Consumer Acculturation: Perspective of Immigrants and Tourists

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Abstract
Consumer acculturation studies have been very popular in the last four decades. Different cultures are meeting more frequently with regard to both person and products, in our multi-cultural world where the flow of people, money, information and technologies and even media images and ideologies takes place in global sense. Whether it is desired or not, the borders are being crossed by migrants and the global flow of people is happening in an intense and increasing rate. The present article reviews consumer acculturation of immigrants and tourists. The following is a comprehensive review broadly examining consumer acculturation of migrant group and tourist, more specially, acculturation concept and models.
Keywords: Acculturation, Consumer Acculturation, Immigrants, Touristy Consumer Acculturation

Introduction
The immigration appears as a process happening with a much wider variety and in different information networks. Individuals continuously change places among different countries for the purpose of studying, receiving education, trading or travelling for sightseeing. If we expatiate on; today's migration is more common and less intense due to the possibilities for going from one place to another more quickly. This means; while the distances increase for migration, the migration has shifted to individualism from mass structure and the number of individuals migrating collectively has decreased. The world is getting smaller as a result of highly development of communication technologies and transportation facilities in particular. The societies at separate development stages and different attributes are in an extremely intense relationship with each other. The people of less developed countries see the developed countries and learn their social structures. Most developed countries also comprehend living together with less developed countries and feel responsibility in this respect. The less developed countries have the possibility to apply the technology created on their societies instead of creating the technology from scratch and this opportunity has been recognized. In a sense, acculturation has become tremendously effective (Kongar, 1995).

Further encountering different identities of each other by these people as global persons, constitutes a dynamic struggle of differences and similarities. So, the most meeting with the "other" occur upon the migration of people beyond the borders (Ger and Østergaard, 1998). It is necessary to mention about the concept of acculturation in order to answer the questions like "What happens when individuals move from a culture to another culture?" "Some people has adopted new culture more quickly than others in the process of this moving?". Consumer acculturation theory has been used to explain consumer behavior of immigrant and tourist. The aim of the study is to explain theoretically immigrant and tourist consumer acculturation.

Acculturation Concept and Models
Acculturation was first defined as, ''that phenomenon which result 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'' (Redfield et al., 1936). Acculturation is a subset of socialization by which individuals learn, adopt and become familiar with the society's norms, rules and expectations. Acculturation particularly necessitates a newcomer, a stranger rather than a person born in the community learning the structure of social values. In many acculturation studies conducted, it was examined how the changes occurred related to psychological and socio-cultural adaptation of migrants and those residing in a place for a short time, containing international students, expatriate workers, business travels or individuals journeying as tourists.

In recent years, most of the studies on acculturation have been done based on Gordon's (1978) "unidimensional acculturation model" and Berry's (1980) "two-dimensional or multicultural acculturation model". In the unidimensional model, acculturation process is based on the assumption that "the immigrant becomes a whole with the hosting culture, by losing origin culture, within the hosting culture". The fundamental premise of two-dimensional acculturation model, the opposite of this assumption, is that "the immigrant adopts simultaneously also the hosting culture while preserving his/her origin culture during the process of acculturation" (Castro, 2003). The acculturation is defined as the process of psychological adaptation to a new culture in both models (Gordon, 1978; Berry, 1980; Castro, 2003; Flannery et al., 2001). Before describing these models, it must be noted that acculturation phenomenon and processes formed at macro and micro levels are multipartite and multi-way within two or more cultural processes (Cuellar et al., 1997).

Unidimensional Acculturation Model
Within the scope of unidimensional model, acculturation has been discussed as a sub-process of assimilation concept. Unidimensional model was named as "Gordon's Assimilation Model" for the first time in the literature. After the 1980s, this model again was named as "one-dimensional acculturation model" after being re-studied by Gordon (1978). This model includes a line where migrants' movement. There is the culture of birth on one side of the line, and the culture of the country emigrated on the other side. The immigrants tour on this line and in time lose their original cultures.
This model has seven interconnected sub-processes (Castro, 2003; Kaya and Kentel, 2005; Denver and Douglas 1999). Within the context of one-dimensional model, acculturation has been considered as a sub-process of the assimilation concept. Unidimensional model was named as "Gordon's Assimilation Model" for the first time in the literature. After the 1980s, this model again was named as "unidimensional acculturation model" after being restudied by Gordon (1978). This model includes a line where migrants' movement.

The first sub-process the cultural assimilation expresses the changes in immigrants' behavior patterns (Wamwara-Mbugua, 2004; Denver and Douglas, 1999). The change in behavior patterns, occurs in the language spoken, garments worn and types of foods consumed. The cultural assimilation is the assimilation type which is mostly interested by the researchers studying in the field of consumption pattern and behaviors. The second sub-process is structural assimilation. According to Gordon (1978), the most important assimilation type is structural assimilation. Once the structural assimilation occurs, other types of assimilation happen inevitably (Kaya and Kentel, 2005). In this sub-process, the migrant individual gets in a physical contact with the host culture. The immigrant individual begins to participate widely in clubs, associations, unions etc. places composed by the individuals of hosting culture in order to get in touch with the hosting culture and develop relationships (Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983; Wamwara-Mbugua, 2004; Kaya and Kentel, 2005).

The assimilation occurring through marriage, is the third sub-process of assimilation model. This sub-process takes place through marriages between the immigrants and the members of hosting culture. The fourth sub-process of assimilation model is the assimilation via identification that is also referred to as ethnic identification, ethnic loyalty, ethnicity and identification in the literature. The assimilation via identification refers to the attitudinal and behavioral changes occurring both in the members of host culture and in the immigrants. The migrant individuals identify themselves and their relationships with the host culture. The information about the host culture is obtained by the immigrant individuals, but the information and behaviors obtained are imitation and usually a vast majority of them leads to symbolic behaviors. The fifth sub-process the attitudinal assimilation occurs when there's no prejudice against the group experiencing the acculturation process by the members of host culture. Likewise, the sixth sub-process the behavioral assimilation occurs when there's no discrimination against the group experiencing the acculturation process by the members of host culture. The last process the civil assimilation means that there's not any value and power struggles between the members of host culture and the community experiencing the acculturation process (Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983; Wamwara-Mbugua, 2004; Kaya and Kentel, 2005). The variables like ethnic identity, language usage and language proficiency, generation, gender and age have been used in the studies done relating to Gordon's assimilation model. After the second half of the 1980s, traditional unidimensional acculturation model has begun to be queried and two-dimensional acculturation model which is an alternative model to this model has been proposed.

Two-Dimensional Acculturation Model
The fundamental premise of two-dimensional acculturation model, the opposite of this assumption, is that "the immigrant adopts simultaneously also the host culture while preserving his/her origin culture during the process of acculturation" (Castro 2003). In two-dimensional model, the immigrants assume the values and behaviors of the country in which they settle without losing their origin cultures' views. The immigrants as a community don't disappear in the host society.

Individuals encounter two major subjects within the two-dimensional acculturation process. The first subject is sustaining the origin culture by the individual, and the second is coming into contact with the new culture by the individual and keeping up this culture after adopting it (Hsu et al., 2005). When these two subjects are taken into account, four adaptation strategies have been developed in classification of the acculturation levels of the individuals encountering two cultures. These four adaptation strategies developed by Berry consist of

assimilation, integration, separation and cultural degradation (Arends-Toth and Van de Vijver, 2003; Castro, 2003). Among these strategies, the assimilation strategy is seen in the individuals who highly adopt the host culture and rarely continue his/her origin culture; the separation strategy in the individuals who keep up his/her origin culture and adopt the new culture to a lesser degree; the cultural degradation strategy in the individuals who adopt and maintain both the origin culture and the host culture to a smaller extent; and finally the integration strategy in the individuals who adopt and continue both cultures to a high degree. According to Berry (1997), these strategies can be examined in both group and individual levels.

Berry (1997) has put two questions to the migrant individual for being able to explain his model

1. Is the migrant individual able to hold the cultural identity and values acquired in the origin culture?
2. Is the migrant individual able to develop positive relationships with the new culture which is more dominant in the place immigrated?

The answers that can be given by the immigrant to the question above comprise acculturation strategies. If the individual answered yes for first and second question, the acculturation level of the individual is compatible with the integration strategy. The integration strategy is the expression of efforts for integration with a wider and dominant society by the individual or the group to which the individual belongs. Berry (1997) has remarked that biculturalism forming as a result of integration is a situation preferred by the individual and it is preferred with free will (Berry, 1997; Wamwara-Mbugua, 2003). If the individual answered no for the first question, and yes for the second question, the acculturation level of the individual results in assimilation strategy. The assimilation strategy occurs in the cases where the individual is unable protect the origin culture when come into contact a new culture. As a result of the assimilation, changes happen in behaviors, languages spoken, clothes worn and foods consumed by the individuals who enter a new culture with regard to both type and quantity (Denver and Douglas, 1999). For occurrence of separation strategy, the individual should answer yes for the first question, and no for the second question. In this model, the separation refers to the withdrawal from the new culture and wider society faced by the individual. If the withdrawal has been forcefully got done by the community, afterwards this rupture takes place. When the individual doesn't want to take on or hold any culture during the acculturation process exposed, the strategy happens. In cultural degradation, the individual neither keeps up the origin culture nor adopts the new hosting culture, and the individual marginalizes (Wamwara-Mbugua, 2003; Askegaard et al., 2005).
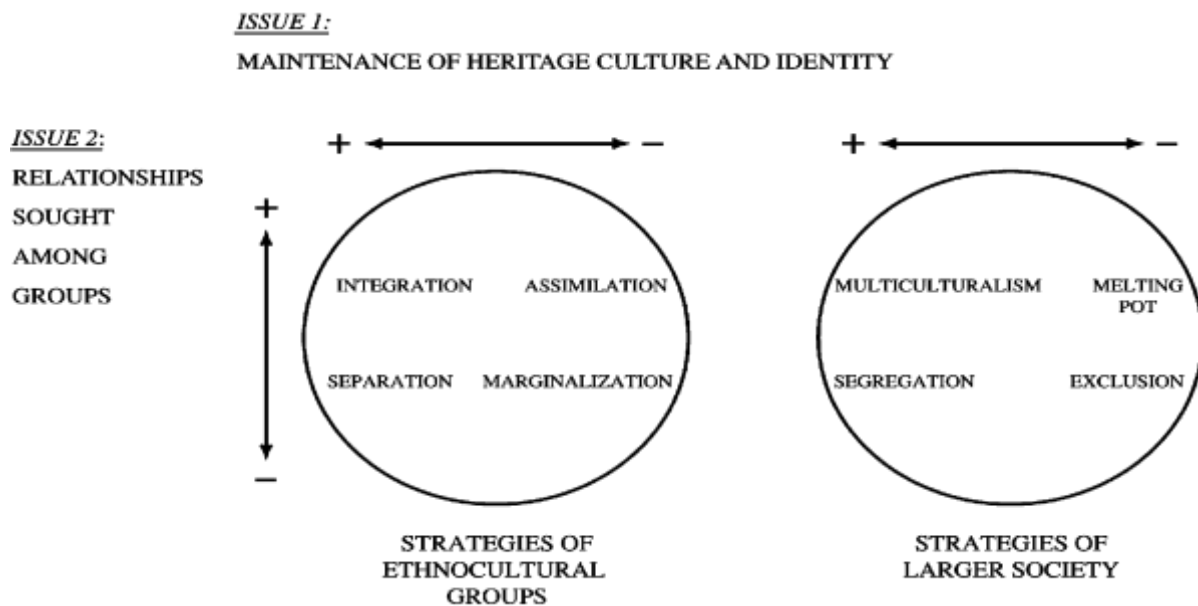
Figure 1. Four Acculturation Strategies Based upon Two Issues
Source: Berry (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures/ International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29, 697–712.

The Figure 1 shows four acculturation strategies have been made from two issues. First issue is "maintenance of heritage culture and identity" and second is "relationships sought among groups" (Berry, 2005). The acculturation strategies are based on two important subjects in daily encounters of the individuals or groups: The cultural continuity determining to what extent the cultural identity and its features are important and they will struggle for the continuation and the communication and participation determining to what extent the other cultural groups will be participated in or they will remain among themselves. These models are the starting point of acculturation strategies. The acculturation strategies are evaluated according to the group which is affected or affects. In terms of non-dominant groups, the assimilation strategy happens when the individuals don't want to continue their cultural identities and don't want to be involved in daily interactions with other cultures (Berry, 1997). So, it is an abandonment of the original culture in the favor of new culture. In the opinions of Gronhaug et al (1993), the newcomer will be assimilated once he/she learns the new culture at the level accepted as a genuine member of the new culture. Separation or segregation occurs in the event of struggling to provide cultural continuity by refraining from communication with other individuals (Berry et al., 2006). The integration appears as on option in such a situation. Integration is a situation where the cultural integrity is preserved to some extent but on the other hand trying to participate in the direction of being an integral part of a broader social network. Finally, it's the case in point where the interest in the cultural continuity is less or the possibility for ensuring the cultural continuity is less and having less interest in the establishment of relations with others (generally the cases involving exclusion or discrimination). Such a situation is named as marginalization (Berry, 1997). Marginalization is associated with the abandonment of both old and new culture (Berry et al., 2006).

Consumer Acculturation
Consumer acculturation is a process that occurs through learning and is often referred to as cultural assimilation. Long time exposed to the acculturation process individuals are more open to the attitudes and values of the host country. There are many factors affecting the

acculturation process. Some of these factors are language, citizenship status, information networks, entry into the host country, marriage, family, identity, culture, religion, age, education, income and neighbors (Kara and Kara, 1996).

The first consumer acculturation model, two-dimensional model of acculturation developed by Berry basis, was developed by Penaloza (1994) (Figure 2).
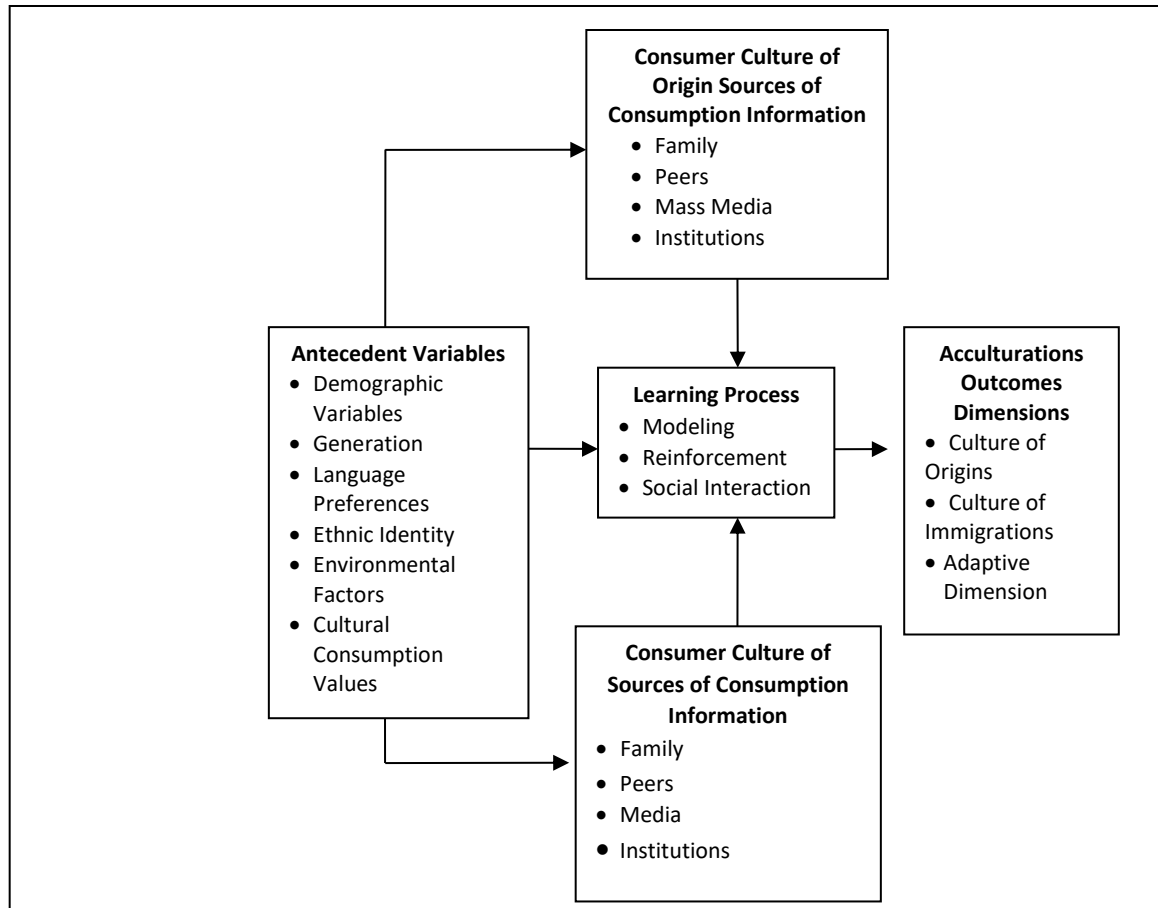

Figure 2. Consumer Acculturation Model
Source: Penaloza, L. N. (1994). Atravesando fronteras/border crossing: A critical ethnographic exploration of consumer acculturation of Mexican immigrants, Journal of Consumer Research, 21, 32-54.

Antecedent Variables
Antecedent variables represent the attempt to locate the individual in social space and time and set the stage for consumer acculturation. These variables may affect the acquisition of consumer learning both directly and indirectly.

Demographic variables: Demographic factors have an important role on acculturation process of immigrant. The studies like gender, age (Penoloza, 1994; Szapocznik et al., 1978; Alvarez, 2004), education, income have emphasized that the demographic factors have an important role on measuring the acculturation of consumer.

Generation: In the acculturation studies, the generation is an issue about the sense of belonging to the original culture and to the host country's culture. The acculturation levels of the immigrants staying many years in the host country and the younger immigrants are formed positively and more uniformly. (Sam and Berry, 2006). The acculturation process of

the individual is linked to whether the individual is first or the second generation. When the immigrants come to a new country, they often have very strong feelings about their national or cultural origins and they vary in adapting to the new society to where they came.

Language Preferences: The native language and the (national) language use and sufficiency of the host country are generally significant indicators of acculturation and the one of the most important factors used to measure the acculturation level in many study (Kara and Kara, 1996). Language reflects acculturation factors, as well as having a strong positive relationship with other demographic variables, in many studies has the distinction of being the widest explanation of the acculturation level size. (Mendoza, 1989; Felix-Ortiz et al., 1994).

Ethnic identity: Identity is a phenomenon emerging from the seek an answer of human beings for the question of "who am I?", updated by re-defining requirements with any long-term displacement of humans, especially when staying side by side with different identities. The immigrant identity revealed by this update is reproduced in an integration and assimilation process. One of the most prominent factors of acculturation process to which the immigrant individuals are exposed when they come to a new society is the commitment to their ethnic identity. The ethnic identity is a concept determining the immigrants are members of which ethnic group and defining the characteristics of that ethnic group such as origin, color, language, religion. The ethnic identity has been conceptualized as continuous fundamental aspect of the ego including emotions about being member of an ethnic group and feelings and attitudes about the membership. (Phinney, 1996). The ethnic identity is linked to the history of the individual, like in other identities.

Environmental factors: Environmental factors and individual characteristics also play an important role in the acculturation process and in the relationship between acculturation and consumer behavior. For example, the working environment and the residential environment surrounding an acculturating individual shape the socialization agents the individual has direct access to, which further influences the individual's socialization process and his or her consumption behavior.

Cultural Consumption Values: Cultural values are reflected on learning processes and behaviors about host culture. Differences in cultural value orientations that may be related to differences in consumer acculturation processes are individual versus group, active versus passive present versus future time, and egalitarian versus hierarchical social relations (Penaloza, 1989).

Consumer Acculturation Agents
Consumer acculturation agents are those individuals or institutions who serve as sources of consumer information and/or models of consumption behavior.
Family: The immigrant family is viewed as a coping social structure in which previous patterns of consumer behavior can be preserved as well as new consumption patterns learned. The family differs cross-culturally in its structure, patterns of interaction, and social significance, and these differences have been related to differences in consumer learning processes. For example, observed more parent-child contact and family member interaction in Japanese families, as compared to American families.

Peers: Previous research has noted socioeconomic differences in the relative influence of the peer group on processes of socialization. Whether the peer group was more closely aligned with the culture of origin or the culture of immigration is an important issue in immigrant consumer acculturation.

Mass Media: Mass media is a key source of consumption information. The availability of mass media in the language of the culture of origin is an important issue in the study of consumer acculturation. Further, previous media habits associated with the culture of origin may affect immigrant responses to mass media in the culture of immigration. In cultures where television sets are less diffused throughout the population, individuals may be more accustomed to consulting newspapers, word-of-mouth, and radio for consumption information.

Institutional sources of consumer information: The nature of various institutions and their role in transmitting consumption-related information may vary across cultural contexts, and these variations may be associated with differences in consumer acculturation, e.g., differences in immigrant perceptions of the role of educational institutions in teaching consumer skills.

Consumer Acculturation Processes

Acculturation processes refer to the ways in which cultural consumption values, knowledge, and behavior are learned. Three methods by which consumer learning is acquired are modeling, reinforcement, and social interaction.

Regarding immigrant consumer acculturation processes, certain apriority hypotheses have been derived. Initially, upon arriving in the new country, the immigrant will try to assimilate the consumption patterns of the host country, and will try to consult those sources of consumption information that are perceived to be aligned with the host culture. However, as the immigrant proceeds according to the heuristics of his/her previous culture, seeking out products and sources of consumption information, he/she soon realizes that these guidelines no longer function. Frustrated, the immigrant may look for familiar products, in an attempt to retain his/her original cultural orientation at this second phase. In the third phase, the immigrant has gained some knowledge of the new culture. Strengthened by this cultural knowledge, the immigrant gains confidence in his/her ability to function in the new consumer environment, and can now choose which one of three cultural orientations (culture of origin, culture of immigration, or a third hybrid culture) to display. However, the order and progression of these processes may differ, depending upon many factors in the culture, the social environment and inherent to the immigrant.

Consumer Acculturation Outcomes

Outcomes of consumer acculturation refer to consumption-related skills and knowledge that are acquired as a result of contact between two cultures. The following are some examples of consumer socialization outcomes that warrant consideration in the investigation of consumer socialization: price awareness, brand specification, slogan recall, attitudes toward advertising, recognition of consumption symbolism, materialistic attitudes. However, value orientation and identity issues are also important outcome dimensions of consumer acculturation.

Tourist Consumer Acculturation

Today, people are living in a culturally dynamic society. Individuals are causing cultural change by moving the values of the culture of the places they go together while moving from

one culture to another. Acculturation, one of the cultural change dimension, includes the learning of the host society's cultural standards. Acculturation include changes in behavior patterns, such as goods purchased, language, and food.

Berry's (1997) model of acculturation modes, which integrates the identity and intergroup components of intercultural contact. Berry argued that answers to questions about the importance of cultural maintenance and intergroup relations can be juxtaposed to identify four strategies used by individuals engaged in intercultural contact: integration (both cultural maintenance and intergroup relations are important), assimilation (only intergroup relations are important), separation (only cultural maintenance is important), and marginalization (neither are important).

Dogan (1989) adopted Berry's model for tourist consumer: Resistance (marginalization), retreatism (separation), boundary maintenance (integration) and adoption (assimilation).

Resistance: In this situation, touristic development results in hostility and aggression towards the tourists. Differences in wealth and lifestyle between the hosts and tourists are evident, and many host peoples are excluded from utilizing the tourist facilities. Tourism impacts negatively upon traditional institutions (use of local resources, local control over development etc.), which leads to hostility; the situation is analogous to that forced cultural loss along with forced exclusion as discussed by Berry and Kim (1988).

Retreatism: This occurs when changes produced in a host society as a result of tourism are resisted. The host society retreats into itself, avoids contact with the tourists, while at the same time, reviving cultural and ethnic consciousness. This value of holding on to the indigenous culture while avoiding the dominant culture is analogous to Berry and Kim's definition of separation.

Boundary Maintenance: In some communities, tourism is accepted without any resistance or negative feelings. A well deemed boundary between the tourist and host culture is erected, and local traditions are presented to the tourists in such a fashion as not to affect adversely the local culture. This parallels Berry and Kim's definition of integration, in which cultural integrity is maintained with participation in the dominant society.

Adoption: In this instance, large sections of the host community do not object to the disintegration of traditional culture and actively seek to mix with and adopt the ways of the tourists. This is similar to Berry and Kim's definition of assimilation.

Consumer acculturation aims to understand the cultural change process upon the consuming practice in the long-term migration and also in the short term intercultural circulation of sojourner (Lee and Tse, 1994; Penoloza, 1994; Wallendorf and Reilly, 1983). The different studies argue that, the immigration is not only an intercultural confront whether short-term or long-term, and that it must be examined in terms of acculturation. Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) the tourism, the destination, in other words, the host allows two different cultures to learn so many things about each other although there is a temporal difference between the immigration and the tourism. Many studies in past agree that tourists are a part of the acculturation in the intercultural confront process. (Penoloza, 1989; Dogan, 1989). For this reason, the consumer acculturation is a good framework to understand the experiences of tourists in visiting a foreign culture. Penoloza (1994) allows identifying the specific cultural aspects of tourists being confronted with different cultures within the framework presented by him.

Appadurai (2008) mentions about mass and vicarious intermediacy in intercultural encounters. The mass intermediacy is a cultural confront occurred with the use of media. The vicarious intermediacy then includes cultural contact experienced through the acquaintances

in different cultures. Although the tourism is more superficial compared to migration concept (Hofstede and Hofstede, 2005; Penoloza, 1989; Ward et al., 2001), it can work in context of acculturation and consumer acculturation as it is a confront type. Tourism is placed in category of vicarious migration or intermediacy.

Conclusion

The culture has been influenced by dynamics such as migration, global media flows and developments in information and communication technologies, commercial and touristic trips and has undergone changes in time. Today, the immigration appears as a process that materializes with a much wider variety and within different information networks. Long- or short-time migration is a case faced by many countries. The immigrants in short-time migration, the immigrants in long-time migration and the sojourners in short-time migration have become decision-maker and influential social actors in the countries they went, namely, the host countries. Individuals always change places between different countries continuously for the purpose of working, education, making commerce or travelling for sightseeing. Today's migration is more common and less intense due to the possibilities for going from a place to another place more quickly. The cultural changes arisen out of the increase of migration experiences are explained by acculturation.

Penoloza (1994) defined the consumer acculturation as general process of the transition and adaptation of the people coming from another country to the cultural consumer environment of the country they came. This process is composed of three stages. Movement, translation and adaptation. Movement stage includes physical movement of an individual from one country to another. Translation stage includes the fact that the transiting individual confronts and learns a large number of new behaviors about the host country's culture. Lastly, adaptation phase includes the changes in individual's behavior shown during the transition from previous culture to the new one. In translation phase, Penoloza (1994) stated that people coming to the new culture might confront with nine different cultural features related to the consumption such as housing, shopping, language, food, clothing, automobiles, telephones, financial services, and the media belonging to the foreign culture. Not only immigrants, but also short-term travelling international tourists are also exposed to these cultural features. The desire for the experimental culture to be experienced in this stage is determined by the cultural history of the tourists. There are many studies revealing that the tourist behavior is influenced by the cultural background. For example, cross-cultural differences have been found to affect the use of external information sources by Japanese, South Korean and Australian tourists travelling to the USA (Chen, 2000); behavior of German and Japanese tourists travelling to the USA (Litvin et al., 2004); self-image in travelers departing from Singapore; and evaluation of travel services within the USA (Crotts and Erdmann, 2000).

This study contributes to an understanding of immigrant and tourist consumer acculturation theoretically and based an empirical study. There is much more work to be done to uncover all aspects of immigrant and tourist consumer acculturation. Investigating these topics from different perspectives or frameworks could add new knowledge to the existing body of knowledge. This theoretical paper will support future research in theory development and theory testing to consumer acculturation. This study offers considerations for marketers and guiding principles to help build successful strategies.

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