Conceptualizing Ethnicity and Acculturation
of Second Generation Asian Indians in Britain

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper presents a preliminary study of the ethnicity and acculturation of second generation Asian Indians from the Punjabi community. It considers the conditions that have affected the acculturation of Punjabis within British society, and aims to highlight some of the distinct factors that concern them in relation to their roles, values, identities and behavioral patterns. The paper explores existing propositions with regard to culture and acculturation and emotional situational ethnicity with a view to developing our understanding of second generation Asian Indians living in Britain today. The paper conceptualizes acculturation and ethnicity within a model framework before examining the issues developed in the model through primary research amongst young people in the Punjabi community. We discuss the results from this research under the areas of 'Essential Ethnicity' Emotional Situational Ethnicity' 'Enforced Ethnicity' and 'Ethnic Security', and finally discuss some of the implications of this exploratory study.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Acculturation, Culture, Identities, Asian Indian

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This paper presents a preliminary study of the ethnicity and acculturation of second generation Asian Indians and specifically those from the Punjabi community. It reflects on the particular conditions that have affected the acculturation of these people within British society, and aims to highlight some of the distinct factors that concern them in relation to their roles, values, identities and behavioral patterns. The paper explores existing propositions with regard to culture and acculturation with a view to developing understanding of second generation Asian Indians living in Britain today. The paper examines the limitations of existing research in this area and makes suggestions for how we can develop an understanding of cultural meaning for this group of people. We conceptualize acculturation and ethnicity within a model framework before examining the issues developed in the model through primary research amongst young people in the Punjabi community. This conceptualization is not as simple as first envisaged, as the second generation cannot be neatly categorized, but falls into different categories dependent on situation, behavior, education, family status, class, and caste. The paper suggests that simplification may lose valuable information with regards to acculturation and affiliation studies. The results of this initial exploratory research help to form our thinking and develop conceptualizations about a group of people and consumers who are effectively and successfully spanning two cultures. Some initial conclusions regarding the implications of these findings are discussed. The paper questions the relevance and applicability of situational ethnicity theory; in particular, is the theory too rigid and confining for second generation Asian Indians? How does it take into account cultural chameleons, who switch from culture to culture in different contexts? Understanding the complexity of the lives of second generations Indians is of both academic and managerial interest and in Britain it has become an area of cultural discourse too. Films like 'Bend it Like Beckham' and 'East is East', portray the lives of second generations Indians and the issues they face against a western cultural backdrop. These films have served to highlight the many conflicts, issues and realities faced in the day-to-day worlds of people whose personal and work lives span two cultures. Similarly authors such as Zadie Smith and Monica Ali have brought to the world detailed explorations of intergenerational conflicts and problems, as well as revealing areas of mutual understanding within and across cultures. Clearly second generation Asian Indians offer an important source of understanding for conceptualizing ethnicity and acculturation in a twenty-first century western society.

The 1960s saw a new wave of immigrants coming to the United Kingdom. They brought with them values, culture and behavioral patterns new to Britain. As they have integrated into the existing community, the indigenous population has also acknowledged their values, cultures and behavioral patterns. This transition has to some extent been assisted by the often powerful voice of the offspring of the first wave of immigrants who are now reaching adulthood and who can be strong exponents of traditional beliefs. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, today's second generation immigrants (broadly 18-30 years old) are heading upwards in economic and status terms. The large number of Asian students enrolled in the UK's leading universities, who originate from diverse social groups, exemplifies this. While the caste system still affects many Asian Indians, lower caste members in the U.K. are reaching new heights with their education and profession, buying products that reflect their current status and allowing them to move away from stereotypical views held by their Asian Indian colleagues. This also brings challenges to them in terms of their position in society, and the social and domestic issues they face in spanning two, often contradictory cultures. They are adapting, developing and changing their roles against an eastern and western cultural backdrop. As societies become increasingly multi-cultural, ethnicity and culture is an important influence on the development of marketing strategies. Ethnicity affects consumer behavior from styles of dress, tastes in music, leisure time pursuits and even food and drink consumption (Bocock 1993:80). As individuals or groups of individuals move from one country to another and re-settle, ethnicity is being re-created, re-defined and re-invented over time.

This paper considers the specific and general cultural variables that affect the behavior of these second generation immigrants, whose parents were born in India but have settled in the UK, and whose cultural background could be

described as a mixture of the home and host country. The authors' aim is to take a conceptual view of their behavior with particular emphasis on how the mixture of cultural influences affected their behavioral patterns. How do they respond to different contexts and situations? Do their behavioral patterns reflect an ease of switching from one culture to another or do they highlight the stresses and strains these individuals face on a day-to-day basis?

The study begins by examining particular features of the community under study, Punjabi Asians. While highlighting the strains that might affect second generations living as they often do "between two cultures" (Anwar, 1998:172), it suggests that British Punjabis are likely to be actively choosing their societal roles. Previous work on ethnicity and identity is then discussed with a particular focus on situational ethnicity. The authors note that the idea of a ' transitory psychological state' (Stayman and Deshpande, 1989:361) may be especially relevant to second generation Asians, in particular in relation to their emotional responses to different situations, what we have termed emotional situational ethnicity. Our case is that second generation Punjabis are likely to have developed a continuous emotional response in their lives that is more revealing than looking at their behavior purely in the context of discrete situations. We then examine the concept of acculturation and its relevance for this study and present a preliminary conceptual model of affiliation and acculturation for second generation Punjabis before embarking on an exploratory research project with the aim of beginning an understanding process of the differences and similarities amongst second generation Punjabis.

PUNJABI BACKGROUND

The research focuses on British Punjabis, a community well known to one of the authors. The research explored the inter relationship between commitment to the host country and attachment to a perceived place of origin as a basis of identity. The focus on British Punjabis allows for greater coherence when undertaking research and analyzing results, than if a broader ethnic range was explored. When referring to the subjects of the study, the authors use a fixed term, second generation British Punjabis. This informs the reader in a way that is concise, reasonably precise and as neutral as possible, that the respondents are of Punjabi background, are children of first generation immigrants and have British nationality. It is important to clarify the meaning of Punjabi and Sikhs in this research. Punjabis are individuals that come from Northern India, Punjab. Sikhism is a religion practiced predominantly in Punjab. The focus of this study is second generation Punjabis that are from Sikh families, thus the respondents are located by place and religious affiliation.

As the research aims have highlighted, this paper seeks to consider the specific and general variables that affect ethnicity, acculturation roles and identity. These groups are of particular interest as their social environment inevitably contains many contradictions and is made up of a mixture of western (English) and eastern (Punjabi) values.

Punjabis as a group have a somewhat unique identity, with their own Punjabi language, style of dress and particular family patterns. They are, however, still regarded as part of the overall "Asian grouping," which is reinforced by outsiders' common perception of a homogenous "Asian" minority. The traditional family system for Punjabis is the extended family, bound together by a complex set of mutual obligations (differentiated by gender), often involving the pooling of income and joint living and work arrangements. As a result of chain migration, extended families and wider networks of kin, communities have been established in many parts of Britain, from the Midlands to areas in London and the South. These family units aim to fulfill all the needs of the family members, but in turn demand a strong loyalty in every field. Families are often judged by the strength of these units and by "izzat", best translated as family honor. The term "izzat" has a strong bearing on British Punjabis. "Izzat" can and is applied in many contexts. It is used to convey both the sense that children (in this case the second generation immigrants) should behave in a decent manner and thereby avoid bringing shame on their families and show respect for their elders. The combined factors of joint family units and respect for elders make up an important element of the social structure (Robinson, 1986). British Punjabis have been categorized as living "between two cultures" (Anwar, 1998:172), where there are "manifold contradictions between the

expectations of the minority community and the demands of wider, western society." The word "respect" may actually hold a different meaning within this group and for each generation.

As a subject for research, second generations are particularly important, as they have to be sensitive towards two often contradictory and polarized ways of living. The pressure of negotiating between parental and community demands for respectability on the one hand, and the expectations of the majority culture on the other hand, can be intense. These conflicts will affect our conceptualization, as acculturation and ethnicity may be influenced both implicitly and explicitly by the "between two cultures" values.

Acculturation and ethnicity levels will also account for the conflicting mechanisms at work on second generation British Punjabis. Some of these mechanisms will be pressuring them into conformity with established Punjabi norms, whilst some into liberalization of or deviation from these norms. Thompson (1974) suggested that there could be two alternative reactions to the situation in which the second generation find themselves, the rebel reaction or the in-group reaction (the former being behave like an Englishman and the latter being behave like a Punjabi). However the researchers feel that it is important to note that many of these British Punjabis will not be "passive victims of their circumstances" (Shaw 1988:33) Researchers have also stated that, in general, many second generation immigrants have an active role in deciding to what cultures their affiliation is and the levels of ethnicity and roles they are going to play within the society (Bhachu 1991). This also follows our understanding of situational ethnicity behavior. It is not an either/or case, rather an evolvement and balanced mixture of two cultures (Stayman, and Deshpande 1989).

Anwar (1998 :175) in an article about young British Sikh women argued that the "between two cultures" approach "implies that young people are simply caught up in a vacuum, in some sort of no-man's cultural desert." Bhachu (1985:172) also complained that the portrayal of second generation British Asians in academic literature and also the British media, as young people who lead "between and betwixt lifestyles, who can do little but suffer their parents imposition upon them of alien cultural values," is not necessarily accurate. It would appear that many British Punjabis display intense loyalty and attachment to their families, despite frequently being ambivalent about certain demands made of them by their parents. These criticisms are of particular importance to this research study. If the authors assume that second generation British Punjabis are not passive victims of their circumstance, then they are actively involved in deciding their roles within their society from levels of ethnic involvement and integration to home versus host country values, cultures and levels of loyalty. This pro-active stance will further enhance the credibility of the ethnic affiliation and acculturation we present in our conceptualization.

ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY

The role of identity is important in considering an individual's ethnic cultural orientation. Rex (1996) argued that it is essential to distinguish between two uses of identity. The first relates to the ways in which individuals are guided by cultural norms, perceive social entities and have their own place within a given society. A second use of the term is more emotive, involving a sense of identification or belonging. This can, however, be further distinguished, as Laroche et al. (1992) have, between subjective and objective measures of ethnicity and identity. Subjective measures conceptualize ethnicity as a matter of personal belief and reflect an individual's psychological identity about their cultural attributes. On the other hand objective measures of ethnicity include socio-cultural features such as religion, language and cultural tradition. To some extent it seems likely that the two are embedded in some way together. There is a juxtaposition of individual feelings and emotions as related to common themes of cultural identity running through different ethnic groups, i.e. the individual's response to their cultural situation.

In this discussion of the relationship between ethnicity and identity we need to consider their likely role in the relationship between second generation immigrants and their localization. Are second generation British Punjabis able to localize or do they stay inherently loyal to their host countries with little adaptation? Additionally the relevance and receptiveness of this group to global marketing strategies will be dependent on factors beyond their

cultural orientation, for example the consumers' financial situation, opinion leaders' influence, and personal preferences. Deshpande et al. (1986:215) argued that any combination of objective and subjective characteristics is insufficient without also measuring the intensity of attachment within ethnic groups – is it a strong or weak ethnic affiliation? Donthu and Cherian (1994) found that when the strength of ethnic identification is measured, it is a significant factor in consumer purchase decisions. What marketers in multi-cultural societies need to address, is whether ethnic minorities will ultimately accept the culture of the host country or whether they will retain their own culture and this is largely an emotional, subjective issue not necessarily suitable for objective measurement. It does, however, seem intuitively likely that those with intense assimilation levels will accept and be more receptive to marketing messages than those with weak levels, as the latter possess home country loyalties and thus may ignore host country marketing campaigns.

Berry (1989) reports that the first major anthropological studies into acculturation took place in the 1930s. From this work a body of literature developed which charted the process of acculturation and defined its key characteristics. Berry refers to two classic definitions, one by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936) and the other by the Social Science Research Council (1954). Redfield, Linton and Herskovits made a distinction between culture change and acculturation, suggesting that acculturation was an aspect of culture change. The Social Science Research Council definition, however, identified acculturation as 'culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems' (1954:974). The common link between these viewpoints was that acculturation resulted through some kind of continuous first hand contact of different cultures. An important development for the study of individual acculturation was made by Graves (1967), who distinguished acculturation between the level of the individual and the population. He referred to psychological acculturation to indicate changes experienced at the individual level, thus highlighting the issues of behavior and identity as compared to the social and institutional changes occurring at the population level.

DEVELOPING THE CONCEPT OF EMOTIONAL SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY

Situational ethnicity in consumer behavior focuses on how the relationship between ethnicity and consumption is affected by the situational contexts in which choices are made. This is relevant to the current research study as it explores how different situations can influence levels of ethnic affiliation, and how behavior may vary according to different contexts. The situational ethnicity literature is limited in terms of conveying the emotional responses to being a second generation person and the constant and on-going shift of behavior due to changing levels and reactions to acculturation. We suggest that second generation immigrants may well follow a form of situational ethnicity on a continuous basis throughout their lives rather than behavioral reactions to a series of one-off situations. Such an approach might be more revealing in terms of understanding seemingly surprising shifts in behavior and consumption.

Early consumer ethnicity work largely revolved around sociological and cultural anthropological aspects of ethnicity. Such studies include the work of Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu (1986), O'Guinn and Faber (1985), Hirschman (1986), O'Guinn and Meyer (1984), Saegert, Hoover and Hilger (1985), and Wallendorf and Reilly (1983); most of this work examined ethnicity as an inter individual/group membership characteristic. It seems that ethnicity in the main was seen as a demographic classification (subjects have been classified as Hispanics, for instance based on last name (Saegert et al.1985) and country of origin (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) in cross – sectional studies, rather than a variable that could impact and influence social identity, levels of affiliation and cultural norms.

Other studies widened the use and application of ethnicity from just a demographic variable. For example, O'Guinn and Faber (1985) looked at ethnicity and measured the effects of acculturation on consumption. Their work suggested that ethnic identification and behavior is at least partly situationally determined. That is, ethnicity is not just who one is, but how one feels in and about a particular situation. Thus ethnicity was being considered over and above a demographic variable and not seen as just a "stable sociological trait of individuals that is manifested in the same way at all times, but also as a transitory psychological state manifested in different situations" (Stayman and Desphande 1989:89). It is this "transitory psychological state" which needs to be further

explored and researched. Its application should be extended to lifestyles that stem from individuals living in a western world but having strong eastern influences rather than just a behavioral reaction to a situation. As such we can extend situational ethnicity theory to also include emotional situational ethnicity, which includes the emotional responses to being a second generation immigrant: the mindsets, the thought processes, and the expected reactions by others from this group. This is a process that is not as linear and structured as in the indigenous population, but one that must take account of continually changing situations and one that needs to balance host and home country expectations.

Much situational research has focused on the social psychological role of transitory ethnic states. It has also looked at integrating and moderating the relationship between choice and individual variables (such as ethnicity), as well as its role in affecting general consumption patterns (Kakkar and Lutz, 1975). Situational ethnicity goes over and above conditioning ethnicity as a demographic variable and approaching it from merely the "etic" perspective. There exists a more subjective definition of ethnicity. From this perspective, an individual first identifies which ethnic group(s) s/he belongs to ("self-designated ethnicity") and then indicates how strongly s/he identifies with that group ("felt ethnicity").

It would seem that rather than being viewed as an acculturating influence of environment, level of felt ethnicity is seen as more situation specific. This can be traced back to anthropologist John Paden, who noted "situational ethnicity is premised on the observation that particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a point in time" (Cited in Okamura 1981, p.452). These "particular contexts" maybe on-going and continuously shifting for second generation Punjabis, with levels of acculturation also being influencers. Social science research supports the view that situations are likely to influence the effects of ethnicity on behavior and that the relevant construct to focus on is not "self designated ethnicity" as an individual trait but "felt ethnicity" as a situationally determined state. But ethnicity as situationally determined does not take into account the continuous factors that exist in the social environment, or indeed, consumption patterns. Hence there may need to be a middle ground variant that is included to apply situational ethnicity to second generation immigrants. This will also influence further conceptualization as ethnicity and acculturation levels may be viewed as "continuous" states rather than "one-off" reactions to events, for example, festivals.

The "continuous variant" used in this study is the overall emotional reaction/response to situational ethnicity. Belk (1974:31) defined a "situation" as 'something outside the basic tendencies and characteristics of the individual and tendencies and characteristics of the individual beyond the characteristics of the stimulus object to be acted upon." As with the breakdown of what determined a "situation," there may also need to be a further breakdown of the "continuous" variable.

In the context of situational ethnicity and from Belk's (1974) criteria, the social situation is seen as important. McGuire and McGuire (1978) also suggested that the salience of ethnicity in a given social situation is likely to increase or decrease depending on the extent to which one's ethnicity is similar to or different from that of others in a given environment or situation. We suggest the situational context should be developed to integrate the continuous emotional responses to ethnicity and acculturation levels.

THE ROLE OF ACCULTURATION

Consideration of the concept of acculturation plays an important part in this research. Degrees of acculturation vary from generation to generation with second and subsequent generations likely to develop new loyalties and become more assimilated than first generation immigrants. Acculturation levels are an important factor in understanding the second generation's willingness to accept the host country's values and treat it as their home. The importance of distinguishing psychological acculturation from acculturation, discussed above, is emphasized by Berry (1989). The distinction implies different levels of acculturation; changes in social structure, political organization and the economic base are evident at the population level while at the individual level we are concerned with changes in attitudes and behavior and individual identity. Several studies (Berry, 1980; Berry Wintrob, Sindell and Mawhinney, 1982; Metha and Belk, 1991; Penaloza, 1994) have been developed with the

explicit purpose of understanding and conceptualizing the acculturation process that many immigrants have to deal with. Berry's (1980) model not only distinguished acculturation at the individual and population level but also charted the path of change through antecedents, processes and consequences. The processes described include culture change that occurs at a population level and acculturation resulting from contact with other cultures. Finally, the process of psychological acculturation indicates individual change which occurs through contact with another culture and by participation in the general acculturation changes taking place within their culture. Berry et.al. (1982) studied the responses of the Cree Indian individuals and communities in northern Canada to a major hydroelectric project and found evidence of continuity and change in both the community culture and individual psychological characteristics Penaloza's (1994) ethnographic exploration of the consumer acculturation of Mexican immigrants, developed an empirical model of their consumer acculturation consisting of movement, translation and adaptation processes leading to outcomes of assimilation, maintenance, resistance and segregation. Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) focused on differences between Mexicans in the USA, Anglos in the USA, and Mexicans in Mexico. They examined four types of assimilation, each with different impacts on behavior: a voluntary move for personal gain, an involuntary move, an invasion by different conquering people, and a movement to a new, isolated area. For the Mexican-American immigrants hoping for a better life, the first type of assimilation was selected as the conceptual foundation. These immigrants were expected to develop their own cultural style between the patterns of the culture of origin and those of the culture of residence. Metha and Belk's (1991) work modified the definition of cultural assimilation, suggesting that while assimilation is the proper term for immigrants who want to be absorbed in the dominant culture, integration is more appropriate for immigrants who wish to preserve their cultural identity while maintaining good relations with the dominant culture.

Metha and Belk's (1991) work has shown that even second generation immigrants that are born in the U.S are still integrating into the dominant culture rather than actually becoming part of it. These descendants of immigrants, while native born are, only partially integrated into the host country's culture. This is not necessarily due to the host country's resistance to welcoming these individuals but is also related to these people's desire to stay loyal to the older generation, the home country and even eastern values. Metha and Belk (1991:34) found that favorite possessions of Indian immigrants in the U.S. were based on the need "to maintain Indian culture, this maintenance took place primarily in homes, religious places, social clubs, specialty stores and national publications."

A question that needs to be considered in further development of acculturation is whether this leads to a form of assimilation or integration, or whether indeed tensions exist which preclude neat solutions of either. Berry makes us aware (1989) that acculturation does not necessarily cohere neatly. People both individually and as groups will vary in participation and in response to acculturative influences and a change in behavior need not signify a change in attitudes or beliefs. We propose that second generation Punjabis have two sets of somewhat conflicting acculturation agents, one that corresponds to their home culture and one that corresponds to the host culture. It is this competing pull that is on-going and constantly shifting and goes on to influence behavior in differing contexts and environments. We accept Berry's (1989) view that acculturation is an uneven process. Many of the studies that have been mentioned have looked at immigrants as either highly or lowly acculturated, but studies of acculturation levels, their influence on behavior, levels of ethnicity and identity and emotional reactions to this behavior are lacking. As Stayman and Deshpande (1989:361) state, "situational ethnicity in consumer behavior is being examined and the relationship between ethnicity and consumption is affected by the situational contexts in which choices are made." What of those who have been born in the host country, have British nationalities, are educated in the western system, yet still face cultural divides and conflicts that they must address on a daily basis? In certain situations these second generations are able to benefit from the synergies of living within two cultures, but in others they must make decisions carefully based on home and host country values. It is not just a question of high/low levels of acculturation (based on levels of integration) that is important or how generational influences, media portrayals, peer pressure, need to conform in certain aspects of life (education, work), social situations (marriage, choice of partner, living with the nuclear or extended family), clothing (what is accepted or not) and even religion that affects behavior in certain situations. Rather we should be endeavoring now to understand the more subtle shifts and developments in behavior and what they reveal about second generations.

As a first step in our formal conceptualization, we developed a working model (Figure 1) built around the ideas of Ethnic Affiliation and Acculturation. The model shows four possible categorizations developed from the potential interplay of ethnic affiliation and acculturation. As such these are relatively simple categorizations but ones we believe potentially exist within second generation Punjabis in Britain and within which one might find some continuous modes of behavior. In line with Berry (1980) we suggest that rather than treating acculturation as a single dimension leading to assimilation it is better to view it as a multi-linear concept with different alternatives. Our attempt at conceptualizing and classifying acculturating groups builds on work by Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok (1987), who presented four forms of acculturation defined on the one hand by whether maintaining cultural identity and characteristics were of value and on the other by the incentive to maintain relationships with other groups. The four forms identified were assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Assimilation would occur when an individual in one culture did not wish to maintain their identity seeking interaction with the other culture. Alternatively if a person wished both to maintain their original culture and interact with others, integration would take place. When a person values holding onto their original culture avoiding interaction with others, separation would occur. Finally if there were neither interest nor opportunity to maintain their culture, but there was also little interest or opportunity to interact with the other culture, then marginalization would take place.

Our model presents two distinct cultural backdrops facing second generations. It is not merely a case of assimilating or acculturating with the host country, but as second generations this group has to balance values from the east and the west. Eastern values are part of their up bringing, their religion, their traditions (often being encouraged/pushed by the first generation, in an attempt to preserve eastern roots), while western values are also a part of their lives due to their education, friends, media and the indigenous population. This perspective has not been researched with regards to acculturation theory; as Penaloza's (1994) and Wallendorf and Reilly's (1993) work has shown, consumer acculturation and assimilation have been looked at from a first immigrant perspective; however, the second generational concerns, conflicts, sacrifices and other issues have not been developed in significant depth, if at all. Importantly we do not as in Berry et al.'s model present discrete outcome alternatives but rather levels of likely acculturation and assimilation; thus, we refer to the dimensions in terms of weak and intense affiliation and acculturation.

FIGURE 1
ETHNIC AFFILIATION AND ACCULTURATION ROLES

		ETHNIC AFFILIATION	
		Intense	Weak
Acculturation	Weak	(Asli Punjabi) Home country loyalist	(Barli Hava) Influenced by the host country (Wanderer)
	Intense	(Punjabi Bilathee) Bi-lingual	(Belathi) Host county loyalist (True Englishman)

The classification in the model uses Punjabi terms. This helped the authors to identify second generation behavior in light of ethnic affiliation and acculturation and reveals Punjabi involvement with the processes we seek to describe. "Asli Punjabi" can be translated as meaning a true Punjabi, a person who is loyal to the Punjab and their

home country. "Barli Hava" is a term that means a person has been touched by the host country's values yet still maintains a connection to the home country's culture as well. "Belathi" in the Punjabi language is a word used to describe somebody that has emigrated to Britain and has taken on more of the host country's values than the home country. "Punjabi Bilathee" is a person who has emigrated to Britain but still holds strongly onto Punjabi values, traditions and the culture, such that they become essentially bi-lingual in home and host country values. 'Intense' and 'weak' labels have been used to help categorize, however, it is important to note that the extent of 'intensity/weak' will vary from one second generation Punjabi to another, depending on their own individual circumstances. Importantly in our categorization there is even in the most intense or most weak ethnic affiliation no assumption that this leads to the more polarized sectors that Berry et. al.'s model describes. In particular we do not suggest that an Asli Punjabi is separated from the host country and importantly we do not categorize any second generation Punjabi as being marginalized through acculturation. To take this into account, an additional dimension to the model has been added which we refer to a circuit of intensity, shown by the interconnecting arrows in the middle of the model. These arrows suggest that there will be occasions, events and times in the respondents' lives when they feel intensely Punjabi yet on other occasions far more English, shedding their 'Punjabiness' for that day, occasion or situation. The arrows are an indication of the times/occasions when the respondents' feel part of one extreme or another and so allow for movement within the model. What this model seeks to show is how much the second generation is both a fusion of home and host countries but also exhibits variety in its behavior which, while marketers will increasingly want to take account of, may be difficult to predict. They are members of the second generation that mould and alter their behavior on a daily basis and not just for a particular situation. It is a daily and constant reality and these changes in behavior are not necessarily specific to one type of occasion or consumption situation, but part of an evolving pattern that marketing needs to follow and accommodate in order to understand the complexity of such second generations.

THE RESEARCH STUDY

This study has been aimed at understanding the respondents' experiences in their own terms, similar to Thompson, Locander and Polio's (1989) approach to existential phenomenology, where consumer experience is viewed as "being in the world" and is described as it emerges or is lived. No specific hypothesizes were developed prior to the primary research (Denzin, 1984), the researchers being primarily concerned with the individual's behavior based on their own particular meanings. In this exploratory research we wanted to hear how people felt about their culture, their identity and in particular their situational identity. To this end a series of questions were developed which focused on these areas. They were not designed specifically to reflect the model developed although the questions arose from the key issues of second generation Punjabis partly, at least drawn from the experience of one of the researchers who is Punjabi, and who had informally raised a number of questions with friends and relatives before embarking on the study.

Nine second generation Punjabis were interviewed, three of whom were male and the remainder female. Interviews averaged 45 minutes to an hour to complete and all interviews were transcribed verbatim. In analyzing these interviews, the authors began to appreciate the many differences and similarities between the U.K and India and how this then influences the acculturation process.

RESULTS

The results have been presented in relation to ethnicity and different contexts. We begin by exploring the respondent's fundamental or essential ethnicity and relate this to the developed model (Figure 1). We then explore further themes that developed through the interviews which we have designated as emotional situational ethnicity, enforced ethnicity and ethnic security. In doing this research we explored information which would disconfirm our modeled approach and would develop our thinking further. Most of all we were concerned to explore the multi-linear aspects of acculturation with our respondents.

ESSENTIAL ETHNICITY

All respondents were part of an extended family. Some lived together with other extended family members, some lived just with their spouse and children if they had them, but none lived on their own. The family make-up, including people from one or two generations before them, is likely to influence the decision making and thinking of respondents. Indeed family members were important influencers in many areas of life but particularly those relating to marriage and traditional activities. University and career choice were less likely to come under the influence of the larger family, although there was an evident underlying pressure to achieve, succeed and to please parents and relatives. All the families followed Punjabi traditions and most of the respondents had visited India, some had arranged marriages or envisaged having them in the future. Many of the respondents ceded that it was the influence of their parents that had kept them in touch with their Punjabi traditions. For some this was a positive experience:

> 'If it wasn't for my parents I don't think I would have followed Punjabi traditions. My parents are key influencers in traditions and always in my actual personal life.' (Rajinder, Male, 36)

But this was less so for others. Gurjinder, who describes herself as more English than Punjabi, reflected on how she felt Indian traditions had made her life more difficult:

> 'I think our culture is suffocating, stifling and oppressive for women. I think that people, that immigrants to England bring with them Indian ideals from their generation, they use it as a foundation to bring up children in a society that doesn't necessarily accommodate it. We English/Indians live in the Victorian era in the millennium. We are stuck in a passage of time. You have to learn to please.' (Gurjinder, Female, 25)

Using our model as a basis for explaining the nature of the respondents in the study, most felt they integrated with the host country and so according to the model could be classified as 'Punjabi Bilathee'. As the results highlight, they are able to span cultures and can react, behave and respond differently dependent on the occasion and the decision being made in their lives. For example the socialization process might mean dining out with western work colleagues, which could include going out to the pub. At Diwali and Vasakhi the socialization process is different, wearing the traditional 'Salwar Kameez' and knowing how to conduct oneself in front of older family members and the local community to keep 'izatt' and honor in the family.

As the respondents highlight there are many influences that affect not only their day-to-day lives but also major decisions they have to make, like marriage and choice of university. These influences are a mixture of family, peers, the Asian Indian community and more importantly living as a part of two cultures. Dependent on the occasion and the decision to be made, the levels of influence vary which in turn affects the level of ethnic intensity felt by the respondents. This complexity will inevitably be a challenge for marketing, as even though respondents might feel they are highly acculturated in certain situations, in others they may feel a stronger sense of ethnic affiliation.

Marketers may need to adopt a hybrid approach that takes into account the need for this second generation to be westernized and even perceived as westernized yet equally acknowledges its eastern/Indian roots. Already we have seen the film industry tackle these issues in films like 'East is East', 'Bend it like Beckham' and 'Bride and Prejudice', similarly the music industry in Britain is developing mainstream popular music where there is a clear fusion of western and eastern rhythms.

While the work, home and social lives of the respondents varied, they were all subject to daily interactions of cultural differences affecting their choices, decisions and behavior. Some lived in a Punjabi home but work in a typically British office environment; others had left home to study but envisaged returning to the home within a few years. Some lived away from the extended family but visited regularly. All the respondents were happy and familiar with the notion of spanning the divide between their Punjabi heritage and the everyday facts of living in Britain. Situational ethnicity was an everyday occurrence for them. They developed their lives so they rarely had

to choose between one culture and another but switched relatively easily between them; they became effectively bilingual in the culture. Often the choices they made in relation to their education or work took them to areas where they had less Punjabi contact. But they were better equipped possibly than their parents would have been to find strategies to deal with this. Ravinder, for example, left her family home in Wolverhampton to study in London. She recalled that she chose the university but had to fight with her parents because:

'They didn't want me leaving home and were scared I might lose my Punjabi values and cultural roots, which by the way I haven't and they are proud of that.' (Ravinder, Female, 21)

It is almost as though Ravinder went through a rite of passage to prove to her parents that she can manage her ethnicity in different situations. She was happy to have an arranged marriage but wanted to manage the choice of her education herself, not seeing this as impinging on her ethnicity. Now living in London, following what she termed her 'culture and religion'. She described her current situation thus:

'I can be Punjabi where needed and English where it is appropriate.' (Ravinder, Female, 21)

This template came up repeatedly. Some felt that they could honor western customs such as Christmas and Eastern traditions too, which gave them the ability to span situations comfortably. They have the tools to do so having learned within the family setting their own religious traditions but being comfortable in educational and professional areas with white people. For some this was highly instrumental:

'In this day and age I can be western where I have to and eastern where I have to, you have to be like this to get on in life. I mean I couldn't really go into work in a Kurta Pajama, I have to wear a suit.' (Balwant, Male, 31)

Interestingly what might seem to some as quite a difficult juxtaposition of cultures, did not give any of our respondents a problem in terms of feeling divided between traditions, largely because fundamentally their Punjabi identity was both strong and adaptable and they knew the rules of professional life. Both Balwant and Piratpal said they felt primarily Punjabi, Piratpal said that he mixed mostly with white people but:

'Its nothing deliberate, its just I know more white people, because I live in the south coast of England which is populated by white people, therefore I just get on with them.' (Piratpal, Male, 31)

Piratpal also expressed this spanning notion:

'An Indian tradition is to go to the temple on a Sunday every week and I do that, a white tradition is after work go for a drink, which I do, or go to lunch with people. I would say I try to follow a mixture of both, I wouldn't say it is intentional, it is just what I feel comfortable with.' (Pirtapal, Male, 31)

The expectations of western society for respondents was not seen as a strain, if anything it added a more holistic and integrated lifestyle with a mixture of cultural values. It also seems that many of the respondents were proactively following a mixture of values, but for some there was an underlying resistance to truly integrate as they felt they would never truly be regarded as British. This will be discussed further in the following section.

EMOTIONAL SITUATIONAL ETHNICITY

While spanning cultures may be instrumentally useful and indeed appropriate, the emotional response to situational identity might, we thought, produce different responses. We asked respondents whether they felt more or less English or Punjabi and also whether they mixed and followed the traditions of England or the Punjab. Five of our respondents said that they felt an equal measure of both and spanned traditions, three, all male, said that they felt more Punjabi than English and one (female) said she felt more English than Punjabi. So despite our initial classification of the respondents using the conceptual model, we would have to overlay our perceptions

with the respondent's stated affiliation. Intensity of affiliation is likely to work at the second generation level creating different preferences in terms of cultural orientation (Penaloza, 1989) although we suspect a feeling of being Punjabi may operate outside academic conceptualizations of affiliation and acculturation. Both Balwant and Piratpal made a strong point saying that they felt more Punjabi and as Piratpal put it, although having been born in England,

'My heart is in India, simple as that.' (Piratpal, Male, 31)

But there was also a feeling among these three men that they would not be described by others as English and so that in effect defined their ethnicity. Balwant for example said the following,

'If I'm walking along the road, in this country that I live in and if you were to ask ten people at random, oh where does that person come from? They wouldn't say from the UK, but that was where I was born.' (Balwant, Male, 31)

He added that while he felt that in a professional environment he could get on with most people, his close friends were going to be drawn from the Punjab community because,

'I feel a lot more comfortable and I feel I can relate to them a lot better.' (Balwant, Male, 31)

Similarly Rajinder remarked,

'I've been brought up in an Asian environment, speak the language and basically we are never going to be accepted as English are we? Let's face it.' (Rajinder, Male, 36)

Respondents often referred to major decisions such as marriage when they said that they would return to Punjabi traditions. Some people did say that they mixed more with white people than Punjabi people but suggested that this was largely situational in character. For example Ieysha works and is at university with both Asians and white people but because there are just more white people there she finds that she knows more of them; she said that this is not a deliberate choice,

'I don't look at whether I'm with more white people than Asian, I just mix with whoever'. (Ieysha, Female, 19)

As second generation Punjabis settle down and have families, they may encounter different pressures in how to manage their lives. Rajinder, for example, highlighted the problem of dating girls other than Punjabis, in that he could not bring them home. Kaljit, who remarked that generally she did what she wanted to do rather than being influenced by her culture, had been encouraged by her parents to do well at university and was now pursuing a professional career. However, after the birth of her son, she felt things had changed somewhat:

'It is interesting that my mother now thinks I should put work second as I have a child and he should come first.' (Kaljit, female, 30s)

Thus we may see family pressures working against the natural emotional response built up over time by second generation Punjabis.

ENFORCED ETHNICITY

Some people appear happy in their role of spanning cultures but become uncomfortable in what we have termed 'enforced ethnicity' situations. These are most likely to arise from family or religious occasions that are considered particularly important by members of earlier generations. Two situations that were mentioned often by respondents were visiting India and visiting the Gudwara (temple). The reactions of respondents to visiting India

were in some cases similar to the concept of culture shock (Kalervo, 1960). Despite the deep understanding of the Indian culture learnt through the family socialization process, faced with the reality of India without the familiar cues of home was disconcerting to some.

> 'First time I had to go to see relatives. Second time was for wedding shopping – I was there for three days and I hated it.' (Gurj, Female, 20s)

Visiting the Gudwara was for some a difficult process but different to the shock of the reality of India
For Gurj, her religion was an intrinsic part of her personal and cultural life but there were many aspects of it she found difficult and this including visiting the Gudwara.

> 'I do not pray or go to the temple unless I have to.' (Gurj, Female, 20s)

She expressed how she had problems with religion and yet understood its role in underpinning society and keeping her culture together. Religion was also regarded as part of the socialization process in Indian culture and the Gudwara became a focal point for the second generations' to meet others.

> 'Very, very important, I wish it was not because to be happy religion does not matter but that's one factor we must take into consideration to be able to fit in society and be accepted. The same religion makes things easier because your values and views are the same; you celebrate the same festivals and go to the same places….it makes life easier and less complicated also sometimes I go because I know my friends and family are going to be there' (Gurj, Female, 20s)

Gurj's essentially has a love-hate relationship with her religion. In identifying that one does not need religion to be happy, one might suggest that this is a response to western thinking and yet almost immediately she refers to what it means in terms of values and social connections.

Respondents were further questioned regarding their attitudes towards India and it seemed that those with strong family ties often enjoyed visiting India more that those with fewer family ties as a result of chain migration. This feeling was expressed in a number of ways:

> "I think I would enjoy visiting India more if my family were living over there, but most live in the UK." (Sundip, Female, 22)

"I enjoy India as I can see everyone and we all get together and have a laugh." (Ieysha, Female, 19)

> "I love India because all of my family is there and when we are all together I don't want to ever leave."(Piratpal, Male, 31)

It is interesting to see how family in the home country can still influence and inform second generation Punjabis now living away. There is a deep cultural and emotional connection with the home country that may often be taken for granted when living away from India. By visiting the place and the people from which one hails strong associations are rekindled which may help to support the maintenance of Punjabi culture. Indeed this may be the reasoning for first generation Punjabis to encourage their children to visit. All of the respondents were very much conscious of the boundaries of cultural difference. Visiting India, going to the Gudwara and attending festivals were closely linked to fixed cultural identities, being Punjabi and part of the second generation grouping. They were comfortable with discussing the everyday process of negotiating cultural identities across east and west and stated how fluid it was. It must be noted, however, that enforced ethnicity situations elicited polarised reactions from respondents. These are perhaps for some the most difficult part of their second generation status, while for other they provide their most joyous experiences and deep feelings of association and belonging.

ETHNIC SECURITY

Security may be provided by a sense of belonging. In previous generations this might have run through daily life but increasingly it will become watered down and for those who are living lives across cultures it is replaced by the importance invested in occasions. Celebrations bring people together and enforce a sense of belonging:

> 'In a personal home situation I feel it is important to belong to an ethnic group as it is a type of identity for us. Especially, on occasions such as Diwali and Vasakhi when we all get together and go to the temple. You do in a sense feel proud to belong to a group. In a way it is a type of security.' (Gurj, Female, 20's)

Not all of the respondents believed it important for them to feel they belonged to an ethnic group. Kaljit remarked that most of the time it had little bearing on her life other than during incidences of racism when she said,

> 'I am proud to be Indian and will always stick up for fellow Asians and my background.' (Kaljit, female, 30s)

But for others it was very important, informing who they were as an individual and as part of a larger group,

> 'It's a sense of belonging, it's very important, as it is a sense that you are accepted as something, that you're are not alone, you've got some sort of background behind you and you belong to a definite group.' (Ieysha, female, 19)

and also as part of their historical and cultural tradition.

> 'I don't want to lose where I come from, I want to learn from my Mum and Dad about India and I enjoy it when they talk about their schooling in India.' (Ravinder, Female, 21)

Ethnic Security among our respondents was marked by the sense of belonging that they felt within a cultural tradition. They had a strong sense of history which came not only from their historical Punjabi culture but also directly from their parents and wider social groupings that acted as a reinforcement to their positive feelings and provided a sense of security.

**IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH ON CONCEPTUALIZATION
OF SECOND GENERATION ASIAN INDIANS**

Our initial research revealed that second generation Punjabis are dealing with two often contradictory cultures. However as the second generation faces these differing values and cultures, they are indeed adapting, accommodating and continually changing behavioral patterns to be part of and integrated into both cultures. If we link these findings back to the typologies developed in the model, Figure 1, we see that more than one category is relevant to this group as it is dependent on the situation, the context and the influencers in their lives, thus the addition of the intensity circles. Hence perhaps the most fundamental and useful categorization revealed here is that of the cultural chameleon, the Bi-lingual Punjabi, with intense affiliation and acculturation but who may in different contexts change their reactions and behaviors.

Emotional situational ethnicity, enforced ethnicity situations and ethnic security mean that levels of cultural bi-linguality vary. Even though a second generation may be more western in the work environment and would also like to be the same in social situations, this is constrained due to first generation pressures and pressures to conform to home country standards. These situations for the second generation are continual and forever evolving. We label them as "the between two cultures generation", who do not just juggle situations between east and west (home and host country) but rather juggle life continuously, sometimes integrating and acculturating and other times deliberately alienating and identifying with one's ethnicity for a sense of belonging and identity.

Second generation Punjabis are able to balance eastern and western cultures without having to compromise the two. There is a fusion of cultures to an extent with the second generation being able to develop their own versions of 'izatt', 'sharm' and 'religious values'. They might on the one hand visit the Gudwara on Sunday, yet socialize with White friends on the Monday. At work they conform and become a part of that grouping yet at the weekends spend time with the extended family.

This study has illustrated how second generation immigrants are negotiating their ethnicity, identity and how acculturation influences decision making at a personal and professional level. The second generation do not always classify themselves as part the indigenous population. They are aware that they are different and are to an extent a mixture of east and west. They are comfortable with their western lifestyles but equally are keen to maintain their eastern roots. As the research study has shown the respondents were happy to adopt western practices but dependent on the situation, occasion and decision to be made they felt the need to fulfill parental expectations as well, to keep the family's 'izatt', to attend festivals and to visit the Gudwara.

The lives and experiences of the first and second generations are very different. The first generation through migration, often part of chain migration, had to find employment, accommodation and start a whole new life. They often left siblings and parents behind. The second generation does not have this first hand experience but have gained their knowledge through their parents recounting stories of their settlement in Britain. For the first generation migration was about leaving India, starting a better life and establishing oneself. Many of the first generation recounts "stories of migration in terms of conquering adversity." (Raj 2003). It is these experiences that have instilled and encouraged the second generation to hold on to their Indian roots. The members of this generation have, however, made their own negotiations and adjustments to allow for the western environment they been born into and are part of on a day-to-day basis. Even though they can empathize with their parents' struggles, they are only able to experience them second hand. The respondents are happy to acknowledge and to an extent accept parental expectations but they are still keen to highlight that their lives are about balancing home and host country loyalties. The second generation is a part of Britian and acknowledges this, as well as its exposure to two very different cultures. Members of the first generation appear to be happy to retain Indian dominance in their lives thus western influences could never be as strong as they are for the second generation. This level of influence and its effect is an important issue for marketing to acknowledge and understand.

The second generation is a far more complex segment than the first. How should the marketer target such a grouping? If decisions are being made based on a need for ethnic security and belonging but also the desire to be independent and unique, the needs and wants of this segment are somewhat complicated. The hybrid nature of these respondents means that marketers too must take a hybrid approach. Marketers must acknowledge that even though the members of this second generation were born in Britain they still have a strong affiliation with their eastern roots. They want to attend Indian weddings, listen to Bhangra, wear Indian outfits but will also be comfortable with the consumer trappings of the west in appropriate situations. Above all they wish to achieve high levels of success in the western world. They want to leave home, to attend university like their western counterparts, become professionals in the dominant western environment and equally fulfill their parents' expectations. They are proud to have two social groupings, Indian and English friends where activities, conversations and belonging vary according to the grouping. Many have strong family ties, they have their own houses but certain decision making is still very much family orientated. The family ties are still strong but the second generation are crossing certain 'taboo' boundaries and are living on their own or with their spouse, finding their own partners while still retaining many traditional Punjabi values. Respondents stressed that integrating western and eastern values and negotiating their identities had become a part of their day-to-day lives.

From a marketing perspective this group is particularly complex, largely because it is open to different sets of cultural values, and identifying how this is exemplified in purchasing and consumption is not a simple exercise. Organizations will need to acknowledge the bi-lingual and hybrid nature of the group, while still recognizing the likelihood of different market segments within. Interestingly it is in the arts that the nature and tensions of the second generation has best been examined. The film, book and TV industry have acknowledged the complexity

of cultural identity for second generations growing up in Britain and the difficulties this brings to major life decisions as well as the smaller everyday negotiations of consumption. Similarly these arts industries have dealt extensively with the intergenerational conflicts as old traditions clash with new westernized motivations, so that issues such as dress, work, sexual orientation and hobbies have all been confronted in works such as 'East is East', 'Bend it like Beckham', Monica Ali's 'Brick Lane and Zadie Smith's 'White Teeth'. Now one might argue it is the time for marketing organizations to grasp the nettle and really come to terms with how they will communicate with this important and upwardly mobile generation. Increasingly we suggest we shall see an acknowledgement of eastern values against the backdrop of western lifestyles. The reciprocal influence of west on east and east on west may appear in what we would call fusion marketing where rather than integration we shall see both cultures fusing at appropriate moments to put forward a richer outcome that is easily understood by all. Already this is happening in terms of the influences of eastern tastes in food, dress and culture but similarly we are increasingly witnessing the use of second generation role models in advertising and as aspirational lifestyle figures to which mainstream marketing organizations can associate their products.   Marketing theory will also need to acknowledge that acculturation is not just about whether one belongs or not to the host country but what influences that belonging and how culture itself is becoming far more 'man-made' and a fusion of many countries as influences take on an increasingly global perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

As second generation Punjabis grow up in Britain they are facing different issues to their parents but these are no less important and critical to their sense of self, their place in their communities and perhaps most importantly the interplay between their ethnicity and their identity. Like their parents, they are indeed faced with a number of often conflicting and polarized cultural issues but these are less to do with acculturation and more to do with spanning two cultures and finding ways to deal with the issues that such a process has thrown in their way. This may involve many different issues, some to do with expectations of their family, others to do with the day-to-day coping of the perceptual differences that may affect their lives.

The majority of respondents lived a life that balanced both eastern and western values and they were happy and confident in regularly having to switch from one culture to another. This gave none of our respondents a problem; they were all effectively bi-lingual. This in itself is an important finding, in that it reveals not only the functional adaptability but also the comfort they feel in what might from the outside be viewed as difficult situations. It could be argued that they are moving their cultural identity forward to the extent that both cultures were fusing and developing into a new "man-made" culture of their own.

The nature of these second generation Punjabi's bi-lingual ability extends across different fields. In the most obvious areas, they are happy to follow eastern traditions, celebrate eastern festivals as Vasakhi and Diwali but are also keen to integrate into the host country, for example, exchanging presents at Christmas and giving children chocolate eggs at Easter. They are also accepting of the differences that are a reflection of the diversity in the societies to which they belong; the requirement to go to the Gudwara as balanced by the tradition of going to the pub. Importantly, they are moving forward in their ability to choose elements from the cultures that suit them and adapt them to form this new amalgamation of east and west. Convincing your parents that you should go to university in London does not mean that you will not come home when you have finished your studies and continue to partake in family life. As more second generation Punjabis show their families that they are able to cope with the demands made upon them, they may find that it helps in a broader generational integration. Clearly there are potential problems to consider as well. Diversity brings choice as well as integration and we saw that a few of the second generation Indians we spoke to reject some of the trappings of their parent's culture although none made any criticisms of their values. Time constraints may also become a problem in the future as these relatively young people have families and have to combine, work, a young family and the demands of the wider extended family and culture as well.

This research has also found that conflicts between both eastern and western values is not as prevalent as might be expected, although future research may have to think about possible racial tensions that may influence this bi-

linguality of culture. The research was undertaken with well-educated, cosmopolitan, socially aware individuals and it would be a mistake to make generalizations from this group. This research does, however, suggest that levels of integration of second generation immigrants is not based just on acculturation but also needs to take account of ethnicity and how it is influenced by varying situations. This is likely to be a feature that may cut across social and economic divides and is an area worth further investigation. It may also be necessary in future research to distinguish between genders, as male respondents although very much integrated in to the host country's culture still have a perception that they are not regarded as true British citizens by their western counterparts. Future research could also focus on intracultural differences that exist and how these intra cultural differences then influence consumption and attitudes towards social situations such as weddings, as well as more broadly the overall socialization process. Ethnic ties, identity, cultural identification do influence levels of affiliation; however it would be interesting to research the intracultural differences, such as caste, immigrants from different regions of Punjab i.e. Ludhiana or Jallender. Also extending the research to compare the influence of the West in India and to undertake a cross country comparison will help to give a wider and deeper perspective with regards to acculturation and the role of ethnicity. Are the people living in India more westernized than second generation Punjabis and if so how does this affect the beliefs, values and lives of those Punjabis living in Britain?

This research clearly points to a need to develop the acculturation/ethnicity model and to look beyond just acculturation levels. For second and third generation cultural groups the issue may no longer be about acculturation but much more about cultural and situational identity. What this means for second generation Punjabis may be explored in much more detail, comparisons made between them and other second generations groups as well as identifying gender issues affecting identity. The implications for marketing and consumption are only just beginning to emerge but what is clear is that second generation Indians are part of the mainstream of British culture and consumption and their influence will be increasingly widely felt. While at present we can clearly identify their impact in the arts including mainstream film and bestseller list books, this is likely to be only the beginning of far reaching cultural effect which marketing both needs to acknowledge and accommodate.

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