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MODELS OF CULTURE CHANGE

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1. Introduction

Migration involves movements of people from one place to another and many Western countries have a long history of attracting immigrants from many parts of the world. The impact of migration and resettlement on the consumption experiences of immigrants has long been a matter of great interest to researchers (Hui, Joy, Kim and Laroche 1992) in various disciplines like anthropology, sociology, social psychology and consumer behavior. The key question of how immigrants remain involved with their culture of origin (even after spending substantial amount of time in their respective countries of destination) is an enduring one in multicultural environments like the USA, Canada, Australia and the UK. Different theoretical frameworks exist explaining the phenomena and this chapter aims to review such frameworks and identify future research directions.

2. Models of Culture Change
2.1 Melting pot and assimilation

In its purest form, the melting pot ideology 'assumed that each ethnic group would blend into a national whole that was greater than the sum of the ethnic parts'(Crispino 1980, p.6). Such ideology underpins the phenomenon of assimilation, which is "the process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life" (Park and Burgess 1921, p.735, cited in Gordon 1964, p.62).

From this definition, Gordon (1964) identified seven types of assimilation. First, cultural or behavioral assimilation happens when the immigrants change their patterns (including religious beliefs and observance) to those of the host society. Second, structural assimilation happens when the immigrants enter at a large scale cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society, on a primary group level. Third, marital assimilation occurs when the immigrants have large scale intermarriages with members of the host society. Fourth, identical assimilation occurs when the immigrants develop a sense of people-hood or ethnicity based exclusively on the values of host society. Fifth, attitudinal receptional assimilation occurs when the immigrants do not encounter any prejudiced attitudes. Sixth, behavioral receptional assimilation occurs when the immigrants do not encounter any discriminatory behavior. Finally, civic assimilation occurs when the immigrants do not have any conflict for value and power with members of the host society.

According to Gordon (1964), acculturation referred only to what he described as *cultural or behavioral assimilation.* Hence 'acculturation' in this sense was presented as part of an overall phenomenon called 'assimilation'. Accordingly, acculturation was treated as a linear bipolar process by which individuals within immigrant communities give up the attitudes, values and behaviors of their original culture when acquiring those of the host culture (Gordon 1964). This

definition confounds acquisition of host cultural traits with the loss of original cultural traits (Kim, Laroche and Tomiuk 2001). From a theoretical viewpoint, this perspective fails to consider alternatives to assimilation, such as integrated or bicultural identities (Dion and Dion 2001).

Furthermore, a substantial amount of research in the last five decades into immigrants and the way they behave, act and consume does not provide significant support for everyone in the immigrants' communities to assimilate in the way described by Gordon (1964). The assimilation approach is also criticized on the grounds that the approach is 'unidirectional', with movement always towards replacement of old (country of origin) with new (country of destination); (see for example Hui et al. 1992; Padilla 1980). Rather than assimilating in its purest form and in its entirety, immigrants tend to engage in a more complex form of adaptation: (a) acquiring some skills and/or traits to function within a host culture; (b) retaining aspects of their culture of origin. The former has been referred to as *acculturation* and the latter to *ethnic identity* (Phinney 1990, 1992).

3.2 Acculturation

According to Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), acculturation "… results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (p.149). The Social Science Research Council defined acculturation as the "culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (Palmer 1954: 974). Most definitions found in the literature have common denominators: *(1)* people from two cultural origins, *(2)* continuous contact of two groups and *(3)* adaptation of cultural dimensions by individuals in groups. While cultural change occurs as a result of any intercultural contact anywhere in the world (e.g., teenagers around the world adopting Western cultural values due to their exposure to global consumer culture and engagement with global social media), the cultural change (under the term acculturation) is often studied among individuals (e.g., immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and sojourners like international students) living in countries or regions other than they were born (Schwartz et al. 2010).

Within marketing, 'consumer acculturation' is the "process through which people raised in one culture acquire consumption-related values, attitudes and customs of another culture, through direct or indirect contact" (Schiffman, Dillon and Ngumah 1981). Peñaloza (1994) identifies three steps in the consumer acculturation process: (1) *move*, where one immigrates to a new country, (2) *translate*, where one associates host culture's concepts with home culture's ones to comprehend the new environment and (3) *adapt*, where one learns how to function in the new culture. These steps of the consumer acculturation process are identified in several contexts, i.e., Hispanics, Blacks, European immigrants in the United States and Canada, and Muslims in Europe (Palumbo and Teich 2004). However, they do not follow a linear trend, but a complex, dynamic, cyclic and irregular process by which immigrants experience foreclosure (i.e. acceptance without question), then move to a crisis, and finally reach moratorium (i.e. questioning and experimenting). Immigrants can go back and forth through these phases before achieving an identity (Steenkamp 2001).

2.3 Ethnic identity

For Phinney (1990) ethnic identity is: *(a)* based on context and meaningfulness in relation to a dominant culture; *(b)* fluid and malleable after immigration; *(c)* confounded with *acculturation; (d)* more salient after immigration; and *(e)* not specific to one ethnic group. In many

conceptualizations, ethnic identity and acculturation are confounded. This is represented by a bipolar model of acculturation or changing ethnic identity (Phinney 1990, 1996; Phinney and Ong 2007; Laroche, Pons and Richard 2009). This model represents an *assimilationist* perspective where acquisitions of host cultural traits are accompanied by some weakening of the original culture. In others, the two constructs are independent. However, a more flexible perspective provides a more complex representation of changing culture (Berry 1990; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Mendoza 1989; Phinney 1990; Laroche et al. 2009). Thus, highly acculturated people may exhibit high ethnic identity; and conversely, high ethnic identity people may show varying levels of acculturation. This perspective is related to *multiculturalism* and is a better theoretical base for the study of culture change (Berry 1990).

2.4 Situational nature of culture change

Acculturation is viewed as a multidimensional process. Researchers argue that the acquisition of new cultural traits and the weakening of traditional cultures vary from trait to trait (Hui, Joy, Kim and Laroche 1993; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Mendoza 1989). This *'selective acculturation'* explains the tendency of immigrants to adopt some *'strategic traits'* such as learning English to gain employment, while maintaining native values and traditions (Keefe and Padilla 1987). Thus, processes like acculturation or ethnic identity are adaptive responses to structural situations (Yancey, Eriksen and Juliani 1976; Frieders and Goldenberger 1982). Bouchet (1995) provides support by arguing that ethnic identity is like a bricolage whereby one builds self-identity on the basis of heterogeneous elements taken from a diversity of cultural representations and practices. Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) argue that persons in multicultural societies have a set of ethnic and other identities that are differentially salient in different situations. Like mainstream consumers, immigrants may have multiple selves (Markus and Kunda, 1986) and may engage in culture swapping (Jamal 2003; Oswlad 1999). Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) gave the example of the salience of Irish ethnicity felt by an Irish-American on St. Patrick's Day, and how it might affect the choice of a restaurant on that day compared to non-Irish holidays.

2.5 Hyperacculturation

Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) found that Mexican-Americans, Anglo-Americans and Mexicans living in Mexico, had different consumption patterns, with Mexican-Americans consuming the most 'American-type' products. Thus, Mexican-Americans over-assimilate to *prior* perceptions of American cultural styles and these conceptions of American lifestyles may originate from inferences drawn from the mass media (Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). Similar patterns are found among Korean-Americans (Lee and Um 1992) and Italian-Americans (Celeste 2006).

According to *cultivation theory* people are brought up in a mass-mediated environment (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan and Signorielli 1980) and immigrants to the United States while learning its culture, rely more on material symbols and indirect exposure (i.e. through television), rather than on direct exposure and participation in related events (Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Television viewing studies find that people with little direct social experiences more likely assume that these images of the host society are real (Conway Dato-on 2000). Thus, immigrants may become over-assimilated to the host culture, falsely accepting the consumption cues provided by the mass media. The notion of hyperacculturation or over-acculturation, may also apply to members of the host society who may experience cultural change following their exposure to immigrant cultural groups (Jamal 2003). For example, Jamal (1996) documents instances of over-

acculturation among the native English in Bradford (UK) who consumed spicier and hotter Asian dishes than did the British-Pakistanis in Bradford.

Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard (2005) studying Greenlandic immigrants in four Danish cities found evidence in support of Greenlandic hyperculture. Immigrants idealized cultural possessions associated with Greenland and consumed hyped commercial elements as emblems of authentic culture – with their identities becoming more Greenlandic than the Greenlandic people. This hyperassimilated identity involving elements of cultural maintenance and authenticity represented a reverse of the hyperassimilated identity identified by Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) in a North American context (Askegaard et al. 2005). There are other examples whereby immigrants seek to become more ethnic than their counterparts in the host culture. For example, Jamal (1997) documents the case of British-Pakistanis in Bradford (UK) who sought to experience Islamic and cultural identities in the UK more strongly than the Muslims in Pakistan.

2.6 Dimensions of culture change

The indicators of acculturation are classified into behavioral, attitudinal, linguistic, psychological, and socioeconomic dimensions (Olmedo, Martinez and Martinez 1978). They vary in types and numbers from one group to another and from one study to another. For a specific group, these dimensions are the salient features of identification with that group (Christian, Gadfield, Giles and Taylor 1976). Some of the accepted indicators of cultural change are: (a) *language*, (b) *friendship networks*, (c) *religion*, (d) *participation in ethnic organizations*, (e) *food preferences*, (f) *ethnic celebrations*, and (g) *politics* (e.g., Driedger 1975; Phinney 1990; Rosenthal and Feldman 1992). Other indicators of culture change include music, dress and media consumption (e.g., Peñaloza 1994).

An exhaustive literature search on ethnic identity and acculturation shows that some dimensions appear with higher frequencies (Laroche, Kim, Tomiuk and Belisle 2005). Thus, a structure of ethnic acculturation or identity applicable to many but not all groups may include: *(a)* one or more *language-based* dimensions, and (b) an *ethnic attachment* dimension. Various *language-based* factors emerge as dimensions for several ethnic groups (Aboud and Christian 1979; De La Garza, Newcomb, and Myers 1995; Giles et al. 1976). Most measures include language-based items in contexts, which include *media consumption/exposure* (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987) and *family* (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987; Valencia 1985). *Ethnic attachment* also emerge as an important dimension of ethnic identity (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Kwan and Sodowsky 1997; Phinney 1992).

4. Bidimensional models

Scholars state that when original and host cultural identities are independent, the cultural adaptation process can be better understood (Berry 2005; 2009). Congruent with this viewpoint, studies of ethnic groups in the United States and Canada find that the adaptation process does not necessarily cause the loss of one's original ethnic identity (Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor 1986). There are six key bidimensional models: *(1)* the Berry model, *(20* the Mendoza and Martinez model, *(3)* the Laroche and colleagues model, *(4)* the Cleveland and Laroche AGCC model, *(5)* the Cleveland and colleagues extended model, and *(6)* the Laroche and colleagues nonlinear model.

3.1 Berry's model

For Berry (1990), countries with official multiculturalism policies and acceptance of ethnic

cultures and identities allow for high degrees of culture maintenance across generations of immigrants.

Berry (1980) states that change occurs along two independent dimensions: *(1)* the degree of *maintenance* of the original culture, and *(2)* the degree of *conformity* to the attitudes and behaviors of the host culture. Dichotomizing these two dimensions provides four acculturation patterns (Berry 1980). Thus, adapting to the values, norms and traditions of the host society does not require or accompany a weakening cultural maintenance. Those who maintain their original identity while adopting traits of the host culture follow an *integrationist* route. Those who maintain their original culture while rejecting host cultural traits adopt a *separatist* position. Those who abandon their ethnic identity in favor of host cultural traits follow the *assimilation* route. Finally, those who neither maintain original cultural traits, nor adopt host cultural ones are *'marginalized'* or *'decultured'*. Research on Berry's (1980) conceptual framework (e.g., Kim, Laroche and Joy 1990; Laroche, Kim, Hui and Tomiuk, 1998; Hui et al. 1992) found strong support for the integrationist—rather than the assimilationist—perspective. Integrated (or 'bicultural') consumers often experience high levels of self-esteem, confidence and prosocial behaviors (e.g., Chen et al. 2008) and are better able to adapt to cultural differences (Benet-Martinez and Haritatos 2005).

Berry (1990) stated that the acculturation process may operate unevenly, i.e., ethnic minority consumers may exhibit varying levels of acculturation while acting on different social and family roles (O'Guinn and Faber 1985). For Stayman and Deshpandé (1989) the degree of acculturation is context-specific, i.e., one may acquire aspects of the host culture when deemed appropriate (e.g., at work), and reject the same when they are no longer appropriate (Jun, Ball and Gentry 1994). Among ethnic minority consumers many seek the 'best of both worlds' valuing both heritage and host cultures, expressing positive attitudes towards consumables emblematic of both cultural environments (Askegaard et al. 2005).

3.2 Mendoza and Martinez's model

Mendoza and Martinez (1981) suggested a different four-typology conceptualization of acculturation patterns: *(1) cultural resistance* (i.e., actively or passively resisting acquisitions of host cultural norms and behaviors while maintaining traditional customs), *(2) cultural shift* (i.e., new host cultural norms are substituted for traditional customs), *(3) cultural incorporation* (i.e., customs are adapted from both original and host cultures), and *(4) cultural transmutation* (i.e., a unique subcultural entity is developed from a modification or combination of both native and host cultural norms). One key aspect of Mendoza and Martinez's (1981) framework is that ethnic groups may use one acculturation pattern for certain customs, while using other patterns for others: *"...immigrant individuals are generally multifaceted with respect to the various types and dimensions of acculturation"* (Mendoza 1989, p.374). Despite differences in terminologies, there are overlaps and similarities between models proposed by Mendoza and Martinez (1981) and Berry (1980).

3.3 Laroche and colleagues' (Chinese, French/English, Italian, and Greek) models

Derived from the bidimensional perspective to the immigrant adaptation process, a growing number of researchers (e.g., Laroche, Kim, Hui and Joy 1996) took a different approach by measuring the two dimensions (i.e., acculturation and ethnic identity) separately. Acculturation is multidimensional (Rogler, Cortes and Malgady 1991), implying that the adaptation process likely occurs at different rates in different sociocultural spheres such as at work or in the family. This can be significant in collectivist cultures such as China which emphasize solidarity to the group

and greatly value family life. Most acculturation research focuses on adult immigrant consumers and Laroche, Yang, Kim and Chan's (2006) attempt in incorporating influences in the family represented a step in the right direction. Interactions among children and parents play a significant role in the resettlement process in a new cultural environment and in intergenerational discourse within immigrant families. Laroche, Yang, Kim and Richard (2007) introduced the concept of *family acculturative distance* and showed it led to differing patterns of family decision-making.

3.3.1 Chinese family triadic acculturation

Research by Laroche et al. (2006) fills a void in family studies by the development and validation of an empirical family triadic self-report instrument, which examines the acculturation levels of Chinese immigrant families in North America. The Chinese family triadic acculturation (CFTA) scale conceptualizes acculturation as part of the immigrant adaptation process with multidimensional measures, which enable researchers to assess attitudes and behaviors in a variety of situations. Unlike previous studies, they developed and validated an acculturation measure through multiple-respondents, multiple-item data from fathers, mothers, and children. The use of multiple respondents as multiple methods required a strict measure purification process, in which both internal consistency and intergroup agreement had to be taken into account. Of the 22 initial items, the purification process produced 9 items that probed three distinct facets of acculturation. The Chinese Family-Triadic Acculturation (CFTA) scale included three factors, namely *E-C identification and attachment*, *English language use at home*, and *E-C social interaction*. This solution was confirmed by another study conducted by Kim, Laroche and Tomiuk (2004).

The test of the construct validity of the CFTA scale entailed applying confirmatory factor analysis to the data, regarding three dimensions of acculturation as "traits," and the average scores from different respondents on the multiple-item measures as "methods." Analyses yielded consistent evidence of the convergent and discriminant validity of the triadic measures. Therefore, the CFTA scale was treated as a reliable instrument in assessing the relative acculturation levels incorporating views of all family members for Chinese immigrant families.

An issue is about acculturation measurement. Media consumption embedded in the category of *English language use* in the questionnaire (i.e., language use when reading newspapers/magazines and watching movies/videotapes) neither showed up as a distinct dimension of acculturation nor it revealed as significant factor loadings in factor analyses. This finding was surprising since media exposure has been found to relate significantly to immigrants' acculturation (Lee and Tse 1994). According to Douglas and Macquin (1977), the differences in lifestyles of consumers from different countries may lead to different effectiveness for different media. Given the distinctness of Chinese ethnic groups, further studies should extend media exposure measures to the exposure of TV and radio programs to investigate its role in the acculturation assessment of family triads.

Overall, as an exploratory investigation of the CFAT scale, the results were encouraging. Although further research is required with a larger sample and revised measures of mass communication, findings propose that the CFAT scale may exhibit satisfactory validity and reliability, and shows promise as a useful tool for researchers working with Chinese immigrant families.

3.3.2 French/English acculturation

Studies by Laroche et al. (1996) revealed that French-Canadian (FC) ethnic affiliation and acculturative tendency toward the English-Canadian (EC) culture were two major dimensions

underlying FC ethnic change brought on by continuous contacts with English Canadians. *FC ethnic affiliation* as indicated by FC social interactions, FC family, FC self-identification, and attachment to FC culture, in essence, reflected FC individuals' psychological, social, as well as cultural identification with their ethnic origins. The *acculturative tendency* dimension as indicated by EC social interactions, attachment to EC culture, and attitude toward cultural exchange, on the other hand, reflected FC individuals' social and psychological affinity towards the EC culture.

3.3.3 Italian/Greek ethnic identity

Laroche at al. (2005) adopt a *general* perspective on ethnic identity rather than a *specific* one in that the structure of ethnic identity is applicable to at least two groups like the Greeks and the Italians in North America. Traditional Greek and Italian cultures appear to be heterogeneous when aspects of identity are considered. Each is defined by specific cultural practices, and traditions, yet they exemplify strongly imbedded characteristics which are common and equally important to both groups. Specifically, Laroche at al. (2005) suggest that ethnic identity, in such a context, involves multiple dimensions which include: (a) *ethnic language use with family members*, (b) *ethnic language media exposure*, and (c) *ethnic attachment*. The three dimensions formed important aspects of Greek and Italian ethnic identities within multicultural Canada. Language issues are clearly relevant to Italian and Greek identities.

The extant literature provides support by suggesting that *ethnic language use with family members* is very important to Greek and Italian ethnic identity maintenance (Lambert, Mermigis, and Taylor 1986; Rotunno and McGoldrick 1982; Stycos 1948). Similar conclusions appear with respect to *ethnic language media exposure*. For instance, both the Italian and Greek communities in major metropolitan areas of Canada e.g., Montreal, and Toronto) have their own ethnic language newspapers, magazines, and radio stations. Also, print media forms from the original country are numerous and readily available within their ethnic neighborhoods. The importance of *ethnic attachment* is also clear with either group. For example, Ramirez (1989) discusses the emergence of Italian churches/parishes; issues related to the creation of Italian schools; and the number of Italian grocery stores, clubs, cafés, and community organizations. Moreover, Italian immigrants from the same area in Italy tend to intermarry and form residential clusters in cities (Ramirez, 1989). Similar patterns and findings appear for the Greeks (Chimbos and Agocs 1983; Kourvetaris 1971; Lambert, Mermigis and Taylor 1986).

3.4 Acculturation to the global consumer culture

The issue of culture change is relevant and applicable to consumers around the world. We live in a global world that is characterized by social and cultural interconnectedness facilitated by advancements in technology and more than ever exposure and use of social media and global consumer culture. The unprecedented improvements in world-wide systems of transport and communication are speeding up the velocity of the diffusion of ideas, information, goods, capital, and consumer culture. In the backdrop of such trends, Cleveland and Laroche (2007) examined the complex interaction and contextual nature of local and global cultural influences on consumer behavior and in doing so, developed and validated a scale for acculturation to the global consumer culture (AGCC) which considered "how individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and behaviors that are characteristic of a nascent and deterritorialized global consumer culture (GCC)" (p.59). The AGCC scale consisted of six dimensions of culture change: *(1)* exposure to and use of English, *(2)* exposure to global and foreign mass media, *(3)* exposure to marketing activities of multinational corporations, *(4)* social interactions (i.e. travel, migration, and contacts with

foreigners), *(5)* cosmopolitanism, *(6)* openness to and desire to participate in the GCC, and *(7)* self-identification with the GCC. This scale has been successfully tested in several different countries (Cleveland 2006; Hallab 2009; Naghavi 2011; Sobol 2008).

3.4.1 Exposure to global and foreign mass media

The key assumption is that the greater the exposure to global and foreign mass media, the greater will be the AGCC. The wide use of electronic media allows consumers from around the world to watch the same television shows and movies, listen to the same music, and read the same news (Cross and Smits 2005); thus they are exposed to the same messages and brands. Western media is the "teacher from which Third World countries learn to assimilate" (Schiller 1976 cited in Roedl 2006, p.3). It is natural to 'want what others have' especially the rich and famous portrayed in television programs (Douglas and Isherwood 1978). American television is present in many countries as an agent of popular culture. The American film industry dominates domestic and international markets, accounting for 58% to 93% of the Western European markets (Hesmondhalgh 2002). Also, the mass media developed from one-way communication to two-way interactions between sender and receiver (Castells 2000), to more interactive social media which is "democratizing the spread of information" (Legrain 2002 p.313). However, the uneven penetration of electronic media leads to an imbalance of cultural influences in the development of the GCC. This is clear through the Western nature of Internet content, 75% of which is written in English (Gilsdorf 2006).

3.4.2 Exposure to and use of English

The key assumption is that a greater exposure and use of English language facilitates the AGCC. English is the language of science (Tenbruck 1990), business, tourism, and diplomacy (Huntington 1996), and the symbol of modernism and internationalism (Ray, Ryder and Scott 1994; Alden, Steenkamp and Batra 1999; Graddol 2000). Many consumers around the world learn to read and write English (as part of secondary and higher education) and are thus able to use the English language as a main tool for operating in most fields: internet, commerce, banking and travelling. Almost all global brands originate from Western countries and extensively use English on product packaging and other forms of marketing communications. While the preference for mother tongue and national language has an impact, greater appreciation and use of English language facilitates acquisition of consumption related phenomena such as the global consumer culture.

3.4.3 Exposure to marketing activities of multinational corporations
A greater exposure to marketing activities of global brands and multinationals also facilitates culture change. In addition to mass media and language, marketing activities cross borders and influence consumer behavior worldwide facilitating culture change. In using advertising, marketers inform consumers about their products, but in doing so they diffuse cultural values through a 'meaning transfer' (McCracken, 1986). Brands are associated with "an image, a set of emotions, a way of life" and "are about meaning, not product attributes" (Legrain 2002: p.121-123). We live in a world of 'global brands' (e.g. Coca-Cola, Nike, Apple, BMW), 'global logos' (e.g. Nike 'swoosh', McDonald's 'golden arches'), 'global icons' (e.g. Michael Jordon, Paris Hilton, James Bond), 'global products' (e.g. cell phones, fast foods, jeans, sushi), and 'global campaigns' (e.g. McDonald's 'Loving It!', Nike's 'Just Do It!') all diffusing traits of the GCC.

Multinationals advertise their products through branding and celebrity/movie endorsements (Tanner 2002). Coca Cola portrays the consumption of its beverage as "America's promise of peace, freedom, prosperity, democracy, and shopping" (Tanner 2002, p.42). Endorsement strategies are used by companies such as Nike sponsored by Tiger Woods in the PGA golf tournaments, Rolex–the wristwatches of James Bond, and FedEx promoted in various blockbuster movies such as "Cast Away", and "Spiderman".

3.4.4 Social interactions

Culture change is also facilitated by social interactions occurring through business and leisure travel, international studies, and migration. People bring in their cultural heritage which they unconsciously diffuse into the mainstream population (Graddol 2000). In addition, the same people returning home "act as walking displays for glittering consumer goods they bring back from their adopted cultures" (Ger and Belk 1996, p.281). Social interactions, through direct and indirect contacts, facilitate the propagation of the GCC (Appadurai 1996). Tourism is the largest industry in the world (Firat 1995; Legrain 2002). Today, travel is a mainstream activity that has become less expensive, faster and accessible to all. Migration is considered as a common occurrence with 175 million people living outside their country of origin in 2000 (Doyle 2004). Lower travel costs, relaxing barriers, advances in information and communication technology, better opportunities abroad, and the widespread use of English encourage and facilitate migration (Doyle 2004).

3.4.5 Cosmopolitanism

Cultures are territorially-bound and people belonging to transnational cultures are frequent travelers, interacting with people from all around the world to become a part of local social networks (Thompson and Tambyah 1999). These individuals are 'cosmopolitans' described as "intellectuals who are at home in the cultures of other peoples as well as their own" (Konrad 1984: p.209), as people who have the "willingness to explore and experience the panoply of transcultural diversity" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, p.216), as individuals "participating in many worlds without becoming part of them" (Thompson and Tambyah 1999, p.220), as cultural gatekeepers "deciding what gets in, and what will be kept out, ignored, explicitly rejected" (Hannerz 1990, p.258), and as "core agents of global cultural flow" (Cleveland 2006, p.71). Cosmopolitans are distinct from tourists, who only visit different countries and act as spectators of, rather than participants in the culture (Hannerz 1990). Cosmopolitans "want to be able to sneak backstage rather than being confined to the front stage areas" (Hannerz 1990, p.242). To be labeled as cosmopolitan, an individual needs to possess enough competencies and flexibility (i.e. "cultural intelligence") to adequately experience world cultures. Cosmopolitanism has been related to educational attainment (Robertson and Zill 1997), high motivation predisposing to cosmopolitan consumption practices (Holt 1998 cited in Thompson and Tambyah 1999, p.217), and frequent traveling (Santora 2006). Technology and television programs provide the opportunity to experience diverse lifestyles and cultures without leaving their country, and thus to be cosmopolitan (Hannerz 1990). Cosmopolitans use consumption as a means to integrate into the diverse societies they encounter. First, it allows them to live like the locals do, by eating the same foods, wearing the same clothes, listening to the same music, and enjoying the same leisure activities. Second, consumption provides the opportunity to establish a network of local friendships, which further facilitates integration into the mainstream culture (Thompson and Tambyah 1999).

3.4.6 Openness to and desire to participate in the global consumer culture

Globalization has created a single forum, where all members live their daily lives and pursue their goals in relative terms, comparing themselves with others (Robertson 1992). It is human nature to admire and envy the possessions of others. Researchers found that individuals who admire the lifestyles and consumption patterns of other countries are more prone to desire the ownership of such goods (Appadurai 1990; Alden, Steenkamp and Batra 1999; Batra et al. 2000). However, individuals do not usually emulate all aspects of a foreign culture, but rather as Cleveland (2006, p.74) stated "the acculturation to the global consumer culture is believed to be a selective, contextual and adaptive process."

Also, one does not need to be cosmopolitan to desire to participate in the GCC. For example, the 'global youth' segment desires consumer goods promoted through global media (Alden, Steenkamp and Batra 1999). However they do not necessarily integrate themselves into different world societies. Ji and McNeal (2001) explained that the younger generations are "less culture-bound and more open to Western lifestyles and accompanying products" (p.80) than older ones. Schlegel (2000) stated that it is increasingly difficult to differentiate adolescents based on their nationality because their dress, hair styles, music, and restaurants tend to be the same worldwide. They increasingly speak the same language, namely English. Schlegel (2000) stated two reasons to explain the transportability of the global youth culture: first, its elements are often banal and require little effort from the listener, viewer, eater and wearer (e.g. fast food); second, it propagates universal concepts such as love, sex, fashion, wealth and power, which relate to adolescents everywhere.

3.4.7 Self-identification with the global consumer culture

Greater self-identification with the global consumer culture also facilitates culture change. This dimension refers to "self-ascribed membership in or outright identification with some form of global consumer culture" (Cleveland 2006, p.165). Consumers around the globe are exposed to foreign cultural elements through travel, mass media and global advertising. Thus, they are free to select how much they want to identify with some lifestyles and belief systems (Ogden, Ogden, and Schau 2002), which affects their patterns of thinking and behaving. This freedom of choice is contingent on individual factors such as accessibility, income, education and exposure. An individual's self-identification to the GCC allows to go beyond the mere interest or desire to be part of a global segment, and leads to behave in accordance with the values of the GCC (i.e. actively seek to purchase international products and become a global consumer).

3.5 Cleveland and colleagues expanded model

Cleveland, Laroche, Pons, and Kastoun (2009) propose a new typology of culture change patterns, based on the relative influence of ethnic identity and acculturation from a consumption perspective. Expanding on the culture change categorizations proposed by others (Mendoza and Martinez 1981; Berry 1980) they propose a classification scheme composed of seven distinct culture change patterns, as summarized in Table 2.1.

As opposed to the absolute boundaries implied by the categorizations proposed by Mendoza and Martinez (1981) and Berry (1980), their conceptualization of culture change patterns and subsequent consumption behavior is more of a matter of degree. Researchers (e.g., Belk 1974; McGuire, McGuire, Child and Fujioka 1978; McCracken 1986; Stayman and Deshpandé 1989) share the view that an individual's level of felt ethnicity is, at least in part, situationally determined.

This suggests a 'heterogeneic' (McGuire et al. 1978) or elastic conceptualization of ethnicity, in that "…*particular contexts may determine which of a person's communal identities or loyalties are appropriate at a given time*" (Paden 1967, as cited in Okamura 1981, p.452). They propose that—depending on the particular context—(home culture) ethnic identification and/or (host culture) acculturation will play greater, lesser, or non-significant roles in predicting consumption behaviors. Under certain conditions, consumption is unrelated to the cultural variables (culture-change pattern 1), whereas in other cases, consumption may reflect a unidimensional process of culture change, that is assimilation (pattern 7). Consumption behavior may also be a 'purely monocultural' occurrence (whereby either acculturation or ethnic identification is strongly predictive of consumption, patterns 2 and 6, respectively), a 'relatively monocultural' occurrence (wherein either acculturation or ethnic identification dominates consumption, patterns 3 and 5, respectively), or a bicultural occurrence (whereby consumption is a more or less balanced function of both acculturation and ethnic identification, pattern 4).

[Insert Table 2.1 here]

3.6 Nonlinear model of acculturation
Following a review of the literature on the empirically found correlations between acculturation and ethnic identification, Laroche et al. (1998) proposed that linguistic acculturation was nonlinearly related to ethnic identity. An empirical study was conducted to test this relationship using data gathered from multiple studies investigating four different ethnic groups over a period of seven years. The findings indicated that these two dimensions of ethnicity were related and that the postulated function provided an excellent fit to the data. The findings suggested a new model of adaptation called the "attraction-resistance model," in which the acculturating group would initially resist any loss of ethnic identity. Over time, this resistance would weaken with increased losses of identity associated in increasing acculturation. The proposed model was consistent with Brewer's (1991) social-self opposing needs: need for assimilation and need for differentiation.

4. Moving beyond the bidimensional models of acculturation
Flannery, Reise and Yu (2001) proposed a three-dimensional model as an alternative the unidimensional and the bidimensional ones. Their model includes the dimension of home (i.e., identity) and host (acculturation) orientations, to which they add a third dimension of *ethnogenesis*, defined as the creation of a new culture or ethnicity (e.g., Oswald 1999). The key assumption is that when acculturation phenomena overlap with ethnicity phenomena, a new sense of ethnicity is formed which goes beyond the typical distinction between home and host cultures. For example, being a Chinese American, is more than the simple sum of "being Chinese" and "being American." As examples, Flannery et al.'s (2001) cite Glazer and Moynihan's (1970) descriptions of Italian Americans living in New York City whereby such immigrants experience a new culture and a new sense of being shaped by distinctive experiences of life in the US. This dimension of ethnogenesis might well be related to Mandoza's (1989) cultural transmutation change pattern as well as reflecting the Laroche et al.'s (1998) attraction-resistance model.

Flannery et al.'s (2001) argument is particularly relevant to immigrants who, after immigration and having lived in the new cultural environment for a while, can relate and identify with what Wamwara-Mbugua et al. (2008) calls an 'entrenched' subculture. In many Western countries, world-wide immigration patterns of recent decades led to the creation of noticeable ethnic minority subcultures. Interactions with ethnic enclaves generates ongoing processes of

cultural consolidation pertaining to traditional elements of the heritage culture (e.g., moral imperatives about sex, marriage, and kinship responsibilities) and cultural reformulation in adjusting to the wider society of the receiving community (Weinreich 2009). Entrenched subcultures act as important source of social, cultural and economic capitals for ethnic minority entrepreneurial initiatives and activities (e.g., Jamal 2005) and even cause marketers to change and adapt to acculturation processes in the marketplace (e.g., Peñaloza and Gilly, 1999).

Askegaard et al. (2005) identify and emphasize the key role of transnational consumer culture as a third acculturation factor in addition to heritage and host cultures. In the context of Greenlandic being and Danish having, the Greenlandic immigrant identity formation became persistently self-reflexive. Strong evidence emerged in support of participants reclaiming Greenlandic identity through consumption and the integration of Greenland and Denmark in a transnational consumer and communications economy providing additional inputs to Greenlandic identity formation in Denmark. High awareness of global cultural economy and engagement with the global consumer culture fuelled a questioning of ethnic identity as both Greenlandic and Danish identities were refracted through experiences in other parts of the world.

Moreover, Askegaard et al. (2005) identify the *oscillating pendulum* as an identity position not reflected in the acculturation research incorporating the bidimensional models of acculturation. The *oscillating pendulum* reflects the notion that, while acculturating, an ethnic minority consumer can experience the alienations and attractions of both heritage and host cultures. For example, participants expressed a need to retreat from the perceived mechanistic strictures of the market-mediated Danish world through repeated physical border crossing desiring unadulterated dozes of idealized Greenlandic cuisine and sociality and experiences of being in an authentic Greenland. At the same time, they felt that while in Greenland they would miss their experiences of being in Denmark (e.g., more variety and choice while shopping or less family obligations).

Jamal and Chapman (2000) also document the positivity and negativity of experiencing the heritage and host cultures and the ambivalent nature of being and having in an acculturative context. Everyday acculturative experiences involving interactions and perceptions of heritage and host cultures, ethnic minority consumers continuously revisit identity positions. The process of construction and deconstruction of identity is a continuous one and is based on day-to-day apprehension of reality including understanding and awareness of having and being in the heritage and host cultures but also in the transnational consumer culture.

The identity positions taken by ethnic minority consumers reflect multiple and often conflicting ideological position in a given context; such identity positions are not a matter of strategic choices to be taken but are fluid depending perhaps on situational factors, lifestyle stages (Askegaard et al. 2005; Jamal 2003) and developments in global consumer and transnational culture (Cleveland and Laroche 2007).

5. Directions for future research

In order to develop a better understanding of cultural change that occurs due to acculturation, Weinreich (2009) calls for an alternative perspective on acculturation and identity formation processes. In doing so, the author makes a case for exploring primordialist sentiments and situationalist perspectives on ethnicity. Primordial consumers adhere to an ethnicity as an unquestioned one and a given one that continues through the generations whereas situationalist consumers often amend or change their ethnic allegiances and behavior to suit historical and biographical exigencies. Identity formation, reformulation and maintenance by ethnic minority consumers occur in a socio-historical context. According to Weinreich (2009) ethnic minority

consumers are unable to relinquish their biographical history of successively made identifications with individuals throughout childhood and beyond even after integrating into the mainstream society. While experiencing conflicts and tensions and attempting to resolve conflicted identifications, many may generate creative expressions of newly formulated identities (Weinreich 2009). However, further empirical research is needed to investigate the fundamental identity processes that occur prior to and after migration and that underpin acculturation experiences of ethnic minority consumers.

The socio-historical context, intercultural relations, the compatibility (or incompatibility) in values, attitudes and religion between (or among) cultural groups, countries and nations are important considerations for understanding acculturating experiences of ethnic minority consumers. For example, Üstüner and Holt's (2007) study demonstrates how class-based domination can shape rural-to-urban migrants' acculturation to their new social setting. Özçağlar-Toulouse and Üstüner (2009) further argue that quite often the migration is from less developed, mostly colonized countries, to more developed, mostly colonizing countries and hence the historical tensions between the host and home countries and the stigmas associated with each other's cultures can also shape immigrants' collective memories and acculturation experiences. Ethnic identity processes are quite nuanced and generally without explicit conscious awareness (despite Berry's 2009 call to study consciously adopted acculturation strategies) and issues such as racism, intolerance of differences and xenophobia play an important role in identity formation of immigrants (e.g., Kosic, Mannetti and Sam 2005; Weinreich 2009)

There are calls to consider the resulting changes in both groups (the heritage and receiving groups) that emerge during the process of acculturation (Berry 2009; 2005). In this context, further research can investigate cultural transformations of places, communities and political and social systems due to acculturation encounters.

At the individual level, Berry (2009; 2005) calls for considering the psychological changes that individuals undergo, and their eventual adaptation and adjustment to their new situations. Such calls are normally made in the context of meeting of two cultures or living successfully in two cultures (e.g., Berry 2005). Research on bicultural consumers provides support by suggesting that such consumers internalize two cultures and elements of both cultures influence their thoughts, feelings and behaviors (e.g., Luna, Ringberg and Peracchio 2008).

In reality, a person may internalize more than two cultures. In the context of ethnic minority consumers, one can find many examples whereby consumers speak more than two languages. For example, there are many British-Pakistanis in the UK who speak Urdu, Punjabi, Pushto, Arabic and English, frequently navigating between multiple cultural spheres (Jamal 1997). While prior research explored the notions of culture swapping (Jamal, 2003; Oswald 1999), frame switching (Luna et al. 2008) and oscillating pendulum (Askegaard et al. 2005), further research is needed to investigate the extent to which ethnic minority consumers internalize more than two cultures and the subsequent impacts of such internalization on cognitions, thoughts and behaviors. This is particularly significant given that a growing number of scholars (e.g., Visconti et al. 2014) identify cultural sojourning, cultural tourism, cosmopolitanism, global citizenship, pan-ethnicity and transnational ethnicity all having similar or differential effects on being and consuming in multicultural, global market economies. Such work can focus on exploring specific learning mechanisms, coping strategies (for adjusting and responding to new environments) and acculturating identities (various ways of being and having) in a multicultural context.

Askegaard (2010) points to the direction that ethnic identity can be seen as a confluence of cultural, social, temporal and contextual influences and hence there is a need to focus on the

mechanisms with which factors like gender, temporal evolution, in-group differences or generational factors operate in the identity formation of ethnic minorities. In this context, Chytkova and Özçağlar-Toulouse (2010) examine the relationship between immigrant women's gender roles and the power discourses in the society and advocate considering consumer acculturation as a network of power relations in the ethnic minority consumers' lived experiences. Similarly, Visconti (2010) identifies different levels of cultural visibility/invisibility in the consumption of second generation ethnic minority consumers when moving back and forth in ethnic and local consumption. Moreover, Peñaloza (2010) promotes considering the temporality in the study of identity projects of ethnic minority consumers with particular focus on dissecting changes in consumers' identities over time, as impacted by intergroup relations and marketplace activities.

Such scholarly work has added valuable insights into the social, cultural, and contextual aspects of consumer acculturation experiences. Future work can examine the dynamics involved in acculturation experiences and ethnic minority consumer identity projects involving different contexts (e.g., private vs. public consumption, family vs. communal consumption, and market-based vs. non-market based) and different actors (e.g., family members, friends, teachers, and work colleagues). While previous research considered identity formation and acculturation experiences of ethnic minority consumers in relation to specific categories (e.g., food, clothing, and media consumption), further research is needed to cover other areas such as financial services, public utilities and services, education, career choices and technology products.

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