas, curries, and so on. Even at my workplace I see both Indians and Bahraini colleagues ordering Indian and Bahraini food. In Saudi Arabia, people did not really interact and mix with different cultures as people do in Bahrain. The behaviours and attitudes of the local Bahraini people encouraged the idea of adoption and lead people to the experience other cultures' food, language, festivals, and so on.

Faizal initially migrated to Saudi Arabia in 2014 and then moved to Bahrain in 2017. He demonstrated his family's constant willingness for exploration and fusions with spices and flavours from the Bahraini culture and other cultures. As a result, Faizal displays an overall temerarious desi acculturation outcome with various aspects and products.

> *The experiments are always ongoing. We do use various spices and flavours from Bahrain and other cultures to see how the dishes might turn out or taste. So, we have adapted to some local flavours and have mixed our flavours as well.*

Guneet migrated to Bahrain in 1997. He demonstrates an overall temerarious desi acculturation outcome. He believes that even though individuals from his heritage culture share the same language and culture, it is preferable not to share private information or become very close; moreover, he believes that two people from the same cultural background living in a foreign country will eventually hurt rather than help one another. Regarding socialising with people, Guneet realised that meeting people from other cultures other than his heritage culture is more interesting.

> *We do speak the same language, but I might share more information with my Bahraini friends than with my Indian friends here in Bahrain. I do not know whether you believe in such a thing or not, but in a foreign country, two people from the same nationality do not really work well together. This is something based on my opinion and experience, and I do not know about others. Also, myself and many Indians feel that meeting new people from other cultures is more interesting. It also depends on the person and unfortunately it is not something uniform.*

Farha is a second-generation Muslim participant from Islamabad, Pakistan. She and her family immigrated to Bahrain in 2000. She displays a temerarious desi acculturation outcome towards many cultural aspects and notions; moreover, Farha demonstrates how her thinking, lifestyle, traditions, and rituals have all been influenced by the Bahraini culture. In addition, Farha and her family have already applied for the Bahraini citizenship, even though this means that they will lose their Pakistani nationalities. She noted that she is 60 percent Bahraini and 40 percent Pakistani.

Muzafar initially migrated to Dubai, U.A.E. at the age of five, then moved to Kuwait in 2007, and finally moved to Bahrain in 2017. Muzafar's decision to reside in multicultural areas reflects his desire to cross the conventional borders and integrate with various communities and social interactions.

Muzafar displayed an overall temerarious desi acculturation outcome, as evident in his eagerness for exploration, adaptation, and change. He contrasted various aspects between India and Bahrain; moreover, he noted that in Bahrain, an individual has the opportunity to learn and interact with people from various cultures, but in India an individual is only exposed to the Indian culture. He

further explained that he is currently forty-two years old and has spent thirty-five years of his life in the Middle East; therefore, he would apply for Bahraini citizenship if he had the opportunity, since it would be hard for him to adjust to living in India or anywhere else.

> *Living in Bahrain is easy. People are flexible, they are friendly, and there are different cultures. See, if you are staying back home in India, you not learn more about the Indian culture as I told you before. So you learn more about their culture and it is not about one culture. And different friends, different languages. My life is, like I am 42 years old. In my 42 years, you can count 35 years I was in the Gulf/Middle East. I prefer staying in the Middle East than in India. If I have the chance to apply for Bahraini citizenship, then I will. I am flexible and not rigid with my community. See, I live in communities where it is not fully Indian. I lived in communities with Arabs, Pakistanis, Bengali, and Indians, it was a mixed culture. So, when I look for accommodation or a flat, I prefer a mixed community and I want a mixed community. Because it gives us a chance to learn their culture also.*

Shahid migrated to Saudi Arabia and then moved to Bahrain in 2014. He shared a similar temerarious desi acculturation outcome with Farha; furthermore, he also stated that he would apply for Bahraini citizenship if provided with the opportunity.

> *I currently do not have the Bahraini citizenship, however, if I had the opportunity to apply or get the citizenship I will definitely apply without any delay.*

In addition, Shahid prefers to live in the accommodation provided within the university's campus because it provides security and safety for his family. The presence of individuals from his heritage culture in the surrounding community is not an important factor for Shahid, and he prefers a multicultural environment.

> *I am living inside the university's campus, and I have been living here since I first moved to Bahrain. I chose to live inside the university's campus because of the security, gated area, and it is also safer and a better chance for the children to be able to play outside. I usually like calm and quiet places, and that is why I liked it here […] The surrounding community is not that important to me and having people from similar cultural backgrounds is also not that important. However, what is more important is the security, calmness, and having a quiet area.*

4.7 Host Community

Acculturation has been identified as a two-way process and changes occur in groups involved in that process that influence one another (Haugen and Kunst, 2017; Berry, 2008; Montreuil and Bourhis, 2001). Typically, past research has identified two groups, referred to as the host and heritage (migrant/immigrant) communities; sometimes these groups are also referred to as the majority and minority groups, respectively (Haugen and Kunst, 2017). The majority of past research has focused on the host community members' expectations of how heritage community members should acculturate (Berry, 2006; Lefringhausen and Marshall, 2016). Past scholars have developed various acculturation frameworks that concentrated on the heritage community members (Dey et al., 2019; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Penaloza, 1994; Berry, 1981). As a result, acculturation has been associated with heritage community members in past research streams; moreover, Dinh and Bond (2008) noted that there is a scarcity of research on the acculturation of host community members and that this has led to a misconception that only heritage community members experience acculturation and cultural adaptations.

Recently, only a few studies (Kunst et al., 2021; Haugen and Kunst, 2017; Lefringhausen and Marshall, 2016) have distinctly focused on the host community members' acculturation process and cultural changes. In addition, heritage community consumers' acculturation has attracted considerable attention in marketing (Cleveland and Xu, 2019; Cleveland, 2015); however, those studies have failed to include the host community consumers' acculturation process and cultural changes. The findings in this research reveal that the host community serves as an integral catalyst for the heritage community members' acculturation process and cultural adaptations and adoptions. The interviews with participants from the host community further revealed and reinforced the heritage community participants' perspective of Bahrain as a rich multicultural hub and a diverse environment. The host community participants indicated that South Asian cultures have had various and substantial influences on the Bahraini culture. The relationship between Bahrain and the Indian subcontinent began around 1932 and the influences are apparent and clearly visible in various aspects of the Bahraini culture and community today (King, 2017; Jain and Oommen, 2016).

4.7.1 Diversity and Interactions in Bahrain

Jaffar, a Bahraini IT specialist, described the diversity of Bahrain and his perspective of the various South Asian cultures in Bahrain. He explained how the South Asian cultures make up a large percentage of the total population in Bahrain; moreover, he has experienced the effects of the South Asian cultures at various places and has a healthy relationship with the South Asian community.

Bahrain is actually very diverse. We have people from different cultures, backgrounds, and religions. It is very diverse. The South Asian cultures are part of the population of Bahrain, and they make up a huge percentage of the total population in Bahrain. They have their own views, religion, and culture but they are part of the community here in Bahrain. They have their own religion, national days, festivals, and customs. I feel that they are part of our community, and we interact daily everywhere. I mean I interact with South Asian individuals at work, I have friends from various South Asian countries, and I have a good relationship with them.

Similarly, Ahmed, a Bahraini assistant professor at a university, shared his perspective regarding diversity in Bahrain and his view of the South Asian cultures. He explained that the South Asian cultures had a huge impact in Bahrain. Furthermore, Ahmed demonstrated how the Bahraini people are the ones who learned to speak Hindi and Urdu; in addition, various food items have been adopted from the South Asian cultures and have become part of the Bahraini culture, such as samosas, achar pickles (a South Asian blend of spicy pickles), chapati, and matai (known in India as Micchar which consists of a salty snack mix made with chickpea flour, rice flour, and spices).

Of course, Bahrain is very diverse in terms of culture and religion. South Asians have a great and rich culture and history. They are hardworking and they are very peaceful here in Bahrain. They have added many good aspects to the Bahraini community and culture, and they have also brought some negative aspects as well. However, they have created many businesses and services in Bahrain. As Bahrainis, we learned and started to speak Hindi, which is the opposite case compared to Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, anyone who migrates there learns the culture and speaks Arabic. However, in Bahrain the Bahraini people are the ones who learned Hindi and Urdu from the South Asian migrants. This is definitely a huge impact on our Bahraini culture. Even the food we eat such as 'mattai', 'samboosa', 'achar paickles', 'chapati', and so on are all adopted from the South Asian culture and cuisine.

Mona, a Bahraini marketing executive, illustrated the Bahraini people's tolerance towards different religions, cultures, and nationalities. In addition, she explained that despite its small size, Bahrain is a multicultural haven that is extremely welcoming and accepting towards all religions and cultures.

Yes of course! Bahrain is an extremely diverse place with many religions, cultures, and nationalities. You will always find a rich mix of cultures everywhere you go, whether at work, restaurants, supermarkets, hospitals, and other places. You will find people from Bahrain, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, England, USA, Australia, Russia, Ukraine, other countries from Africa and Middle East, and many other countries all living together on this multicultural

diverse island. Bahrain is known among the Middle East to be an extremely welcoming country and is tolerant and accepting towards different religions and cultures.

Ebrahim was the ambassador of Bahrain in Mumbai, India, and before that, the consul of Bahrain in Pakistan and other countries. Ebrahim is now retired, and he shared his perspective of the South Asian cultures and Bahrain. He believes Bahrain and India share a peaceful and friendly culture; moreover, they have a deep and rich history that dates back many years. He also mentioned how the other countries in the Middle East and Pakistan have a more rigid culture compared to Bahrain and India.

First of all, the relationship is well rooted in history. For the last 200 to 300 years, Bahrain has strong ties with India in terms of consumer products, building materials, and so on. The pearl industry, production and processing of pearls, and the market for pearls is in India. Then comes the British umbrella that Bahrain and India were operating under and that played a significant role. Also, the Indian culture itself. The Indian culture is a peaceful culture, unlike our culture or the Pakistani culture where they are a bit rigid compared to the Indian culture. The Indian deals with other cultures in a soft manner without losing itself in or with other cultures. So, the nature of the Indian culture is peaceful. Although, some people might disagree with this, Hinduism is a peaceful and friendly religion. The Indian culture does not have the concept of live like us or you cannot be a part of us. If you dig a little deeper, you will find that the Bahraini culture is a peaceful place and culture. Besides the circumstantial issues, deeply rooted, Bahrain is a peaceful, multicultural, and welcomes all cultures. Of course, there are exceptions as everywhere, but overall Bahrain is a culture that is friendly to other cultures.

4.7.2 Cultural Influences

Ahmed noted the various South Asian food products, dishes, and spices that have had a huge impact on the Bahraini culture. He further explained that South Asian food, music, and movies had influenced Bahrain and continue to do so. However, he also noted that Islam is the major guiding factor in the Bahraini culture.

The South Asian food and food products definitely influenced our lifestyle and daily food choices. However, our cultural and religious values have not been affected. We love Indian food, especially chutneys and various dishes. Our food has been greatly influenced by the South Asian cultures and we use various spices in our food. Our food, music, and movies have all been influenced by the Indian and other South Asian cultures. As Muslims, our religion is a vital part of our daily lives. We tend to blend our cultural and religious values together.

However, Islam has influenced our cultures greatly and we cannot live without Islam in our daily lives.

Ebrahim illustrated how every Bahraini knows at least a single word of Hindi or Urdu, and some Hindi or Urdu words have become part of the daily vocabulary among Bahraini people. In addition, he explained that there is a link between the countries that were colonised by the British Empire and the influence of the Indian culture, since Indian individuals accompanied the British people to help with administrative and other tasks in the various countries they colonised. As a result, the Indian culture became widespread and influenced many cultures in different ways.

Every Bahraini knows at least a single word of Hindi or Urdu. I think the impact of the Indian culture is everywhere around the world, even in South Africa. Also, the countries that the British Empire was present in or those countries that were colonized by the British Empire, the Indian culture flourished in those countries. The British Empire took Indian people with them as they ruled and colonized other countries.

Similarly, Hamad explained the association between Bahrain and India through the British Empire many years ago. In addition, he explained the definition and origin of the name 'Manama', which is the capital of Bahrain. Hamad also noted the evident presence of the Indian cultural influences in Bahrain; moreover, he demonstrated how every Bahraini, whether young or old, knows at least one word of Hindi such as '*kaisa hai*' (which means 'how are you?' in Hindi) or '*bhai'* (which means 'brother' in Hindi). Hamad mentioned how Indians tend to stick to their culture wherever they migrate and feel proud of their origins, which is apparent in the way they communicate, their accent, food, clothing, and so on. Therefore, the influences on the Bahraini culture from the Indian culture are greater, and are evident in the food, food products, spices, and language.

There are close ties between India, Bahrain, and the UK. In terms of language, I do not think any Bahraini in Bahrain does not know at least 1 word of Hindi. Even children and adults know words in Hindi and can speak some words if not the whole Hindi language. The Indian culture particularly, not Pakistani or Bengali, has a great influence in Bahrain. People in Bahrain tend to talk in Hindi and say phrases such as "Kaisa Hai", "Bhai or Bhaiya", and so on.

Hamad further discussed his family's ties to India many years ago; moreover, he explained how his grandfather earned his law degree in India and his other grandfather was a merchant and traded pearls in India. He also noted that some of his cousins still live in India. Many years ago and before the discovery of oil in Bahrain, India was perceived as a place for opportunity and economical gain.

My grandfather was educated in India, he was born in 1902 and got his law degree from India. Also, my other grandfather worked as a merchant selling pearls. He took pearls to India at the time, since they had the technology and equipment of making holes in pearls and this was not available in Bahrain before. So, yes my family is very well connected with the Indian Sub-continent. In fact, I still have cousins who moved to India and are still living in India. There was a book that talked about Bahraini merchants in India and my grandfather was one of those merchants.

Jaffar believed that the various South Asian cultures have a huge impact and influence in Bahrain. These influences are noticed everywhere, and interactions occur on a daily basis at every corner. He explained how Bahrainis share religious and cultural aspects with various South Asian cultures. For instance, many items, such as samosas, biryani, chapati, spices, tandoori, and many other food products and dishes, have become embedded in the Bahraini cuisine. In addition, Jaffar discussed how Bahraini people have learned to speak and include many Hindi and Urdu words in their daily vocabulary; in return, many South Asian have also learned to speak Arabic in Bahrain. So the influences are apparent in the Bahraini cuisine and language.

Amira, a Bahraini HR Officer, discussed the huge Indian and South Asian cultural influences on the Bahraini culture and people. She explained that the Bahraini people have adopted many dishes, food, spices, and flavours from India and other South Asian cultures; in addition, she illustrated how samosas, chapati, dal, and biryani have been integrated and adapted to the Bahraini culture. Amira further explained how the Bahraini people learned Hindi and Urdu to communicate with the South Asian community members and thus adopted and adopted many words that became part of the daily Bahraini vocabulary. For instance, the 100 Bahrani fils coin is called the 'Rupia' – a term adopted from the Indian currency, the Rupee.

Haifa, a Bahraini senior administrative officer, believed that Bahraini people are influenced more by the South Asian cultures than the South Asian people in Bahrain are influenced by the Bahraini culture; moreover, she believed the reason is that the South Asian population in Bahrain is more than the number of Bahraini local people. In addition, she mentioned that many years ago, Bahrain imported many products, but rarely exported goods to India, besides pearls. As a result, the influences on Bahrain from India started from the onset of trade and still continue today. Haifa demonstrated that the largest impact on the Bahraini culture is in terms of food and spices.

I think that as Bahraini people, we are influenced more by the South Asian cultures than the South Asian are influenced by our Bahraini culture. I believe the reason is that if you look at the South Asian population in Bahrain, they are bigger in number compared to the Bahraini local people. Even many years ago, when the trade began between India and the Gulf countries, we used to import many things from India and we rarely export things to India.

Therefore, that is why there is a larger influence on us from India. The Indians used to sail to Bahrain and they would bring many goods to sell in Bahrain. So, I think that the influences from India on our food started many years ago during the beginning of trade and still continues today. So, when we started trading and were introduced to the Indian spices it became part of our food.

4.7.3 Food Consumption Behaviours

Ahmed and his family usually prepare and cook their food at home; moreover, Ahmed explained that the food cooked at home is mainly from the Bahraini or Saudi cuisine. Ahmed's wife prepares and cooks the food and might search for different recipes on various social media platforms, such as Indian, Mexican, or Chinese recipes. In addition, they prefer to dine out at weekends, usually from cuisines that are not often prepared at home. Ahmed and his family prefer Chinese cuisine, followed by Italian cuisine, and then Indian.

Our food is mainly cooked at home, but sometimes we might order food from outside. But regularly our food is home cooked. We might order once or twice a week maximum. My wife is the one who cooks and our nanny might help as well. Our food at home is mainly from the Middle Eastern cuisines, like Bahraini or Saudi. We also have many other types of food and my wife searches for recipes online and on social media. Sometimes, my wife prepares Indian, Mexican, and Chinese food for example. We do eat at restaurants during the weekend. We prefer Chinese cuisine first, then Italian second, and Indian as our third preference. We have Indian food around once a month, and mostly Italian or Chinese when we go out. We eat food that we do not usually prepare at home when we dine outside.

Ahmed noted how he and the Bahraini people have adopted and adapted to some of the food and cultural aspects of the South Asian culture. He believed that South Asian cultural and food influences are significant, but also that the Bahraini culture has some influence on the South Asian community in Bahrain. For instance, Ahmed noted how some South Asian individuals wear the traditional male Bahraini 'thobe' (a long white traditional garment or robe worn by males in Bahrain and the Middle East) to pray at the mosque or listen to Arabic music. Ahmed noted how South Asian spices, movies, music, and other cultural aspects have been a significant part of Bahraini people's daily lives.

Ahmed stated that he enjoys eating his food using his hands; however, he also noted that this is something that cannot be practised publicly. He explained that eating food using utensils in public or sometimes at home is an influence from the British culture, especially with regard to the correct way to use utensils.

Hamad noted the number of meals eaten in his household and also explained that his family preferred to eat together; however, due to work or other obligations, some family members might have a quick meal or skip it all together. Also, Hamad and his family do not order food from restaurants.

> *In this house, we have three meals: breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The whole family meets at lunch around one table and we talk while we have our lunch. Unless somebody is not present during lunch for a specific reason, he or she will be asked about to know where they are. For dinner, it is prepared and left on the table and you can pick up what you want at your convenient time. For breakfast, it is in a hurry especially in my case, since I grab a quick breakfast and then jump into my car and head to university to teach my classes. Others in the house wake up at 10 or 11 a.m. and therefore we do not meet for breakfast, but we do mainly for lunch and everyone feels obligated to be there. The meals at home are prepared by our cook and we have home cooked meals most of the time. For example, when my daughter is here, all her food is ordered from outside and mostly from restaurants. For us, we do not order from restaurants.*

Hamad described that the main food items that are always present in his household are rice and fish His family also consume chicken, but only have red meat during Ramadan. Hamad believes that the Bahraini cuisine has been greatly influenced by the various South Asian cultures.

> *We cook fish and rice, as is a main dish for us. All types of fish such as 'safi', 'shaeri', 'hamour'. Also, a little bit of chicken, but meat is not consumed very much in our house except during Ramadan. During Ramadan, meat is consumed on a daily basis but outside Ramadan we rarely have meat. We make fish curry, chicken curry, and all sorts of dishes with fish and chicken, that is 90% of our diet. For breakfast, we have dairy products, eggs, cereals with milk, and so on. Dinner is almost the same as breakfast, but sometimes if I skipped lunch and I liked to have something from lunch then I would have it for dinner. Our cuisine and overall food have been greatly influenced by the South Asian cultures.*

Similarly, Mona believed that Bahraini cuisine has been greatly influenced by Indian culture, especially in terms of spices. She also noted that Indian culture does not have an influence on the way the females in her family dress but has affected their food to a great extent.

> *The influence is to a great extent! In terms of spices, all of our spices are Indian. The way we dress is traditional Bahraini. The way I dress is more western, but the females in this household dress in the traditional manner according to our Bahraini culture. The Indian culture does not*

have an effect on the way we dress, but it does on our spices and the way we think that spices are important to preparing our food.

In addition, Jaffar acknowledged the influences from the South Asian cultures on the Bahraini culture in terms of food, movies, currency, trade, and other aspects of life. He further explained that the greatest influence came from India over the many years of trade.

I totally agree that the Bahraini culture has been influenced in a huge way by the South Asian cultures, especially India. Movies, food, currency, trade, and many other aspects have been adapted and adopted over the years of trade between Bahrain and India.

Jaffar further noted his family's eating habits and explained that they consume both home-cooked food and food ordered from restaurants. They enjoy food from the Bahraini, Indian, Pakistani, Italian, and many other cuisines, as long as the food is delicious and halal, in line with their Islamic values.

Usually, we have three meals and two snacks. Our food is a mix of both home cooked and food ordered from restaurants. We have different types of cuisines, like Bahraini, Indian, Pakistani, Italian, and different cuisines. I do not mind having food from any cuisine as long as it is delicious and has to be halal according to our Islamic values.

Haifa illustrated her experience with dining at and ordering food from various Indian and Pakistani restaurants all over Bahrain. She also noted the famous Pakistani and Indian restaurants across various areas that many Bahraini people visit regularly; moreover, she noted that they range from small stands and cafeterias to traditional restaurants and fine dining establishments. Haifa further noted that she consumed Indian or Pakistani food at least two to three times per week. She explained how the Bahraini biryani dish has been adopted from India and adapted to the Bahraini flavours; furthermore, she noted that it is difficult to clearly define Bahraini cuisine, since many Bahraini dishes are modified versions of South Asian foods. Haifa mentioned that the Bahraini traditional dishes exist; however, South Asian cultures have had a huge influence on the Bahraini cuisine and spices.

In terms of the way of eating, Jaffar noted that he enjoys being influenced by other cultures regarding how he eats his food; moreover, he explained that it depends on the type of food he is eating. For instance, if he is eating sushi, then he prefers to use chopsticks.

It really depends on the dish that I am having. I enjoy having food the way it should be eaten. For example, when I eat sushi I prefer using chopsticks. If the food is supposed to be eaten

using your hands then I would prefer to do that. I enjoy being influenced by other cultures regarding the way I eat their food.

Similarly, Ebrahim noted that the type of food he eats determines how he consumes it. He explained that if he eats fish, then using his hands is the only enjoyable method; however, if he is eating curry or soup, then he would use utensils. He grew up eating his food on the floor, but as he has grown older it has become harder to sit on the floor, and he now prefers to sit at a dining table due to convenience and comfort.

It really depends, for example if you are having fish then the only way you can eat it is with your hands. It is the only enjoyable way, honestly. If you are eating curry or soup, then you would have it with a spoon, knife, and fork. So it depends on the type of food. We always eat on the table, although I grew up eating on the floor. It is very hard to sit and get up from the floor especially after having your food. I think this is due to convenience again, since it is easier to sit on the table and have your food in a relaxed manner.

Amira noted her willingness to explore and enjoy a variety of cuisines; moreover, she demonstrated her fondness towards eating samosas, chapati, and karak tea in the mornings for breakfast. Karak tea has been adopted from the original Indian Masala Chai and adapted to fit the Bahraini local taste. Amira noted that she enjoys eating the Bahraini biryani that has been adopted from the Indian cuisine, but she avoids authentic South Asian dishes and prefers the Bahraini versions, which have less chili and spices.

4.7.4 Cultural and Religious Events

Ahmed illustrated his fondness for Indian weddings, and he believed that Indian marriage festivals are amongst the best compared to other cultures. Ahmed noted that he has many Indian friends in Bahrain and has been invited to many weddings, which he finds fun and enjoyable.

I participate in Indian marriage festivals. I believe it is one of the best marriage festivals and they are very enjoyable and fun to attend. I have attended many Indian marriages here in Bahrain. I do not attend other cultures' festivals or celebrations.

On the other hand, Hamad participated in celebrations with his Indian employees at work. He noted that his participation was not due to feeling obligated, but because he wanted to stay connected to his employees and respect other cultures. He also expected that his employees would participate in Bahraini and other cultures' celebrations at work, to respect and enjoy everyone's cultures.

When I was working as a businessman and we had employees from India, I do participate in their celebrations at work. I do celebrate not because I feel obligated, but to keep in touch with the employees in the company and to respect the cultures of others. I expected them to do the same in return, and they did. When we had our local celebrations, the employees from other cultures would join as well. All of this happened within the frame of work and at the company.

Similarly, Jaffar does not celebrate other cultures' festivals and events, but he welcomes and respects the different festivals and celebrations that happen in Bahrain. He also noted the various festivals and events that occur in Bahrain, such as Diwali and Holi.

I do not go to celebrate but I congratulate and welcome these different festivals and events. You have many festivals in Bahrain, like Diwali, Holi, and many other events.

Amira discussed Bahrain's diversity and how everyone is tolerant, friendly, and peaceful towards each other's religions, cultures, and nationalities. She noted that she does not participate in other cultural, religious, or national festivals and events, but she is very respectful and considerate towards those who do. For instance, Amira has an Indian Hindu neighbour, and she would congratulate and wish them the best during their festivals and events.

Bahrain is a very diverse country, and all ethnicities are friendly and tolerant towards one another. There are so many cultures and religions living in peace together on a small island. I do not participate or celebrate any South Asian festivals or events. However, I am very respectful and considerate of other festivals and events. For example, my neighbour is a Hindu Indian and I would congratulate them and wish them the best during those festivals and events, and I would also do the same with my colleagues at work

4.7.5 South Asian Participants' Perspective of the Host Community

This section discusses the South Asians participants' perspective of the host community in Bahrain. Most of the participants in this research had experienced and witnessed many similarities between their South Asian culture and the local Bahraini culture. In addition, the South Asian participants expressed the welcoming, accepting, and respectful nature of members of the host community. The interviews with the South Asian participants revealed and reinforced the various indicators that describe the host community's tolerance towards various cultures, religions, nationalities, and ethnicities.

Suhani described the diversity of cultures, religions, and nationalities in Bahrain; moreover, she explained how people from different religions and cultures can freely practise their beliefs, prayers, festivals, and so on in Bahrain without any restrictions. She also noted the support of the Bahraini government in terms of cultural and religious freedom and healthcare equality for everyone, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, Suhani noted the respect towards other cultures and religions from the Bahraini people. As a result, Suhani considers Bahrain as her second home and feels comfortable and welcome there. She expressed her perspective regarding the higher quality of life, practicality, and safety in Bahrain compared to India.

> *Yes of course, it is very diverse here. I can see many people from different nationalities, cultures, and backgrounds; however, they can freely practice their own beliefs and Bahrain does not impose any restrictions on anyone living here. Bahrain respects all nationalities and religions and the support from the government is great. Even during the Covid-19 situation, the healthcare and support offered to everyone here is just a blessing. I consider India as my home country and Bahrain as my second home. Life is very easy, practical, systematic, safe, comfortable, and peaceful in Bahrain.*

Similarly, Lipika expressed her fondness towards Bahrain and its people. She noted how the host community is welcoming, friendly, open-minded, and respectful. Moreover, Lipika noted that she has never been in a situation where she was discriminated against in any way. She enjoyed the security and safety in Bahrain compared to India, especially as a woman. She values the multicultural environment she has experienced both within and outside her workplace. In general, Lipika really loves Bahrain, the government support, and the local Bahraini people.

> *As a woman, the kind of security I have in Bahrain unfortunately I do not enjoy back in my city. I really enjoy the diversity in my workplace, we have people from everywhere and it is a multi-cultural environment. I am able to see how people think, how people behave, how people eat and dress up differently, which is all fascinating. In general, I really love Bahrain and love the people and the safety and security I enjoy here.*

Farha expressed her fondness towards the equality between women and men in Bahrain. In addition, she noted that Bahrain is very diverse, open, and accommodating, and that she appreciates that it does not enforce any religion or culture on anyone, and everyone has the freedom to practise their own religion and culture.

> *In Bahrain, I like how women are almost equal to men. Women have the opportunity to get into any field or position they want. That is the most interesting thing about Bahrain for me and I*

really like this aspect. In Pakistan, they have not reached this point yet and there is gender inequality there. There has been a lot of influence from the Bahraini culture on our lifestyle, values, food, dress, and overall life. We have adopted many aspects of the Bahraini culture and Bahrain is a very diverse, open, and accommodating place and they do not enforce a certain religion or culture on people and everyone is free to practice their own culture and religion.

Mahika believes that Bahrain and India are similar in terms of culture, with minor differences. She noted that she feels safe and secure as a woman in Bahrain and that the Bahraini people show respect towards those from other cultures and religions. Mahika also noted the various similarities and differences between Bahrain and India and believes that quality of life is higher in Bahrain.

Ridhi discussed how Bahraini people are very humble and respectful, and that she had never experienced discrimination or exclusion at work or anywhere else in Bahrain, but rather has received support and appreciation from her work colleagues. She and her family celebrate all of their religious and cultural festivals and events without any restrictions. Furthermore, Ridhi described Bahrain as peaceful, comfortable, welcoming, and stress-free. Her overall experience is positive in every aspect due to the host community's behaviour towards her and she would stay in Bahrain forever if she could; however, she has to return to India to be with her parents and siblings.

Bahrainis are very humble and respectful. At my workplace, there were no Indians when I first joined and I have never faced any problems. I never faced any kind of discrimination or exclusion, but I received support and appreciation from my colleagues. Before coming to Bahrain we had a lot of apprehensions, but it was a completely positive experience till today. We celebrate all of our religious and cultural festivals without compromise and that is something that Bahrain has allowed us to do so. Bahrain is very peaceful, comfortable, easy to access everything, less pollution, less stress, and less traffic jams.

Muzafar commended his life in Bahrain and stated that he feels more comfortable there compared to India. He noted how the local host community is flexible, friendly, and welcoming. Muzafar values the multicultural environment and tolerance towards the various religions and cultures he experienced in Bahrain. As a result, he enjoys learning about different cultures, religions, and languages on a daily basis.

I would stay and retire in Bahrain. I feel more comfortable in Bahrain even compared to India as well. Living in Bahrain is easy. People are flexible, they are friendly, and there are different cultures. See when you live abroad like in the GCC, you are open to learn more, but if you stay in India then you will only learn about Indian culture. You meet different people daily and you learn their culture and language. This has made a difference in my life.

Faizal noted that he cannot fairly compare Bahrain to India, since Bahrain is definitely better; however, he compared Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. He described how Bahrain is more friendly, polite, and welcoming; in addition, he noted the high level of education among the host community in Bahrain, which is reflected in their respectful and tolerant behaviours.

> *I cannot compare my home country to Bahrain because it will not be an equal comparison and of course Bahrain is better. I can compare Saudi Arabia to Bahrain. No one would say that India or Pakistan is more peaceful than Bahrain. The best thing about Bahrain is the security compared to back home in India. The overall community in Bahrain are much friendlier, polite, and welcoming compared to Saudi Arabia. The level of education and educated people in Bahrain is high and that is a really good thing, and this is much lower compared to Saudi and India.*

Shahid noted the safer and more secure environment in Bahrain compared to Pakistan; in addition, he described the freedom an individual has in Bahrain. Shahid preferred living in Bahrain rather than Pakistan due to the friendly and secure environment. He also described the host community as friendly, well-mannered, and welcoming; moreover, he noted the government's care for everyone living in Bahrain, which was particularly evident during the Covid-19 pandemic.

> *Basically, the main comparison between Pakistan and Bahrain is that Bahrain has a more secure environment. Also, Bahrain has an environment where we can do whatever we want freely and there are more things available within your reach. For example, I can easily own a car and have it parked at my place without fear. The main thing in Bahrain is having the sense of security and safety compared to Pakistan. In short, although my parents and relatives are in Pakistan, and we would definitely want to be able to live with our parents and family.*

4.8 Chapter Summary

The findings in this research are summarised in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Summary of Findings

	Findings
Major Dimensions:	
Communal Interaction	The Kingdom of Bahrain's multicultural platform offered participants an inclusive and diverse environment to coexist and interact with individuals from their heritage,

	host, and other cultures. Participants' communal interaction involved socialisation on a personal level (e.g.: friends, family, etc.) and on a broader or general level (e.g.: workplace, community, etc.).
Social Interaction	Social Interaction entailed the sense of being affiliated with different groups, such as social and occupational groups, cultural and religious groups, and residential communities. As a result, the participants experienced integration on varying levels and adopted and adapted to many cultural aspects and products from the heritage, host, global, and other cultures.
Institutional Interaction	Institutional interaction included religious, occupational, commercial, and social institutions, which have influenced and affected the participants' consumer behaviours and acculturation process and outcomes. Participants' adaptations, adoptions, and integration were influenced by the heritage, host, global, and other cultures within the workplace, shopping malls, grocery stores or supermarkets.
Familial Interaction	Family interaction and networks served as a vital element and supportive structure through which participants adopted, adapted to, and integrated with various cultural and social aspects. As a result, the findings revealed how participants relied on their families to find economic opportunities, support, entertainment, and knowledge.
Media Interaction	Various media outlets provided participants with access to search for opportunities, migrate or immigrate to the GCC region, and communicate with family and friends, and allowed participants to obtain knowledge about many aspects of various cultures.
Summary:	The multicultural environment, diversity, and inclusion within the Kingdom of Bahrain enabled the participants to experience products, aspects and notions, and interactions with individuals from the heritage culture, host culture, other cultures, and the global consumer culture; as a result, the participants experienced varying consumer acculturation processes and strategy outcomes. Despite the differences in lifestyle, resources, accommodation, and social status, the FGD participants shared similar opinions and experiences to the South Asian participants regarding the cultural diversity in Bahrain.
Consumer Acculturation Integrative Outcome Strategies (Three Ts):	
Traditional Desi	A Traditional Desi seeks and desires minimal integration and is a participant who has adopted and adapted to

	cultural aspects, notions, and products that coincide with their heritage culture.
Transient Desi	A Transient Desi seeks and desires to explore the host culture within the boundaries of familiar categories and territories to achieve a balanced integration. Also, the participant adopts, adapts to, and integrates with various cultural aspects, notions, and products on an occasional basis.
Temerarious Desi	A Temerarious Desi desires to explore and venture beyond the conventional boundaries and fully integrate. A Temerarious Desi is a participant who adopts, adapts to, and fully integrates with the different cultural aspects, notions, and products from the host, heritage, global, and other cultures.
Summary:	The South Asian and working-class FGD participants displayed integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. The strategy outcomes are iterative, fluid, and vary depending on the various cultural aspects, notions, products, and interactions the participants encountered. The varying integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes are: Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi.

The findings still require further analysis in relation to existing theories and literature; therefore, the following chapter discusses the theoretical implications of these findings.

Chapter 5. Discussion

In the previous chapter, the findings, results of data analysis, and coding were presented. This chapter further discusses and explains the data analysis and findings in relation to the aim and objectives of this thesis.

This chapter is structured as follows. It starts with section 5.1 and its subsections, which are related to the overall consumer acculturation framework. Section 5.1.1 delineates the consumer acculturation process (Three D's) and then section 5.1.2. explains the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes (Three T's). As a result, under section 5.1.3. a comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model is developed to capture the entire process. The theoretical and empirical contributions of this research are explained and clarified in section 5.2. Finally, the chapter is summarised in section 5.3.

5.1 Consumer Acculturation Framework

The interrelationship between ethnicity, identity, and social contexts continues to generate interest among various marketing scholars (Banerjee et al., 2021; Cleveland and Xu, 2019; Dey et al., 2019). As migration continues to grow at a global scale, much rigorous and theoretically grounded examination is required of how immigrant or migrant consumers' acculturation process and identities are shaped in different situational and cultural contexts (Banerjee et al., 2021). Schiller and Çağlar (2013) state that the values, cultural backgrounds, skills, and identities of people from similar ethnic backgrounds cannot be examined in a homogenous manner. As a result, a new theoretical perspective has emerged that highlights the dynamic interrelationship between ethnicity, identity, demographic variables, and institutional interaction on one end and the majority-minority context of the acculturation process and integration on the other (Crul, 2016).

Extant literature on consumer ethnicity and acculturation has progressed since Berry's (1981) acculturation model, later advanced by the seminal work and acculturation model of Peñaloza (1994). This field was further advanced by Oswald's (1999) notion of 'culture swapping' and Askegaard's et al.'s (2005) idea of 'pendulism', which both denoted the concept of a dual cultural identity. Other studies have examined the plural identities adopted by immigrant consumers (Demangeot et al., 2015; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011) and consumer ethnocentrism and cosmopolitanism (Cleveland and Balakrishnan, 2019; Zolfagharian et al., 2017).

However, recent research has explored the multidirectional acculturation strategies adopted by ethnic consumers in multicultural societies (Dey et al., 2019; Kizgin et al., 2018). Marketing literature investigating acculturation, ethnicity, and identity continue to blossom; however, the research firmly continues to focus on situations where the host country is the majority population

(Banerjee et al., 2021). Recent literature on migration and inter-cultural studies recognises the restructuring of the majority-minority population dynamic on a global level (Crul, 2016), resulting in contexts where the host country or culture is the minority population and the immigrants or migrants are the majority population (Banerjee et al., 2021). Within the marketing literature, there is a lack of studies examining acculturation, identity, ethnicity, and consumer behaviours and consumption when the host country or society is the minority population (Banerjee et al., 2021), which is the case of Bahrain in this research.

Askegaard et al.'s (2005) and Oswald's (1999) perspectives regarding interactions and acculturation processes in multicultural environments are motivated by emotional oscillation; however, the findings suggest that they are driven by "contextually defined expectations" (Dey et al., 2017, p. 809). In addition, this idea resonates with Stayman and Deshpande's (1989) situational ethnicity, as contextual situations, constraints, and factors influence an individual's sense of self and expression of their self-identity. Contextual acculturation is further analysed and discussed in this research as a more fluid, flexible, and iterative concept, applied by the integrationist migrant or immigrant in Bahrain. As evident in the existing literature, contexts contribute to our understanding and theorising of certain consumer phenomena (Dey et al., 2017; Tian and Belk, 2005).

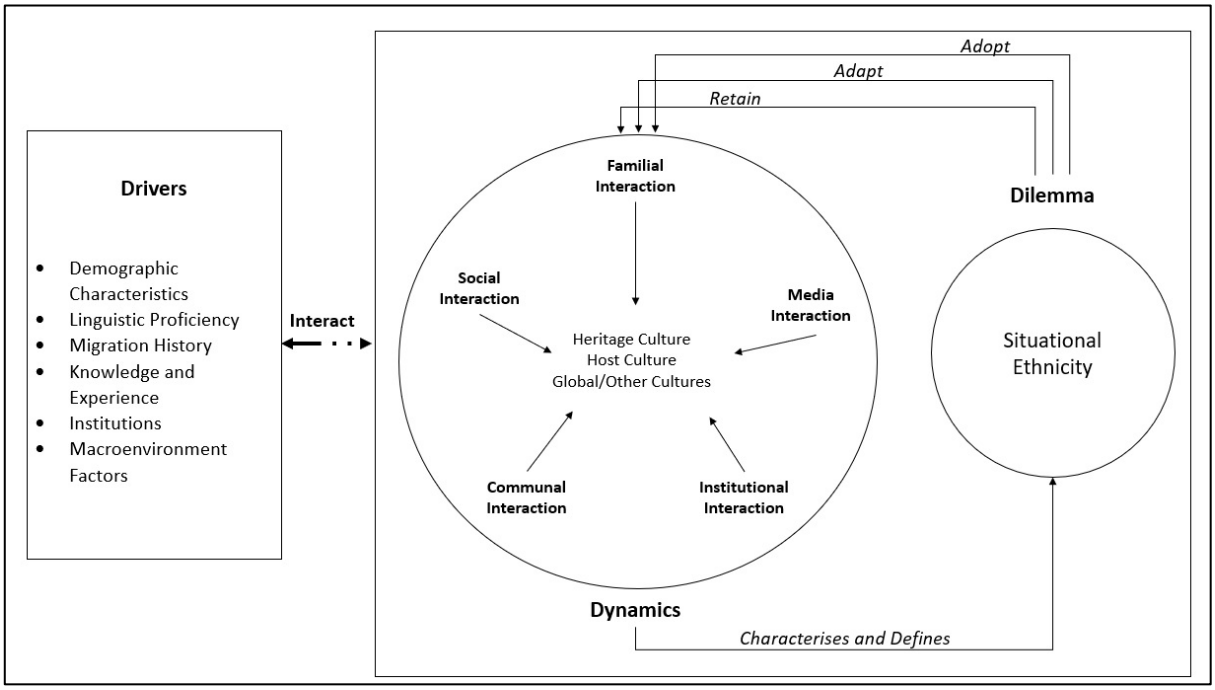
This research is conscious that an over-emphasis on context may diminish the robustness of the contributions to relevant theories and notions (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard and Linnet, 2011). As argued by Askegaard and Linnet (2011), one should consider the "*context of contexts*: societal class divisions, historical and global processes, cultural values and norms" (p. 396) to explain consumers' behaviours, choices, identity, and acculturation. A consumer's everyday social context, which includes cultural, societal, and historical structures and processes, defines their responses and behaviours (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard and Linnet, 2011).

Mehta and Belk (1991) discovered that Indians living in the USA adopted several types of American food products, clothing, and furniture and used their Indian possessions and artifacts to identify themselves with their cultural contexts. Luedicke (2011) argues that migrants maintain aspects from their heritage culture and adopt cultural aspects from their host culture colleagues. The findings in this research concur with this idea and indicate that the individual's response to and interaction with the various contextual components shape and explain the multiple and dual identities formed. For instance, the participants celebrate South Asian or 'desi' cultural events, such as Holi or Diwali, attend Ramadan and Christmas events, and use phrases and words from different cultures in their conversations. Therefore, the need to 'contextualise contexts' is crucial when investigating the ethnic consumers' consumption behaviours, multiple identities, and consumer acculturation processes and outcomes within the multicultural environment of Bahrain. As such, this research investigates a contextual phenomenon and seeks to make meaningful theoretical contributions.

5.1.1 Consumer Acculturation Process: The Three D's

The consumer acculturation process, as shown in Figure 5.1, consists of three distinct but interrelated components – Drivers, Dynamics, and Dilemma. An individual's interactions within institutions and with other individuals from a plethora of cultures, as portrayed in Figure 5.1, lead to acculturation (Berry, 2009), therefore enabling the individual to retain, adopt, and adapt to their home, host, global, and other cultural aspects and products (Banerjee et al., 2021). As a result, the Drivers, Dynamics, and Dilemma constitute an iterative and experiential acculturation process.

Figure 5.1: Consumer Acculturation Process (The Three D's)



5.1.1.1 Drivers

The South Asian immigrants' acculturation process is not a monolithic experience. The Drivers consisted of different resources, skills, and conditions that were developed by or present with the individuals (Peñaloza, 1994). Moreover, Drivers are conditions that precede and affect choice, and thus the consumer acculturation process (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). Since consumer acculturation is an iterative and experiential process, the Drivers have a continuous influence on the remaining components of the consumer acculturation process (Dynamics and Dilemma). Also, the Drivers interact with the other components, as illustrated by the bold and dashed bidirectional arrow positioned between the 'Drivers' box and the box that includes 'Dynamics' and 'Dilemma' in Figure 5.1.

The participants are a diverse group of individuals with a varying range of experiences, knowledge, skills, and abilities (Peñaloza, 1994). These Drivers provide individuals with different skills to enable them to adapt to the consumer environment in Bahrain. As with all components in the acculturation process, the Drivers evolve with time in an iterative manner. This evolving nature of drivers, which dynamically shape the acculturation process, remains neglected in the existing acculturation literature (Leudicke, 2011), which impedes a holistic understanding of the processual flow of acculturation. The Drivers include demographic characteristics, linguistic proficiency, migration history, knowledge and experience, institutions, and macroenvironment factors.

According to Peñaloza's (1994) findings, a combination of distinct demographic characteristics is apparent among individuals. Variations in age, income, education level, residence location and composition, social class, gender, and occupation offered individuals varying degrees of adaptation within the socio-cultural and consumer environment of Bahrain. From the findings, it is apparent that children adapt more readily than adults and face a smoother acculturation process, as discussed by Berry (1997) and Beiser et al. (1988).

On the other hand, in accordance with the findings reported by a number of authors (Dey et al., 2017; Sam and Berry, 1995; Aronowitz, 1992; Ghuman, 1991; Carlin, 1990), older youth and adults' acculturation processes vary depending on several factors, as discussed in the Findings chapter, such as recency of arrival and length of residence. Influences from family, friends, institutions, and media outlets are maximal between childhood and adulthood and are further compounded throughout one's life. As a result, issues of identity, ethnicity, and affiliations arise and continue to form during this period and further develop with time to affect one's choices as an individual and as a consumer (Phinney, 1990).

Migration history involved the individuals' recency of arrival to Bahrain, length of residence in Bahrain, and other countries lived in besides their home country (Dey et al., 2017). Similar to Peñaloza's (1994) findings, both push and pull factors motivated individuals to migrate or immigrate. All South Asian participants in this study left their respective home countries due to conditions of job scarcity, low pay, and lower quality of life (Peñaloza, 1994). As a result, they migrated or immigrated to Bahrain to take advantage of available jobs, higher salaries, higher quality of life, and better education and healthcare opportunities. Younger individuals, individuals who had migrated to Bahrain at a younger age, and those who were born in Bahrain or had lived there for longer seemed to be more inclined towards exploring and adapting to various cultural aspects and products.

In contrast, individuals who had recently arrived in Bahrain or had moved there at an older age, along with those who had shorter periods of residence, sought minimal integration and adaptation to different cultural aspects and consumer products. A combination of recency of arrival and length of residence in Bahrain, along with other countries lived in, contributed to the degree of adaptation and extent of adoption (Dey et al., 2019; 2017; Peñaloza, 1994). For instance, Samuel, an Indian Christian participant from Mumbai, arrived in Bahrain in 1990 when he was only nineteen years of age.

However, he explained that he would find it very hard to return to India after being here for so many years from a young age.

Linguistic proficiency also serves as an important factor in individuals' acculturation process. Adaptation and experience with various languages in Bahrain depends on prior knowledge and experience, age, recency of arrival and length of residence (Peñaloza, 1994), and religious and cultural practices. The middle-class and upper-class participants were all fluent in the English language, along with knowledge of their heritage culture's mother-tongue and official languages; in addition, Muslim participants had either basic or fluent knowledge of the Arabic language. Individuals who had attended school at an earlier age or who had been born in Bahrain were familiar with both Arabic and English. The ability to comprehend and communicate in English provides individuals with an advantage in the workplace and in communication with the public; however, working-class individuals held only rudimentary knowledge of both English and Arabic, which created barriers to adoption and integration. These findings concur with Peñaloza (1994), who argued that linguistic or language proficiency is a critical factor in an individual's ability to adapt and integrate.

As mentioned earlier, higher education levels are associated with smoother adaptations and integration (Jayasuriya et al., 1992; Beiser et al.,1988); in addition, higher education levels tend to be associated with higher income levels, better opportunities, higher occupational and social status, and better social networking (Berry, 1997). Higher education provides an individual with analytical and problem-solving skills, leading to smoother and better adaptations and integration; moreover, education allows an individual to achieve easier integration and serves as a pre-acculturation to the language, history, values, and norms of a culture (Berry, 1997).

Peñaloza (1994) discovered that middle-class individuals had an advantage compared to working-class individuals. Their work status provided an opportunity for the Mexican participants to come into contact with the Anglos, and the type of job also facilitated these encounters. As was evident from the findings in the present study, working-class individuals were more isolated from the general society and environment and experienced minimal integration and adaptation within Bahrain due to lower education levels, work status, and social status. Recruitment institutions have facilitated job opportunities for individuals who have initially migrated from different countries in South Asia to countries in the Middle East. In addition, they have received direct offers from other institutions within Bahrain that have allowed them to migrate and obtain better opportunities. Most of the participants sought the assistance of recruitment agencies located within their hometowns to apply for different job opportunities across the GCC region, including Bahrain.

As Peñaloza (1994) argues, individuals usually translate their knowledge, experiences, and skills from their 'old systems' in their home countries to the 'new systems' in the host country, as these old systems serve as a bridge to the new systems. Individuals encounter an experiential trial-and-error learning process upon migration/immigration (Peñaloza, 1994) and throughout the acculturation process (Dey et al., 2019) to adapt to their new multicultural environment in Bahrain.

Individuals establish new consumption patterns by adopting different products and cultural aspects, adapt to situational contexts and constraints, and retain their heritage cultural aspects and products.

For instance, the Indian and Bangladeshi participants explained that they had to replace the types of fish they would normally use in their home countries with fresh local Bahraini fish, as fish from their home country was not available. Also, the participants reduced the amount and intensity of spices used in their food for health reasons. As apparent in the findings of this study, participants acquired different knowledge, skills, and experiences from their home and other countries that directly translated and helped in their professions, communication, and social relations.

However, the participants adapted to their new multicultural environment in Bahrain and needed to acquire new knowledge, skills, and experiences that would allow them to successfully adapt to and integrate with the different consumption behaviours and patterns of life in Bahrain. For instance, the participants learned new languages or phrases and words from different languages that aided their communication skills and navigation around society and their places of work. In addition, the working-class participants learned about the different products available in the markets and continuously sought the best prices and flavours that would fit their needs in order to maximise the income that they could send to their families in their home countries. As a result, knowledge and experiences continuously evolve and interact with the other components within the acculturation process to adapt to the situational contexts and constraints.

South Asian immigrants' acculturation process is influenced by a myriad of factors within the macroenvironment. The factors that influenced the participants' acculturation process included changes in occupation and workplace, economic and market conditions, and the Covid-19 pandemic. Several opportunities encouraged individuals to migrate to Bahrain, specifically better job opportunities, higher income, and an overall higher quality of living. An individual's occupation and workplace have an impact on their acculturation process. For instance, Lipika, an Indian Christian participant from Tamil Nadu, like other participants, preferred living in multicultural communities; however, her workplace provided her with paid accommodation, and she was thus relocated to an area with a predominantly Indian community. In contrast, Faiza, a Bangladeshi Muslim participant from Dhaka, enjoyed the freedom to choose her preferred residential area and could choose to live either within the university's campus or in other areas outside the campus. Therefore, Faiza was not restricted to a certain community or residential area. On the other hand, the working-class participants did not have the freedom to choose where to live, as their accommodation was provided by their employers.

The working-class participants resided in areas with similar communities that mainly consisted of single working-class males, as they were faced with financial constraints that limit their choice of residence. In accordance with Üstüner and Holt's (2007) study, the lack of economic, social, and cultural capital strongly influenced the women's acculturation. Therefore, changes in an

individual's occupation or workplace environment and economic and social capital can impact his or her acculturation process.

Changes in economic and market conditions can also have an impact on an individual's acculturation process (Dey et al., 2019). The findings in this research complement Dey et al.'s (2017) research on South Asian immigrants living in communities with higher ethnic minority populations, which found that these immigrants tend to have easier access to their ancestral food products and markets. South Asian food products are abundantly available in Bahrain, whether at mainstream supermarkets, smaller convenience shops, or at specialty ethnic shops. However, specific spices or food products might not be available, as explained by Faiza, a Muslim participant from Bangladesh. Faiza explained that she brought back certain spices when she travelled to the USA or Bangladesh, since those spices are not found in Bahrain; however, when she did not have those spices, she would use substitutes. Similarly, the working-class participants noted that they would adapt to buying the most affordable food products, visiting the supermarket weekly to buy the food products they need to cook for that week. Hence, integration and individuals' acculturation processes are influenced by different limitations (Dey et al., 2017), including economic and market conditions.

Another macroenvironmental factor was the Covid-19 pandemic, which affected individuals' consumption behaviours and interactions. All participants discontinued their restaurant visits due to the pandemic and prepared meals at home instead. Some prepared food at home using recipes and flavours from their heritage cultures, but others adapted and learned to prepare meals or fusions from the recipes and flavours of the host culture and other cultures. The Covid-19 pandemic also reduced attendance at work, social events, and places of worship: this affected the interactions and exposure to different cultural aspects. As a result, due to the pandemic, individuals increased or decreased their adaptation to and adoption of other cultural aspects and products.

For instance, Kaenat, a Muslim Pakistani participant, explained how she and her siblings were reintroduced to their rich and interesting Pakistani culture through social media as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic. The pandemic increased their online communication with family, friends, and other aspects of their heritage culture. In addition, Lipika, an Indian Christian participant, and Azza, a Bangladeshi Muslim participant from Dhaka, both explained that they were exposed to a multicultural environment that included individuals from their heritage culture, host cultures, and other cultures at their workplaces in Bahrain. However, the Covid-19 pandemic impacted the exposure and relationship they had with co-workers and students at their workplace. They stated that in their personal lives, most interactions occurred amongst family members and friends from similar cultural backgrounds.

According to Berry (1997), acculturation is also affected by the distances between different cultures; moreover, cultural distance is the dissimilarities between cultures in terms of language, religion, values, norms, etc. The greater the cultural distance, the less positive the acculturation process and the greater the need for culture shedding and learning (Berry, 1997). As a result, an

individual may encounter negative intergroup attitudes and culture conflict (Cleveland and Balakrishnan, 2019; Ruvio and Belk, 2018; Crul, 2016; Berry, 1997; Ward and Kennedy, 1992). The heritage cultures of South Asian individuals and the host culture in Bahrain share extensive cultural similarities, economic and diplomatic relations, and deep historical dynamics, as previously discussed; these positive qualities and similarities were displayed by both South Asian individuals and the Bahraini (host) individuals, as set out in the Findings chapter.

5.1.1.2 Dynamics and Dilemma

The Dynamics consist of familial interaction, social interaction, communal interaction, institutional interaction, and media interaction. Acculturation is a dynamic process that is influenced by several contextual familial, socio-economic, institutional, and spatial factors (Banerjee et al., 2021; Dey et al., 2017). An individual continuously interacts with family, friends, religion, media, society, and institutions (Dey et al., 2017) across a multi-cultural environment that includes the host, heritage, global, and other cultures (Dey et al., 2019). The findings in this research confirmed Dey et al.'s (2019) outcomes that an individual's interactions with family, friends, community, society, media, and social and commercial institutions determine the extent to which they retain their heritage cultural aspects, adopt cultural aspects from the host and other cultures, and adapt to different situations.

Furthermore, the findings in this research demonstrate how an individual's interactions with the distinct factors within the Dynamics shape their dual or multiple identities and characterise and define the extent to which they retain their heritage cultural aspects, adopt cultural aspects from the host and other cultures, and adapt to numerous situations, eventually leading them to different acculturation strategy outcomes for the various products and cultural aspects they experience.
The Dilemma is comprised of situational ethnicity. Situational ethnicity is premised on the notion and observation that particular contexts may determine the choices and behaviours of an individual at a specific moment in time (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). Situational ethnicity and consumption choices are determined by the social situation and the individual's perception of that situation (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989), and therefore different social situations produce different effects on the strength of an individual's felt ethnicity, and thus on their consumer behaviour (Banerjee et al., 2021).

According to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) in-group and out-group categorisation theory, an immigrant consumer's perceptions of self and their ethnic identity depend on social situations and comparisons that are made with the out-groups (host and other cultures) (Kizgin et al., 2018). Individuals constantly negotiate their identities and sense of self among the host, heritage, and other cultural groups (Dey et al., 2019). An individual can adopt a wide range of products and cultural aspects from the host and other cultures, while retaining products and cultural aspects from their heritage culture (Cleveland and Bartsch, 2019), as evident in the findings of this research. The

relationship between ethnicity and consumption choices is impacted by situational contexts (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011).

All individuals in this study strongly identified with their home country's nationality, identity, and heritage culture, and preferred to retain their home country's religious and cultural practices and values, which resulted in minimal adaption and changes. However, certain situational contexts and constraints affected individuals and led them to adapt to and integrate with certain aspects and products that were incongruent with their religious and cultural practices and values. In accordance with Banerjee et al. (2021), the findings suggest that despite the host population in Bahrain being the minority, the ethnic consumers negotiate their identity according to the contextual environment and cultural setting.

Certain findings emerged from the data and were organised into third order aggregate dimensions or themes; moreover, between the heritage, host, global, and other cultures, these findings served as the individuals' Dynamics in the consumer acculturation process. As previously mentioned in relation to the Drivers, the Dynamics and Dilemma involve components that continuously evolve. The Dynamics include familial interaction, social interaction, institutional interaction (involving educational, occupational, social, commercial, and religious institutions), media interaction, and communal interaction.

Immigrant consumers experience cultural and identity conflicts between their home, host, and other cultures (Banerjee et al., 2021; Askegaard et al., 2005; Mehta and Belk, 1991). An individual's attitude and behaviour are associated with his or her sense of self within an ethnic group or in-group, and are thus characterised by their ethnic identity (Crul, 2016; Xu et al., 2004). Also, an individual's ethnic identity is an important part of his/her social identity and self-concept (Dey et al., 2019). Therefore, Dey et al. (2017) used the term 'contextual acculturation' to explain how the contextual familial, socio-economic, institutional, and spatial factors (Dynamics) influence the acculturation process.

Culminating from the findings and analysis of the South Asian consumers within a multicultural environment are distinct yet interrelated Dynamics across the host, heritage, global, and other cultures. The Dynamics involve iterative interactions and experiences that occur between the individuals, products, and notions from different cultures, which are represented by the arrows inside the circle in Figure 5.1. The circles represent the fluidity, continuity, and constant change that occur with the individuals' Dynamics and Dilemma across the different cultures. The individuals are constantly exposed to different aspects, notions, and products within their multicultural environment. Furthermore, they negotiate their own cultural backgrounds and engage with different ethnicities and cultures through individual consumption choices made in a multicultural marketplace (Veresiu and Giesler, 2018).

The relationship between ethnicity and consumption behaviours is affected by the situational context (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011). In addition, Stayman and Deshpande (1989) state that "ethnicity

is not just who one is, but how one feels in and about a particular situation" (p. 361). Xu et al. (2004) focused on ethnic consumers' acculturation in the social environment and examined these consumers' food consumption behaviours and choices among family, friends, work colleagues, and institutions. Situational ethnicity and social contexts are influenced by the presence of contextual familial, socio-economic, institutional, and spatial factors (Dynamics) (Banerjee et al., 2021), and thus influence consumers' behaviours and acculturation (Dey et al., 2019). The Dynamics characterise and define an individual's situational ethnicity, thus leading to multiple identities, as shown in Figure 5.1 by the arrow at the bottom extending out from the larger circle to the smaller circle. As a result, in the Dilemma, an individual adopts, adapts, or retains cultural aspects and products, as represented by the three arrows extending from the top of the smaller circle to the larger circle in Figure 5.1.

The third component of the consumer acculturation process is the Dilemma, which consists of Situational Ethnicity. All three components of the consumer acculturation process (the Three D's) are experiential, evolving, and iterative components that result in varying outcomes and experiences for individuals with the progression of time and varying contexts and situations. Paden (1967) noted that the influence of ethnic identity on an individual depends on the social situation and the individual's perception of a particular situation. Banerjee et al. (2021) further explained that situational ethnicity is affected by antecedent states (conditions immediately preceding choice and momentary feelings) and social situations. Therefore, how an individual feels before a decision, particular social situations, and an individual's felt ethnicity influence their behaviour, and thus their acculturation process and outcome.

For instance, Ridhi, a Hindu Indian participant, explained that she and her family celebrate all their religious and cultural festivals freely, wear the traditional attire, and have certain Indian foods prepared for the right festivals and occasions. In addition, Ridhi further stated that if they decide to eat at a restaurant with friends to celebrate their cultural festivals, then it would be one of their favourite Indian restaurants. Therefore, an individual's situational ethnicity at the time of the behaviour is influenced by their ongoing felt-ethnicity, antecedent conditions and social situation (Banerjee et al., 2021). Moreover, Banerjee et al. (2021) explained that many different social situations have different norms of ethnic behaviours (e.g., type of food and appropriate attire at a British versus a Bahraini wedding): thus, the relationship between ethnicity and behaviour is influenced by the type of product or cultural aspect being experienced. As a result, an individual will adopt host and other cultural aspects and products, retain heritage cultural aspects and products, or adapt to different situations.

According to Berry (1997), adaptation is a change that occurs in an individual or group resulting from environmental demands or pressures; therefore, the greater the adaptation and acculturation, the more the cultural aspects, notions, products, languages, values, attitudes, and behaviours of the host culture, other cultures, and global consumer culture are adopted (Liebkind, 2008). In addition, Beiser et al. (1988) suggests that most acculturating individuals experience long-term positive adaptation to different aspects within a particular cultural environment. Sometimes, an

increased ‘fit’ or ‘cultural fit’ occurs between the acculturating individual and the new environment (Liebkind, 2008; Berry, 1997; Ward and Chang, 1997). For instance, Priyanka, an Indian Hindu migrant from Rajasthan, had adopted certain food products from the host culture (e.g., hummus, falafel, and zaatar) as part of her daily food habits, since those products suited her religious and cultural values. Similarly, Faizal, a Muslim Indian from Bihar, discussed how he and his family had adapted to the diversity found in mosques in Bahrain and better utilities and services, such as air-conditioning, architecture, and overall hygiene, that would fit their lifestyle.

Sometimes that ‘fit’ or ‘cultural fit’ cannot be achieved by an individual or group and leads to conflicting results (Berry, 1997). For example, the participants from FGD 2 experienced financial constraints and lower income, social status, and overall lifestyles compared to the other participants in this study; moreover, the migrant workers in FGD 2 forfeited their Hindu religious values and consumed whatever food products were the most affordable in order to send as much as possible of their remaining income to their families in India.

The findings concur with the work of Dey et al. (2017), who argue that individuals experience involuntary integration due to occupational and locational reasons. In this research, individuals also experienced involuntary integration due to socio-economic reasons. The blue-collar workers from both FGDs experienced financial constraints and their budgets for food, residence, leisure, and overall living expenses were limited due to their low wages and salaries. Moreover, they were provided with paid accommodation by their employers and were limited in their choices of residential communities and interactions. Other participants experienced involuntary integration in a different manner: for instance, Jeevika, an Indian from Tamil Nadu, lacked motivation to meet and socialise with her colleagues beyond the office environment due to miscommunication. Jeevika explained that individuals from the South Asian community share similar languages, sense of humour, food, and interests.

Therefore, not all consumer behaviours and choices are forced, and individuals’ decisions to integrate are influenced by occupational, locational, and socio-economic constraints (Dey et al., 2017). Individuals experience partial integration due to situational constraints, in contrast to Askegaard et al.’s (2005) idea of ‘pendulism’, which refers to voluntary choices and movement between an individual’s host and heritage cultures (Dey et al., 2017; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2016). The individuals are not separated while acculturating due to constraints, as defined by Berry (1980); rather, they display instances of resistance as Peñaloza (1994) explained. However, the resistance displayed by the individuals does not lead to complete segregation (Dey et al., 2017).

Immigrant consumers may value cultural aspects of the host and other cultures (Arends-Tóth and van de Vijver, 2008; Jamal, 2003), particularly when seeking economic or financial opportunities within the host society (Kizgin et al., 2018). Economic or financial needs and rewards served as key motivational factors for adaptation to and adoption of several cultural aspects, notions, and products of the host, heritage, other, and global cultures (Samnani et al., 2013; Gans, 2007; Lambert and

Taylor, 1988); in addition, familial, communal, social, and institutional interactions also contributed as key motivational factors for individuals' adaptation and adoption. Varying degrees of adaptation and adoption were witnessed based on the extent of individuals' value and desire for economic rewards and needs. Also, individuals' distinct interactions and experiences resulted in different degrees of adaptation and adoption.

As observed, individuals adopted certain cultural aspects, notions, and products that were not analogous to their heritage cultures (Samnani et al., 2013); on the other hand, other individuals were reluctant to adopt certain cultural aspects or products that contradicted their heritage culture due to their lack of desire for economic needs and rewards (Shalley and Oldham, 1985). Almost all individuals preferred not to lose their heritage cultural identity, values, and nationality, but they were willing to adapt to different situations and adopt cultural aspects and products to achieve economic benefits, job opportunities, and other benefits (Ethier and Deaux, 1994; Thomas, 1993). According to Berry (1999), such individuals tend towards integration, where an individual experiences their heritage culture with culturally similar individuals and experiences the host and other cultures with members of those respective cultures.

Familial, communal, social, and institutional interactions influenced individuals' adaptation to situations and adoption of several cultural aspects, notions, and products (Lay and Nguyen, 1998). Family members, friends, community members from the heritage and other cultures, and occupational colleagues influenced the individuals' degree of such adoption. With regard to Dynamics and Dilemma, it is apparent that individuals' interactions with family, friends, society, community, media, and institutions (Dey et al., 2019), along with their Situational Ethnicity (Banerjee et al., 2021), shape their acculturation process and outcomes and eventually determine whether an individual retains their heritage cultural aspects, adopts host and other cultural aspects, or adapts to different situations. In addition, an individual's interactions within the different components of the Dynamics and Dilemma eventually shape and form that individual's dual (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999) or multiple identities (Dey et al., 2019).

5.1.2 Consumer Acculturation Strategy Outcomes: The Three T's

The South Asian individuals have adapted to and adopted food products and flavours, languages, lifestyles, shopping and clothing patterns, religious practices, and festivals and celebrations from the host, heritage, global, and other cultures in Bahrain. All participants from the FGDs and most Indian participants intended to return to India at some point in the future; however, participants from Pakistan and Bangladesh nurtured the dream of obtaining Bahraini citizenship or long-term residency in order to remain in Bahrain. All South Asian individuals possessed a great sense of pride towards their heritage culture and ethnicity; moreover, despite being away from their home country, they had not forgotten their ancestral roots.

The individuals feared that their children might lose their home country's language skills, lack knowledge about their heritage history and culture, and lose their identities as Indians, Pakistanis, or Bangladeshis. The individuals expressed the importance of retaining their heritage culture and identity, while simultaneously adapting to and adopting several notions, aspects, and products from the host, global, and other cultures to different degrees. According to Phinney (1990), possession of a strong relationship with one's heritage culture does not necessarily indicate a low or weak involvement with the host, global, or other cultures.

5.1.2.1 Typology of Integrative Consumer Acculturation Strategy Outcomes

The acculturation process and outcomes lead to the formation of a dual cultural identity (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999) or multiple cultural identities (Dey et al., 2019). There was no convincing and robust evidence of assimilation, separation, and marginalisation, as defined by Berry (1981); moreover, the maintenance consumer acculturation outcome defined by Peñaloza (1994) was not evident. The findings revealed cultural hybridity (Dey et al. 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999) and multicultural and multi-directional acculturation (Dey et al., 2019); furthermore, they supported the integration consumer acculturation outcomes as suggested by Berry (1980) and other scholars (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Mehta and Belk, 1991). Even the Bahraini-born participants, including second- and third-generation migrants and immigrants, displayed an appreciation, interest, and pride towards their heritage cultures and ancestral roots.

According to Berry (2017; 2006), integration has been associated with the most favourable psychological, sociocultural, and intercultural outcome strategies; furthermore, integration is linked to the highest levels of career and academic accomplishments, social skills, life fulfilment, and self-esteem (Karatas, 2020; Nguyen and Benet-Martinez, 2013). Integration has been the most preferrable acculturation strategy and has a strong association with positive adaptation, whereas marginalisation, assimilation, and separation have weaker associations with positive adaptations (Liebkind, 2008). This result and pattern have been found across the majority of acculturating groups and studies (Choudhary et al., 2019; Dey et al., 2019; Magnusson and Westjohn, 2019; Steenkamp, 2019; Kizgin et al., 2018; Cleveland et al., 2015; Demangeot et al., 2015; Nguyen et al., 1999; Laroche et al., 1998; Berry, 1997; Sanchez and Fernandez, 1993).

For instance, Mehta and Belk (1991) found that Berry's (1981) integration model was the most appropriate and the immigrants from India adopted and adapted to some but not all aspects from the U.S. culture. Phinney et al. (1992) discovered from their study that students strongly favoured the integration acculturation outcome and integration attitudes were related to higher self-esteem, while assimilation attitudes were negatively associated with self-esteem. In accordance with Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory, forfeiting one's cultural identity and ethnicity leads to

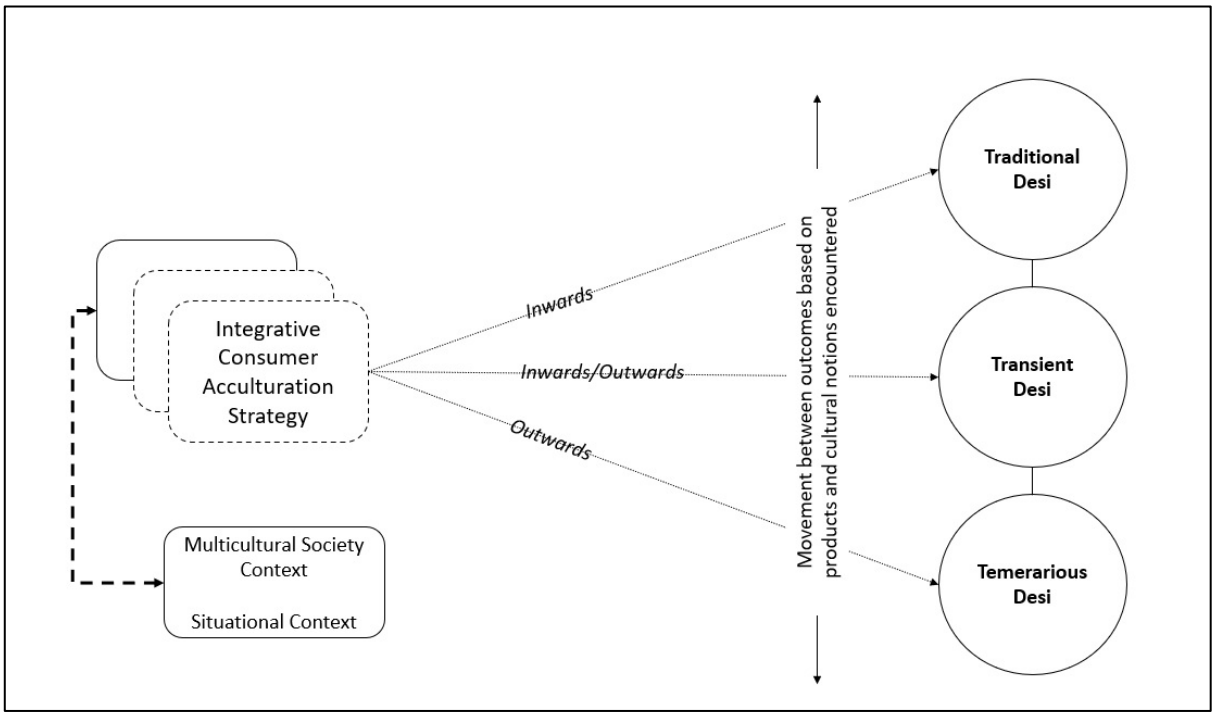
negative impacts on an individual's self-concept (Liebkind, 2008; Phinney et al., 1992). Therefore, the integration acculturation outcome supported a better psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 2006).

For example, one of the participants, a third-generation Indian born in Bahrain whose grandparents had migrated to Bahrain more than sixty years ago, refused to obtain Bahrani citizenship and still retained their Gujarati cultural values, language, food, and traditions; however, they enjoyed a plethora meals and products from the host, global, and other cultures. In addition, the workers from the FGDs displayed a strong sense of pride toward their ethnicities, identities, and heritage countries and were eager to return to their home countries and families; however, they ignored their religious practices and food restrictions and ate meat and other types of food due to financial constraints.

Also, the workers from the FGDs voluntarily enjoyed local Bahraini grilled food and preferred the overall living conditions in Bahrain. As a result, the idea of forfeiting one's heritage identity and culture was unviable among the South Asian individuals, and the evidence of assimilation and marginalisation were not found in this research. Another Indian participant from Tamil Nadu preferred to retain his Hindu and Indian values and to socialise with individuals from his own heritage culture; however, he also interacted and shared meals with his multicultural colleagues and students at his place of work. In addition, the South Asian individuals could not separate themselves from the multicultural environment in Bahrain, as suggested by Berry (1980), due to situational constraints.

The findings revealed varying types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes among the South Asian individuals, who displayed different types of integrative strategy outcomes depending on the cultural notions, aspects, products, and interactions they encountered and experienced. In addition, varying integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes were found, namely Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi. As shown in Figure 5.2, the three integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes are shown as three connecting circles. The resulting outcomes are different types of integration, and an individual can experience any of those outcomes depending on the different cultural notions, aspects, and products he or she encounters (represented by the vertical arrow next to the three circles). As discussed earlier, the situational contexts and multicultural society context have an influence on the consumer acculturation process and strategy outcomes. Figure 5.2: Consumer Acculturation Integrative Strategy Outcomes (Three T's) is a result of Figure 5.1: Consumer Acculturation Process (Three D's).

Figure 5.2: Consumer Acculturation Integrative Strategy Outcomes (The Three T's)



According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2022), 'traditional' means a "person who adheres to traditional ways, practices, or beliefs; a traditionalist" and "of a person or group: adhering to tradition, or to a particular tradition. Also, of behaviour: characterized by such adherence". A traditional desi outcome refers to an individual who retains a majority of products and cultural aspects of their heritage culture, while adopting and adapting to aspects and situations from other cultures that coincide with their heritage culture. Dey et al. (2019) noted that individuals with a strong attachment to their heritage cultures will display cautious behaviours that eventually lead to minimal integration.

On the other hand, 'transient' means a "person who passes through a place, or stays there for only a short time" and "a thing or being that is transient in time; something passing, or transitory" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022). An individual with a transient desi outcome retains aspects and products from their heritage culture and adopts from and adapts to aspects, products, and situations from different cultures in a balanced manner. Thus, individuals desire to explore within the boundaries of familiar categories to achieve a balanced integrative experience. In accordance with Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and Oswald (1999), the interpretation and meanings of cultural aspects and products change depending on the consumer's movement between two or more cultures or cultural references. As a result, an individual adopts and adapts to different cultural aspects, ideas, situations, and products from different cultures, but they can be permanent, replaced, or disposed of with time.

'Temerarious' means a person who is "characterized by temerity; unreasonably adventurous; reckless, heedless, rash" (Oxford English Dictionary, 2022). An individual with a temerarious desi outcome retains products and cultural aspects from their heritage culture, while adopting and adapting

to different cultural aspects, ideas, and products from different cultures in an adventurous and explorative manner. A temerarious desi outcome refers to an individual who is willing to go beyond the conventional cultural and social boundaries and integrate, thus appreciating and valuing the different aspects and contexts from the host culture, other cultures, and the global consumer culture. As a result, individuals with a temerarious desi outcome integrated the cultural aspects, ideas, and products from different cultures to complement their daily lives or enjoy experimental fusions (Askegaard et al., 2005)

Overall, an individual is categorised into one of the resulting integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. For instance, Amna, a Pakistani participant, displayed a traditional desi acculturation outcome across the majority of aspects and products she experienced. This result was evident in her religious practices and national events and celebrations, her adoption of cultural and food aspects from different cultures that coincided with her heritage culture, and the other behaviours and interactions she displayed.

Similarly, the South Asian workers from the FGDs displayed an overall traditional desi acculturation outcome, which was evident through their pride towards their Indian ethnicities and identities, preparation of authentic Indian food, and the way they consumed their food. The migrant workers preferred to sit on the floor and use their hands to consume their food, and to eat collectively as a group, as they would eat collectively with their families in their home countries. In addition, the FGDs South Asian workers displayed a traditional desi acculturation outcome across several aspects and products they encountered and experienced. The Hindu workers relaxed their religious restrictions on consuming beef and other forbidden foods due to financial limitations and to save most of their income for their families in India. However, their food consumption habits and behaviours coincided with their heritage culture. Therefore, the integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes are dynamic in nature and the classic integration category strategy has been widely conceptualised in consumer acculturation, as mentioned in previous studies (Dey et al., 2019; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Penaloza, 1994; Berry, 1980).

The typology of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes focuses on the South Asian consumers' acculturation strategy outcomes that reveal their cultural hybridity through their retention, adaptation, adoption, interaction, and experiences within a multicultural context. Evidence was collected on the individuals' proud display of their heritage identity, culture, nationality, and religion, thus extending Penloza's (1994) claim that migrants or immigrants do not simply assimilate the host community's culture, but maintain transcultural identities to different degrees. Similarly, Oswald's (1999) study revealed that individuals postponed assimilation indefinitely and rather identified across multiple cultures. All South Asian individuals preserved their home country's ethnicity and identity, but integrated several cultural notions, aspects, and products in their lifestyles.

The traditional desi acculturation outcome is when an individual adapts to and adopts cultural aspects and products that correspond to their heritage culture but also retain cultural aspects and

products from their heritage culture. A traditional desi desired minimal integration and were cautious within the boundaries of their heritage culture (Dey et al., 2019). The findings revealed that a traditional desi outcome led individuals to shop for food at stores and restaurants associated with their heritage culture, prepare authentic heritage foods and spices, celebrate their heritage culture's religious and national events only, socialise with heritage community members more often, and engage in other experiences that resonated with their heritage cultures. For instance, an Indian participant experimented with several Indian restaurants over a span of fourteen years to discover the most authentic food and flavours as found in their home country. Other participants noted the importance of having families from their home country in their residential areas and communities; in addition, they noted the importance of friends, shops, restaurants, and services within their surrounding community.

The findings also revealed a transient desi acculturation outcome where individuals desire to explore but within the confines of familiar categories and territories to achieve balanced integration. A transient desi outcome led individuals to shop for food and products from cultures with which they were familiar, prepare food and use spices from familiar cultures, celebrate their heritage culture's religious and national events, while celebrating other events with natives only, strive to socialise and live within a culturally balanced and diverse community, and engage in other familiar experiences, with occasional integration. For instance, such individuals preferred to consume food from a limited number of cuisines that were familiar in terms of taste, flavour, ingredients, and spices. Other individuals preferred to adapt to, adopt, and retain aspects and products only from their heritage and host cultures. These individuals strived to socialise and reside in communities with people from their heritage cultures and other closely related cultures.

Individuals who revealed a temerarious desi acculturation outcome desired to go beyond conventional boundaries and integrate in an adventurous manner. Individuals were open to the global consumer culture, host culture, and other cultures; in addition, they appreciated the different cultural notions, aspects, and consumer products from the multicultural environment in Bahrain and integrated them in their daily lives (Askegaard et al., 2005). A temerarious desi outcome led an individual to shop for food and products from different cultures, prepare food and use spices from different cultures, celebrate numerous religious and national events, socialise and reside with people from diverse cultures, and be willing to explore, adapt, and innovate. For instance, such individuals preferred to reside in cosmopolitan and multicultural areas, even if these areas were geographically distant from their workplace.

These individuals integrated food products, spices, and cuisines into their daily meals; moreover, they integrated phrases and words from the Bahraini Arabic language and other languages in their daily vocabulary and conversations. They constantly demonstrated their willingness to explore and create fusions with food, flavours, and spices from a plethora of cultures. For instance, Farha, a participant from Islamabad, Pakistan, expressed how her thinking, lifestyle, traditions, and rituals

have all been influenced by the Bahraini culture and she feels 60 percent Bahraini. Farha and her family reside in a multicultural community and have already applied for Bahraini citizenship, even though they might lose their Pakistani nationalities. As a result, Farha cannot imagine moving to Pakistan and would rather remain in Bahrain and enjoy the multicultural environment and lifestyle. Nidra, a participant from Delhi, India, had adapted to the flavours and spices in the host country and eventually reduced the number and intensity of spices used in her food. Also, she preferred to experiment and create a fusion of flavours when preparing her food and explained her food is not authentically Indian, but rather an amalgamation of food and flavours inspired form her father's food, her own flavours and experiences, and adoption of local food and other cultures.

The South Asian individuals discussed the tolerant, open-minded, and welcoming characteristics of the host community in Bahrain; furthermore, they noted that the Bahraini government and people had both created a non-discriminatory, tolerant, and friendly environment for them to freely practise their culture, religion, and lifestyle. This tolerant allowed them individuals to integrate in varying ways to the different cultural notions, aspects, and products from the plethora of cultures in Bahrain. According to Ryder et al. (2000), heritage community members' adaptation and adoption of the host and other cultural aspects is related to the openness of the host community members; moreover, openness may lead to a higher degree of adoption and integration among host and heritage community members (Ramdhonee and Bhowon, 2012; Zhang et al., 2010).

The findings revealed that the local Bahraini community served as a fundamental catalyst for the South Asian individuals' consumer acculturation process and outcomes. The interviews with participants from the host community further revealed and reinforced the rich multicultural and diverse environment within Bahrain; moreover, the host community participants acknowledged cultural influences from the South Asian cultures and British culture. The different cultural influences also had an impact on the local Bahraini food products and consumption, use of spices, language, and other similar aspects.

The host community participants indicated several substantial influences on the Bahraini culture from the South Asian cultures. The relationship between Bahrain and the Indian subcontinent began around 1932 and the influences are apparent and clearly visible in various aspects of the Bahraini culture and community (King, 2017; Jain and Oommen, 2016). The greater the acculturation, the more the language, food products and consumption habits, attitudes, behaviours, and values are adopted from other cultures (Dawson et al., 1996). Therefore, the host community is involved in the consumer acculturation process "by either rewarding or punishing the cultural learner" (Smith and Bond, 1998, p. 269).

Of the classic four acculturation strategies discussed in previous studies (Penaloza, 1994; Berry, 1981), integration was preferred (Haugen and Kunst, 2017; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2003; Zagefka and Brown, 2002; Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998), and it led to different types of integrative consumer acculturation outcomes among the South Asian individuals. In addition, the host

community participants adapted to and adopted several cultural notions, aspects, and products from the South Asian and British cultures. Acculturation strategies vary with context and a universal framework cannot be applied across all cultures and contexts (Celenk and Van de Vijver, 2011; Schwartz et al., 2010; Navas et al., 2005).

5.1.3 Comprehensive Integrative Consumer Acculturation Model

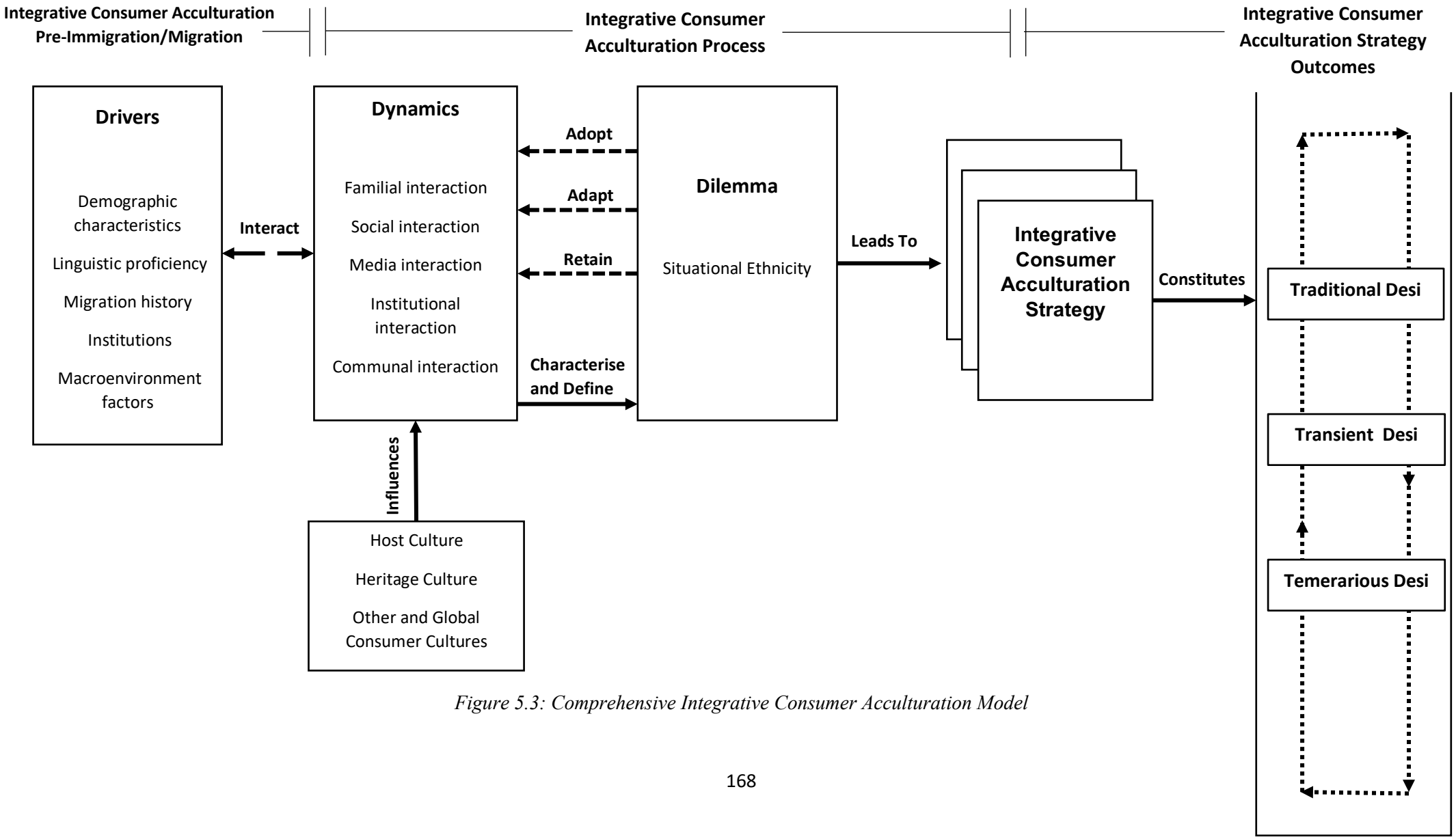


Figure 5.3: Comprehensive Integrative Consumer Acculturation Model

The comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model shown in Figure 5.3 further explains and portrays acculturation as a recursive, iterative, and dynamic process. The model begins with Drivers that generally occur and develop upon and during pre-migration/immigration phase. These Drivers interact with and affect the integrative consumer acculturation process, Dynamics and Dilemma. A consumer experiences complex interactions with entities within the Dynamics, which characterise and define the consumer's identity, thus shaping their dual or multiple identity.

As a result, the consumer's Dilemma (situational ethnicity) in turn allows them to retain aspects of their heritage culture, adopt cultural aspects from other and global consumer cultures, and adapt to varying situations, products, and aspects. The integrative consumer acculturation process is also influenced by multidirectional cultural forces – host culture, heritage culture, other multinational cultures, and global consumer culture. This integrative consumer acculturation process leads to a dynamic and iterative consumer acculturation strategy and constitutes the consumer's strategy outcome. The integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes demonstrate different types of integration for the consumer, namely: Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi.

5.2 Chapter Summary

Based on the data analysis and findings in this research, this chapter has presented and discussed the findings and linked them to the literature, extended frameworks and models, and developed theoretical contributions. The chapter started by delineating the overall consumer acculturation framework, which was further explained through the consumer acculturation process (Three D's) and the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes (Three T's). A comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model was developed to capture the entire consumer acculturation process relevant to the South Asian diaspora in the Kingdom of Bahrain.

As presented and discussed in this chapter, this study provides significant theoretical contributions to the consumer acculturation scholarship. The integrative consumer acculturation process and strategy outcomes are dynamic, iterative, and complex. As a result, a new perspective was presented regarding the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes compared to the existing research and literature. The first significant and novel contribution related to the concept of the three T's (Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi), which have been developed as different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes for the South Asian diaspora in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Therefore, a new perspective has been presented that allows the prior broader acculturation category outcomes and single categories to be further examined.

Another significant contribution that was discussed in this chapter pertains to the reasons and motivations that lead to the formation of dual and multiple cultural identities. The extant literature does not provide a clear and thorough explanation of the dichotomies, characteristics, and motivations behind those dual and multiple cultural identities. Therefore, this research has addressed this gap and

provided a detailed explanation as to how those dual and multiple identities are constituted to further advance the consumer acculturation scholarship.

Finally, the comprehensive integrative acculturation model (shown in Figure 5.3) serves as another significant contribution to develop a broader conceptual underpinning by addressing a gap in knowledge and further extending the consumer acculturation scholarship within the wider marketing and social science literatures. Although this research and its findings have been obtained from a specific community, these theoretical contributions can be utilised and generalised to the existing literature, future research, and wider theories and practices.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This chapter concludes and summarises the entire thesis by initially presenting a review of the aim of this thesis in section 6.1and examining how and to what extent the research objectives and questions have been achieved. In section 6.2, a valuable set of practical implications are presented, which aim to inform various marketing and business practitioners and managers, various brands and commercial institutions, governmental agencies and policy makers, and academics. The research limitations are identified and fully explained in section 6.3. Finally, section 6.4 identifies future research implications and opportunities that would require further exploration and research based on the facts and arguments presented in this thesis.

6.1 Review of Research Aim, Objectives, and Questions

This thesis aimed to explore and analyse the consumer acculturation of the South Asian diaspora through an analysis of their food consumption behaviours within the multicultural context of the Kingdom of Bahrain. Therefore, based on the research aim, several objectives and questions were developed and formulated. These objectives and questions are discussed further below to explain how each objective and question was achieved in this research.

Objective 1: To analyse the motivation behind and the nature of different groups of consumers who demonstrate integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes.

- Question 1: What are the different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes?
- Question 2: How do the South Asian diaspora living in Bahrain constitute and shape the integrative acculturation process?

This research agrees with the classic four consumer acculturation strategy outcomes that were first put forward by Berry (1980) – assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. However, the consumer acculturation scholarship is linked to globalisation and connectivity, and thus the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes of assimilation and separation are not practical and have not been evident in recent times, as mentioned in prior literature (Kizgin et al., 2018; Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999) or in the findings of this research. Increased instances of integration have been witnessed and the extant literature did not clearly present any typology or delve into examining and explaining these integrative behaviours. Prior studies (Dey et al., 2017; Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994) presented and extensively discussed those classic acculturation outcomes, but this research provides a novel perspective for the consumer acculturation

strategy outcomes that is reflective of the South Asian diaspora within the multicultural environment of the Kingdom of Bahrain and the current time period.

Prior seminal studies (Askegaard et al., 2005; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Berry; 1980) are context-specific and do not capture the dynamic evolution of migration history. Throughout the past years, societies around the world have been experiencing increased migration and immigration. Therefore, this thesis addresses that gap and presents a novel contribution by further examining and describing the integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes and presents a new perspective regarding the different types of integration. The findings of this research reveal a novel perspective and typology for integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes that is distinct from the outcomes presented in prior literature.

This research delves into the broad categorisation of integration to reveal different types of individuals' integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. Therefore, the three T's (Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi) have been developed as the different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes for the South Asian diaspora in Bahrain, as shown in Chapter 5 and illustrated in Figure 5.2. A Traditional Desi desires minimal integration and is a participant who has adopted and adapted to cultural aspects, notions, and products that corresponded to their heritage culture. On the other hand, a Transient Desi possesses the desire to explore within the boundaries of familiar categories and territories to attain balanced integration, and adopts and adapts to various cultural aspects, notions, and products in an occasional manner. Finally, a Temerarious Desi desires to venture beyond the conventional boundaries and fully integrate; in addition, a Temerarious Desi is a participant who values, adapts, and adopts the different cultural aspects, notions, and products from a plethora of cultures.

As shown in Figure 5.2, an individual experiences different types of integration depending on the interactions, products, cultural aspects and notions they encounter. Dey et al. (2017) raise the question of whether the broader acculturation strategy outcomes should be examined as a whole or whether each outcome should be further examined individually. As a result, the different types of integration should be further examined, implemented, and researched across different societies and within the consumer acculturation scholarship.

In Chapter 5, Figure 5.3 presents an extensive and comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model that was developed to provide a model that demonstrates the complete consumer acculturation process and outcomes for the South Asian diaspora. Despite focusing on a particular community and context, the contributions and model could be generalised and further advance the extant literature, theories, practices, and future research. As Dey et al. (2017) argued, acculturation is a complex, iterative, and experiential process that is affected by different contextual aspects and constraints. The comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model consists of three interrelated components and illustrates how ethnic consumers' identities are formed in a comprehensive iterative manner in a multicultural environment.

Objective 2: To analyse the motivations and reasons behind the formation of dual and multiple identities of ethnic consumers.

- Question 1: How are the identities and journey within acculturation influenced by the different factors, dynamics, and institutions?
- Question 2: How and to what extent do the macro and personal level factors interplay together to shape integrative consumer acculturation behaviours and identities?

The extant literature does not provide complete instances and explanations regarding how ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities form, nor explanations about the dichotomies and characteristics. This thesis addresses those issues and gaps and provides a thorough delineation of how those dual and multiple cultural identities are formed to further advance the consumer acculturation scholarship. Askegaard et al. (2005) argued that Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) followed Berry's (1981) research to provide post-assimilationist studies in an attempt to explain the dual cultural identities, but their studies did not provide complete explanations and were context-specific, and only applied to consumers across US societies and contexts. In addition, other studies that followed (Dey et al., 2019, 2017; Cleveland et al., 2016; Jaspal, 2015; Jafari and Goulding, 2008; Askegaard et al., 2005) did not provide complete explanations to address or clarify the reasons leading to the formation of dual and multiple identities: thus, this issue requires further investigation.

In this research, the Dynamics and Dilemma components presented in Chapter 5 (Figure 5.1) explain the formation of dual and multiple identities by ethnic consumers and societies. The Dynamics refer to the familial, social, communal, institutional, and media interactions; moreover, an individual engages and is involved in those various components within Dynamics in a multicultural environment, influenced by their heritage, host, and other cultures, including the global consumer culture, (Dey et al., 2019). In addition, Dilemma consists of situational ethnicity, which states that an individual's choices and behaviours are determined by particular contexts at a certain time (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989). Therefore, an individual's identity shapes their sense of self, including their behaviours and choices, within different ethnic groups (Banerjee et al., 2021; Crul, 2016; Xu et al., 2004).

Individuals and social groups experience a process of continuous development due to the various interactions they encounter across different entities and institutions; moreover, the various experiences and interactions across the ingroups and outgroups constantly modify and reconstruct their perceptions and awareness of others and themselves (Jamal and Chapman, 2000). As a result, an individual experiences various interactions, products, and cultural aspects from different cultures, and their dual or multiple identity is formed through those dynamic interactions and encounters and results in a particular type of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcome (e.g., traditional desi, transient desi, or temerarious desi). Ethnic consumers are faced with a continuous debate between

various external demands and internal inclinations (Dey et al., 2019), thus characterising their type of integration across the different ethnic groups. Therefore, this study enhances and further develops Tajfel and Turner's (1979) SIT through a complete delineation of how ethnic consumers' dual and multiple identities are formed and provides another novel contribution within the consumer acculturation scholarship.

The personal and macro factors and findings involved familial, communal, social, institutional and media interaction, which included socialisation on a personal level (e.g., family and friends) and on a general level (e.g., residential community, workplace, and other institutions). All participants interacted with various individuals and integrated, adopted, and adapted to various cultural aspects, notions, and products. The working-class participants from the FGDs were restricted by their linguistic abilities and certain demographic variables (e.g., income, education level, residence location, social class, and occupation); therefore, these limitations allowed the working-class participants to create a communal, social, and collective bond with their co-workers and heritage community members to support their livelihoods and families. The working-class participants experienced interactions with individuals from other cultures through their fieldwork or job sites and other institutions; however, most of their interactions occurred within their shared accommodation with co-workers and they preferred their heritage food and products. For instance, the working-class participants involuntarily forfeited some of their cultural and religious restrictions on certain food products to preserve the highest portion of their incomes.

The South Asian participants experienced more instances of integration, adoption, and adaptation due to fewer limitations and more fortunate circumstances in their linguistic abilities and socio-economic and demographic variables; this provided them with opportunities to learn, enjoy, and experience products and meet people from their heritage culture, host culture, and other cultures. Interactions among individuals from various cultural backgrounds occurred daily within the workplace, shopping malls, grocery stores or supermarkets, restaurants, residential communities, and other locations.

Social interaction involved the sense of belonging to different social and occupational groups, cultural and religious groups, and residential communities. In addition, institutional interaction included religious, occupational, commercial, and social institutions, which have influenced and contributed to shaping the participants' consumer behaviours and acculturation process and outcomes. The majority of interactions, adaptations, adoptions, and integration for the South Asian participants were influenced by the heritage, host, global, and other cultures within the workplace, shopping malls, grocery stores or supermarkets, restaurants, places of worship, and social and cultural clubs.
The working-class participants from the FGDs were exposed to the host, global, and other cultures in Bahrain mainly through their workplace, grocery stores or supermarkets, and places of worship; in addition, the working-class participants were further exposed to various cultural aspects and products and maintained their familial connections through various media interactions, which included various

social media applications. The South Asian participants' consumption behaviours and acculturation process and outcomes were greatly influenced by the various institutions.

Furthermore, the South Asian participants experienced and encountered a plethora of cultural aspects, notions, and products within the multicultural environments found at different institutions. The majority of these participants were influenced by the host culture, global consumer culture, and other cultures in public settings. For instance, most of the South Asian participants avoided using their hands to eat their food in the workplace, at restaurants, and in any public domain. They enjoyed experiencing various cultures and preferred to adapt and adopt to various cultural aspects and products in public settings to achieve different types of integration, maximise opportunities, succeed, or as a preferred and improved alternative.

Objective 3: To analyse how and to what extent acculturation occurs within a country that has a similar population distribution and numerical equality between the host and migrant populations. In doing so, this research analysed the role of the host community in shaping the acculturation strategies and behaviours of the migrant community.

- Question 1: What are the different perceptions that migrant community members have towards the host country?
- Question 2: How do the host community members shape the acculturation of migrant communities?

Certain contextual factors are essential to this study and to the consumer acculturation scholarship that have not affected the robustness or quality of research, analyses, findings, or contributions. This research is the first study to investigate and examine the consumer acculturation process, strategy, and outcomes and cultural identities of the South Asian diaspora in the multicultural environment of the Kingdom of Bahrain. The GCC region, including the Kingdom of Bahrain, is an under-researched area, especially within the consumer acculturation scholarship, thus presenting novel insights.

In addition, unlike the majority of prior research, this study includes participants from different social classes (e.g., blue-collar and white-collar). The blue-collar or working-class South Asian migrants contribute towards numerous sectors, the economy, infrastructure developments, projects, the labour force, and many other societal aspects across the various countries within the GCC region. The Kingdom of Bahrain has a unique population composition compared to the other countries included in prior consumer acculturation literature. It has a larger percentage of non-citizens compared to Bahraini citizens: 52.56% and 47.44% respectively. In addition, the population of South Asians in the Kingdom of Bahrain is almost equivalent to the population of local Bahraini citizens. Therefore, the contextual environment and the majority-minority dynamic differ compared to the countries included in the prior consumer acculturation literature, in which the host community is

usually the majority population. This research provides a unique empirical contribution concerning various contextual aspects across the GCC region, especially the Kingdom of Bahrain.

The findings in this research reveal that the host community served as an integral and supporting catalyst for the heritage community members' acculturation process and cultural adaptations and adoptions within a multicultural environment. The host community members may well enable and encourage individuals to intermingle, interact, adopt, and adapt each other's cultural aspects, notions, and products in a multicultural society. The host community's role in the consumer acculturation process and outcomes can either encourage or discourage the migrants' and immigrants' consumer acculturation learning process and outcomes; moreover, the local Bahraini participants provided a welcoming and highly supportive environment for the South Asian and working-class participants.

The South Asian participants corroborated and reinforced the various characteristics that described the tolerance and acceptance that the host community in Bahrain possessed towards other cultures, religions, and ethnicities. In addition, the findings revealed that South Asian cultural and food consumption influences on the Bahraini culture were substantial. Also, the majority of the host community participants were influenced by the South Asian culture and other cultures, mainly in private domains or settings. For instance, Indian spices and various South Asian dishes were an integral part of the Bahraini cuisine and home cooked meals and have been adopted and adapted to fit the local cuisine. The host community participants preferred to adapt and adopt various cultural aspects and products from the South Asian, British, and other cultures; furthermore, the host community participants displayed integrative consumer acculturation outcomes.

6.2 Theoretical Contributions to the Field of Knowledge

This study set out to make substantial contributions to several theoretical areas within the existing literature and growing body of knowledge. There are three primary theoretical contributions and an additional empirical contribution, as presented below:

Theoretical Contribution 1: This study provides a new perspective for the consumer acculturation strategy outcomes compared to prior studies. As discussed in the Findings chapter, an individual can integrate within a multicultural society in different ways. Thus, the concept of the three T's (Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi) has been developed as different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes for the South Asian diaspora in Bahrain. Prior studies began with the seminal work of Berry (1980) that resulted in the four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. Peñaloza (1994) further developed the acculturation scholarship through her seminal work. Her categorisation was derived from Berry's (1980) model, which resulted in four acculturation strategies: assimilation, resistance, maintenance, and segregation. Askegaard et al. (2005) argued that the Mexican immigrants in the USA are rather

context-specific and Peñaloza's (1994) study occurred over twenty-eight years ago, and therefore it is not resemblant to the South Asian diaspora in Bahrain in the year 2022.

Consumer acculturation literature is intertwined with globalisation and immigration/migration, and as a result the consumer acculturation outcomes of absolute assimilation and separation are not feasible, as evident in prior studies (Kizgin et al., 2018; Dey et al. 2017, Askegaard et al., 2005, Oswald, 1999) and in the findings of this research. In addition, absolute assimilation and separation are absent within existing societies, since they are interlinked due to globalisation. For instance, Kizgin et al. (2018) presented and discussed how second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands were more interested and involved in Turkish politics compared to the first-generation Turkish immigrants when they were at the same age, as a result of globalisation. In Dey et al.'s (2017) findings, third-generation South Asian immigrants still speak their mother-tongue Punjabi language even though their parents and grandparents immigrated to the UK decades ago.

Societies currently do not experience absolute assimilation, as mentioned and witnessed by Peñaloza (1994) in the early 1990s within the Mexican communities in the United States of America. Nowadays, societies have become more cohesive and integrated, such that it is difficult if not impossible for an individual to live a separated life within a multicultural society. For example, Dey et al. (2019) discussed how individuals from different communities and ethnicities share the same places of worship, whether it is the same mosque or church. In addition, individuals send their children to schools and live in communities where they are exposed to different experiences and interactions.

As a result, increasing evidence of integration is being witnessed and the existing literature does not clearly present any typology of the integrative acculturation behaviours. Prior literature mainly focused on the four broad acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation. In this research, the focus is on further delineating the integration acculturation outcome, since most individuals follow integration, but there are different types or shades within this outcome.

As such, the findings of this research revealed a novel perspective for integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes that completely differs from prior literature. A consumer experiences different types of integration: thus, different integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes emerge depending on the products, cultural aspects, notions and interactions they encounter and experience. Acculturation does not occur in a social vacuum, but rather in a complex dynamic environment of intergroup and intragroup interactions (Horenczyk, 1997). As shown in Figure 5.2, the three T's (Traditional Desi, Transient Desi, and Temerarious Desi) are the different types of integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes. The integrative consumer acculturation strategy outcomes and process are iterative, experiential, and fluid in nature, and are influenced by the multicultural social context and by situational contexts and constraints.

Therefore, this research provides a detailed and novel theoretical contribution for the advancement of future literature with regard to consumer acculturation. As discussed by Dey et al. (2017), this thought that underpins the new perspective of whether the broader acculturation category outcomes should still be examined, and the single categories should be examined further. The majority of ethnic consumers experience and exhibit integration (Dey et al., 2019), and that is due to increased globalisation and increased accessibility and opportunities to connect with heritage cultures, thus reducing the possibilities for assimilation. In addition, due to government initiatives, cultural affinity, and multicultural environments, separation has been declining and becoming less feasible (Dey et al., 2017). So, the distinct types, shapes, and forms of integration should be examined within the acculturation scholarship.

Theoretical Contribution 2: The existing literature does not completely explain the dichotomies, characteristics, hybridity, and dualities in cultural identities. Some of the prior literature provide incomplete instances and understanding of ethnic consumers' cultural tendencies and behaviours, while other studies have been criticised for their context-specific arguments. This research addresses these issues and gaps, as it aims to provide an understanding of how these cultural identities are constituted and further advance the consumer acculturation scholarship.

Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) provided post-assimilationist studies that followed Berry's (1981) research and addressed the duality of cultural identity. However, their studies were context-dependent and were not applicable to non-US societies (Askegaard et al., 2005). In addition, they lacked explanations of the reasons that constituted dual or multiple cultural identities. For instance, Peñaloza (1994) and Oswald (1999) did not examine second- or third-generation immigrants/migrants born or raised in host countries, in comparison to first-generation immigrants/migrants. The consumer acculturation process and outcomes for Mexican American immigrants in the USA (Peñaloza, 1994) would be different compared to those of South Asian immigrants/migrants in Bahrain. Dual and multiple identities have gained research attention in both consumer research and social science (Dey et al., 2017), since ethnic communities are likely to possess such identities.

In addition, Askegaard et al. (2005) postulated the concept of bicultural identities of Greenlandic consumers in Denmark and formulated a new acculturation outcome called 'pendulism', which refers to oscillation and movement between different identities. Jafari and Goulding (2008) coined the term 'torn-self' to represent the inner conflict of identities of Iranian youth in the UK. Subsequent studies (Dey et al., 2019; Cleveland et al., 2016; Jaspal, 2015) sought to address the dual and multiple identities of ethnic consumers and societies but failed to fully explain how these dual and multiple identities are formed, thus calling for further investigation.

The formation of dual and multiple identities of ethnic consumers and societies is fully explained in this research through the concepts of Dynamics and Dilemma, as shown in Figure 5.1. Consumer acculturation is a result of an iterative and dynamic process that is influenced by several

contextual components and variables. Dynamics consist of familial, social, communal, institutional, and media interactions. Therefore, an individual continuously engages in and interacts with these interactional components within a multi-cultural environment that includes the host, heritage, global, and other cultures (Dey et al., 2019). On the other hand, the Dilemma consists of situational ethnicity, which is premised on the idea that specific contexts may determine the choices and behaviours of an individual at a specific moment in time (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989).

An individual's ethnic identity forms their sense of self within an ethnic group or groups, and that includes their attitudes, behaviours, and choices (Banerjee et al., 2021; Crul, 2016; Xu et al., 2004). Therefore, individuals' identities are a process of self-identification (Rossiter and Chan, 1998; Venkatesh, 1995). These individuals and social groups are in a constant process of change through the dynamic interactions with different entities and institutions. Therefore, based on individuals' experiences and interactions with in-groups and out-groups, they are continuously reshaping and recreating the perception of themselves and others (Jamal and Chapman, 2000).

As a result, an individual is categorised in one of the integrative acculturation strategy outcomes based on their type of integration, and thus acculturation. An individual experiences many aspects and products from different cultures, but eventually shapes their dual or multiple identity through dynamic interactions that result in a specific type of integrative consumer acculturation outcome (traditional desi, transient desi, or temerarious desi). Ethnic consumers have these constant negotiations between external requirements and internal orientations (Dey at al., 2019), which define and characterise their integration within and across members of different ethnic groups. As a result, this research enriches Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory perspective, explains the formation of identities, and provides a novel contribution within the consumer acculturation scholarship.

Theoretical Contribution 3: A comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model (as shown in Figure 5.3) was developed for this research to address the research aims, objectives, and questions. Although this research and its findings have been based on and obtained from a particular community, the motivation for and the essence of the multiple identities of the migrant/immigrant consumers and their consumer acculturation process and outcomes can be generalised to make contributions to the existing literature and wider theories and practices.

Acculturation is a result of a dynamic, iterative, and experiential process that is influenced by several contextual components and variables (Dey et al., 2017). As shown in Figure 5.3, the comprehensive model consists of three distinct but interrelated parts. In addition, this comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model demonstrates how a consumer's fluid and ephemeral identity is formed in a multicultural environment through a comprehensive iterative process. Therefore, this comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model aims to develop a broader conceptual underpinning by addressing this theoretical gap, and to further extend consumer acculturation scholarship within the wider marketing and social science literatures.

Empirical Contribution: A contribution based on the context might diminish its robustness; however, this was not applicable in this study and has not affected the robustness of such a contribution. There are certain contextual factors that are essential to this research and to the consumer acculturation scholarship. In addition, this study explores a contextual phenomenon, but seeks to make meaningful theoretical contributions that will not diminish the robustness of this research and its contributions.

This is the first research to investigate the consumer acculturation process of South Asian migrants/immigrants in the multicultural environment of the Kingdom of Bahrain. The GCC region and the Kingdom of Bahrain might further the consumer acculturation scholarship and present nuanced insights within the marketing and social science literatures. Unlike the majority of prior investigations, this research takes into account participants from distinct social classes within the same study, including blue-collar or working-class South Asian participants.

The working-class South Asian migrants are an essential part of the population across the GCC region, including Bahrain. They contribute to the overall economy of the region, make a significant contribution to the evolving infrastructure developments and the construction of residential and commercial projects, and are part of the general labour force that includes skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled professions. The Kingdom of Bahrain is unique in its population composition, as only 47.44% of the total population are from the host community and the remaining 52.56% – the majority – comprises individuals from a myriad of cultures. The contextual environment and the majority–minority dynamic is completely different to the majority of past consumer acculturation literature, as prior studies were mainly based in western countries and cultures, with the host community being the majority. Therefore, this research provides a novel empirical contribution regarding the contextual factors within the GCC region and the Kingdom of Bahrain specifically.

6.3 Practical Implications

This research provides several recommendations for marketing and business practitioners and managers, various brands and commercial institutions, governmental agencies and policy makers, and academics. In addition, this research provides a broader positive impact on society that supports some of the sustainable development goals provided by the United Nations to achieve a better and more sustainable future globally.

Kumar and Steenkamp (2013) noted that marketing to diasporas has gained growing interest among various brands and commercial institutions around the world. In addition, they spent a significant amount of time researching and studying emerging prominent brands and commercial institutions that strive to expand globally and build a successful presence. They emphasised that understanding and targeting diasporas is an extremely powerful strategy to achieve a successful global brand presence, expansion, and innovative solutions (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013).

According to The Economic Times (2022), a significant growth in the number of international migrants has been witnessed in the last two decades. In 2020, 281 million migrants/immigrants were residing outside their countries of origin, an increase of 21.35% since 2010 and 38.43% since 2000. As a result, the current international migrants/immigrants constitute around 3.6% of the world's total population. India has been noted to represent the largest diaspora population around the world, with 18 million people in 2020, and the UAE, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the USA host the largest numbers of migrants/immigrants from India (The Economic Times, 2022). Therefore, the findings and insights of this thesis have direct implications for the successful segmentation of various consumer groups, particularly to create successful psychographic and behavioural segmentations of the South Asian diaspora within the multicultural environment of the Kingdom of Bahrain.

Consumers and entrepreneurs are continuously exposed to a wide variety of factors within their environments and that leads to a dynamic change in their perceptions (Zayadin et al., 2022). Therefore, these strategies will allow marketing practitioners and managers, retailers, and advertisers to reach further beyond standard segmentation strategies and techniques and utilise an integrative socio-demographic, socio-psychographic, and socio-behavioural segmentation that highly characterises their customer groups and markets (Banarjee et al., 2021). In addition, understanding and utilising the comprehensive integrative consumer acculturation model and strategy outcomes will allow the various marketing and business practitioners and managers, various brands and commercial institutions, governmental agencies and policy makers to improve their targeting and segmentation strategies, trade relations and policies, assess market dynamics, analyse the current and future trends of consumer culture, and gain a thorough understanding of South Asian consumers and communities.

Dabur, an Indian manufacturer of herbal medicines, began marketing and exporting their products to the Indian diaspora in the UAE in the 1980s (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Dabur displayed their products through Bollywood film celebrities in their marketing campaigns. As a result, their products appealed to the South Asian diaspora in the UAE, and to Arab women due to their fondness for Bollywood movies and association of beauty with Bollywood celebrities and Dabur's products (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Similarly, well-known South Asian jewellery brands such as Malabar Gold & Diamonds, Devji Aurum, and Amrapali Jewels implemented a similar strategy with the South Asian diaspora and Bahraini consumers in the Kingdom of Bahrain. Through the use of Bollywood celebrities and movies, those jewellery brands gained successful entry to the Middle East region, particularly across the GCC.

The Chinese and Indian economies have recently emerged as powerhouses that have transformed perceptions towards their diasporas (The Economic Times, 2022). These developments have produced viable market and consumer segments and the success of their marketing strategies and segmentation is dependent upon understanding their mindsets (Kumar and Steenkamp, 2013). Therefore, "creating integrative identity positions that align with the immigrant cultural mindset" (Banarjee et al., 2021, p. 22). As a result, the marketing practitioners and managers, brands, and

commercial institutions must understand the diaspora's consumer behaviours, identities, and consumer acculturation processes and outcomes to successfully enter markets, launch global brands, and remain relevant and sustainable within various markets and regions.

This research is relevant to the United Nations' sustainable development goals one (No Poverty), two (Zero Hunger), and twelve (Responsible Consumption and Production) (Sustainable Development Goals, n.d.). As previously mentioned, this research provides businesses with improved segmentation techniques to further characterise, define, and understand their customer groups and markets (Banarjee et al., 2021). Therefore, businesses (start-ups, corporations, non-profit organisations, etc.), NGOs, governmental agencies, policy makers, and the broader society can implement these segmentation strategies to further understand consumption patterns, reduce food waste, manage resources, implement action plans and policies, and contribute to the United Nations' sustainable development goals.

Businesses, governmental agencies, and members of society can utilise the various aspects and results of this research to implement the 10-Year Framework of Programmes on Sustainable Consumption and Production Patterns (Sustainable Development Goals, n.d.) and other comparable programmes relevant to the sustainable development goals one, two, and twelve. These programmes and implementation of various policies can lead to improved management of resources, reduce food waste, donate food and resource surpluses, recycle and implement sustainable and responsible consumption and productions practices. For example, institutions within the food industry (e.g.: restaurants, cafes, catering services) can achieve a better understanding of their customers' consumption and food behaviours to futher improve their knowledge regarding the market, segments, segmentation strategies, reduce food waste, contribute to donations and poverty reduction, and improve production and consumption patterns. In a broader sense, these segmentation strategies can be utilised by these various institutions in the food industry to identify the food required to further determine the required quantities and types. As a result, these practices can result in the contribution to sustainable development goals one, two, and twelve.

6.4 Research Limitations and Future Research Implications

This research, as with every study, contains limitations, which will be presented in this section.

First, the findings of this research were based on a small number of participants, which is typical in qualitative studies. Despite being the appropriate method to obtain an in-depth understanding and insights regarding consumer acculturation and behaviours, the use of a qualitative study restricted the generalisability of the research findings. A mixed methodology was not implemented because it was beyond the scope of this research.

Second, another limitation in this research is the possible bias in the interviews with participants and the data analysis process due to the nature of this qualitative study and the data collected, which comprised open-ended responses from the participants. To address the possible bias, the researcher made a conscious and sincere effort to be as objective as possible; moreover, the researcher ensured that the interviews and data analysis were not tainted or affected by any preconceived ideas, opinions, or anticipations related to the consumer acculturation process. The analysed data were corroborated and reviewed by the researcher's supervisor and follow-up interviews were conducted with the participants to confirm the findings and interpretations to minimise bias as much as possible.

The participants from the FGDs were initially sceptical towards the study and the interview process and possessed only rudimentary English language skills; however, to ease and reassure the FGD participants, the researcher arranged the support of a native speaker from the participants' hometown to create a comfortable environment and ensure that he could fully communicate with the participants to avoid any misinterpretations from both sides. The researcher dressed in very simple clothing and explained all the terms, including anonymity, while enjoying and sharing tea, samosas, and snacks with the participants. As a result, the participants felt more at ease and were comfortable to express their thoughts and freely discuss the questions with the researcher.

Third, the COVID-19 pandemic introduced various constraints and challenges for this research. The researcher commenced the data collection during the initial stages of the pandemic and was able to physically meet with 11 out of 26 South Asian participants, seven Bahraini participants, and all FGD participants; moreover, the researcher was able to interview, take photographs, and dine with the participants. However, the number of COVID-19 infections started to increase and various restrictions were imposed on commercial businesses and individuals, which resulted in numerous lockdowns across the Kingdom of Bahrain. As a result, the remaining eight interviews with South Asian participants and one interview with a Bahraini participant had to be conducted online using video calls through Skype, Zoom, or Apple Facetime; moreover, observations and photographs were also not possible due to the COVID-19 restrictions. As the number of COVID-19 infections started to stabilise, the restrictions and lockdown measures were slowly eased, and this allowed the researcher to conduct physical follow-up interviews, observations, and photographs with those participants who felt comfortable and willing to do so. As a result, ethnography was utilised as an underlying philosophy due to the COVID-19 limitations.

Fourth, the participants were encouraged to provide completely sincere, rich, and detailed responses. Some of the participants provided shorter answers for some of the interview questions and some responses lacked details and explanations. As a result, the data provided by the participants were uneven, since some participants' responses were very long and detailed but others provided brief, vague responses to the same questions.

Fifth, due to the nature of a doctoral thesis, the data were coded and the themes were identified by a single researcher, and the analysis was then discussed and corroborated by the researcher's supervisor. This process ensured that the research and method were consistent and robust but failed to provide several perspectives from different researchers with various backgrounds and expertise. The coding of data could involve collaboration between several researchers to develop the codes and themes and conduct a discussion among the researchers and/or a panel of experts.

Sixth, the South Asian diaspora was chosen in order to understand and explore their consumer acculturation process, behaviours, and outcomes. The host community participants and other cultural groups or diasporas were not included, since that was beyond the scope of this study. However, further studies could benefit from including the various cultural groups that exist in the Kingdom of Bahrain and the other GCC countries within the Middle East region. In addition, the host community participants' acculturation process and strategies could be further examined and researched in future studies.

Finally, this study and its outcomes are context-specific, as with most studies. This research was limited to a single country – the Kingdom of Bahrain – and to specific cultural groups, situations, and conditions. This study could have been implemented across several countries within the Middle East and included other GCC countries as well.

This research has highlighted a number of topics and issues that require further research and empirical exploration based on the literature reviewed, the findings of this research, and the limitations previously presented and discussed.

This thesis did not explore or examine other contexts and cultural groups other than the South Asian diaspora, since it was beyond the scope of this research and due to time constraints. In accordance with recent scholarly studies (Banarjee et al., 2021; Dey et al., 2019; Kizgin et al., 2017), the acculturation process and strategies need to be examined and explored in various contexts and regions, especially in regions and societies that are overlooked, such as the Middle East region or the GCC. In addition, future research could benefit from including other cultural and ethnic groups within the same study to further understand and compare their acculturation strategies and cultural identities. Finally, cross-cultural and comparative studies could be conducted to further examine and compare different cultural and ethnic groups' acculturation strategies and identities across different regions or societies (e.g., the South Asian diaspora or other cultural groups in the UK and Bahrain).

This research did not fully examine the host community's consumer acculturation process and strategies; nor did it explore their identities. Host community members are often disregarded in the consumer acculturation scholarship, as the focus is mainly on the migrant/immigrant consumer's acculturation process and strategy. The categorisation of the host community using the taxonomy created for migrant/immigrant consumer in this research would provide useful findings and insights that could contribute to the theoretical and conceptual underpinning (Dey et al., 2019).

Luedicke (2015) noted that the host community can influence the ethnic consumers' acculturation processes and outcomes. Therefore, this research briefly examined the host community's role in relation to the South Asian community in the Kingdom of Bahrain, but further thorough research of the host community's role and acculturation process and outcomes is required. Examining the host community could provide further interesting insights into the complex dynamics of the acculturation process and outcomes and the formation of dual and multiple identities (Dey et al., 2017).

This thesis utilised a qualitative approach and methodology. Quantitative approaches or methodologies could be implemented for future research to enrich the research findings, validate the theoretical model, and further strengthen the generalisation of the findings and the comprehensive theoretical integrative acculturation model developed in this study. In addition, future research could benefit from implementing longitudinal studies to confirm the research findings, overcome any bias, and further examine and understand the process of consumers' acculturation and dual or multiple identities.

In addition, this research did not implement a longitudinal study to further examine and explore the changes in the participants' acculturation process, strategies, outcomes, and behaviours over an extended period due to time constraints. In addition, a longitudinal study is beyond the scope of this research, but since this research is dynamic it could provide intriguing and novel findings to be considered in future research endeavours. For example, participants can be examined and interviewed after a couple of months to compare their responses with their initial interviews and responses. Moreover, the participants' responses and findings could be further analysed to evaluate and compare their initial and latter acculturation strategies and outcomes (Traditional, Transient, and Temerarious Desi). As a result, the longitudinal study can clarify whether participants can possibly change their acculturation strategies, outcomes, and cultural identities over a period of time.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Participant Interview Protocol and Questions

Semi-structured Interview

College of Business, Arts, and Social Sciences

Brunel Business School

The Influence of Food Consumption on Ethnic Consumers' Behaviour and Adaptation to Cultures

Youssef Tarek Nasef

Personal & Demographic

1. Please state your first name only, age/age range, occupation, family size?
2. What is your nationality and ethnic/cultural background?
3. How many languages do you speak fluently? What language(s) do you use at home, at work/university, and with friends?
4. Are your parents from different nationalities or ethnic/cultural backgrounds?
5. When did you first move to the Kingdom of Bahrain and how long have you been living in the Kingdom of Bahrain? Why did you choose Bahrain?
6. Which area do you live in the Kingdom of Bahrain? Is that the same area you lived in since you moved to Bahrain?
7. When it comes to picking an area, is it important to you for the area to have a community from your culture? How would you describe the community surrounding you in terms of culture/ethnic backgrounds?
8. Are you living in the Kingdom of Bahrain as a Bahraini citizen, permanent resident or expatriate, or temporary resident or expatriate?
9. If you are a Bahraini citizen, have you obtained the citizenship recently or have you received it through your parents? If you are not a Bahraini citizen, are you willing to apply for the citizenship? Why yes, or why not?
10. Do you plan to stay in Bahrain for the remainder of your life or do you have plans to move somewhere else?
11. How would you describe living here in the Kingdom of Bahrain compared to your home country?
12. How would you describe the Kingdom of Bahrain in terms of cultural diversity?

13. What are your perceptions of the Bahraini culture and other cultures that you have experienced here?

14. Did the Bahraini culture or other cultures' values, lifestyle, and food products influenced your personal lifestyle or your family's lifestyle? If yes, in what way?

15. During your upbringing or while growing up, what was the dominant culture you and your family identified with around the household and during your everyday life? Is the culture you and your family identify with your home (country of origin) cultural or ethnic background?

16. As an adult now, would you still have the same answer for the dominant cultural or ethnic background you identify with? If no, how has that changed?

17. How would you describe your religious values as an individual and your family's religious values? Has it affected your lifestyle, food choices, etc.?

18. In terms, of your extended family, is it correct that you usually live in the same residence? Are your extended family living with you here? If yes, in the same residence?

19. What kind of connection and social life do you have with family and friends in Bahrain? Is it a similar relationship with family and friends back home?

Food

20. How would you describe your usual day in Bahrain in terms of your food consumption?

    a. How many meals do you eat in a regular day? Snacks?
    b. How do you prepare your meals? Do you cook your own meals or order food from restaurants?

21. Is the type of food you eat here similar to your home country's food?

22. What do you like most and the least here in Bahrain regarding the food availability or food consumption? How is it compared to India/Pakistan/Bangladesh?

23. Where do you prefer to shop for food products? If you order food to be delivered, which restaurants or cuisines do you prefer?

24. Do you prefer shopping for food products at large supermarkets or smaller stores? What are the reasons?

25. Do you know how to cook and prefer to cook? If yes, how did you learn to cook?

26. How important is food in your culture? Has that changed since you moved to the Kingdom of Bahrain?

27. Do you have any restrictions on your food habits or consumption (related to religion, culture, dietary health restrictions, etc.)?

28. How have you and your family coped/adapted to the local food consumption pattern?

29. How do you prefer to eat your food (by hand, plastic utensils, stainless steel utensils, chopsticks, etc.)?

    a. How is food usually eaten in your home country or culture?
    b. Has the way you eat changed over time?
    c. Are there other cultures here that influenced the way you eat?

30. Regarding the timing of your meals, what are the usual timing of your meal/meals?
    a. Is this the same or usual meal timings as your home country?
    b. If not, what has led you to change your meal timings?

31. Do you prefer to eat alone or with family/friends?
    a. Would you say your home country or culture prefer to eat as a collective group or individually?
    b. Did other cultures here have an effect or change how you prefer to eat?

32. Which cooking tool would you not be able to live without?

Community, Social Life, & Religion

33. Are the places of worship here the same as to the ones in your home country?
    a. Did the places of worship affect your lifestyle here? If yes, how so?

34. Would you or did you visit your religion's places of worship but with other communities then your own? Would this happen in your home country? Also, are the places of worship separated according to different cultures? How do you feel about it?

35. Do you participate in social activities and local activities and events? With people of the same culture? Different cultures?

36. Do you celebrate Eid, Ramadan, and/or other national or religious holidays in Bahrain? Do you prepare foods that are related to those occasions?

37. Due to the Corona Virus/COVID-19, we are all currently living under pressure and quarantined/confined to our homes more. Did this cause more/less interaction with similar culture/community members? More/less interaction with other cultures/members?

38. How did the Corona Virus affect your eating lifestyle and habits?
    a. Did the types of food change?
    b. Where you shop for your groceries, did that change as well?
    c. The timing of your meals?

39. There has been a lot of doubt lately with the Corona Virus/COVID-19, especially about whether to avoid animal products and meat of all kind. Is this something you thought about lately? Also, would you be willing to stick to a vegetarian or vegan diet and avoid animal products and meat?

40. What do you miss most about India/Pakistan/Bangladesh?

Appendix B – Participant Profiles

A1. South Asian participants' profiles and details

Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Religion	Household Composition		Language ability	Nationality	Hometown	Date of arrival	Years living in Bahrain	Other countries lived in	Place of residence Bahrain
Darika	F	20	Bachelor	Student	Hindu	Single - Living with grandparents, parents, and father's brothers in same house	Joint Family	Gujarati, Hindi, English	India	Rajkot, Gujarat	Family moved in 1950 (Born in Bahrain)	20	None	Adliya
Amna	F	44	Master	University Lecturer	Muslim	Married with 3 children	Single Family	Urdu, English, and some Arabic	Pakistan	Karachi	2012	8	Pakistan, UK	Juffair
Jeevika	F	42	Doctorate	Nurse	Hindu	Married with 2 children	Living alone without family	Tamil, Hindi, English	India	Madurai, Tamil Nadu	2015	5	India	Um Al Hassam
Lipika	F	43	Doctorate	University Assistant Professor	Christian	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, English	India	Bangalore, Karnataka	2004	13	India	Juffair/Hoora
Nidra	F	51	Doctorate	University Lecturer	Muslim	Divorced with 1 child	Living alone without family	Urdu, Hindi, English, and some Arabic	India	Delhi	2011	9	India, Saudi Arabia	Riffa Views
Ridhi	F	48	Doctorate	Network Engineer	Hindu	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Bengali, Hindi, English	India	Kolkata, West Bengal	2005	15	India	Awali
Samesh	M	45	Doctorate	University Assistant Professor	Hindu	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Tamil, Malayalam, English	India	Madurai, Tamil Nadu	2000	20	India	Hoora
Suhani	F	42	Doctorate	University Assistant Professor	Hindu	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Tamil, Malayalam, English	India	Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu	2005	15	India	Um Al Hassam
Faiza	F	54	Master	Architect	Muslim	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Bengali, English and some Arabic	Bangladesh	Dhaka	2010	10	Bangladesh, Saudi Arabia, USA	Juffair

Samuel	M	51	High School	Business Owner	Christian	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Hindi, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali, Kannada, and English	India	Santa Cruz/Mumbai	1990	30	India	Zinj
Rahima	F	21	Bachelor	Marketing Coordinator	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Urdu and English	Pakistan	Islamabad	Family moved in 1986 (Born in Bahrain)	21	None	New Busaiteen
Arin	M	50	Doctorate	Administration Manager	Christian	Married with 2 children	Single Family	English, Hindi, Malayalam, and Marathi	India	Kerala/Mumbai	2009	11	Oman, India	Zallaq (University Campus)
Kaenat	F	22	Bachelor	HR Specialist	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Urdu, English and Arabic	Pakistan	Lahore	1999	21	Pakistan	Manama
Priyanka	F	34	Bachelor	Home Maker	Hindu	Married with 3 children	Single Family	Hindi, English, and Marwari	India	Ajmer, Rajasthan	2012	8	India	Juffair
Imran	M	47	Bachelor	IT Specialist	Muslim	Married with 4 children	Single Family	Urdu, Punjabi, English, and some Arabic	Pakistan	Islamabad	1998	22	Pakistan	Muharraq/Isa Town
Shahid	M	42	Master	University Lecturer	Muslim	Married with 3 children	Single Family	Urdu and English, and some Arabic	Pakistan	Karachi	2014	6	Saudi Arabia, Pakistan	Zallaq (University Campus)
Guneet	M	64	Bachelor	Director of Strategic Planning	Hindu	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Tamil, Hindi, Kannada, and English	India	Chennai, Tamil Nadu	1997	23	India	Hoora
Faizal	M	34	Doctorate	University Assistant Professor	Muslim	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, English, and some Arabic	India	Bihar/New Delhi	2017	3	Saudi Arabia, India	Riffa
Muzafar	M	42	Bachelor	Management and Property Consultant	Muslim	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Malayalam, Hindi, Arabic, and English	India	Malabar, Kerala	2017	3	UAE, Kuwait, India	Juffair
Dhara	F	21	Bachelor	Sales Officer	Hindu	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Malayalam, Hindi, and English	India	Kerala	Family moved in 1997 (Born in Bahrain)	21	None	Zinj
Fatima	F	21	Bachelor	Customer Service Representative	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Urdu, Pashto, and English	Pakistan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	2004	6	Pakistan	Riffa

Azza	F	20	Bachelor	Event Planner	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Tamil, Urdu, Hindi, Malayalam, English, and some Arabic	India	Karaikal, Tamil Nadu	Family moved in 1985 (Born in Bahrain)	20	None	Gudaibiya
Kubra	F	19	Bachelor	Student	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Urdu, Hindi, English, and some Arabic	Pakistan	Karachi, Pakistan	Family moved in 1996 (Born in Bahrain)	19	None	Budaiya
Mahika	F	46	Bachelor	Home Maker	Christian	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Hindi, English, and Nepali	Australian (Indian Origin)	Delhi	2012	8	India, Saudi Arabia, Australia	Riffa Views
Tanvi	F	38	Doctorate	Assistant Professor	Hindu	Married with 2 children	Single Family	Bengali, Hindi, English	India	Durgapur, West Bengal	2010	10	India	Juffair
Farha	F	21	Bachelor	Student	Muslim	Single - Living with parents and siblings in same house	Single Family	Urdu, Punjabi, English, and some Arabic	Pakistan	Islamabad	2000	20	Pakistan	Manama

A2. Focus Group Discussion 1

Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Religion	Household Composition	Language Ability	Nationality	Hometown	Date of arrival	Years living in Bahrain	Other countries lived in	Place of residence Bahrain
Kumar	M	40	Elementary/ High School	Carpenter	Hindu	Married and family are back in India	Malayalam, Hindi, Tamil, and some Arabic/English	India	Calicut, Kerala	2004	16	None	Hamala (accommodation provided by place of work - shared accommodation)
Parekh	M	35	Elementary/ High School	Carpenter	Hindu					2012	8		
Inesh	M	26	Elementary/ High School	Driver	Hindu					2012	8		
Nihal	M	29	Elementary/ High School	Driver	Hindu					2015	5		
Ronit	M	35	Elementary/ High School	Mason	Hindu					2014	6		
Mohamed	M	40	Elementary/ High School	Carpenter	Muslim					2004	16		

A3. Focus Group Discussion 2

Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Religion	Household Composition	Language ability	Nationality	Hometown	Date of arrival	Years living in Bahrain	Other countries lived in	Place of residence Bahrain
Parijat	M	32	Elementary/High School	Aluminum fabricator	Hindu	Married and family are back in India	Malayalam, Hindi, and some Arabic/English	India	Kerala	2006	14	None	Salmabad (accommodation provided by place of work - shared accommodation)
Samesh	M	34	Elementary/High School	Aluminum fabricator	Hindu					2013	7		
Sanket	M	39	Elementary/High School	Aluminum fabricator	Hindu					2006	14		
Tuhin	M	34	Elementary/High School	Aluminum fabricator	Hindu					2008	12		
Viraj	M	35	Elementary/High School	Aluminum fabricator	Hindu					2008	12		

A4. Bahraini participants' profiles and details

Pseudonyms	Sex	Age	Education	Occupation	Religion	Household Composition		Language ability	Nationality	Hometown
Hamad	M	53	Master	University Instructor	Muslim	Married with 1 child	Joint Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Ahmed	M	58	Doctorate	University Assistant Professor	Muslim	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Jaffar	M	32	Master	IT Specialist	Muslim	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Amira	F	31	Bachelor	HR Officer	Muslim	Married	Single Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Mona	F	30	Bachelor	Marketing Executive	Muslim	Married with 1 child	Single Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Haifa	F	35	High School	Senior Administrative Officer	Muslim	Married with 2 children	Joint Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain
Ebrahim	M	65	Bachelor	Retired Ambassador	Muslim	Widowed and his 2 daughters are living with him (has 4 daughters in total)	Joint Family	Arabic and English	Bahraini	Bahrain

Appendix C – Photographs

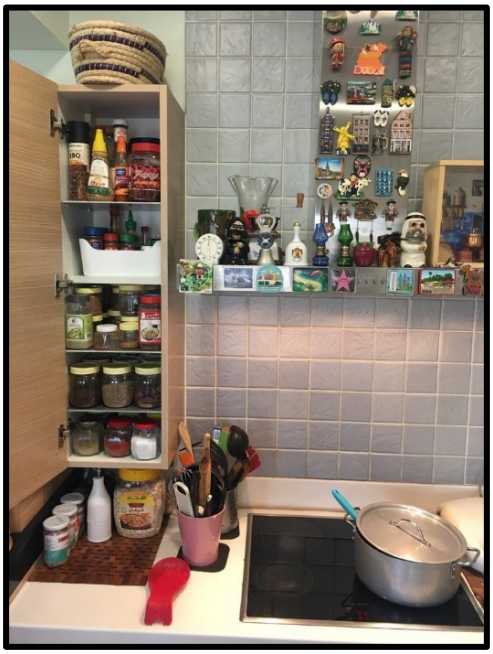
A5. Photographs of Arin's Food

Arin is a Christian Indian participant from Kerala and Mumbai. He displayed an overall Transient Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Arin's family dines outside during the weekends and have different types of food and prepare a variety of different traditional meals at home including Poha, Dosa, different traditional dishes with rice and home cooked paratha, and sometimes substitute the local Bahraini 'khuboos' (fresh bread from the baker) instead of paratha.

A6. Photographs of Amna's food preparation

Amna is a Muslim Pakistani participant from Karachi. She displayed an overall Traditional Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Amna shows how she prepares fresh paratha bread at home using the rolling pin, tawa (pan), and tongs she brought with her from Pakistan.

A7. Photographs of Nidra's food, spices, and kitchen



Nidra is an Indian participant from Delhi. She displayed an overall Temerarious Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Nidra enjoys preparing fresh food at home using her wooden board and rolling pin, air fryer, steamer, and other tools in her kitchen. She prefers experiencing and preparing a fusion of different flavours from her heritage culture and other cultures as well. Nidra uses a variety of different spices from many different cultures. She prepared a dish that consists of pumpkin, bell peppers, potato, and a mix of different spices from different countries and flavours.

A8. Photographs of Azza's food and spices

Azza is an Indian participant from a coastal town called Karaikal in Tamil Nadu. She displayed an overall Transient Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Azza's family have a Malaysian influence due to their ancestors' migration to India decades ago. As shown in the photographs, Azza and her family prepare different types of food and use various spices due to their Indian and Malaysian influence. In addition, they enjoy other types of food such as tabouleh (a Levantine salad that consists of parsley, tomato, onions, and bulgur) and various desserts such as the molten cake shown above.

A9. Photographs of Shahid's kitchen and spices

Shahid is a Pakistani participant from Karachi. He displayed an overall Temerarious Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Shahid enjoys preparing traditional Pakistani meals and also enjoys variety of different foods from different cultures. The first picture displays his mini oven that he uses to prepare pizza, sandwiches, and other types of food. He also uses an air fryer for many types of Pakistani food and food from other cultures as well. The other pictures show the different pans and traditional Pakistani spices.

A10. Photographs of Muzafar's kitchen, tools, and spices

Muzafar is an Indian participant from Kerala. He displayed an overall Temerarious Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Muzafar enjoys preparing and eating food from his heritage culture and cuisine from Kerala and from other different cultures as well. The photographs display coconut oil, homemade Indian spices, tamarind, Saudi Arabian and Bahraini spices, and spices from other countries as well.

Muzafar and his family use a variety of cooking tools and utensils. Shown in the first picture are different types of kadai (Indian iron pots) and a coconut grater brought from Kerala. The second photograph shows an idli maker from Kerala and a rice pot. The third photograph shows different pressure cookers and pots used for preparing different types of curries, meats, and food.

A11. Photographs of Faiza's food

Faiza is a Bangladeshi participant from Dhaka. She displayed an overall Transient Desi integrative acculturation strategy outcome. Faiza enjoys cooking and preparing food from her heritage culture and enjoys creating fusions or experimenting with other types of food and spices. Faiza is very proud of her Bangladeshi culture and cooking, as she grandly displays that through her cooking. The different dishes she cooked in the first picture are mainly different Bangladeshi dishes along with other creations and fusions she created as shown in the second picture. Also, she enjoys making desserts and the two desserts shown are Faiza's version or twist on the traditional Bangladeshi shemai and sheer khurma.

Appendix D – Research Ethics Approval

College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Brunel University London
Kingston Lane
Uxbridge UB8 3PH
United Kingdom

www.brunel.ac.uk

16 March 2020

LETTER OF CONDITIONAL APPROVAL

APPROVAL HAS BEEN GRANTED FOR THIS STUDY TO BE CARRIED OUT BETWEEN 31/03/2020AND 31/12/2021

Applicant (s): Mr. Youssef Nasef

Project Title: The Influence of Food Consumption on Ethnic Consumers' Behaviour and Adaptation to

Cultures Reference: 17752-LR-Mar/2020- 24930-1

Dear Mr. Youssef Nasef

The Research Ethics Committee has considered the above application recently submitted by you.

The Chair, acting under delegated authority has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. Approval is given on the understanding that the conditions of approval set out below are followed:

- **On your Participant Information Sheet, under "What if something goes wrong?" You should inform participants of what to do should something go wrong during the study. The person to be contacted if the participant wishes to complain about the experience should be the College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Chair – Professor David Gallear (Cbass-ethics@brunel.ac.uk).**
- **Please update the contact details at the end of the document as well.**
- The agreed protocol must be followed. Any changes to the protocol will require prior approval from the Committee by way of an application for an amendment.

Please note that:

- Research Participant Information Sheets and (where relevant) flyers, posters, and consent forms should include a clear statement that research ethics approval has been obtained from the relevant Research Ethics Committee.
- The Research Participant Information Sheets should include a clear statement that queries should be directed, in the first instance, to the Supervisor (where relevant), or the researcher. Complaints, on the other hand, should be directed, in the first instance, to the Chair of the relevant Research Ethics Committee.
- Approval to proceed with the study is granted subject to receipt by the Committee of satisfactory responses to any conditions that may appear above, in addition to any subsequent changes to the protocol.
- The Research Ethics Committee reserves the right to sample and review documentation, including raw data, relevant to the study.
- You may not undertake any research activity if you are not a registered student of Brunel University or if you cease to become registered, including abeyance or temporary withdrawal. As a deregistered student you would not be insured to undertake research activity. Research activity includes the recruitment of participants, undertaking consent procedures and collection of data. Breach of this requirement constitutes research misconduct and is a disciplinary offence.

Professor David Gallear

Chair of the Committee

Name Brunel University

London

Appendix E – Participant Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

College of Business, Arts, and Social Sciences

Brunel Business School

The Influence of Food Consumption on Ethnic Consumers' Behaviour and Adaptation to Cultures

Youssef Tarek Nasef

APPROVAL HAS BEEN GRANTED FOR THIS STUDY TO BE CARRIED OUT BETWEEN 31/03/2020 AND 31/12/2021

The participant (or their legal representative) should complete the whole of this sheet.		
	YES	NO
Have you read the Participant Information Sheet?		
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study? (via email/phone for electronic surveys)		
Have you received satisfactory answers to all your questions? (via email/phone for electronic surveys)		
Who have you spoken to about the study?		
Do you understand that you will not be referred to by name in any report concerning this study?		
Do you understand that:		
• You are free to withdraw from this study at any time • You don't have to give any reason for withdrawing • Choosing not to participate or withdrawing will not affect your rights and access to services		
• You can withdraw your data any time up to 01/10/2021		
I agree to my interview being audio and video recorded		
I agree to the use of non-attributable quotes when the study is written up or published.		
The procedures regarding confidentiality have been explained to me.		
I agree that my anonymised data can be stored and shared with other researchers for use in future projects.		
I agree to take part in this study.		

Signature of research participant:
Print name:
Date:

Appendix F – Participant Information Sheet

College of Business, Arts, and Social Sciences

Brunel Business School

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Study title

The influence of food consumption on ethnic consumers' behaviour and adaptation to cultures

Invitation Paragraph

You have been invited to take part in this research study. Before deciding to take part in this research study, it is important for you to completely understand the purpose of this research and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if necessary. Please feel free to contact me if anything is unclear or if you need more information. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary; therefore, please do not feel obligated to take part and take your time to decide whether you want to take part in this study or not. Thank you very much.

What is the purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is to examine and investigate individuals or customers from various ethnic (cultural) backgrounds in the Kingdom of Bahrain, a multicultural country. From a marketing perspective, the study aims to explore how individuals from various ethnic backgrounds adapted to the local culture, other cultures, and their original culture in terms of food consumption. Food consumption refers to how an individual eats food, the type of food eaten, the timing of meals eaten, preferred methods of preparation, etc. This study is a PhD dissertation and the intended date of submission is December 31, 2021.

Why have I been invited to participate?

This research study aims to examine individuals from various cultural backgrounds in order to investigate how they adapt and behave to other cultures; in addition, the expected number of interviews for this research study is between 45 to 55 participants. As a result, you have been invited to participate in this research since you are between the ages of 20 – 70 years and have been exposed to various cultural backgrounds.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is completely voluntary, and it is completely your decision whether to take part in this study or not. If you decide to take part in this study, you will be given this information sheet to keep and you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part in this study, you are still free to withdraw at any time up until October 1, 2021 (3 months before the submission date) without having to provide any reason. Declining or withdrawing from this study at any time will in no way influence or negatively affect you.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be required to take part in an interview. The interview will be structured and should last between 45 minutes to an hour, depending on the answers provided. Before the day of the interview, you will be requested to attend a short meeting at the University of Bahrain or Ahlia University where

you will be given further information about the study and what will be required of you on the day of the interview. The days where you will be required to attend will be agreed upon depending on your schedule of attendance to the university. On the day of the interview, you will be asked a series of questions related to your personal and cultural background; in addition, a series of questions will also cover and ask you about your food eating habits and behaviour and how have you adapted to other cultures and your original culture. The method of choosing participants is referred to as a convenience sampling method; moreover, this method refers to choosing participants based on the ease of choosing participants that are available at the place of work, study, etc.

If you decide to take part in this research study, please make sure you answer all questions truthfully and to the best of your ability. Also, the interviews will be recorded using an audio recording device and if need be, the interview might be recorded through video. Your identity will always remain anonymous and protected.

Are there any lifestyle restrictions?

There are no lifestyle restrictions or changes required by the participant for taking part in this research study.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no anticipated disadvantages or risks associated with taking part in this study. However, your participation might trigger potential psychological effects when recalling certain negative experiences or situations related to you personally, if any. To minimise this, this participant information sheet has been created to inform participants of the nature of the topics of the questions that will be asked during the interviews. You can withdraw at any time and you do not have to answer questions you are not comfortable with.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There are no direct benefits for the participant for taking part in this research study.

What if something goes wrong?

If anything goes wrong at any stage or point during this study, contact the researcher immediately to communicate and resolve any issue. If the researcher was not available or was not able to resolve the matter, then communicate with Professor David Gallear, College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Chair.

If you are not satisfied with the study, then complaints will be directed to Professor David Gallear, College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Chair, david.gallear@brunel.ac.uk or Cbass-ethics@brunel.ac.uk.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

All information and data collected about you during the course of this research study will be kept strictly confidential for a duration till December 31, 2021 or maximum till successful completion and graduation of the PhD program. All information about you which leaves the University will have all your identifying information removed. With your permission, anonymised data will be stored and may be used in future research – you can indicate whether or not you give permission for this through the Consent Form.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recording be used?

If you take part in this study, please be aware that an audio recording would be required and if need be a video recording might also be used. The audio recording will be needed so that the researcher can make sure of the accuracy of the results and data; in addition, the audio recordings will be used to record the responses and save time during the interview. An audio recording device will be used from the beginning till end of the interview. On the other hand, video recordings might be used as well to observe certain actions and behaviours related to the study. Once, the data is analysed and submitted along with PhD dissertation, all audio and video recordings will be kept until the researcher has successfully submitted and graduated from the PhD program by December 31, 2021. All data will be stored in a secure password protected Brunel server or locked file. If you do not feel comfortable with being recorded, please feel free not to participate in the study.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The research data will be coded (for anonymity) and analysed by the researcher before being reported. The results will be used for a PhD dissertation and may be reported at a conference or in a marketing/scientific academic journal. The anonymised research data may also be shared with other researchers for further analysis; however, the data will never be uniquely identified and shared with anyone or published in any way. If you take part in this study and would like to obtain a copy of the publication, please contact the researcher.

Who is organising and funding the research?

This research study is being organised by myself, Youssef Tarek Nasef, and in conjunction with Brunel University London.

What are the indemnity arrangements?

Brunel University London provides appropriate insurance cover for research which has received ethical approval.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has been reviewed by the College of Business, Arts, and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

Research Integrity

Brunel University London is committed to compliance with the Universities UK Research Integrity Concordat. You are entitled to expect the highest level of integrity from the researchers during the course of this research

Contact for further information and complaints

For general information

Doctoral Researcher name: Youssef Tarek Nasef

Doctoral Researcher E-mail: yousseftarek.nasef@brunel.ac.uk

Principal Supervisor name: Dr. Bidit Dey

Principal Supervisor E-mail: bidit.dey@brunel.ac.uk

Principal Supervisor Tel: +44 (0) 1895 267039

Supervisor name: Dr. Allam M. M. Hamdan

Supervisor E-mail: ahamdan@ahlia.edu.bh

Supervisor Tel: +973 17298983 ext.: 8983

For complaints and questions about the conduct of the Research

Professor David Gallear, College of Business, Arts and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee Chair, david.gallear@brunel.ac.uk or Cbass-ethics@brunel.ac.uk.