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TRANSCULTURAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AMONG THIRD-GENERATION MINORITY CONSUMERS

ABSTRACT

This study explores how global and local forces influence the processes of consumer re-acculturation amongst third-generation British Sikhs in the United Kingdom (U.K.). Data is collected over a three-year period using multiple methods that focus on the experiential consumption of shaadi.com by third-generation British-born Sikhs. Data is analysed using thematic analysis, and findings reveal three transcultural identity patterns: accommodating, re-acculturating, and resisting Sikh culture. We argue that the emergent identity patterns are fluid, as our participants feel neither wholly British, wholly Sikh, nor wholly British-Sikh, positioning themselves beyond, rather than against, Sikh or British culture. We uncover the connectedness between the traditional cultural practices of arranged marriages and the space of shaadi.com, a matrimonial website. We interpret this website as a medium through which transcultural identities are constructed. We contribute to theory by showing the development of transcultural patterns of consumption and consistent transcultural identity construction in non-migrating ethnic communities.

Key Words: acculturation, identity, re-acculturation, transculturality, consumer culture, global consumer cultures

Introduction

Given increasing levels of migration across countries (Kizgin, Jamal, and Richard, 2018) and the blurring of marketing boundaries as a result of internet-mediated technologies (Cruz and Buchanan-Oliver, 2017; Peñaloza, 2018), scholars have become increasingly interested in clarifying how the intermingling of multiple cultures and consumption practices takes place, particularly in a world of strangers (Gaviria, 2016), and in how it impacts the formation and negotiation of consumers' identity (Dey, Yen, and Samuel, 2020).

A number of studies have used the acculturation framework in multicultural settings like that of the United States (the U.S.) (e.g. Peñaloza, 1994), the U.K. (e.g. Jamal, 2003) and the Netherlands (e.g. Askegaard, Arnould, and Kjeldgaard, 2005) to explore how immigrant consumers negotiate their identities. Acculturation refers to the cultural processes of adaptation or change that occur when two or more culturally distinct groups meet continuously (Cross and Gilly, 2017; Jamal, Peñaloza, and Laroche, 2015).

However, acculturation studies have largely depicted immigrant consumers' identity positions as static and mutually exclusive (El Banna et al., 2018), suggesting that immigrant communities are closed and culturally homogeneous social groups. This picture is problematic given the generational differences within immigrant communities: First- and second-generation immigrants tend to prefer traditional identity positions, whereas the third generation shows openness to cultural change and seeks to blend in with the new host cultures in the countries where they were born and raised (Jamal et al., 2015).

Given their involvement with their host countries and their use of internet-mediated technologies (Cruz and Buchanan-Oliver, 2017; Peñaloza, 2018), third-generation consumers are likely to have a capacity for self-transcendence (Elliot et al., 2015) that allows them the

freedom to mix cultural codes (Welsch, 1999) and experience an identity that is transcultural. Transculturality is a concept of cultural encounter that highlights the complex transmutations of culture (Allolio-Näcke, 2014; Welsch, 1999). Unlike acculturation, transculturality views cultures as inherently dynamic, hybridized, and mutually entangled through social, technological, geographic, and economic ties (Cruz, Seo, and Buchanan-Oliver, 2018; Kraidy, 2005). Hybridization refers to the integration of two or more elements from two or more cultures to form a new cultural element (Kipnis, Broderick, and Demangot, 2014).

Despite the third generation's capacity for self-transcendence, research has not explained the transcultural nature of identity construction, development, and maintenance among these consumers. The people in this generation have had limited first-hand exposure to their heritage cultures and traditions, but they may aspire to identify even more with the heritage culture than their parents' generation does. Acculturation studies (Askegaard et al., 2005; Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983) have not addressed the hyper-identification with heritage cultures among third-generation consumers that can trigger re-acculturation, defined as a process of culture change involving a new cycle of socialization, adjustment, and learning one's own heritage culture (Knight, 2011; Neto, 2010).

How and in what sense these third-generation consumers negotiate cultural duality when they use online platforms, especially matrimonial websites, also remains unclear, as does how this dual cultural allegiance impacts marketing and these consumers' behaviour as consumers.

This study addresses these research gaps and contributes to the consumer acculturation literature (Askegaard et al., 2005; Jamal, 2003; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994; Wamwara-Mbugua et al., 2006; Üstüner and Holt, 2007) and the transcultural literature (Cross and Gilly, 2017; Kreuzer et al., 2018; Elliot et al., 2015) by showing the extent to which third-generation

consumers' identity positions are reflexive, hybrid, and fluid and are constructed in the context of the intersection among transculturality, virtual spaces, and the competing processes of local, heritage, and global consumer cultures (Askegaard et al., 2005).

Inspired by theories of transculturation (Benessaieh, 2010; Kreuzer et al., 2018; Welsch, 1999), consumer acculturation (Askegaard et al., 2005; Laroche and Jamal, 2015), and re-acculturation (Kunuroglu, Yagmur, Van de Vijver, and Kroon, 2015; Martin, 1984; Martin and Harrel, 2004; Neto, 2010), this study investigates the development of transcultural identity among third-generation immigrant consumers.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. The next section reviews the literature in relation to transculturality, acculturation, and hybridity. Then the methodology is outlined and findings are presented, followed by a discussion and conclusion.

Literature Review

Transculturality

Welsch (1999) raised the concept of transculturality, arguing that cultural conditions in contemporary societies are largely characterized by mixes and permeations and that various ways of life and cultures penetrate or emerge from one another. Transculturality treats cultures as highly interconnected and entangled (Kreuzer et al., 2018). For example, given the rise in the global use of technologies like the internet and social media, consumers interact across borders regularly (Waegner, Laws, and Laforcade, 2011), so they are exposed to many agents of cultural change. Similarly, products and services penetrate global markets without difficulty, prompting scholars to argue that, essentially, everything is transculturally determined (Bergmann, 2004). Accordingly, we take the view that transculturality is an illustration of 'the

complex relationships between and within cultures today: it emphasises not isolation but intermingling, not separation but disjunctive interactions, not homogenization but heterogenization' (Jung, 2010, p. 19). The intermingling of cultures (Gaviria, 2016) has implications for immigrant consumers' consumption-related decisions, particularly when they or their children were born in the host country.

We share Benessaieh's (2010, p. 26) view that transculturality is 'a fluid transformative process, in which people no longer perceive themselves under one single culture' and that it refers to 'an embodied situation of cultural plurality lived by many individuals and communities of mixed heritage and/or experience whose multifaceted situation is rendered more visible under globalization.' Moreover, and in line with the transculturality perspective, we contend that today's cultures are characterized by hybridization, with cultural boundaries transcending time and space (MacDonald, 2012; Willis, Murphy, and Shigematsu, 2007). Accordingly, we expect consumers' identities and their notions of having and being are shaped not by a single homeland or culture but by multiple reference cultures. An important task in identity formation, then, is to link and integrate these transcultural components, especially when an individual has multiple cultural influences (Benessaieh, 2010; Welsch, 1999).

Kreuzer et al. (2018) investigated the transcultural experience of home among first-generation immigrants to Australia and pointed to a transcultural, spiritual, and embodied 'home' where immigrants felt at home in more than one culture. As one moves transculturally, one's social relationships, consumption practices, and experiences become a home within oneself.

Transculturality views individuals as continuously shifting between (or among) cultural flows and worlds and as being composed of a sense of self that is not monoculturally ascribed, as is the case of third-generation Chicanos in the U.S., 'who do not recognize themselves as either

entirely Mexican or American or merely as a hyphen between the two' (Benessaieh, 2010, p. 26). However, we do not know how or in what sense third-generation consumers negotiate cultural identities when they use online platforms, especially matrimonial websites. The present study focuses on the relationships within cultures, as 'the paradigm of transculturality offers prospects to rethink, demystify and represent cultural unity and difference, assimilation and alterity, in a manner that acknowledges the fissures and fictions' (Benessaieh, 2010, p. 12). These riddles of recognition experienced by the third-generation British-born Sikh community in the U.K. have implications for marketing and consumer behaviour, as Peñaloza (2018) suggested in a discussion of social changes in ethnicity over time.

Acculturation

Earlier work on acculturation and the development of immigrant consumers' consumption behaviours (Peñaloza, 1994; Wallendorf and Arnould, 1991) has focused on understanding identity projects as expressions of contrast between home and host cultures (Garry and Hall, 2015; Kizgin et al., 2020). Key conclusions were that immigrant consumers' identity positions (assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation) are potentially stable and mutually exclusive and that immigrant consumers loyalties are divided between their home and host cultures, resulting dual allegiance (El Banna et al., 2018). Later work has reported that immigrant consumers' identity positions are discursive outcomes of negotiating among acculturation forces that are aligned with the home, host, and global consumer cultures (Askegaard, Arnould, and Kjeldgaard, 2005; Ustuner and Holt, 2007; Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell, and Boller, 2006). Others reinforce this view (e.g. Lindridge, Hogg, and Shah, 2004; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011; Ustuner and Holt, 2007). However, less attention has been paid to the extent to which cultural boundaries may be transcended by the development of transcultural identity practices, particularly in the case of third-generation immigrants.

Embedded in this view is the categorisation of consumers along political, racial, and religious lines, which neglects how regular patterns of hybridisation may occur across generations of immigrants (Merz et al., 2008). Accordingly, in line with Kreuzer et al. (2018), we argue that the identity positions taken up by third-generation immigrants may transcend the physical and virtual boundaries of time and space. We consider identity negotiation from a transcultural perspective, which is 'completely different from the political right to freely choose one's place of living, to emigrate and to cross state borders' (Epstein, 2009, p. 330), because a transcultural perspective allows us to explore how and in what sense immigrant consumers integrate several cultures while maintaining their freedom from any of them.

Unlike Sekhon and Szmigin (2011), we argue that a transcultural self will move beyond the notion of the 'bi-cultural' or 'bi-lingual' self to span cultural boundaries and transcend into an open space of 'no culture' (Epstein, 2009). The third-generation transcultural consumer is not expected to betray his or her own culture for the sake of the host culture but to follow the 'rule of thumb for transcultural diversity: oppose yourself to nobody, identify yourself with nothing' (Epstein, 2009, p. 350).

Re-acculturation

Studies have focused largely on investigating the re-acculturation experiences of individuals who, after having lived abroad (e.g. studying abroad, working abroad, living abroad with parents who migrate), return to their home countries (e.g. Jeong, Oh, Oh, and Park, 2015; Martin, 1984; Martin and Harrel, 2004; Neto, 2010). A key insight from such studies is that returning individuals who seek identity and belonging in their home cultures experience emotion- and identity-related problems, given the discrepancies between the idealized image

of home prior to return and thee actual experience of it after returning (Kunuroglu, Yagmur, Van de Vijver, and Kroon, 2015).

Immigrant consumers also experience re-acculturation when they seek identity anchors based on their sense of identification and affiliation with their heritage cultures. For example, Askegaard et al. (2005) showed how Greenlandic Inuit immigrants in Denmark idealized their cultural origins and consumed commodified Greenlandic goods (e.g. foods, hides, national costumes) as emblems of their culture. However, unlike Askegaard et al. (2005), who focused on third-generation immigrants, we focus on investigating re-acculturation tendencies among the third generation who were born and raised in the host culture and have limited first-hand exposure to the cultures of their ethnic origins. In line with Askegaard et al. (2005), though, we expect third-generation individuals to engage in re-acculturation and seek reflexive, hybrid, and fluid identity positions.

Given the rise in the use of technology-enabled platforms like matrimonial websites, third-generation individuals' hyper-identification with their heritage cultures can generate transcultural experiences that research has not yet captured. In addition, we do not know how or in what sense virtual spaces facilitate these consumers' transcultural experiencing of identity, given that they face pressure to conform to their host, heritage, and global cultures, values, and norms.

Moreover, this generation are active consumers of global consumer culture, which is 'linked by the flow of goods, money, information, people, and services' (Lysonski and Durvasula, 2013, p. 495). Their exposure to and interactions with global media facilitate cultural changes in their minds (Garry and Hall, 2015). This generation is constantly exposed to a globalized, multi-ethnic, multicultural marketplace (Cruz and Buchanan-Oliver, 2017) with multiple

cultural beliefs and practices that have implications for identity formation and negotiation. For instance, studies have pointed to consumers' acquisition of multiple cultural beliefs and skilful appropriation of such beliefs into their consumption behaviours so they can traverse divergent social norms (Seo, Buchanan-Oliver, and Cruz, 2015). The transcultural perspective views the global marketplace as a space of diversity for free individuals wherein cultural boundaries are transcended, rather than one of fixed cultures (Epstein, 2009).

We draw attention to how inherited culture impacts consumption choices for young, third-generation British-born Sikhs in the U.K. and how this impact may, in turn, affect identity-construction processes as multiple cultures feed into the identity-construction process. This study then helps to clarify how dual or multiple cultural allegiances can influence marketing and consumer behaviour.

Research Context

The research context of this study is the Sikh community in the U.K. Sikhism dates back approximately 500 years and, like many religions, has a set of cultural norms and values that are continued through a structured, collectivist cultural system (Lindridge, 2004). The Sikh community originated in and exists primarily in the Punjab in North India, although migration has established sizable communities in Canada, the U.K. and the U.S. The 2001 U.K. census indicated that just over a million people claimed to have descended from India, with 13 percent of these being Sikh (HMSO, 2003). The U.K. Office for National Statistics estimated the Asian-Indian population in the U.K. as 1.43 million.

The first Sikh families came to the U.K. in the 1950s, bringing with them their 'values, culture and behavioural patterns' (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2005, p. 1). In both the Asian and the British Sikh family unit, family loyalty is regarded as 'dharma' or sacred duty (Lindridge, Hogg and

Shah, 2004), as is ‘izaat’ or honour (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2005). Sikh children are socialised into Indian collectivist cultural values at an early age. The Sikh culture’s family system consists of extended family that is ‘bound together by a complex set of mutual obligations’ (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2005, p. 2). Although these family units endeavour to fulfil family members’ needs, they also often demand loyalty in every area. Therefore, the older generations of the British Sikh community often resist being acculturated into the British way of life and have negative interpretations of the individualism that is typical of Western society. Punjabi families judge one another based on ‘the strength of these units and by family honour (izatt)’ (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2005, p. 2).

In this context, third-generation British-born Sikhs live between two cultures, where they must balance the older generations’ expectations with those of the Western society in which they live. While they live in the dominant, Westernised culture, they have been socialised through Sikh cultural values, which encourages the development of transcultural cultural identities. Thus, they are caught between global consumer cultures and local consumer cultures and ‘contradictory and polarized ways of living, family and community demand on one hand and the expectations of the majority culture on the other’ (Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011, p. 81). Moreover, the older generations of the British Sikh community encourage exposure to any media that may persuade the third generation to re-acculturate to Indian culture and customs, including global brands like Bollywood, cultural social events, and other culturally related activities.

Methodology

This longitudinal study adopts an interpretive approach to explore how third-generation British-born Sikhs—the grandchildren of those who came to the U.K. from India in the

1950s—use the virtual and global space shaadi.com, a matrimonial website that provides potential marital partners for Indians around the world. Founded in India in 1997 by Anupam Mittal, shaadi.com is essentially an online dating website, but it is described as a matrimonial website, as 'shaadi' means 'marriage'. The website is segmented into Indian groupings based on religion and caste (Sikh Jatt, Sikh Khatri, Hindu Punjabi, and two others), so it is straightforward to interact only with other Sikhs on the website. The website integrates some of the ritualistic and traditional features that would ordinarily be considered in a traditional arranged marriage, such as skin colour, caste, last name (which indicates ancestral heritage), income, and occupation. The website also includes some of the more Westernised characteristics of online dating, such as allowing individuals to participate in their online communities and encouraging first dates. Thus, it represents both Eastern and Western rituals and traditions.

Consistent with an interpretive research design, our data collection process employed multiple methods (Darbyshire, MacDougall, and Schiller, 2005; Takhar and Chitakunye, 2012), combining auto-ethnography, netnography (Kozinets, 2002; O'Donohoe, 2010), observations, and online/offline semi-structured interviews that focused on the experiential consumption of shaadi.com for third-generation British-born Sikhs. The data collection process, which proceeded over a three-year period, included multiple interviews with most of the participants, as shown in Table 1. The use of multiple methods helped to ensure that the collated data was valid and reliable. The first author is a third-generation British Sikh who was an active member of the shaadi.com online community for more than two years, so acculturation and re-acculturation findings from the study are shared from an insider's perspective. The study was guided by the ESOMAR (Sharf, 1999) code of conduct for internet research, which requires declaring research interests and assuring participants of anonymity (Sharf, 1999), so pseudonyms are used to protect the participants' identities.

In addition to interview transcripts, the netnography (O'Donohoe, 2010) resulted in a significant amount of field notes that describe the researcher's own reflections on and emotions related to (Takhar and Chitakunye, 2014) the matrimony-related processes that take place on shaardi.com, as well as the author's own observations of the interactions on the site. The final dataset comprised transcripts from fifteen online interviews and fifteen offline interviews, along with more than 800 pages of detailed auto-ethnographic fieldnotes. Third-generation interviewees were all single and between 22 and 35 years old. They were recruited for online interviews through shaadi.com's online community, which enabled the researchers to focus on the Sikh community in the U.K. Following a theoretical sampling approach (Creswell, 2007), the researchers interviewed several participants both online and offline to explore issues that had emerged in their initial interviews. Additional offline interviews were conducted by recruiting interviewees at the Sikh temple (Gurdwara) in the lead researcher's hometown and in the local community. These interviews were performed and recorded in the participants' homes and were then transcribed before being analysed. In keeping with the principles of analysis and interpretation of qualitative data that Spiggle (1994) and others have recommended (Arnould and Wallendorf, 1994; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Takhar and Chitakunye, 2014), the data collection, analysis, and interpretation progressed in an iterative and incremental manner as the researcher moved between the online and offline environments.

[Insert Table 1 about here.]

Qualitative data was analysed using thematic analysis, as Spiggle (1994) recommended. The researcher collated and analysed the data for themes and returned to the field as themes emerged to collect more data and analyse other emerging themes. Therefore, the data collection was conducted in an iterative and incremental manner, where the researcher moved forward and backward from various themes as they emerged from the data.

A key area of interest in all interviews was the processes that the participants experienced whilst they tried to balance their dual cultures, especially when they were constructing their hybrid identities. How the consumption of shaadi.com affected their identity construction, given that they were born in the U.K. and had Indian heritage, was apparent from the outset. Belonging to both the British and Sikh cultures resulted in tensions for young British Sikhs. As the phases of data collection progressed, so did the depth of the discussions, and issues like intergenerational conflicts that impacted the interviewees' senses of identity emerged, particularly older generations' consistent reinforcement of the Sikh culture and encouragement to resist the British culture. Similarly, the shaadi.com community reaffirmed the significance of such key cultural traditions as caste differences, which are not usually considered in Western dating. The study's interpretive stance and its emphasis on respecting the emergent patterns of qualitative data (Van Maanen, 1983) meant that much of the data emerged from the interactive phases of data collection, resulting in the richness and depth of the participants' discussions about their hybrid identities that form the basis for this paper.

Findings

Our findings reveal that identity boundaries move constantly and are not static but hybrid, seamless, and fluid and are shaped by these consumers' identity positions related to transcultural development. We discuss three key transcultural identity patterns—accommodating, re-acculturating, and resisting Sikh culture—and report that the identity positions are fluid, as young, third-generation British Sikhs are neither wholly British, wholly Sikh, nor wholly British-Sikh. They position themselves beyond, rather than against, Sikh or British culture.

Accommodating – charting a middle path

The process of accommodating the heritage and host cultures' identities and consumption practices correlates to a degree with the 'oscillating pendulum' in Askegaard et al.'s (2005)

framework in that it encompasses choosing and blending elements of the British and Sikh cultures that appeal to young, third-generation British Sikhs, rather than to elements that alienate or restrict them. Unlike Peñaloza's (1994) maintenance position and Berry's (1980) integration position, this process demonstrates how young British Sikhs seek to adopt a *relatively equal balance* of the parts of the British and Sikh cultures that appeal to them, a hybrid identity that results from exposure to this transcultural space.

Saira, a British Sikh woman has the typical attributes of an individual who is experiencing and empowered by the process of accommodating the transcultural practices that she experiences. She chooses to acculturate to the aspects of the British culture and to re-acculturate to the aspects of the Sikh culture that appeal to her. As a young woman burdened by the responsibilities of her gendered identity and two contrasting cultures, Saira reflects on what underpins her transcultural identity experiences:-

> *The sad thing is that sometimes when I think about a girl's life or when I talk to my mum about her childhood and life, I realize that a girl's life in the Indian community is just filled with expectations and responsibilities. But I was born here in the U.K., and still I feel some of the pressures and stresses as a girl when it comes to marriage. It has changed, but I'm not sure how much. I think it depends on the family. (Saira, young Sikh woman)*

While engaging with shaadi.com's online community, Saira can reflect on what transpires in her mother's traditional Indian culture, and it occurs to her, that her mother's traditional upbringing as a girl was 'sad', as it was filled with the gender-based expectations and practices that are embedded in traditional Indian culture. Some of these expectations include arranged marriages, where it is common for parents to find a suitable marital partner based on caste, background, finances, and, in some cases, ancestral links from India. However, using shaadi.com allows Saira and many others like her to establish their own consumption identities, as evidenced by their ability to decide for themselves whom they will marry. Still, Saira still

feels ‘some of the pressures and stresses as a girl when it comes to marriage’ in the U.K.’s Sikh community.

Shaadi.com provides a transcultural platform on which new, hybrid consumption identities can emerge and be experienced. As Saira makes clear, she is hindered by pressures and stresses from her family and community, but her use of shaadi.com gives her a sense of empowerment and control, especially in the context of marriage, where she can define her own needs rather than conforming to a traditional Sikh arranged marriage. Saira describes the idea of sharing personal thoughts with people who are not close family members, which is not typically done in traditional Indian cultures, particularly regarding arranged marriage:

> *Since joining shaadi.com, I have made some good friends that I speak to every day. They make me feel really comfortable talking to total strangers about my problems. I like having my own set of online friends who are brutally honest with me, because it makes me feel stronger, makes me think for myself, and makes me think about me and what I want for my life.’ (Saira, young Sikh woman)*

Gurdeep experiences a similar sense of freedom and control in her online interactions on shaadi.com that allows her to experience a transcultural consumer identity:

> *I like it. It’s my space where I can be who I want when I want, and I don’t worry about my actions when I’m online like I have to with my family. I was born here in England, and English people find someone to marry themselves and talk to who they want to talk to about marriage, so I don’t really get why we can’t do the same. What is the big deal? (Gurdeep, young Sikh woman)*

Shaadi.com’s virtual space allows Gurdeep to feel free of the constraints of her heritage identity. In transcultural terms, she does not betray her own culture for the sake of the host culture, but the virtual space allows her to move into an ‘open space’ that is free from the boundaries of any culture. Moreover, Gurdeep and Saira both value their freedom in choosing a marital partner, as previous generations of the Sikh community are likely to have been told whom to marry. Using the shaadi.com platform allows them to engage and build relationships with many people from their culture, as is the norm in the U.K. culture. For example, Gurdeep

says, ‘I was born here in England, and English people find someone to marry themselves and talk to whomever they wish about marriage.’

Both Saira and Gurdeep value aspects of the British culture, such as independence and being able to speak to as many potential partners and friends as they wish. Gurdeep observes that doing so is not a ‘big deal’ in the British culture, although it may be in her family and in the Sikh culture. It is also evident that neither Saira nor Gurdeep likes being restricted. For example, Gurdeep says, ‘I don’t worry about my actions when online like I have to with my family.’ They both feel that their families and the Sikh culture restrict them and that shaadi.com is, as Gurdeep describes it, ‘my space’. Saira and Gurdeep feel disempowered by their families and some of their cultural beliefs, but using this transcultural platform empowers them and other members of the younger generations of the Sikh community in the U.K., triggering and facilitating the process of accommodation.

Moreover, the transcultural property of the online space provides our interviewees the opportunity to ‘think about me and what I want’ and to reflect on their own feelings and what they are experiencing, rather than only their families’ feelings and experiences. In this way, new patterns of hybrid identity emerge as the interviewees interact in an online space that they feel is representative of their transcultural identity, which encompasses all elements of both the Sikh and local U.K. cultures. Participants on shaadi.com typically refer to the ability to be their ‘real’ selves:

> *When I’m online, I talk to people and I can be my real self with them. I do clash with my grandparents because I have my own opinions, which they think are too Westernized, whereas I think, if I’m happy, then let me be happy. (Saira, young Sikh woman)*

> *On shaadi, we don’t have anyone telling us what to do or what we can say or [how] to behave. Because it’s like a community of friends who are the same, we can be our real selves. (Gurj, young Sikh man)*

The participants recognise their Sikh and British parentage, but they feel a sense of freedom on the shaadi.com forum that they do not feel in their own homes or with their own families. We interpret this sense of freedom as not only the freedom to consume but also the freedom to experience a transcultural self and identity. The 'real self' that both Saira and Gurj describe refers to the freedom to convey their emotions to their online peers as they experience the process of finding a life partner who has a similar background but is in the U.K. Independence and freedom are encouraged in the U.K., and as U.K.-born British Sikhs, they value such opportunities.

The participants report conflicts in accommodating both their heritage and their host culture identities and consumption practices online. For example, Saira describes how she 'clashes' with her grandparents because they feel her opinions with regard to marriage and the consumption of shaadi.com are too westernized. However, the ability to convey their 'real selves' enables them to be happy, away from the prying eyes of the older generation, and enables them to make independent consumption decisions, rather than culturally scripted choices.

When they discuss processes of accommodation, the participants use a mixture of both English and Punjabi— is often referred to as the hybrid language of Pinglish—and refer to themselves as British Indian or British Sikh. When they discuss marriage, they speak about some of the attractions of the traditionally Sikh marital process, such as the glamourous Indian wedding, the clothes, the parties, and the rituals and ceremonies. However, they also discuss the attractive Western traditions, such as 'hen nights' and 'stag nights', the glamourous honeymoon, the big proposal, choosing the wedding ring, and co-ordinating their clothes for their wedding day, none of which are rituals in the Sikh culture.

Shaadi.com facilitates the process of accommodation, as it is not just a matrimonial website but a space that offers a sense of community where British Sikhs can express what they like in terms of marriage. Shaadi.com considers the ritualistic and cultural aspects of marriage, such as caste, skin colour, background, and occupation, as well as the Western processes of meeting a marital partner, such as online dating or becoming friends before dating. Both Saira and Gurdeep relate to shaadi.com as a transcultural platform that is representative of many cultures and many people as they find their way in life and to a life partner:

> *I chose to use Shaadi.com because I was getting annoyed with the arranged stuff. I didn't want loads of statistics given to me—'he is this, he is that'—because it means nothing. This way, there is more fun to it. I was going out like all my English friends and having fun and meeting people and learning about people and able to choose what I do like and don't like, what I do want and what I don't want. Now I have met someone I do like and have been seeing him for six months. It's going somewhere good, so no one can really say anything to me now, can they? (Saira, young Sikh woman).*

> *I have finally met someone whom I've been seeing for a while now, and I feel like we are in a good place and will be looking at marriage soon (hopefully), but I don't want to be rushed or pressured or anything. I remember my dad putting a guy in front of me, and my dad said, 'You've got three months max and then I want a yes or no.' I mean, it was a joke. How can they expect me to just make a decision like that about my life in three months when others take years? It's how it was done; they need to change with the times now, regardless of whether it's a boy or a girl (Gurdeep, young Sikh woman).*

Saira describes the elements of her culture that she does not like, giving such examples as 'I didn't want loads of statistics given to me—"he is this, he is that"—because it means nothing.' She engages with shaadi.com's transcultural platform because 'there is more fun to it' and emulates the norms and behaviours of her English friends. Similarly, Gurdeep describes how her family gave her a maximum of three months to decide if she wanted to marry someone, which she describes as a 'joke.' Through shaadi.com she has been 'seeing' someone and will be looking at marriage soon, but she is fearful of being 'rushed and pressured' by her family, as is the tradition in the Sikh culture. By using the transcultural platform on shaadi.com, she feels that she is in control of making the important decisions about her life and is simultaneously pleasing her parents by trying to find a suitable marital partner, since

shaadi.com encourages members to consider traditional characteristics like caste, skin colour, height, and occupation, along with providing opportunities for online dating. As a result, it enables young, third-generation British Sikhs to choose the elements of the British and Sikh cultures that appeal to them. Both Saira and Gurdeep feel empowered by the platform, as they have been able to take control of their own destinies, make decisions for themselves, adopt various characteristics of both cultures that appeal to them, and integrate them into their transcultural identities.

In summary, virtual spaces like shaadi.com empower users like our interviewees by providing them a sense of freedom and control. This empowerment allows them to experience accommodation, a transcultural identity position that involves ongoing mixing, hybridisation, and integration of British and Sikh cultures while retaining their freedom from both. Shaadi.com creates a transcultural community where participants can see the differences between the British and Sikh cultures as complementary, rather than in opposition. In line with Epstein (2009), shaadi.com can be seen as an online community of diverse, free individuals, rather than one of fixed cultures or groups.

Re-acculturative Consumption Practices: Idealising and Re-adopting Sikh Culture

The second emergent identity position is consumer re-acculturation. For our third-generation interviewees, re-acculturation processes involve being attracted to and remaining loyal to the Sikh culture while departing from the host country's consumption practices. This identity process is almost the opposite of accommodation but is still not static. Here, the features of shaadi.com that promote Sikh traditions and values are of particular interest. Reflecting a shared ethnic culture, history and ancestry, the hybrid process of re-acculturation involves interviewees' reflecting on the history and 'shared cultural codes' that they value. These

interviewees are particularly concerned with seeking approval from their parents and the older generations. Sundeep, a young Sikh woman, describes the comfort of these cultural codes:-

> *I do feel like I have a tight-knit community around me, and they all comfort me and support me in their own way. I think about how hard we had to work as a community to get where we are today. I'm proud of my roots and what we stand for. (Sundeep, young Sikh woman)*

Unlike the accommodation process, interviewees who experience *re-acculturation* form an allegiance to their Sikh ancestry; although they still integrate some elements of the British culture into their hybrid identities, they prefer their ancestral Sikh religion and its associated culture. Sundeep describes 'how hard we had to work as a community to get where we are today,' which sounds more like the voice of the older generations than one of the younger generation. She conveys pride in her 'roots' as a result of her upbringing and her home environment but also the wider Sikh community with which she surrounds herself.

Older Sikh generations still consider the caste system to be important, especially in choosing prospective marital partners for their children. Shaadi.com has transferred this aspect of the culture onto the website by reinforcing its significance to the younger generations that use the platform. Sundeep's Jatt caste is important to her identity, as she explains:

> *The fact that I'm Jatt [caste] adds a whole new level to the sense of pride I have in being a Sikh. Being a Sikh, I have to be sensible, respectful, loyal, and responsible. Being a Jatt gives me strength, and I'm proud of that; it's a part of my identity and everything that I do in my life. (Sundeep, young Sikh woman)*

Sundeep's Jatt caste gives her a 'whole new level to the sense of pride. The Jatt caste may be considered one of the higher castes in the community, as Sundeep speaks of how 'being a Jatt gives me strength, and I'm proud of that.' Caste is a factor that adds another level to what Ustuner and Holt (2007) would have described as her identity project. While many more processes are involved in identity construction, Sundeep states that caste is 'part of my identity

and everything that I do in life,' despite being British-born. Sundeep explained how she learned about her Sikh culture:

> *I was always told that I'm a Jatt and made aware what it meant in life and when it came to marriage. I had to marry someone who was the same; there was no other way. My nana (my mum's dad) and baba (my dad's dad) and even my grandmother's parents would speak to me about the caste and how they had cleaners in India who were of lower caste, so I always kind of knew how important it was to stick to your own when it came to marriage. Because on shaadi.com you can choose, they don't mind it so much now. (Sundeep, young Sikh woman)*

Our interviewees continually engage in learning about the Sikh culture, as Sundeep describes how she was 'always told that I'm a Jatt,' as if it is consistently reinforced by the older generations and through her home environment. Caste played an important role in her upbringing and now plays an important part in how she constructs her identity, as she has been 'made aware what it means in life and when it comes to marriage.' Sundeep describes that she is taught that 'there is no other way' when it comes to finding a marital partner. It is clear that her re-acculturative traits are present largely because of her family and home environment and that she knows 'how important it was to stick to your own when it came to marriage' because of the teachings of her grandparents and her parents. Shaadi.com is accepted by older generations, as it considers cultural factors like caste, which is ingrained in Sundeep's identity, but it also allows Sundeep to meet people on her own.

Jaya also emphasizes the importance of both learning and maintaining Sikh rituals in her everyday life so she can maintain her Sikh identity while living in the U.K. Jaya describes how she uses her everyday routine and rituals to readapt to the Sikh culture as a British-born Sikh:

> *Sikh is a part of who I am; it fits into my life. I wake up at 5.30 a.m. and pray, I dress in a certain way, and I wear trousers. When I go out, I know I have to behave appropriately. I just think it's important. Sikhism is my world, my life, my very being, but then we kids are modern as well. (Jaya, young Sikh woman)*

Jaya and other interviewees like her are proud of their traditional Indian cultural practices. As a young, British-born Sikh, Jaya highlights how she chooses to 'dress in a certain way and wear trousers' and even emphasises how she has to 'behave appropriately,' as doing so is important to her on a personal level. However, she also emphasises that 'we as the kids are modern as well,' indicating that she adopts some British traits and norms. Jaya and her peers who are similar to her are also influenced by their second-generation parents' experiences in marriage, so they visit shaadi.com to seek support from the global Sikh community and to learn from others in a bid to perpetuate Sikh traditions. As Sundeep observes:

> *The good side is the freedom, the openness, the control that we have. It's made my life richer in terms of friends. It's a bit Western, but we still hold on to the cultural and traditional side. (Sundeep, young Sikh woman)*

Shaadi.com supports Sikh marriage traditions, but the arranged-marriage process has evolved so parents are no longer in charge of seeking marital suitors for their children. Members of the global Sikh community on shaadi.com promote the reflexivity and cultural identity that are likely to strengthen affiliations with the Sikh culture. The content and structure of the shaadi.com website itself is also vital in supporting processes of re-acculturation, as member profiles detail key marriage criteria with regards to caste and skin colour, as well as expectations about a partner. Users of the website can learn about the Sikh culture and the associated marital processes, which is important to Sundeep, as she describes how 'we still hold onto the cultural and traditional side.'

However, none of our interviewees expressed any sense of stability in their identity positions when narrating their consumer re-acculturation experiences. For example, despite her clear allegiance to the Sikh culture and community, Sundeep also experiences accommodation and a tendency to move freely away from her own culture. She speaks of 'wanting to find someone she could fall for,' which is not traditionally Sikh but reflective of the British culture in which

she was born and raised. She speaks of 'balancing out the two cultures and going out on dates with people,' which is also not typically Sikh, and she speaks about her choice of a marital partner in stating that 'I'm going to marry him. Why should anyone else have a say?'

Consumer Resistance: Resisting Sikh Culture

A final emerging hybrid identity process is *resistance*, which appears to be the inverse of the re-*acculturation* process but is still not static. In the resistance process, young British Sikhs focus on the attractions of the dominant British culture and what alienates them from the Sikh culture when they construct their hybrid identities. Whilst they identify with the Sikh culture to a degree, they lean toward the British culture, particularly when they use shaadi.com, which offers Western-style online dating practices.

While experiencing the process of *resistance*, those of our interviewees who focus on the Sikh culture less than the other two identity positions do are highly westernised in their approach to marriage, as they wish to prioritise their own wishes over those of their parents or their wider family. Consider this comment from a male participant, identified as 'V', who intimates the importance of prioritising his own wellbeing over his parents' views and values:-

> *It's not easy to do what my parents want because then I have to make myself unhappy, and I think, is it really worth it?' (V, young Sikh man)*

V does not approve of prioritising his parents needs first, since he would have to 'make myself unhappy,' and that is not 'worth it' to him. He implies that his parents try to control him and his actions with reference to marriage, but he chooses to be flexible in his approach to arranged marriages in the British Sikh community. V and interviewees like him choose to re-negotiate some traditional Sikh courtship and marriage rituals and to promote the characteristics of the

Sikh culture that they feel benefit them or their individualized hybrid identities, rather than to seek parental or community approval.

Born in the U.K. and acculturated to the dominant British culture, they frown on their more traditionally Sikh peers. In this context, the power of the dominant Western culture tends to overwhelm the power of Sikh courtship and marriage practices. Rejecting the marital and courtship practices of the Sikh culture, these interviewees search independently for prospective marital partners on their own terms, rather than with the supervision or approval of the first and second generation. We interpret this approach as culturally embedded rebellious consumption that has emerged because of transculturality and the associated influence of the global and local consumer cultures. V and Kulsum appreciate the freedom that the shaadi.com platform provides them and dislike the traditionally Sikh method of finding a marital partner:

> *I think shaadi.com is great. It's about time things changed. Shaadi.com are helping the younger generation of Indians by helping Indian society move forward. When I'm online, I'm the most honest I could be. (V, young Sikh man)*

> *I value that I have the opportunity and freedom to find someone myself online, and I don't have to worry about the whole family judging me as they do. (Kulsum, young Sikh woman)*

Kulsum and V value the acculturative characteristics of shaadi.com and the sense of freedom that it provides for them, believing that this virtual space is 'helping Indian society to move forward and change.' Both V and Kulsum speak of how 'honest' they are when they are online, as they fear such honesty around their families would result in their being judged negatively. Thus, they both recognise the need to 'keep up appearances' in the wider community, but in the context of the virtual community and amongst their peers, they act freely and without fear of judgement.

These interviewees recognise the importance of acculturating to and relating to the dominant culture to reinforce their hybrid identities. Just as the Sikh culture reflects their ethnic and

ancestral roots, the British culture reflects their birth roots and personal histories. Shaadi.com's transcultural platform brings all the elements of their identities together. Whilst individuals in this group do not wholly abandon their traditional culture, *cultural* rebellion triggers more connections with British culture and forming an allegiance to the British culture. This process seems to be the inverse of the re-acculturation process, as these young British Sikhs adopt very few Sikh traits. They favour their Western peers and criticise their second-generation parents and the wider British Sikh community. Referring disrespectfully to the older generation as 'olds', V and Jay observe:-

> *It can be too pressured, and all the olds get really picky about how things should be done. It seems to be about what everyone else wants, rather than what I want! (V, young Sikh man)*

> *The older generations don't really know or understand anything about us, do they? 'She has to be this and she has to be that and she has to have this surname.' It's like a check list or to-do list. I just think the Western way is better; it's more about building a real relationship, getting to know someone, taking your time, and letting it come naturally. That's why I prefer shaadi, because I get no hassle. (Jay, young Sikh man)*

Both V and Jay refer to the pressure they feel from the older generations and convey a sense of annoyance with them. V refers to how the 'olds get really picky about how things should be done,' and Jay describes how the marital process is like a 'check list or to-do list.' V thinks the focus is more on the older generations and what they want than it is on the wishes of the younger generations: 'It seems to be about what everyone else wants rather than what I want!' Jay speaks of how he prefers 'shaadi because I get no hassle,' indicating that his parents and the older generations interfere with and cause problems for him. Jay explains that he prefers shaadi.com because it allows relationships to build 'naturally,' in more of a 'western way.'

However, once again, these interviewees do not express any sense of stability in their identity positions when they narrate their experiences involving cultural *resistance*, as none of the dialogical swapping of cultures that Oswald (1999) described takes place. Rather, their

experiences involving cultural *resistance* reflect transcultural processes that constitute fragments of the dominant British and minority Sikh cultures, nearly always maintaining some element of the Sikh culture in their identities, as well as transculturality. For example, Kulsum conveys a sense of regret at being too acculturated to the British culture:

> *Sometimes I wish I could turn back time and be more of a part of the Sikh culture, because there are times when I get so lonely. I think of my funeral: Who would come to it? Would it be a Sikh one? And then I do think I should try harder to be a part of the community and be sorry for my past behaviour. It's hard! (Kulsum, young Sikh woman)*

Kulsum feels isolated and alienated from the wider Sikh community, as she conveys a wish to be 'a part of the Sikh culture.' Where the older generations of the wider Sikh community have alienated her, shaadi.com's transcultural platform has accepted her. She regrets marrying someone who was not Sikh and is 'sorry for my past behaviour,' so she uses shaadi.com to re-engage with the Sikh culture and Sikh people, as she tries to find a Sikh marital partner and to find herself through the transcultural platform. Similarly, while there is a clear intergenerational conflict between Jay and the older generations, Jay says he will wear a sherwani, traditional Indian wedding attire, when he marries, so he does not wholly rebel against Sikh or Indian traditions, despite his criticism.

Discussion

This study contributes to explaining how cultural plurality is negotiated by third-generation British-born Sikh consumers in the U.K. In so doing, it helps explain how multiple cultural allegiances can impact marketing and consumer behaviour and demonstrates how regular patterns of hybridisation occur among third-generation consumers because of transcultural influences.

Figure 1 illustrates how consuming the hybrid East/West shaadi.com culture enables young British Sikhs to develop transcultural identity in a multicultural context. The online space

provides relief and freedom for the third generation in constructing their individual cultural (i.e. East/West) identities when they feel pressured to choose between their traditional Indian culture and the British culture. Through this virtual space, our interviewees feel empowered to form unique, context-dependent identities that are made up of elements of both the British and Sikh cultures.

[Insert Figure 1 about here.]

The third generation of the British Sikh community that took part in this study were all born and raised in the U.K. and had not immigrated. Where previous consumer research has tended to focus on hybrid identities related to the acculturation of immigrants (Askegaard et al., 2005; Lindridge et al., 2004; Sekhon and Szmigin, 2011; Ustuner and Holt, 2007), the present research focuses on patterns of transcultural identity formation among non-immigrant ethnic individuals. The integration of Eastern and Western consumption patterns on shaadi.com's virtual space and the blurring of cultural boundaries facilitate the construction of hybrid identities such that, rather than experiencing confusion and shattered identity projects, the third generation can embrace hybridity through regular patterns of consumption-based identity projects. Our study contributes to theory development, as we find that young British Sikhs develop patterns of hybridity within the online space that does not require them to wholly abandon their minority culture or their host culture but encourages adoption of integrated, context-specific, seamless, hybrid identities that are shaped by the characteristics of the transcultural website itself.

Freedom from the constraints of the Sikh social infrastructure through the website enables our interviewees to construct hybrid identities, rather than constrained identities that the wider Sikh or British societies encourage. Shaadi.com approaches the interviewees as individuals who

have both Eastern and Western identities and embrace both old and new rituals and traditions. The website provides a dynamic way to approach acculturation and re-acculturation.

Moreover, and in line with research that has shown that hyper-identification with heritage culture generates an increased desire to consume cultural goods as emblems of authentic culture (e.g. Askegaard et al., 2005), we report re-acculturation experiences that simultaneously involve elements of cultural maintenance, authenticity, and hybridity.

Shaadi.com is a key site for the development of hybridisation in our interviewees' lives. The British Sikh community that emerges through the dynamic virtual culture on the site supports young third-generation Sikhs as they experience cultural transformation. Young Sikhs use this online space to develop regular patterns of hybrid consumption. Our analysis and interpretation, which draws on Askegaard et al.'s (2005) conceptualisation of Greenlandic identities, reveal that young British Sikhs adopt a position that appears to be like an 'Oscillating Pendulum' (Askegaard et al., 2005, p. 166) that is reflexive, hybrid, and fluid. Our interviewees use shaadi.com as a virtual retreat where they redefine their consumption behaviours and identities in transcultural contexts, and where they develop a seamless hybrid identity instead of a polarized position. These users also interpret shaadi.com's matchmaking purpose as a dating service and it is therefore seen as a safe space in which they connect with others who have similar hybridised identities and to explore their own hybrid identities. Therefore, our study points to a user-driven evolution of a marketer-provided resource that has not been fully explored.

Whilst cases of market exclusion have occurred historically (Peñaloza, 2018), our findings suggest that there is a significant need to encourage market inclusion because of consumers' transcultural nature. Our findings also suggest that the ethnic and racial tensions that are

embedded in families, communities, and businesses may be transcended by responsible marketing and communication practices. For instance, rather than confining their children to traditional cultural marriages that are defined by ethnic values, the children of parents who do not interfere in the transcultural identity-construction process embrace the cultural values of the host country, which enables them to consume their choice of goods and services, regardless of their ethnicity. In this sense, the ideas of 'home' and 'host' cultural identity are not clear-cut and mean different things to different generations, as do what acculturation and re-acculturation entail. Therefore, our results suggest that consumers become blended almost seamlessly, leaving behind their cultural differences, as in the case of our interviewees.

Whilst studies have examined how ethnic-minority consumers express their identities in the products and services they use (Jamal et al., 2015), our findings focus on transcultural identity development and the riddles of duality in consumption. Our results agree with Peñaloza's (2018, p. 278) observation that 'non-market activities form the backbone of identity and community for many ethnic minority and majority peoples in the world.' Therefore, marketers should understand that ethnic marketing is interwoven with social relationships, so understanding transcultural patterns of identity formation can help practitioners develop effective and inclusive marketing strategies.

Conclusion

Our findings reveal how cultural duality is negotiated by third-generation, British-born Sikh consumers in the U.K. and demonstrate how a dual cultural allegiance can impact marketing and consumer behaviour. By revealing a common culture that is beyond cultural peculiarities, we help to clarify ethnic marketing practices and offer insights into how to overcome the cultural boundaries that are embedded in conceptualisations of home and host cultures.

Our conceptualisation allows us to understand the 'hybridization of individual and collective identities' (Bergmann, 2004, p. 140), as we investigate the concepts of blended cultures and evolving consumption contexts that characterize a transcultural environment. We argue that shaadi.com offers consumers a transitional resource where they can develop transcultural identities and freely express their views about courtship away from the prying eyes of the British Sikh community's older generation. We propose that the online environment is central to transcultural identity development and is essential to the success or failure of global and local consumer markets. For example, shaadi.com integrates the characteristics of traditional Sikh marriage and serves as a matrimonial website whilst also imitating the concept of a Western online dating website.

Whilst Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006, p. 133) 'conceive of cultural identity as a sense of belonging to one or more cultural groups and that strong ethnic or national identities provide a sense of emotional stability and personal security,' we find that young British Sikhs who use shaadi.com are acculturating and re-acculturating individuals who embody dual identities, and the virtual space is a resource they use to assert their duality. Shaadi.com is a transcultural space that reshapes and reframes consumption behaviours at both the global and local levels and supports emotional stability and personal security. The consumption of shaadi.com facilitates and mobilises the transnational imagination and helps to create new ways for consumers to think of themselves. Fittingly, Maldonado and Tansuhaj (2002) termed the process of transformation as transmogrification, referring to changing or commuting from one culture to another. However, transculturality is more fitting to the young, third-generation of the British Sikh community in the U.K., whose acculturative and re-acculturative processes experienced online transform their individual hybrid British Sikh identities.

Our findings can be extended to similar virtual spaces (e.g. Muzmatch, eHarmony, Tinder) where those who seek relief and freedom in constructing their individual and cultural identities may feel empowered while they experience acculturation and re-acculturation. Future research can explore the user-driven evolution of such spaces and the extent to which they are seen as a marketer-provided transitional resource.

Marketers can promote spaces like shadi.com as virtual retreats, that is, as a way to connect with others and re-define consumption patterns and identities in transcultural contexts. Marketers can also develop effective and inclusive marketing strategies by showing confident, empowered, and liberated individuals in their marketing communications.

Future research can also continue to developing this perspective beyond the third-generation U.K. Sikh community in parts of the world that are experiencing increasing levels of migration, in other consumer segments (e.g. interfaith couples, Generation Z consumers), and in other online (e.g. social media usage, online communities and shopping) and offline contexts (e.g. culturally integrated neighbourhoods).

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Table 1: Informants overview

Pseudonym Name	Age	Gender	Location	Occupation	Generation	Interviewed On Multiple Occasions	Research Environment
Pritam	29	Male	Derby	Property Developer	3rd Gen	Yes	Online
Gurj	29	Male	London	Banker	3rd Gen	Yes	Online
Saira	32	Female	Leicester	Personal Trainer	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Harvi	34	Female	Nuneaton	Logistics Manager	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Arun	28	Male	Coventry	Self Employed	3rd Gen	No	Offline
Gurdeep	30	Female	Leicester	Doctor	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Raj	34	Female	Nottingham	Account Manager	3rd Gen	Yes	Online
Jaya	28	Female	Birmingham	Medical Rep	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Ruby	32	Female	London	Accounts	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Harsimran	30	Female	London	Financial Advisor	3rd Gen	No	Online
Jagdeep	27	Female	Birmingham	Teacher	3rd Gen	No	Offline
V	30	Male	Dover	Banker	3rd Gen	Yes	Online
Kamal	27	Female	Coventry	Personal Assistant	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Kulsum	35	Female	London	Writer	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Sundeep	28	Male	Nottingham	Accounts Manager	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Jay Z	28	Male	London	Sales Assistant	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Sandeep	28	Male	Leamington	Graphic Designer	3rd Gen	No	Offline
Ranjit	27	Male	Coventry	Personal Trainer	3rd Gen	Yes	Offline
Harpreet	29	Female	Coventry	Accounts Clerk	3rd Gen	No	Offline
Honey	25	Female	Birmingham	Student	3rd Gen	No	Offline
Kuldeep	30	Male	London	Banker	3rd Gen	No	Online
Ranno	29	Female	Daventry	Doctoral Student	3rd Gen	No	Online
Sukh	28	Male	London	Finance Assistant	3rd Gen	No	Online
Pavan	26	Male	London	Student	3rd Gen	No	Online
Arjan	26	Male	Watford	IT Assistant	3rd Gen	No	Online
Indy	34	Male	London	Research Assistant	3rd Gen	No	Online
Deano	28	Male	Bolton	Music Artist	3rd Gen	No	Online
Baz	30	Male	London	Financial Manager	3rd Gen	No	Online
Sundeep	26	Female	Birmingham	IT Consultant	3rd Gen	Yes	Online

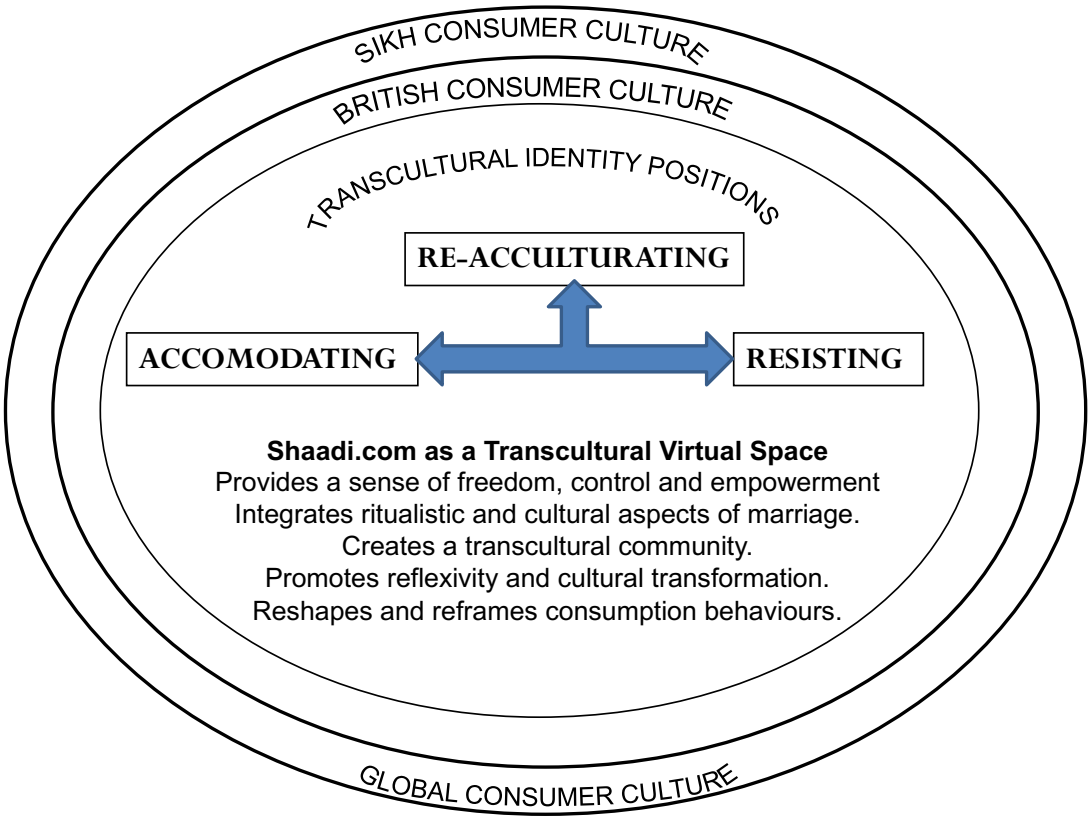

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Transcultural Identity Development at shaadi.com