

# **Customised authenticity in the home: domestic experiences of first-generation, higher-educated, middle-class migrant Indian heterosexual couples.**

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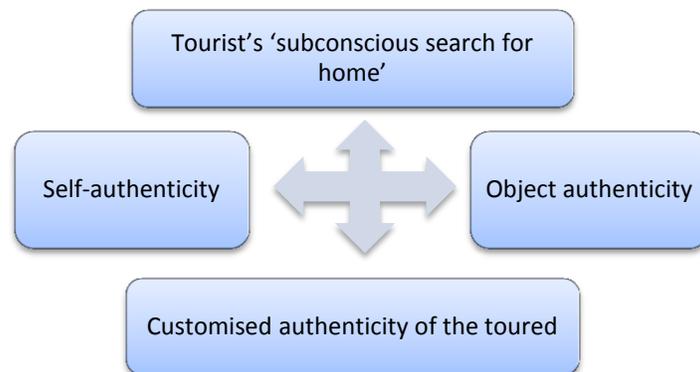
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## **ABSTRACT**

It has been argued that people might behave more 'authentically' in the privacy of the home than in the public sphere and that in the modern world, people seek to achieve authenticity through a range of practices, including everyday routines. More recently, the concept of 'customised authenticity' was introduced by Yu Wang to describe how the tourist's desire to experience a different culture is met by modifications made by the host society. In this paper, I show that the same concept may be extended to the private sphere of migrants, as they make choices about how much of their original, routine cultural practices to retain or discard as part of the process of their acculturation, through an exploration of the domestic practices of a particular group of migrants. Seventeen first-generation, higher-educated, dual-career, middle-class Indian migrant couples, married for an average of 18.3 years (10–30 years) and living in the UK for an average of 15 years (9–24 years) answered a questionnaire (filled separately by both spouses) and participated in semi-structured joint interviews on their domestic practices (for example, housework, food habits, celebrating festivals). The snowballing technique was used to contact the couples. The interviews explored the contribution of both spouses to the running of the household and the differences between each couple's current situation, their childhood homes and their early years of marriage to understand how they negotiated between their natal and host society cultures in the private sphere. I show that by differentially modifying different everyday housework routines and other cultural markers in the home, this sample of post-colonial higher-educated, middle-class migrants have reconstituted their 'authentic' domestic practices to ensure the smooth running and equanimity of their households in the space between two cultures. I conclude that the migrant home may also be a site of 'customised' authenticity.

## INTRODUCTION

Recently, being 'authentic', or trying to connect with one's 'authentic Self', has been linked to commodified notions of identity, which is itself defined by structural, cultural and material aspects such as nation and nationality, one's language, mannerisms, following particular cultural practices and eating 'authentic' foods (Potter, 2010). One way of trying to find this 'authentic' identity is to follow the Western tourist trail to those parts of the world that have not yet been ensnared by the tentacles of global capitalism (based on an assumption that every pre-colonial cultural custom or artefact is authentic (Vinson *et al.*, 2004)). Therefore authenticity has been and continues to be much theorised within tourism studies, and scholars have debated whether tourists are looking for self, that is existential, or objective or object authenticity (e.g. MacCannell, 1973; Cohen, 1988; N. Wang, 1999; Conran, 2006). In 2007, in a paper entitled 'Customized authenticity begins at home' Yu Wang questioned notions of both authenticity as a property 'of a culture/people/site' and its conceptualisation itself (2007, p. 801) by showing that the spaces of homestay tourism were in fact sites of production of a 'customised authenticity' rather than simply an authentic Other culture. Yu Wang argued that customisation of an authentic culture is a response to the homestay tourist's simultaneous search for both self and object authenticity as the one can transform into the other through the medium of the tourist's 'subconscious search for "home"' while participating in an Other (constructed) culture (2007, p. 790) (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 1:** The production of customised authenticity in homestay tourism (based on Y. Wang, 2007).

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<sup>1</sup> The concept is explained in greater detail later in the paper.

In this paper I aim to build on the arguments made by Yu Wang by addressing the following research question: What are the ways in which first-generation, migrant Indian middle-class couples, living in the UK negotiate – in other words, customise – authenticity in the private sphere? The next section describes the sample and data collection. The following section presents the analysis underpinning my argument. The section starts with a brief discussion of how concepts of authenticity and home relate to migration, and then I apply Yu Wang's concept of customisation of authenticity to the domestic practices of a sample of middle-class Indian migrants living in the UK. In the last part of the article, I will explore the significance of the above comparative analysis for the meaning of authenticity in relation to migration. Owing to the small size of the sample I do not claim that my conclusions will be generalisable across all migrant groups and communities. Rather, this paper is an exploratory adaptation of Yu Wang's customised authenticity concept to a particular migrant group.

## **SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION**

The impetus for the present analysis was my reaction on reading Yu Wang's paper. It struck a chord within me, because when I moved to the UK 18 years ago, I experienced as a migrant the 'authentic' anxiety brought on by the assumptions held by the host society about the migrant 'in terms of stereotyped images and expectations'; which are similar to the images of the toured society that are present in the minds of tourists before they enter that society (N. Wang, 1999, p. 353; Vinson *et al.* 2004). In my early years in the UK, a few people asked me for the recipe for the authentic Indian chicken curry. This created much cultural angst for me: I had been born and had lived in India for 29 years and never set foot abroad until I migrated; also, I had eaten some form of curry almost every day of my life. But in my experience, the flavour of curry varied from Indian home to home, region to region. To be thought of as a repository of all that is authentically Indian whilst living in the space between the two cultures made me acutely aware of the conflicts within me as I attempted to establish and re-establish my 'authentic' identity. Since Indians form the largest ethnic group in the UK (2% of the total population), of whom 42.6% have a degree or equivalent and third hold managerial/professional jobs (35% Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Office for National Statistics, 2011), it seemed worthwhile exploring how authenticity is negotiated in this subgroup of the UK Indian ethnic population, of which I am now a part. I draw on data

collected for an analytical autoethnographic study<sup>2</sup> of the domestic practices of 17 first-generation, middle-class, higher-educated Indian migrant couples<sup>3</sup>. The couples had been married for an average of 18.3 years (10–30 years) and lived in the UK for an average of 15 years (9–24 years). One couple had no children and the rest had one or two children in the age range of six months to 27 years. Twenty-seven of the participants were Hindus, two were Christians, two were atheists and two had no religious affiliation but did not call themselves atheists. The participants came mostly from southern (n = 17) and northern (n = 11) regions of India and three each were from the eastern and western regions. All participants were professionals, the majority being in the medical profession. Three participants had a bachelor's degree and the rest were post-graduates. The snowballing technique was used to contact the couples. All participants answered a questionnaire (filled separately by both spouses) about their current division of household labour and participated in semi-structured joint interviews on their domestic practices (for example, housework, food habits). The interviews explored the contribution of both spouses to the running of the household and the differences between each couple's current situation, their childhood homes and their early years of marriage to understand how they negotiated between their natal and host-society cultures in the private sphere. The data were anonymised and pseudonyms are used in the paper below. Each pseudonym is accompanied by the couple number with 'W' or 'H' (for wife and husband, respectively). For the purpose of this article, I conducted an inductive analysis in which I applied Yu Wang's themes of the various ways in which authenticity is customised in homestay tourism to my data.

## **CUSTOMISING AUTHENTICITY IN THE MIGRANT PRIVATE SPHERE**

Gardner (cited in Rosales, 2010, p. 511) says migration is an unstable and fluid experience in which 'peoples' perceptions of themselves' can alter as they move and live between location; and cultural schemas are 'refashioned' not 'transplanted' from a home in one country to another (Rudrappa, 2002). As the contrasting quotes from my study below illustrate, different migrants might understand their ethno-cultural identity

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<sup>2</sup> An analytical autoethnographic study is one that fulfils the following criteria: the researcher herself should be (i) 'a full member in the research group'; (ii) 'visible as such' in all published accounts of the research; and (iii) 'committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena' (Anderson, 2006: 375).

<sup>3</sup> Singha, L. (2011) Negotiating the domestic sphere: dual-career Indian migrant couples. Unpublished master's dissertation, University of York, York.

differently: Vandana is not quite sure how to describe herself but Jatin is very clear who he is.

Vandana (W15): *Sometimes, at least I am confused what being Indian is. Umm, is it the way we eat? The way we dress? The way we talk? I don't know. But [pause] I still think I'm Indian because I can identify with other Indians, you know their way of thinking perhaps. But I don't think there is an Indian way of life, specially because we have moved so much ...*

Jatin (H13): *I am very proud of that Keralan culture ... That's why I ... have never tried to Anglicise after coming here. We have integrated into the work culture here but as an individual [I am Keralan] ...*

In the couple quoted below, the wife was, in her private space, more inclined to favour her *regional* Indian identity but for the husband, his *national* Indian identity was sufficient:

Rachna (W7): *I think ... I quite feel I am Bengali. Although I am Indian generally and ... I'll say I'm Indian because it's a pan Indian feeling, but I think I like to be more regional yeah!*

Vivek (H7): *Err no, I don't feel that way ... that I am a Punjabi. I must say that to describe [myself] to somebody I will probably say I am Indian.*

Yu Wang (2007) used the example of homestay tourism in the county of Lijiang<sup>4</sup> in the Naxi region of Tibet to illustrate how self and object authenticity transform into each other. She argued that given the current obsession with authenticity, homestay tourists, while seeming to be on a quest to discover an authentic 'Other' culture are actually also on a quest for seeking their own 'Self', their own existential authenticity. Thus when they stay in homestay guesthouses, they indicate a desire for some home comforts, to which the hosts respond by modifying their authentic traditional houses, as they wish their guests to be comfortable while enjoying the local culture. In the process, the tourists end up staying in a 'home away from home', but this does not detract them from satisfying their curiosity of the 'Other' while still considering their own self-authenticity. That the homestay dwelling is no longer truly authentic – or as Spicer says, the “real” “back stage” of a tourist destination is as much a constructed chimera as the inauthentic “front stage” (2011, p. 49) – thus ceases to be relevant.

A point to note here is that 'home' is central to the project of customised authenticity: Yu Wang argues that it is the home that is the medium through which the relation between the two perspectives, that is self and object, of authenticity can be understood. Indeed as Conran (2006) has argued, for an authentic cultural experience,

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<sup>4</sup> After the county of Lijiang in north-western Tibet was declared a World Cultural Heritage site in 1997, its local Naxi population were encouraged to participate in homestay tourism to allow guests to experience authentic Naxi culture and heritage (Y. Wang, 2007).

tourists need to step into the intimate realm and everyday life of the host culture. Moreover, several authors have also argued with respect to tourism that the home is Goffman's (1959/1990) 'back stage'; 'a setting for the enactment of self' (Hurdley, 2006, p. 718); and where culture is played out and preserved (Okin, 1999). As the public sphere has become more regulated, commodified and rationalised, and as people spend greater amounts of their time within the four walls of the home, the private sphere is becoming more significant to the realisation of identity (Sack, 1992; Miller 2008). For the migrant, home can also be a metaphor for homeland, for living out that imagined left-behind life and culture (Okin, 1999; Bhatia, 2007). Marta Rabikowska's study of the food practices of a sample of working-class Polish migrants in London, revealed that 'Performance of national identity ... is more achievable and more individualised in a private space' (2010, p. 391).

In the tourism context, the two perspectives on authenticity have required thinking in terms of Self and Other. The Self is the tourist and the host is the Other and the tourist (Self) drives the customisation of the host's (Other's) authenticity (Y. Wang, 2007). In other words, the need for customisation originates in the tourist and then orients them to behave in certain ways, but the process of customisation is carried out by someone else, for example, (a tourist company or a single person). Indeed, in Yu Wang's study a significant proportion of tourists choosing to stay in homestay guesthouses to experience 'authentic' Naxi culture felt that they had achieved this despite all the modifications made by the individual hosts to ensure they had a comfortable stay (which meant providing basic amenities similar to those available in the tourists' own homes, such as installing flush toilets and 24-hour running hot water, based on comments by previous guests). So how then can this be applied to the migrant private sphere where, one could assume, is present either the Self or the Other? I would argue that in this sphere the migrant or the migrant family as a whole may alternately be the Self and the Other. The migrant Self is represented by the new life in the new country and the Other by the old life in the home country and it is the internal dialogue between these two positions that drives the customised authenticity in the migrant home and the transformation of object to self-authenticity which varies from home to home. I will now illustrate this argument with several examples, starting with the rather mundane task of cleaning.

Whilst cleaning is an everyday and rarely introspected task, familiar daily practices and routines and the meanings ascribed to them may become part of one's personhood. The spatial and temporal displacement that is migration entails a 'diversity of expectations, investments and adjustments', many of which are made in 'at the level of everyday practices' (Marotta, 2008, p. 509). Martal Rosales (2010), who conducted an

ethnographic study among a group of elite Portuguese migrants to understand the role of material objects in the making of a home, argued that everyday domestic activities also may have a role in the (re)constitution of identity and belonging. All this is disrupted on migration just like while touring. Migrants respond to this disruption by either trying to avoid changing (as found by Rabikowska, 2010) or reworking their routines<sup>5</sup>, which then eventually orient them and their notions of authenticity. In India, despite the reasonably wide availability of vacuum cleaners, cleaning in middle-class households still commonly involves a paid domestic worker using the traditional Indian broom and hand mop. The cleaner squats on the floor or bends down while working (Figure 2, right panel). This cleaning task is usually carried out on a daily basis for whole house including the bathrooms and toilets. In Western homes in contrast, a vacuum cleaner would be quite commonly used to clean most rooms in the house, but its use requires the person to stand/walk and work (Figure 2, left panel). Although the use of paid domestic workers is seeing a resurgence in the West, it is still not a routine feature in Western households. Many people do the task themselves. In addition, the whole house may not be cleaned daily. Some rooms may be cleaned more often than others<sup>6</sup>.



**Figure 2:** Different cleaning methods in India and the UK.

In my study, all the households had vacuum cleaners and this was the primary mode of cleaning. However, the frequency of cleaning varied. In six homes, vacuuming was done twice a week and in eight homes it was done once a week. Only in one household was vacuuming done almost daily. Seven households had employed a domestic worker for cleaning but in ten households the participants did the work themselves. Indeed, it is

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<sup>5</sup> See footnote 3.

<sup>6</sup> Personal conversations with White British women and information obtained from Internet forums: 'I'll tidy around and flick a duster about every day so it always looks OK and then I'll hoover once or twice a week'; 'I do a full housecleaning about every two weeks'; 'I vacuum (floors and carpets) and clean my bathrooms once a week.' Quotes from Yahoo answers. How often to do [sic] clean your home? Thread started 17 December 2010. <http://uk.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20101217021250AAtSo3O> [Accessed 14 February 2011.]

quite clear that the variable pattern in my sample is more similar to Western practices rather than the households in which these participants grew up and lived in India. This differential pattern of altered practices can be understood by drawing on David Morgan's (2011) family practices framework, which suggests that each family and so each domestic practice has three aspects:

- the practical (material constraints/freedoms)
- the symbolic (normative influences)
- the imaginary (individual aspirations/desires).

For different people, different aspects of domestic work have greater value. The practical viewpoint was taken by some participants, for example, that there was less dust in UK than in India so they did not need to clean as frequently now than when they had lived in India:

*Bela (W12): I think it is a bit easier here, like you don't have to do dusting and cleaning every day because ... there's no dust. And, so sometimes even though vacuuming every other day is a good idea, [if] it is missed, it doesn't really pinch ...*

Those who cleaned more frequently offered other explanations, in which the imaginary aspect prevailed. For example, some participants said they were obsessed with cleaning and sometimes there was a difference in the perception of what qualifies as 'dust' between spouses:

*Sanjeev (H4): And I said it's clean, [my wife] said 'No look there's still dust'. I said where is the dust?*

The symbolic aspect was the most important though when it came to washing dishes. Usually most households used the dishwasher, but in situations where manual washing of dishes was required, the participants expressed an overwhelming preference for the Indian way (Figure 3, left panel). The main difference as they explained here was that in India all the dishes receive a final rinse under running water almost every time. In the UK, however, practices can vary from simply wiping off dishes after removing the dirt from them in a tub full of soap suds (Figure 3, right panel) or they be rinsed with fresh water. That the cultural difference here was considered significant enough to maintain by my sample of migrants was possibly because Hindu cultural notions of cleanliness require washing dirt away from oneself (Gupta, 2007).



**Figure 3:** Different manual methods of washing dishes in India and the UK.

Yu Wang also argued that the customisation of authenticity in Lijiang’s homestays is not just reactive (that is, hosts reacting to signals from tourists about how their stay can be improved) but also creative (that is, hosts using their own initiative to make changes). In my study, this kind of customisation was evident in the language used for communication within various migrant homes and their celebration of festivals. All the participants interviewed spoke English in the public sphere. Although all the interviews were conducted in homes, the language used was again English. Whilst I can speak one Indian language – Hindi – my sample only had a few Hindi-speaking couples. The rest were from other parts of India and their mother tongues were different from mine. However, even when the couples were by themselves or just with their family at home the picture varied: four couples mainly spoke their own language for symbolic reasons, including perpetuating culture through their children. Among the rest, almost equal numbers spoke either both their own language and English in similar amounts, or primarily English. There were practical reasons for this, for example: after speaking English the whole day at work one can forget to make the switch to the mother tongue at home; and some husbands and wives came from different regions of India, so they did not have a common mother tongue. All the children spoke English but fewer than half could speak their mother tongue, some only understanding it. A few parents spoke in their own language when they did not want their children to understand what they were saying.

My participants also showed different approaches to the celebration of festivals. A few couples felt that celebrating festivals was a way to maintain their Indian cultural identity. But many others celebrated Indian festivals largely for the ‘social aspect’, for meeting up with friends at home:

Nitesh (H8): *All the festivals mean more of a social gathering rather than ... a celebration of festivals [like in India].*

Some participants said they did not remember details of rituals and their modified ways of celebrating were considered sufficient for maintaining their identity and culture.

Vandana (W15): *We won’t do little, little ones, but the big Holi, Diwali ... It’s hard to remember the little, little rituals, but we do observe the festivals.*

A few had adapted their festivals to suit their new spatial location. Taruni explained how for the festival of Vishu (a regional Indian festival), in her early years in the UK she used to look for vegetables that were locally grown in her home state in India but now she uses what is locally grown in the area she lives in. Those with children also participated in various ways in the 'social aspect' of some English festivals such as Christmas, with the tree, presents, Santa and stockings.

Nisha (W13): *Christmas trees and presents. We do those things, specially for children. Which is fun.*

However, as the children grew older, participation in Christmas tended to wane. Clearly these different approaches to festivals shows a creative element in the customisation of authenticity after migration.

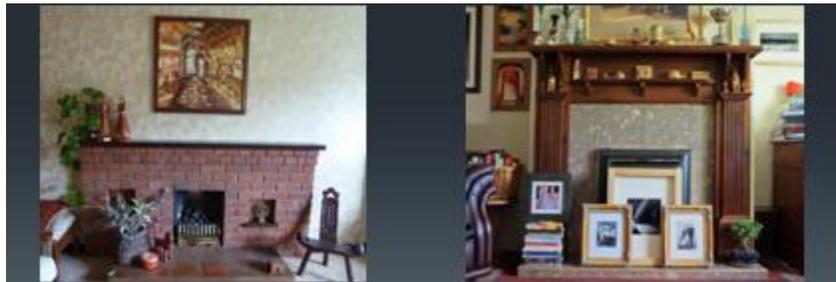
Yu Wang (2007) observed that although homestay tourists want to experience strange cultures and novel lifestyles, once they are at the tourist site they might find some aspects require too much change on their part. So while they are immersing themselves in the 'staged authenticity' put on by their hosts, they also take part in ritual inversion.<sup>7</sup> For example, they might prefer not to give up certain daily routines such as preferring their breakfast to be as it would have been at home or conversing in their own language. Migrants too go abroad to satisfy some desires, such as perhaps improving their socio-economic condition, and may respond to overt differences between their home and host cultures through ritual inversion. This varied from home to home in my study. For example, the men in my study dressed in Western clothes mostly all the time, with a few wearing Indian clothes on special occasions. However of the women, one wore mostly Indian clothes, even to work and also at home. Three others wore Indian clothes at home along with Western clothes, and the rest only wore Indian clothes when they attended some special occasion either in their own home or outside or if they were going to the temple. Thus, as far as their attire and culture were concerned, most of my participants tended to be culturally more authentic in the front of house rather than when back stage, where for practical reasons most of my sample preferred to wear the simpler Western attire. One explanation for this could be that in the company of those from a similar background, some migrants try to conform to the 'authentic' norms of the group to subtly reaffirm their membership of that group. However, further research would be required to confirm this observation. Although the relationship between food and authenticity in the context of migration is discussed later, it is worth mentioning at this point Rabikowska's (2010) observation that in a social context in the home, some

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<sup>7</sup> This 'anthropological phrase ... means that in ritual situations, and in tourism, certain meanings and rules of "ordinary behavior" are changed, held in abeyance or even reversed' (Graburn, 1983, p. 21).

Polish migrants prepared Polish dishes which they actually did not like but which they felt helped assert their Polishness.

As already mentioned above, Yu Wang argued that the tourist is in 'an inherent pursuit of a sense of home [and] self' (2007, p. 799). I argue that migrants too may be in pursuit of the same. Authors such as Rosales (2011) have shown migrants can partly achieve self-realisation through the physical aspects of the home, such as artefacts, which they can use to satisfy their object authenticity. There is also now a growing body of literature on material culture in the home showing that objects or artefacts can have a 'social or emotive' role and can be part of people's performance that goes towards maintaining human relationships (e.g. see Money, 2007). My interviews were mostly conducted in living rooms and dining rooms, and while I did not discuss the meanings of the objects, the visual display varied from home to home (Figure 4). In the image on the left, the mantle place is filled with cultural markers of homeland and in the one on the right the objects are mostly markers of the new life, with the old life being represented just through family photographs: so here it was not so much the homeland but home and family relationships that were being foregrounded. This suggests that the pursuit of the sense of Self in different migrants may follow different trajectories.



**Figure 4:** Two contrasting mantel places in Indian immigrant homes.

The preparation and consumption of food also serves as a means of reconnecting with one's authenticity (Bardenstein, 2010; Pearson and Kothari, 2007). Interestingly, in Tibetan Lijiang, one of the most popular foods considered as an 'ethnic marker' by tourists was the so-called Naxi sandwich, a dish concocted by a migrant Korean woman, drawing on Naxi food but presented in the Western style of a sandwich, something quite alien when considering traditional Naxi food (Y. Wang, 2007). In the context of migration, authors such as Rabikowska (2010) have suggested that there is a strong attempt to restore the past through 'partaking' of foods associated with the past in the present; and one's daily food practices could become part of the project of (re)conceptualisation of one's identity. However, Bardenstein (2010) argued that some migrants such as the Jordanian food writer, Diana Abu Jaber, negotiate with their culinary past in a non-essentialised, non-stable form. Even in Rabikowska's study, the

amount of emphasis placed on Polish food was variable, as some migrants were more willing than others to experiment with the host society's food. In my sample it was mainly the evening meal where people stressed that they ate Indian food more often than other food. While a degree of symbolism no doubt underpinned this behaviour, it was more to do with practical reasons rather than using food as a way to connect with the past: when time was tight, cooking what one already knew saved time, as did cooking those foods that involved the least amount of mess. For some participants this meant resorting to pasta and stir fries as well. On weekends, some cooked large batches of Indian food to be used over the week, as Indian food keeps well for several days when stored under appropriate conditions (with flavours developing further). Otherwise other culinary traditions were also followed:

*Girish (H5b): Our appreciation of food has widened phenomenally in coming here [the UK] and ... we've learnt cooking as well as appreciating different kinds of food you know ... really enjoy it.*

Western cereals and toast was the mainstay for breakfast in almost all households. An Indian cooked breakfast was preferred in only one household during the week and in fewer than half over the weekend, while the Western sandwich was most popular for lunch. And for some (read: men in particular), experimenting with different foods seemed to be part of their journey of rediscovering their self-authenticity.

## **CONCLUSION: CUSTOMISED AUTHENTICITY – PARADOX OR REALITY**

Owing to the highly selective sample group on which I have based my comparative analysis, this paper presents an exploratory adaptation of Yu Wang's customised authenticity concept to a particular migrant group. However, the above arguments about authenticity being customised in migrant domestic spaces are also supported by some debates on the general nature of authenticity. For example, Steiner and Reisinger, while discussing Heidegger's conceptualisation of existential authenticity, observed that: 'each person stands in the world of their heritage/destiny in a slightly different place, so the world is seen from a different perspective. This gives people different and unique possibilities' (2006, p. 304). Yet these possibilities may be limited by some structural, material and cultural factors. Rabikowska (2010) noted that engagement with the host society's food required the Polish migrants to have knowledge of English, and so this affected who was able to do it. One of my participants, Ganesh, stated that differences in lifestyle may depend more on one's education and socio-economic status rather than ethnicity and culture. Thus, my extension of Wang's concept may be applicable to only a

certain kind of migrant (the middle-class, higher-educated migrant who does not live in an ethnic enclave in the new country) and further research into other migrant groups would be required to confirm the tentative conclusions made in this section.

There seems to be almost an obligation nowadays to appear authentic in multicultural societies because of the emphasis on 'difference as a form of cultural distinction and legitimization' (Conran, 2006, p. 275). But being authentic in the space between two cultures may require migrants to rethink and adapt their original authentic selves (Radhakrishan, 1994). In the case of homestay tourism, Yu Wang (2007) stated that the customisation is carried out on the individual level – each host makes alterations depending on feedback or comments from *their* guests rather than subscribing to some industry standard or norms. She thus concluded that customised authenticity 'consists of a variety of hybrids that are produced at the interface of objective authenticity and existential authenticity—an interface linked by one's subconscious search for home, in both familiarity and unfamiliarity' (Y. Wang, 2007, p. 802). The same may occur in diasporic spaces due to differences in the degree of practical, symbolic and imaginary influences (Morgan, 2011) on each family or individual: a range of 'customised' authentic Self–Other combinations may be produced in each individual migrant private sphere, but which may be assumed to be similar and just one Other by the host society. The phrase 'customised authenticity' was primarily conceptualised by Yu Wang (2007) to explain the homestay tourist's simultaneous search for self and object authenticity and the term may seem contradictory. Yet, the above discussion seems to suggest that it may be appropriated into other contexts such as diasporic spaces, where understanding one's authenticity, in the way it is defined today, may require continual renegotiation between the internal Self and Other positions.

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