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Remote acculturation of early adolescents in Jamaica towards European American culture: A replication and extension



Gail M. Ferguson^{a,b,*}, Marc H. Bornstein^c

^a Department of Human and Community Development, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Doris Kelley Christopher Hall,

MC-081, 904 West Nevada Street, Room 2015, Urbana, IL 61801, United States

^b Department of Psychology, Knox College, Galesburg, IL 61401, United States

^c Child and Family Research Section, Eunice Kennedy Shriver National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, National

Institutes of Health, Rockledge I, Suite 8030, 6705 Rockledge Drive, Bethesda, MD 20892-7971, United States

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ABSTRACT

Remote acculturation is a modern form of non-immigrant acculturation identified among early adolescents in Jamaica as "Americanization". This study aimed to replicate the original remote acculturation findings in a new cohort of early adolescents in Jamaica (n = 222; M = 12.08 years) and to extend our understanding of remote acculturation by investigating potential vehicles of indirect and intermittent intercultural contact. Cluster analyses replicated prior findings: relative to Traditional Jamaican adolescents (62%), Americanized Jamaican adolescents (38%) reported stronger European American cultural orientation, lower Jamaican orientation, lower family obligations, and greater conflict with parents. More U.S. media (girls) and less local media and local sports (all) were the primary vehicles of intercultural contact predicting higher odds of Americanization. U.S. food, U.S. tourism, and transnational communication were also linked to U.S. orientation. Findings have implications for acculturation research and for practice and policy targeting Caribbean youth and families.

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1. Introduction

Many of today's Caribbean adolescents gravitate toward cultures outside the Caribbean region, primarily to those of North America (CARICOM Commission on Youth Development, 2010). Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) conceptualized this orientation as a modern type of acculturation occurring across distance, which they termed *remote acculturation*. They found that one-third of non-migrant early adolescents living in Kingston, Jamaica, scored high on several indicators of acculturation toward European American culture in a manner that closely resembled a comparison sample of Jamaican immigrants actually living in the United States. Here we attempted, first, to replicate Ferguson and Bornstein's findings in a new cohort of early adolescents in Jamaica and, second, to extend that work by examining several potential vehicles of remote acculturation.

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^{*} Corresponding author at: Department of Human and Community Development, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Doris Kelley Christopher Hall, MC-081, 904 West Nevada Street, Room 2015, Urbana, Illinois 61801, United States. Tel.: +1 217 300 0365; fax: +1 217 333 9061.

E-mail address: gmfergus@illinois.edu (G.M. Ferguson).

1.1. Remote acculturation

The scholarly literature on psychological acculturation has focused primarily on migration research (see Sam & Berry, 2006) wherein acculturation follows inter-group contact in the settlement area, although much more attention has been paid to the migrants (e.g., immigrants, refugees) than non-migrants (e.g., indigenous people, national majority group). However, the closing half of the 20th and the opening of the 21st centuries have witnessed unprecedented globalization (i.e., flow of people, goods, and ideas across cultures: Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011), which has prompted new forms of intercultural contact outside the context of migration and opened possibilities to new forms of acculturation. Meaningful interpersonal interactions facilitated by social media and tourism are now commonplace, and cultural practices, values, and goods are now transported across soil, sky, and sea rapidly and with ease. *Remote acculturation* proposes that intermittent and/or indirect contact with a geographically and historically separate culture, as facilitated by modern globalization mechanisms, can also produce acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Remote acculturation therefore expands the classical definition of acculturation which required "continuous first-hand contact" between culturally different individuals or groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovitz, 1936, p. 149).

Remote acculturation may be prominent among early adolescents due to newfound developmental capabilities and needs. Maturational and socially prescribed developments in the early adolescent years manifest in several realms including: cognitive (more abstract thinking), social (forging new peer relationships, increased need for autonomy and resulting parent–adolescent conflict), and identity (identity construction, including cultural identity, is a major new developmental task)(Adams & Berzonsky, 2003; Erikson, 1968; Jensen et al., 2011; Phinney, 1990). In addition, modern modes of intercultural contact are first nature to early adolescents (e.g., Facebook, Twitter), and non-native cultures are adopted more readily when introduced during childhood or adolescence (Jensen et al., 2011; Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik, 2006). So, for example, Jamaican early adolescents are newly able to imagine culturally different possible selves, seek interactions with culturally different peers, and consolidate these experiences into their evolving cultural identities.

Because of the significant contemporary influx of U.S. culture into the Caribbean island of Jamaica, it is a prime location to test the proposition of remote acculturation toward the United States. U.S. culture(s) are geographically and historically separate from Jamaica's, unlike British or Chinese cultures, which are not remote to Jamaica owing to strong historical linkages via colonization and migration, respectively. Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) investigated remote acculturation among non-migrant early adolescent-mother dyads in Jamaica compared to Jamaican immigrant, African American, and European American dyads in the United States. Cluster analyses revealed that 33% of early adolescents and 11% of mothers on the island fell into an "Americanized Jamaican" cluster versus "Traditional Jamaican" clusters). (The term "America" is used colloquially in Jamaica and the Caribbean to refer to the United States of America; therefore, quotation marks will not be used for the term Americanization henceforth.) Americanized Jamaicans had a stronger orientation toward European American cultural practices and identity, weaker Jamaican orientation (adolescents not mothers), lower family obligations and larger intergenerational obligations discrepancies (known to be characteristic of European Americans: Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000), and higher parent-adolescent conflict associated with an intergenerational acculturation gap. In regard to the latter, adolescent-parent dyads mismatched in remote acculturation (i.e., wherein one partner was Traditional Jamaican where the other was an "Americanized" Jamaican) reported significantly higher conflict than did matched dyads. Clusters did not differ in socioeconomic status as indexed by parental education. Moreover, on most acculturation indicator scores, Americanized Jamaican Islanders resembled Jamaican immigrants and European Americans in the United States.

1.2. Potential vehicles of remote acculturation in the Caribbean

What 'vehicles' transport remote cultures into local spaces for remote acculturation to occur? Many potential vehicles of Americanization for resident Caribbean youth have been proposed (CARICOM, 2010; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). They vary according to continuousness and directness in acculturative contact. In decreasing order of continuousness, these vehicles fall into three broad categories: (1) consumer products of U.S. media, goods, and food (omnipresent and continuous contact, although indirect and impersonal); (2) inter-country communication and transnationalism (intermittent and indirect contact, although personal or impersonal); and (3) interactions with U.S. tourists on the island (sporadic contact, although direct and personal). These proposed vehicles of remote acculturation are consistent with Jensen et al.'s (2011) suggestion that globalization of media, diet, and language may have implications for youth cultural identity.

1.2.1. Consumer products: U.S. media and food

Like teenagers in many other parts of the world (Jensen et al., 2011), young Caribbean adolescents find television (TV), Internet, and music to be important parts of their lives (13-country Caribbean study: CARICOM, 2010). Mass media originating from the United States, including social media, is a potential vehicle which transports U.S. culture(s) and allows Caribbean youth to participate in U.S. cultural events remotely (e.g., twitter discussion of a U.S. celebrity event). In 2008 U.S. cable reached 50% penetration in Jamaica after its 1998 introduction, and there was 55% Internet access across the island in 2007 (Dunn, 2008). Reality TV programs, talk shows, and even websites/blogs allow adolescents to form intimate onesided 'para-social' relationships with media personalities (Hoerner, 1999; Horton & Wohl, 1956). Music can be considered both a socialization agent (social learning theory: Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963) and a self-socialization agent (interactionist perspective: Swann, Rentfrow, & Guinn (2002); uses and gratifications theory: Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). Both media Download English Version:

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