Glocalisation, Authenticity and Consumption: a Qualitative Investigation of the Australian Hip Hop Culture

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This paper examines the symbolic meanings assigned to brands by the Australian Hip Hop culture. Using an ethnographic methodology the researcher found that the glocalised nature of the Australian Hip Hop culture and the creolised interpretations of meanings influenced members’ consumption habits. In particular the culture’s values of authentically representing one’s self and one’s place were signified through consumption. Implications for marketers are discussed.

[to cite]:

[url]:
http://www.acrwebsite.org/volumes/13702/eacr/vol7/E-07

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Are markets capable of nurturing genuine communities? If so, what do these communities look like, what functions do they serve, and what consumption phenomena do they revolve around? These questions have occupied consumer researchers over the last decade. Recent consumer research has increasingly acknowledged that the marketplace seems to be a place where new types of communities spring to life. In this paper, one such community—the Stockholm brat enclave, an exclusive group of young, affluent consumers living their lives in the fast lane, and frequenting the trendiest nightclubs in Stockholm—will be looked at in more detail. The focus is on how the community continually uses external factors, such as the media and popular culture, to structure its social organization. In explicating this, the concept of subcultural capital will be introduced (Thornton 1997).

This paper presents findings from ongoing empirical work among the Stockholm brat enclave. Most studies of consumption communities have focused on the consumption of one brand, product, or activity despite the fact that a call for an increased focus on “ensembles of objects” has accompanied consumer research for almost two decades (Belk 1988). The Stockholm brats’ consumption ethos is about carefully assembling, displaying, and using various consumption objects to create just the right ambience of being “in the know”. If one had to settle for one term to describe the cultural organization of social logic by which the brats operate, it would have to be “style”. But what is this mysterious quality? This cultural value? How is it embodied? How is it displayed? What are its social uses, its demographics, its biases and discriminations?

A first step towards answering those questions is looking at how the members of the particular community are governed by a sense of history; they see themselves as bearers and upholders of a proud tradition. This historical awareness leads them to engaging in a number of shared rituals and traditions, what is portrayed as one of the core prerequisites for qualifying as a community (Muniz and O’Guinn 2001). Many previous studies of youth subculture emphasize their ephemeral character and downplay the sense of history (cf. Hodkinson 2002). A second step towards understanding how a community creates a sense of shared style is looking at how the members set the boundaries delimitating what is in accordance with the communal ethos and what is not. Here a focus is put on a dialectical process between the internal dynamics of the community and external factors. The community under investigation is under constant scrutiny by the media which causes its members to take action and change their internal codes depending on the type of media coverage they receive.

To illuminate how the brats actively use both popular culture references and the attention given to them in the media I will draw on the concept of subcultural capital (Thornton 1997). This concept helps show the mechanisms through which the members of the community embody the cultural codes necessary to maintain one’s membership. Responding to the media and knowing, as well as performing, relevant aspects of popular culture are important parts of the subcultural capital. So, rather than trying to show that the Stockholm brat enclave is yet another type of consumption community, I will expand our knowledge of consumption communities by introducing the concept of subcultural capital.

The data material for this project has been collected over a one-year period as part of a research project focusing on the consumption patterns of the Stockholm brat enclave. The fieldwork consists of three main parts: (1) a study of the group’s whereabouts on the Internet, this is the main part of the study, (2) a study of the group’s presence in the media and popular culture, and (3) participant observations at venues where members of the group congregate. The aim of the research has been to arrive at a thick description (Geertz 1973; cf. McGrath, Sherry Jr., and Heisley 1993) of the group’s behaviors by simultaneously using several different kinds of media channels (cf. Belk 2002).

The main contribution of this paper is that it sheds light on the ways in which a consumption community is dependent on the external world in constructing its internal codes. Emphasis lies on contextualizing the communal consumption by looking at the dialectical process with the media and popular culture whereby the community defines its limits and its prescriptive behavioral codes. By employing the concept of subcultural capital, and showing how this is transformed into practice and both objectified, as in owning the right “stuff”, and embodied, as in expressing a certain style the paper furthers our knowledge of community and consumption.

REFERENCES


Up-dating Cosmopolitanism: Replicating and Extending Key Studies
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ABSTRACT
A cosmopolitan consumer orientation warrants greater attention from researchers. This paper addresses this situation by replicating and extending key consumer studies of cosmopolitanism: 1) Thompson and Tambyah (1999), and 2) Cannon and Yaprak (2002). Theory development originates from elaboration, extension and refutation of a priori themes and identifying additional aspects of expatriate consumer lifestyles. I conclude that at least three dimensions likely characterise a cosmopolitan consumer orientation, including (a) wanderlust-global, (b) homebound-rootless and (c) true-centric venturing. A significant direction for future research includes examining the usefulness of these dimensions in explaining consumer behaviour in domestic as well as international settings.

When anyone asked him where he came from, he said, “I am a citizen of the world.”
(Source: Diogenes Laertius, Life of Diogenes the Cynic)

INTRODUCTION
Despite achieving prominence in other theoretical domains (e.g., Calhoun 2002; Hannnerz 1990), cosmopolitanism remains under-investigated by consumer researchers. I address this situation by replicating and extending key consumer studies of the phenomenon: 1) Thompson and Tambyah (1999), and Cannon and Yaprak (2002). These studies present substantive insights into a cosmopolitan consumer orientation across varied market segments and consumption contexts. Alternate studies are less comprehensive, viewing cosmopolitanism as one of many taste practices adopted by well-educated upscale consumers (Holt 1998; Lamont 1992) or studying its impact within specific product categories, for example the Internet (Spence 2001), or consumer durables (LaPlaca, Punj and Randazzo 1985).

My findings offer substantial support for Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999) theory and add credibility to extensions proposed by Cannon and Yaprak (2002). I enrich theory by 1) synthesising, validating and elaborating past findings, 2) generating new theory, in particular clearly delineating three dimensions likely to characterise a cosmopolitan consumer orientation including (a) wanderlust-global, (b) homebound-rootless and (c) true-centric venturing, and 3) detailing additional aspects of cosmopolitan; especially the influence of expatriate enclaves on consumer behaviour. I suggest that future research explore the potency of cosmopolitanism for consumers who do not live abroad; especially in multi-cultural societies, not only expatriate consumers.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS
Investigating expatriates from different national cultures living in Singapore, Thompson and Tambyah (1999) conclude that cosmopolitanism manifests as consumers striving to create cosmopolitan identities, an on-going process that comprises resolving tensions between dominant masculine and counter-veiling feminine traits. Exhibit 1 presents the traits and sub traits comprising Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999) cosmopolitan identity. I re-label Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999) masculine and feminine traits as wanderlust and homebound of origin’s. For example, a British tourist takes a two week package tour run by an English tour company to Italy.

For example, a British holiday-maker shares everyday life with an Italian family in Tuscany for three weeks. For example, a British tourist takes a two week package tour run by an English tour company to Italy.

Each sub-trait to facilitate further clarification. The above discussion suggests the first a priori theme (APT1) for testing:

APT1: A cosmopolitan consumer orientation includes dominant wanderlust and counter-veiling homebound traits. See Exhibit 1.

Cannon and Yaprak (2002) argue that Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999) conceptualisation of cosmopolitanism fails to embrace well established notions of cosmopolitanism expounded in the community and organisational literatures by Merton (1957) and Gouldner (1957) respectively. Summarily, they suggest that a cosmopolitan consumer can also be a globally oriented person who seeks goods and services that are the best on offer globally regardless from where they originate. This type of consumer is not particularly interested in partaking of cultural diversity.

The above discussion suggests the second a priori theme for testing (APT2):

APT2: A cosmopolitan orientation comprises dominant traits that are wanderlust and/or global in type.

Cannon and Yaprak (2002) further suggest, based on factor analysis of data derived from a multi-country pencil and paper study, that wanderlust and homebound behaviours comprise two independent dimensions rather than one dimension. A cosmopolitan consumer “can transcend their local culture without abandoning it” (Canon and Yaprak 2002; p. 34). They elaborate that a cosmopolitan consumer orientation can have rootless or homebound qualities as long sufficient wanderlust or global behaviours are concurrently present. Their view garners support from recent press reports which suggest that expatriate consumers often know more about the daily events in their homeland compared to those living at home (SMH 2005). The above discussion suggests third a priori theme for testing (APT3):

APT3: A cosmopolitan consumer orientation can include a strong display of homebound or rootless traits as long as wanderlust and/or homebound traits predominate.

Plog’s (2002) work on tourism further enriches our understanding of cosmopolitanism. He proposes the existence of a psychographic dimension called venturesome-ness to explain tourist behavior. Significantly he suggests that tourists who seek cultural diversity (contrasting with touring within one’s own culture) display the following behaviors:

- Venturing: Venturing occurs when cosmopolitans seek cultural experiences markedly different from their culture of origin. They typically prefer authentic rather than homogenized or highly commercial cultural experiences. For example, a British holiday-maker shares everyday life with an Italian family in Tuscany for three weeks.

- Centric-venturing occurs when cosmopolitan seek cultural experiences that are different, but not markedly different, from their culture of origin’s. For example, a British tourist takes a two week package tour run by an English tour company to Italy.
I relabel Plog’s (2002) venturing dimension as true-venturing to more clearly delineate this dimension from centric-venturing. The above discussion suggests the first proposition for testing (P1):

\[ P_1: \text{A wanderlust orientation can comprise true or centric venturing.} \]

**EXHIBIT 1**

Traits of a Cosmopolitanism Consumer Orientation (Thompson and Tambyah 1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wanderlust Traits (dominant)</th>
<th>Homebound Traits (counter-veiling)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(reflect from informants’ travel narratives)</td>
<td>(reflect from informants’ dwelling narratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Self-Development through Consumption of Cultural Diversity</strong></td>
<td><strong>1. At Home in the Body</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refers to consumers’ quests for self-transformation by moving beyond their familiar cultural surrounds to experience new cultures. They seek authentic rather than highly commercialised tourist experiences. For example, a British expatriate seeks personal growth by undertaking a self-guided exploration of Singapore in a rental car rather than taking a package tour.</td>
<td>Refers to consumers’ longing for familiar physical-sensory aspects of their home country. This desire originates from internalisation of tastes during socialization, especially during pre-adulthood. For example, a British expatriate sorely misses drinking English breakfast tea and listening to the BCC news on the radio every morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Being Included in the Local</strong></td>
<td><strong>2. Questing for Community</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refers to the value consumers place on feeling included in the activities of the local people of the foreign culture in which they are living. For example, a British expatriate is invited to participate in family celebrations of local Singaporean business colleagues.</td>
<td>Refers to consumers’ desire for stable satisfying social relationships that provide emotional support. For example, expatriates find it easier to make friends with other expatriate inhabitants by participating in companionate leisure activities, which inhibits their immersion in the foreign local community. For example, a British expatriate joins an English bridge club in Singapore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Encountering Cultural Differences</strong></td>
<td><strong>3. Ties to Home and Feeling out of Place</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refers to consumers’ proficiency in recognizing cultural differences. For example, a culturally sensitive British expatriate rightly observes that bargaining figures strongly in everyday marketplace transactions in Asian countries.</td>
<td>Refers to consumers’ feelings of not fitting in, prompting consumers to seek products and services that remind them of home. For example a British expatriate in Singapore regularly goes to Raffles hotel on Friday nights to meet with other British expatriates and drink English beer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4. Being Adaptable and Flexible</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refers to consumers’ ability to adapt their consumption practices and outlooks to different cultures. This “fitting in process” is typically relished and rarely regarded as an impediment to relocation. For example, a British expatriate living in Singapore gives up eating eggs and bacon for breakfast, replacing it with fresh tropical fruit and mango juice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I relabel Plog’s (2002) venturing dimension as true-venturing to more clearly delineate this dimension from centric-venturing. The above discussion suggests the first proposition for testing (P1):

\[ P_1: \text{A wanderlust orientation can comprise true or centric venturing.} \]

**RESEARCH METHODS**

Data collection comprised in-depth face-to-face interviews between 45 to 75 minutes in length, allowing informants to talk freely and easily about their consumption experiences as expatriate consumers. The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions that covered topics similar to Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999). Photo-elicitation enhanced data-collection. Visual material typically prompts informants to recall associations and memories that might otherwise remain uncovered. Sixteen informants participated in the study, including former expatriate Australians and expatriates, that is, people from other national cultures, who are currently working or studying in Australia. All informants had lived in at least two countries other than their home country for at least six months (with the exception of one informant, who only worked in one country, and moved to Australia from Ireland when he was ten). Informants’ ages ranged from twenty-seven to sixty-two years. Males and females were equally represented. Informants were
Finding One (APT₁)

APT₁ achieves qualified support. Some, but not all cosmopolitan consumer orientations displayed by informants comprise a sense of wanderlust. Supporting Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I find that cosmopolitans regard experiencing other cultures as a means of self-development.

I think it is important, at least once in your life, to move out of your comfort zones and challenge your preconceptions of what the world is what you are. (Mr. Shamrock, Australian)

Elaborating upon Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I suggest that opportunities for self-development are possibly greatest for cosmopolitans who participate in ‘colonial’ expatriate lifestyles, that is to say, where servants performed most domestic activities. These cosmopolitans have more time and energy to engage in activities associated with self-development.

... in those sort of countries, where you have home help, there's a big opportunity for personal development because you've got the time. (Mrs. Batik, Australian)

Extending Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I find that cosmopolitans have additional reasons for moving abroad, for example, 1) wanting to free themselves from the ties and responsibilities at home, 2) escaping unpleasant everyday circumstances and 3) freeing themselves from the constrictions of cultural mores to which they find compliance difficult.

I was twenty-two at the time and it was the first time I was living outside so it was all a big adventure. I only had me to think about, no attachments... It was a different country, it was a different culture, and it was very exciting. (Mr. Quinine, Scottish)

I had thought of traveling overseas maybe to Europe, and then I had heard about this. I had also broken up with a long-term boyfriend. I suppose that made me fairly restless. (Mrs. Quinine, Australian).

As a Japanese [woman] living in Hong Kong, it was a much easier life. In Japan the woman is supposed to be step back three steps behind the man, never even step on the husband’s shadow...and the woman is supposed to be married and stay home and you know give birth to children. You know it wasn’t me. To express myself, I couldn’t live in Japan. (Mrs. Victoria, Japanese)

Extending Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I suggest that cosmopolitans do not always find immersion easy in the local community, sometimes encountering barriers from the locals.

I said, right, what I’d like to do is while I’m here; I’d like to speak French... So [my boss] went out to the office where the staff was and he said, I just want to make an announcement, [Mr. Manquer] wants to speak French while he’s here. But nobody changed anything; they just kept on speaking English because I was their [key to learning English]. (Mr. Manquer, Australian)

Contradicting Thompson and Tambyah (1999) I suggest that cosmopolitans do not necessarily place high value on being included in local cultural events. When speaking about authentic local cultural events, informants descriptions typically suggest a preference for maintaining an outsider’s vantage point rather than greater involvement.

There were lots of local festivities. We didn’t actually participate in them. I’ll tell you the grossest one... basically what the people do is they put themselves into some sort of a trance and they skewer their bodies with pins and chains and they wear like a big cage over themselves... I have never seen anything like that in my life. (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian)

I further suggest that immersion in local culture can be inhibited by locals’ resistance to forming what they consider short term and hence wasteful relationships with cosmopolitans.

...There’s a certain bit of distance... they know you’re going to leave as well. They’ve got their family and friends as well, years of connections, so they’re less likely to have space for a friend... (Mrs Daniels-November, Australian)

Supporting Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I find that cosmopolitans demonstrate sophistication in their understanding of how other cultures differ from their own.

... I just needed to break away from a society that focuses a lot more on work than on the social aspects of the lifestyle... I just wanted a different lifestyle. (Miss Reeta, Singaporean)

Supporting Thompson and Tambyah (1999), I find that cosmopolitans display adaptability and flexibility when encountering new cultures. I elaborate that the more positive their prior experiences are in this respect, the greater their confidence and desire to relocate again and continue their cosmopolitan lifestyles.

...I think we’ll be quite enthused, in going someplace else. There will be a confidence that we can do that. That there’s no reason to fear going to a new country, we’re actually quite good at it. (Mr. Daniels-November, Australian)

Extending Thompson and Tambyah’s (1999), I suggest that cosmopolitans’ inclination for cultural adaptation is context depen-
dent. More specifically, if the local culture suits their personal tastes they were more likely to try to adapt to the local culture.

[In Hong Kong] I more or less slipped into a totally expatriate role [i.e., remained distance from local culture]. Sometimes you would visit the market and get a few things, but it was a bit dirty and smelly, whereas in Malaysia, I didn’t think like that at all. (Mrs. Quinine, Australian).

I elaborate that cosmopolitans find cultural adaptation easier if the new culture they encounter resembles their own.

I had a big culture shock…. The people in Burma they speak Burmese of course and …they speak a very, very little English. The people in the office, they did speak English but it was a huge culture shock because although it was another Asian country, it was very different culturally….I didn’t get a culture shock in Australia (Miss Reeta, Singaporean).

I further add the expatriate enclaves provide invaluable social contacts and assistance for cosmopolitans when settling into a new country.

We were fortunate that my husband was part of a large company, and in both countries there were other expatriates who immediately helped you and took you under their wing….there were always expatriate organizations that we joined and it made life very easy (Mrs. Batik, Australian).

I suggest that in countries where expatriate enclaves are absent, consumers are likely to encounter more problems adapting to foreign cultures. For example, Burma and Belgium were situations in which Miss Reeta only knew a few people and could not speak the local language. Miss Reeta adapted well to Burma, due in no small part to the support of local expatriates.

We made friends very quickly because you were in an expatriate community…. and you get to know people within that group because there will be get-togethers and stuff and you know there are clubs that you go to, even to the gym you know, you meet people there and talk to them. (Miss Reeta, Singaporean)

In Belgium, no such expatriate enclave existed. Miss Reeta reported considerably difficulty and eventually left the country.

...I didn’t adapt very well in Europe. I was in Belgium and it was just very hard to get around without my friend who spoke the language, even to the shops was a bit scary because …the street names were in foreign language…. (Miss Reeta, Singaporean)

Expanding upon Thompson ‘and Tabyah’s (1999) feminine trait of ‘questing for community,’ I suggest that cosmopolitans can consider home as wherever their partner or family members reside; not only places that physically resemble home.

...when I was in London that felt like home, and same with Singapore that felt like home… I think that’s what made it home, the fact that we were there together (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian)

I find mixed support for Thompson and Tambyah (1999) idea that cosmopolitans take items overseas to create a sense of home. Some cosmopolitans do, reflecting Bardhi’s (2005) idea that home is derived through personalization of space.

...as soon as got somewhere, we’d put down our rugs and pictures and things and then it would be home (Mrs Daniels November, Australian)

In contrast, other cosmopolitans take little if any possessions abroad. Possessions that these informants reported taking, tended to be highly personal sentimental items that foster feelings of nostalgia for life history and family ties, rather than home.

I took a couple of teddy bears—quite embarrassing …and some photographs of my family, and just clothes, but I didn’t really take anything else. (Miss Rhodes, English).

I extend Thompson and Tambyah (1999)’s work by pointing out that language difficulties exacerbate cosmopolitans’ feelings of being out of place. Although informants sought to experience life in countries that are distinctly different to their own, they were not immune to the frustrations caused by language difficulties.

...it was heartbreaking not being able to read signs, getting lost and not being able to read signs….then you ask someone for the way and they don’t speak English. (Mr. Tannenbaum)

Oh yeah, and you had to pick your vegetables, put them on the scale, and then choose the name…. but we didn’t know what the names were… Actually, trying to figure out what a can of something is when it doesn’t have a picture on the can and you can’t read the language, you don’t realise how easy things are when you can read as opposed to when you can’t… (Mr. Shamrock)

A Priori Theme 2 (APT_2)

APT_2 is fully supported. A cosmopolitan consumer orientation can include wanderlust and/or global traits. Mr Manquer displays wanderlust.

Oh the great thing was the music festival at the beginning of summer every year…. Wonderful fun, you go around the corner, down the street [in France] and there’d be some kids playing jazz band and all the cafes have people playing music of some sort…. (Mr. Manquer, Australian)

In contrast Miss Bromley displays a global orientation.

I just loved going to the Italian supermarkets and buying all the yummy stuff we don’t have here [in Australia]…all those cheeses, we do have them, but they are just not the same thing…. The [Italian] coffee, oooohh…How you would go anywhere for it. It’s just the best coffee in the world. (Miss Bromley, Australian).

Global behavior by cosmopolitans can reflect from an observation that people irrespective of culture suffer similarly.

Some other Japanese said, ‘Don’t go out on ANZAC Day,’ but that’s not right, you know. If you feel the war, you know it’s terrible… I [have] respect for everybody did what they had to do. I just came here [to the monument] to pay respect to everybody for fight for their own rights, country’s rights, you know, their own country, whatever the reason is…. (Mrs. Victoria, Japanese)
Significantly cosmopolitans likely display a dominant mix of wanderlust and global traits, rather than exclusively one or the other. Informants’ self-reports suggest typically display both.

**A Priori Theme 3 (APT3)**

APT3 is fully supported. Supporting Cannon and Yaprak’s (2002) idea, cosmopolitans can be rootless or homebound as long as wanderlust and/or global traits concurrently predominate. Miss Rhodes acts as a rootless-cosmopolitan with her many descriptions of how she makes any place feel like home regardless of where home is geographically located.

I think I’ve got a set structure, like if I move to a different country straight away I’ll sort out all legal requirements, opening bank accounts, doing this, doing that, making sure that all the small things that you have to do to function in the country, I kind of like to do that first week, so that makes me feel really settled and at home… (Miss Rhodes, English)

In contrast Mrs. Daniels-November’s displays homebound-cosmopolitan behaviour. First, she displays cosmopolitan traits such as an openness to and curiosity in other cultures; a willingness to understand and participate in local practices and customs; and a desire to learn the local ways in order so as not be treated as an outsider.

…we were just talking to the Eastern people on the train in German and asking them about the Wall coming down and what it meant and what they were going to do and that kind of stuff. We felt pretty clever. Also that we were involved in history (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian).

As a manager [in Singapore], I had to give my staff money in a little red envelope called a hung bao [as part of a traditional Chinese New Year custom]. It had to be an even number with even notes… you had go to the bank particularly and get crisp notes as well (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian).

Concurrently she demonstrates strong ties to her home country by appreciating the ease of connecting with familiar social contacts; and wanting to maintain relationships with family and social networks from home.

We were kind of lucky in the sense that a lot of the friends we had in Singapore who were English had gone home [to England]… so we had a network of friends already established [in London]… so we could call people to go out and do things, which is something that would’ve taken six to twelve months in Singapore… So that was good, that was a big difference to our free time (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian).

We wanted to come home, it was time… we thought if we didn’t come back, we didn’t know how we’d ever connect back with people [at home] again… I’d love to live overseas again. I think we’d most likely go somewhere in the States. New York or Boston somewhere. Yeah, let’s have a look at what else is out there. Sort of re-charge and go again (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian).

Despite her missing items from home, she still enjoys living abroad.

… you’d rather have [the good glasses and plates] with you. That said though, you don’t actually need anything [to feel okay]. (Mr. Daniels-November)

**Proposition One (P1)**

P1 is fully supported. Wanderlust cosmopolitans can be true or centric venturing. Mr. Tannenbaum’s (German), love of a Japanese bar is an example of a true venturing cosmopolitan. He tends to seek cultural experiences that are markedly different from those typifying his home culture,

Yakatori is my favourite out of all [Japanese foods], it’s really a bar with this huge display of barbeque sticks under glass and this dude is dressed up really traditional … and they also have this big drum behind them and every time a customer comes in one of them quickly hits the drum and all shout Yiroshoi… (Mr. Tannenbaum, German)

In contrast, Miss Rhodes acts as a centric venturing cosmopolitan because she typically prefers cultures not markedly different to that of her culture of origin.

As young teenager I moved to Brazil… I went to a British school there… I actually went to university just outside of London… I chose the United Kingdom because… I knew my family were from Scotland, so that’s my roots … [then] I came to Australia [because] I’d been told Australia was very much like South Africa. [Actually] my heart remains in South Africa (Miss Rhodes, born Zimbabwe, grew up in South Africa, lived in Brazil 3 years, England 6 years, Australia 1.5 years).

True or centric venturing might differ across consumption contexts. For example, a consumer might be very adventurous with choice of travel locations but more conservative in their food and beverage choices.

**EMERGENT THEMES**

Certain themes emerged during data analysis, including: 1) expatriate enclaves as desirable social milieus, and 2) discomfort upon returning home.

1) **Expatriate Enclaves as Desirable Milieus:** These communities likely figure strongly in the cosmopolitan consumers’ lives; notably those living in countries with a colonial heritage with large established expatriate communities. These enclaves comprise hybrid groups consisting of people from different cultures which have distinctive norms, values and hierarchies that likely profoundly influenced consumer behavior.

[Hong Kong] was completely different. It was a bustling city and the majority of the people didn’t speak English and I was living in a very isolated expatriate community. It was a large expatriate company where everybody just kind of mixed with each other … in the 70s where the expatriates held all the major positions and it was still very colonial and I wasn’t working. … You were considered a bit odd if you didn’t continually exchange coffee mornings [with the other wives]….. And also, if you went to a party, the first thing people would ask you was: ‘Who does your husband work for?’ And then you were labeled. ‘Where do you work?’ was another one… Yes, it was very rigid in those days. … You had to please the boss and the boss’ wife… (Mrs. Quinine, Australian)
Enjoyment of the lifestyle within these enclaves might explain why expatriate cosmopolitans have little enthusiasm for being included in local cultures (as discussed earlier).

That was a huge difference in the way one lives as an expat. You’re sitting down, reading the paper, and watching the gardening guy mow the lawn. You know this is wonderful, this is great. (Mr. Manquer, Australian)

An additional source of expatriate cosmopolitan satisfaction might originate from being part of an elite group.

People [locals in Burma] actually deemed you as quite superior in terms of your work... it was very nice. (Miss Reeta, Singaporean)

2) Discomfort upon Returning Home: Some expatriate cosmopolitans have little enthusiasm for returning to their home countries.

I’m also not that sort of person like you meet that says I can’t wait to get back to Aussie. Not at all. Each time it’s been a wrench to leave. (Mr. Manquer, Australian)

These cosmopolitans show a distinct lack of flexibility when settling back into their home environment.

I found everything difficult when we got back... I thought it would be like another move, but it was completely different to another move. (Mrs. Daniels-November, Australian)

They feel different from others who have not shared similar expatriate experiences.

I hadn’t realized that I’d changed a bit and we did find everybody around here a bit parochial... I found a lot of people were very stuck in their ways... didn’t really want to know anything about where you’d been or what you’d done. (Mrs. Batik, Australian)

FUTURE RESEARCH

My findings suggest that future research should focus on validating the useful of at least trait three behavioural dimensions in describing a cosmopolitan consumer orientation. These dimensions include: 1) wanderlust-global, 2) homebound-rootless and 3) true-centric venturing. This study cannot infer the validity and reliability of these dimensions due to the limitations imposed by a small convenience sample. Furthermore some of these dimensions might benefit from additional exploratory research to tease out potential sub-trait. For example, we have a much more sophisticated understanding of wanderlust versus global behaviour.

Additional future research might address the possibility that a cosmopolitan orientation figures not only in the lives of expatriate consumers but also consumers who live in their home cultures and consume products reflecting cultures other than their own. For example, consumers, especially those living in multi-cultural societies, need not leave home to partake of ethnic cuisines, watch foreign films and wear international fashion brands. Does their consumer behaviour differ from that of expatriates? Finally, the extent to which consumers adopt a cosmopolitan orientation needs to be investigated with respect to certain individual difference characteristics (e.g., education, occupation type, cohort generation, income, religion, and personality), situational influences (e.g., location of tourist destination, companionate pressure) and product type (e.g., culturally bound products such as food, clothing, entertainment versus more universally received products such as electronic devices, cars). Prior research suggests that these variables are likely sources of substantial variation in cosmopolitan behaviour.

REFERENCES

Hannerz, Ulf (1990) “Cosmopolitans and Locals in a World Culture”, Theory Culture and Society, 7 (June), 237-251