Does Acculturation Affect Brand Preference? a Study of British Indians

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This research investigates whether membership of Berry’s (1980) acculturation categories has a bearing on British Indians’ consumer behaviour, as indicated by their brand preferences. One way ANOVA and cluster analysis are applied to the data. Results reveal that separated, assimilated and integrated consumers have different and distinct brand preferences.

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ABSTRACT

Acculturation and its impact on consumer behaviour in the UK merit greater scrutiny. This research investigates whether established theories of acculturation are applicable to British Indians and what impact acculturation has on their brand preference. After classifying British Indians according to the acculturation framework devised by Berry (1980), the paper considers whether membership of different acculturation categories has a bearing on British Indians’ consumer behaviour, as indicated by their brand preferences for a range of host and ethnic products and services. Data collected from a quantitative survey are analysed using one way ANOVA and cluster analysis. The findings reveal that separated consumers prefer ethnic brands more than host brands, assimilated consumers prefer host brands more than ethnic brands and integrated consumers have brand preferences falling between these two. Although this study focuses on British Indians, there may be wider implications for other ethnic groups. There are also implications for the marketing strategy and tactics practitioners use to market their products and services to ethnic minorities.

KEYWORDS


INTRODUCTION

During the last 60 years, an influx of people from former British colonies and elsewhere has altered Britain’s demographic profile (Burton 2002; Rudmin 2003). Immigration of this kind leads to cultural interpenetration (Andreasen 1990), as immigrants become acculturated and adopt cultural traits that differ from those with which they grew up (Emslie, Bent and Seaman 2007). Such cultural traits can influence immigrants’ consumer behaviour (Engel, Kollat and Blackwell 1973; Hair and Anderson 1972), resulting in product preferences and consumption patterns reflecting the acculturation status of these individuals (Maldonado and Tansuhaj 2002; Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer 2005; Takhar et al. 2010). Although the need to better understand subcultures is acknowledged (Burton 2002; Emslie, Bent and Seaman 2007; Nwankwo and Lindridge 1998), there has been relatively little research examining the impact of acculturation on brand preference. What studies there are tend to focus on the process of acculturation itself, with less attention devoted to the relationship between consumption and cultural values (Lindridge 2001; Pankhania, Lee and Hooley 2007). Consequently there are calls for more work examining broad acculturation outcomes and their influence on consumer behaviour (Odgen, Ogden and Schau 2004), and of the implications for targeting ethnic audiences (Sekhon and Szmitin 2009).

This paper addresses the need for more research examining the outcomes of acculturation and the implications for consumption. British Indians, the largest ethnic minority population in the UK, are the focus for the quantitative study. The upward social mobility of British Indians is reflected in their emergence as one of Britain’s wealthiest ethnic groups (Lindridge 2001). The study investigates whether established theories of acculturation are applicable to British Indians, using this theoretical backdrop to understand what impact acculturation has on their consumer behaviour. Several contributions to knowledge are made. Firstly, the relevance to British Indians of established methods for assessing acculturation levels of immigrants are considered. Secondly, there is a contribution to what is known about the links between acculturation categories and consumption outcomes. Although this study focuses on British Indians, there may be wider implications for other ethnic groups. Finally, there are implications for the strategy and tactics practitioners use to market their products and services to minorities.

The paper begins by reviewing relevant acculturation and consumer acculturation literature. Classification schemes and measures of the key concepts are also examined, leading to the presentation of a research framework and hypotheses. Following the description of method, the results are presented and then discussed. Finally, avenues for further research and the conclusions are considered.

LITERATURE REVIEW: MODELS OF ACCULTURATION

A group of people, who believe in the commonality of their ancestry, possibly due to similarities in their customs or physical type or because of their collective memories of colonisation or immigration, has been described as an ethnic group (Lindridge and Dibb 2003). Ethnic groups are socially derived minorities within a larger host society whose members participate in shared activities built around their common origin and culture (Yinger 1986). Over time, albeit to varying degrees, these groups adapt their behaviour to reflect the dominant host culture; a process usually known as ‘acculturation’. Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936, 149) define acculturation as ‘those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups’.

In recent times the acculturation phenomenon has become better understood, largely through North American studies of Hispanics and Native Americans. Two distinct streams of thought regarding the process of acculturation have emerged. The first views acculturation as a uni-dimensional process, with the immigrant population positioned on a spectrum ranging from un-acculturated to fully acculturated (Gans 1979; Gordon 1964; Hair and Anderson 1972). Proponents of this view refer to a continuum of acculturation, with the ethnic minority and the host cultures at either end of the scale. The uni-dimensional model assumes that with the passage of time, members of ethnic minorities gradually lose aspects of their original culture and move closer to the host culture (Gans 1979; Gordon 1964). Taken to its extreme, the ethnic group becomes absorbed into the mainstream culture, its identity as a separate entity disappears, and its distinctive values evaporate (Gordon 1964). Thus Hair and Anderson (1972) describe an acculturation range from the ‘un-acculturated extreme’ where ethnic cultural patterns prevail, to the ‘acculturated extreme’, where the behaviour patterns of the host culture are fully adopted. Eventually, the ethnic minority is considered to merge into the host population, relinquishing its traditional values, customs, beliefs and behaviours (Garcia and Lega 1979). When an immigrant fully adopts mainstream values and gives up their cultural heritage, they are said to have ‘assimilated’ (Odgen, Odgen and Schau 2004).

The bi-dimensional model of acculturation is the second and more widely-held view (Berry 1980; Mendoza and Martinez 1981; Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000). This approach considers ethnic identification levels amongst acculturating immigrants in conjunction with their degree of participation in the host culture. A number of
different acculturation outcomes result, with immigrants positioned at either end of the acculturation spectrum or integrated between the two. While uni-dimensional models focus on the degree of immersion into an alternate culture, bi-dimensional models look at levels of immersion into both the host and the ethnic cultures. A study comparing the two models across different ethnic minority groups found the bi-dimensional view provided a more valid and information-rich framework (Ryder, Alden and Paulhus 2000). The detailed insights provided by this framework enabled acculturation to be better understood. Advocates of the bi-dimensional approach argue that it better reflects the changes in an individual’s self-identity as they strive to accommodate the old and new cultures. Following this approach, individuals can be categorized according to their levels of acculturation. Thus Berry (1980) proposes a four-fold taxonomy of acculturation based on immigrants’ levels of cultural identification and their degree of participation in the host culture. Under this scheme, individuals are grouped into one of four acculturation categories: separation, integration, assimilation or marginalisation.

CONSUMER ACCULTURATION AND BRAND PREFERENCE

Consumer acculturation concerns the application of general acculturation ideas to the consumption process, what Penaloz (1994, 33) describes as “the general process of movement and adaptation, to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country”. Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005, 85) propose that “consumer acculturation is a process by which an individual raised in one culture acquires thorough first-hand experience the consumption related values, behaviour, and customs of a foreign country”, Consumer acculturation relates to the learning of the attitudes and behaviours of the host culture by the consumer (O’Guinn, Lee and Faber 1986). This then has implications for the consumption behaviour of these individuals.

Some consumer acculturation studies adopt the socialisation perspective, focusing on the process of consumer acculturation itself (Lindridge, Hogg and Shah 2004; Sekhon 2007), while others consider identity formation through acculturation (Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard 2005; Ustuner and Holt 2007). Research in this area includes some studies that focus on the acculturation process and others that are concerned with acculturation outcomes. The focus in this paper is on consumer outcomes, specifically on variations in consumption patterns according to the degree of acculturation. Other studies show that the consumer behaviour of ethnic consumers differs according to acculturation status (Kang and Kim 1998; Kara and Kara 1996; Souiden and Ladhari 2011; O’Guinn, Lee and Faber 1986; Shim and Chen 1996). For example, Overy and Horridge (1997), suggest that Asian Americans with low levels of acculturation have a higher propensity to adopt gender-based stereotypes in shopping roles; while Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005) find that American Asian Indians with low levels of acculturation show higher levels of involvement when purchasing Indian ethnic apparel. Several authors consider the issue of situational ethnicity (O’Guinn and Faber 1985; Stayman and D’Shampnde, 1989), suggesting that consumption patterns of the same ethnic minority groups vary according to the context in which a purchasing decision is made.

Consumption values arising from an individual’s culture are difficult to directly measure (Penaloza 1989). Material goods can be a vehicle for carrying cultural meaning, making it possible to record consumption outcomes based on culture (McCracken 1986). For example, because brands are symbolically important to consumers, consumption outcomes are manifested in those which are preferred (Farquhar 1989; Levy 1959). The relationship between a consumer’s self-image and a brand’s perceived image is important (Zinkam and Hong 1991). Consumers prefer brands that have images that are compatible with their perceptions of themselves (Belk, Bahn and Mayer 1982; Eriksen 1996; Solomon 1983; Zinkham and Hong 1991). The more comparable the individual’s self-image is with the brand image, the more positively they will assess that brand (Graeff 1996). Thus consumers buy brands which are perceived to be similar to their own self-concept (Graeff 1996). This leads to the so-called self-image product-image congruence (Sirgy 1982; Sirgy et al. 1991; Sirgy et al. 1997). More importantly, consumers are known to use products to express their self-concepts to themselves (Sirgy 1982; Wallendorf and Arnould 1988). Therefore, acculturating minorities are likely also to express their cultural identity through their consumption patterns.

Previous studies (Kang and Kim 1998; Kara and Kara 1996; Shim and Chen 1996; amongst others) have shown that the consumption patterns of ethnic consumers vary according to the extent of their acculturation. This is because in endeavouring to adapt to new circumstances, ethnic consumers often try to modify their lifestyles and
consumption behaviour, which includes their preferences for particular brands (Maldonado and Tansuhaj 2002; Mathur, Moschis and Lee 2003). Furthermore, consumers prefer brands that are used by others they perceive as similar to themselves (Ross 1971; Watchravesringkan 2011), such as those within their acculturation category.

Jun, Ball and Gentry (1993), in their study of Korean Americans, suggest that consumers seeking to identify with their traditional culture may have different product preferences to those wishing to associate with the host culture. In the former case, a traditionally ethnic consumption pattern may be seen, with consumers showing strong attachment to possessions which provide cultural meaning and which may reflect their past. In contrast, the consumption patterns and preferences of consumers who wish to identify and blend with the host culture may feature products from the host society. Maldonado and Tansuhaj (2002), for example, find that assimilated individuals choose host brands more often than separated consumers who prefer ethnic brands; while Takhar et al. (2010) argue that acculturated British Indians re-negotiate their ethnic identity through the consumption of ethnic brands such as ‘Bollywood’ films. The notion of integrated individuals negotiating between both cultures (Chattaraman, Lennon and Rudd 2010; Lindridge, Hogg and Shah 2004) suggests that they are comfortable with brands from both cultures (Gbadamosi 2012; Lee 1993; Shim and Chen 1996).

Similar patterns have been observed in studies examining ethnocentrism, a concept that is related to acculturation (Berry and Kalin 1995). Ethnocentrism is concerned with the preference of the ‘in-group’ over the ‘out-group’ (Sumner 1906), concepts that are related to the notion of reference groups in the consumer behaviour literature. Ethnocentrism studies suggest a link between openness to a new culture and consumption patterns. Consumers who are more open to the alternate culture (e.g. out-group) will show a greater degree of acculturation and less consumer ethnocentrism (Sharma, Shimp and Shin 1995), thus preferring brands they regard as from the host society.

Lindridge (2001) suggests that British Indian individuals exist in cultural terms between Indian and British cultures; living and intermingling between the two cultures and drawing on both sets of cultural values to varying degrees. He further proposes that British Indians follow Berry’s (1980) bi-dimensional model of acculturation, since they co-exist between Indian and British cultures to varying degrees. These observations about the collectivist nature of Indian culture as against the individualist nature of British culture are relevant here because the study is concerned with the acculturation of British Indians and the consequences for consumer behaviour.

Since the main difference between British and Indian cultures in the UK relates to the possible relative cultural loading of the products considered, the inclusion of multiple product types in the research design is crucial. Most previous studies examining the impact of acculturation on consumer behaviour consider a single product type: Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer (2005) studied clothing, while Podoshen (2006) studied automobiles. Therefore, the need for research which examines a broader range of product types is widely acknowledged (Burton 2000; Laroche et al. 1997; Odgen, Odgen and Schau 2004; Omar, Hirst and Blankson 2004). Examining both host and ethnic brands (Marin and Gamba 1996; Tsai, Ying and Lee 2000); while others emphasise the attitudinal dimensions (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb and Myers 1994; Sanchez and Fernandez 1993).

Hypothesis 1a: British Indian consumers in the Assimilation category prefer host brands more often and ethnic brands less often than consumers in the other categories.

Hypothesis 1b: British Indian consumers in the Integration category prefer host brands more often and ethnic brands less often than consumers in the Separation category; and prefer host brands less often and ethnic brands more often than consumers in the Assimilation category.

Hypothesis 1c: British Indian consumers in the Separation category prefer ethnic brands more often and host brands less often than consumers in the other categories.

A research framework derived from the literature review and capturing the hypotheses is presented in Figure 2.

**Figure 2: A research framework**

**MEASUREMENT OF ACCULTURATION CATEGORIES**

A tool or scale is required to measure acculturation in order for Berry’s taxonomy to be used to classify an acculturating population. Some scales have been designed for specific ethnic groups, such as for Cubans (Szapocznik et al. 1978), Chicano (Olmedo, Martinez and Martinez 1978) and Mexican Americans (Cuellar, Harris and Jasso 1980). Many acculturation scales emphasise the behavioural dimensions of acculturation, often focusing on language questions (Marin and Gamba 1996; Tsai, Ying and Lee 2000); while others emphasise the attitudinal dimensions (Felix-Ortiz, Newcomb and Myers 1994; Sanchez and Fernandez 1993).
One problem associated with many of these scales is that they either incorporate a single measure, such as language, or use a cluster of highly correlated variables, which are neither grounded in theory nor rigorously tested (Lerman, Maldonado and Luna 2009). The use of socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and generation as acculturation measurement variables, rather than as correlates of acculturation, can be an added problem. Such an approach is problematic since these socio-demographic factors do not have one-to-one correspondence with the process of cultural change. Furthermore, when a validation criterion like ‘generation’ is included in the instrument, it tends to produce abnormally high correlations between the criterion and the scale (Marin et al. 1987). Therefore, a scale is needed that is based on indicators of cultural customs, with socio-demographic characteristics being used to support the external validity of the instrument (Mendoza 1989). Some authors (Jun, Ball and Gentry 1993) have suggested including both attitudinal and behavioural dimensions of acculturation in the instrument. Together, these dimensions provide the necessary information about the extent of an individual’s acculturation (Deshpande, Hoyer and Donthu 1986; Gentry, Jun and Tansuhaj 1995; Hui et al. 1992; Maldonado and Tansuhaj 2002; Padilla 1980). The Cultural Lifestyle Inventory (CLSI), a scale designed by Mendoza (1989) and inspired by Berry’s (1980) framework, addresses many of the concerns about measuring acculturation. The CLSI differs from scales that measure levels of assimilation; instead measuring categories of acculturation.

Although Mendoza (1989) uses different terminology, the acculturation categories he uses reflect those described by Berry (see Figure 1). Mendoza’s CLSI proposes three acculturation patterns that match Berry’s framework: (i) cultural resistance, (ii) cultural shift, and (iii) cultural incorporation. Cultural resistance is similar to Berry’s separation category, with individuals in this category against the acquisition of alternate cultural norms, while upholding ethnic customs. Mendoza’s cultural incorporation is equivalent to Berry’s integration category, which involves an adaptation of customs from both ethnic and alternate cultures. The cultural shift acculturation type considers a deliberate substitution of alternate cultural norms for ethnic customs which can be compared with Berry’s assimilation category.

The value of including the marginalisation outcome in acculturation studies has often been questioned. Berry and Kim (1988) suggest that marginalised individuals lose vital elements of their original culture but that these are not replaced by aspects from the mainstream society. Similarly, Maldonado and Tansuhaj (2002) explain that marginalised individuals are unlikely to be contactable through mailing lists or reachable by telephone. Furthermore, these individuals tend to resist the pulls of both the mainstream and the ethnic culture (Penaloza 1994), making it difficult to interpret much from their preferences for brands. In keeping with previous researchers using Berry’s (1980) model (Maldonado and Tansuhaj 2002; Mendoza 1989; Phinney, Lochner and Murphy 1990), it is important to acknowledge that not including the marginalised individuals may not be a problem for a consumer behaviour study based on survey technique. This is because the individuals in the marginalisation category are largely inaccessible and therefore unlikely to be part of marketing sample frames (Maldonado and Tansuhaj, 2002; Lerman, Maldonado and Luna 2009).

**METHOD**

The research design involved a qualitative phase during which the research instrument was developed, followed by a quantitative online survey. The qualitative phase, which comprised three focus groups and three dyad interviews with members of the target population, was also used to classify a series of product and service brands into ‘ethnic’ and ‘host’ groups. These brand groups were referred to in the subsequent quantitative phase. The qualitative phase also provided feedback on other aspects of the research, such as assessing participants’ openness to an e-mail questionnaire format.

The CLSI (Mendoza 1989) was used in conjunction with Berry’s framework (see Figure 1) to categorise respondents to both the qualitative and quantitative phases of the research. As explained above, CLSI proposes three acculturation patterns that match Berry’s framework: (i) cultural resistance is similar to Berry’s separation category (ii) cultural shift is similar to Berry’s assimilation category and (iii) cultural incorporation relates to Berry’s integration category. Moreover, the scale is able to readily measure the dynamic complexities of acculturation, such as the fact that ethnic minority consumers may move from separated to assimilated positions according to their context and situation (Jamal and Chapman 2000). Thus individuals can show cultural shift on one set of behaviours, while displaying cultural resistance in relation to another (Stayman and Deshpande 1989).

The CLSI categorises respondents into three acculturation categories using 29 questions. The instrument includes response alternatives corresponding to the three acculturation categories. For example, the question ‘What language do you use when you speak with your parents?’ has response options of (a) only or (b) mostly in Indian’ for the separation category; (c) mostly or (d) only in English’ for the assimilation category; and (e) both in Indian and English about equally’ for the integration category. Individuals are allocated to acculturation categories on the basis of their highest numbers of answers in a particular response category. For example, a respondent who answered (a) or (b) seventeen times, (e) five times and (c) or (d) seven times is categorised in the separation category. The CLSI used in the online survey phase was adapted for British Indians based on inputs from the focus groups and dyad interviews and then pretested on 50 individuals. Cronbach alpha values were calculated to assess the reliability of the CLSI, yielding alpha coefficients of 0.797 for the 21 behavioural questions and of 0.700 for the 8 attitudinal questions. These values are within the acceptable range (Kline 1999), indicating good scale reliability.

Central to the research design was the notion that respondents’ acculturation category might be reflected in their preferences for host or ethnic brands. While each pair of brands (ethnic and host) within each product type, aims to satisfy the same basic needs, the cultural meanings and level of importance associated with these options are likely to be markedly different for the ethnic and the host populations. Bristow and Asquith (1999) confirm that the differences in the lifestyles of various cultural groups, which in the current study relate to the acculturation categories, are reflected in the level of importance that each group attach to the brand names. This implies it is appropriate to use brand pairs containing ethnic and host options to study differing preferences between acculturation categories.

A series of brand pairs from a range of product and service categories was needed; each containing one ethnic and one host brand. Several options for developing these pairs were considered. One option was to use the ‘manufactured in’ (country of origin) label to identify whether the brands to be included were host or ethnic. This approach was, however, deemed unreliable since the group interviews conducted during qualitative phase revealed that country of origin did not necessary reflect whether a brand was viewed as host or ethnic. In order to better reflect British Indians’ perceptions about the brands, the qualitative phase was used to identify which brands were deemed ethnic and which were seen as host by the participants. The brand pairs chosen were also those where the participants perceived a real demarcation between ethnic and host dimensions. Table 1 presents the results.
Table 1: List of brands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Brands</th>
<th>Host Brands</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jet Airways</td>
<td>British Airways</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bollywood</td>
<td>Hollywood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICICI Bank</td>
<td>Barclays Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTC Cooking Oil</td>
<td>Flora Cooking Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zee TV</td>
<td>ITV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star Tours</td>
<td>Thompson Travels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parle-G Biscuits</td>
<td>McVitie’s Biscuits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore Sandal Soap</td>
<td>Dove Soap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubicon Juice</td>
<td>Ribena Juice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shana Frozen Food</td>
<td>Bird’s Eye Frozen Food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pride Olive Oil</td>
<td>Filipo Berio Olive Oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilda Rice</td>
<td>Uncle Ben’s Rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the quantitative phase an online questionnaire was applied (see Appendix 1). The research instrument was derived from the literature as well as from insights gained during the qualitative phase. The questionnaire was pre-tested by relevant experts and potential respondents; with online suitability being assessed by an expert in online data collection. The questionnaire comprised three sections: the first included the CLSI acculturation measurement scale, the second explored brand preferences while the last captured respondents’ demographic details. The respondents were asked to choose one brand for each option that they would consistently prefer to buy. They were told to assume that the two brands under each case were similar in price, packaging and availability, thus controlling these extraneous variables within the method. The sample was made up of British Indian consumers, who form the largest ethnic minority subgroup in the UK (Census, 2001) and are one of Britain’s wealthiest ethnic groups (Lindridge 2001). This group can legitimately be studied using a bi-dimensional model of acculturation since they co-exist between Indian and British cultures to varying degrees (Lindridge 2001). An online database comprising of 2505 British Indian names was obtained from a commercial manufacturer of consumer food products. Individuals identifying themselves with the definition of British Indians were deemed eligible to complete the online survey. For the purpose of this study, ‘British Indians’ are defined as: ‘Individuals born in or migrated to Britain and living in Britain, but with a common ancestry from India’. A pilot study targeting 222 individuals yielded a 10% response rate. The main survey of 2505 questionnaires produced a similar response rate, with 255 responses returned.

RESULTS

The data were analysed in three stages. First, respondents were grouped by acculturation category using the CLSI instrument. As explained above, this involved allocating individuals on the basis of their highest numbers of answers in a particular response category. Second, one-way ANOVA was used to examine the brand preferences of individuals across the acculturation categories. Third, the data were subjected to cluster analysis to establish whether the same three acculturation categories emerged. Using this approach to replicate the categories enabled their robustness to be checked.

The grouping by acculturation category resulted in 59.2% of respondents being allocated to the separation category, 25.1% to the integration category and 15.7% to the assimilation category (see Table 2).

Table 2: Brand Preference across Acculturation Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Host Brand Preference</th>
<th>Ethnic Brand Preference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>19.347</td>
<td>19.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation %</td>
<td>40.4*</td>
<td>59.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration %</td>
<td>62.5*</td>
<td>37.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation %</td>
<td>90.0*</td>
<td>10.0*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The analysis of brand preferences shows significant differences (p < 0.05) in the mean scores across the three acculturation categories. Respondents in the separation category prefer ethnic brands 59.6% of the time compared with 37.5% and 10.0% in the integration and assimilation categories respectively, the Post Hoc Tukey-HSD test being statistically significant (p<0.05). Respondents in the integration category prefer host brands 62.5% of the time compared with 40.4% and 90.0% in the separation and assimilation categories respectively and ethnic brands 37.5% of the time compared to 59.6% and 10.0% in the separation and assimilation categories respectively. The Post Hoc Tukey-HSD test shows integrated individuals are significantly different (p<0.05) from both the assimilation and the separation categories. Furthermore, respondents in the assimilation category prefer host brands 90.0% of the time compared with 62.5% and 40.4% in the integration and separation categories respectively, with the Post Hoc Tukey-HSD test being significantly different (p<0.05) from both the integration and the separation categories. Thus all three hypotheses are supported.

Furthermore, hierarchical cluster analysis was applied to the data in order to identify the number of clusters that existed. Although the cluster solution revealed a number of small naturally occurring clusters, three large clusters were considered optimum since they accounted for 87.5% of the sample. Having established the optimum number of clusters using hierarchical clustering, a K-Means clustering method was applied to the data since the distance measure used was well-suited for a large data file. The corresponding chart builder (see Figure 3) reveals that the means of these three clusters correspond to the separation, integration and assimilation acculturation categories, supporting the validity of the findings. Both the CLSI and the cluster analyses generated the same number of acculturation categories and contained similar numbers of individuals. This addresses concerns expressed by Rudmin (2003) who said that the ‘a priori’ determination of acculturation categories is less accurate than empirically-derived solutions which do not predetermine the number of acculturation categories.
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Figure 3: Profiles of the three clusters

DISCUSSION

The acculturation of immigrants has created subcultures within British society with distinctive habits and consumption behaviours. However, very few UK studies have sought to understand the consumer acculturation phenomenon. This study was thus motivated by the need for more UK-based studies of ethnic consumers (Burton 2002; Seligman 2001) with a focus on acculturation and consumption outcomes among British Indians. The results show a significant relationship between categories of acculturation and preferences for host and ethnic brands for this ethnic minority. As well as highlighting the importance of acculturation category as legitimate reference group, the research suggests that such groupings warrant attention in consumer studies in their own right.

This study differs from previous research showing variations in consumption by acculturation level (e.g. Kang and Kim 1998; Kara and Kara 1996; Shim and Chen 1996), because it reveals variations in the consumption outcomes of micro-cultures within the separated, integrated and assimilated acculturation groups. These differences are reflected in the preferences of those from each category for host and ethnic brands. The results amplify the need to consider acculturation when studying the consumer behaviour of ethnic minorities. While the importance of culture in explaining consumer behaviour is well recognized (Manoochehr, Ahmad and Ali 2010), these findings yield new insights into the particular value of acculturation category. Specifically, the study provides evidence that the consumption behaviour of ethnic consumers varies according to their acculturation category (e.g. Kara and Kara 1996; Maldonado and Tansuhaj 2002; Padilla 1980; Shim and Chen 1996). Separated consumers were found to be more ethnocentric and to prefer ethnic brands such as Zee TV and Bollywood more than host brands such as ITV and Hollywood. Integrated consumers had a preference for host brands more often and ethnic brands less often than those in the separated category; and preferred host brands less often and ethnic brands more often than those in the assimilation category. This finding corroborates the view that integrated individuals negotiate between the two cultures according to context (Chattaraman, Lennon and Rudd 2010; Lindridge, Hogg and Shah 2004; Sekhon and Szmit 2009), and suggests they are comfortable with brands from both cultures (Ghadamosi 2012; Gupta 1975; Lee 1993; Maldonado and Tansuhaj, 2002; Shim and Chen 1996; Sodowsky and Carey 1988). Finally, assimilated consumers were found to prefer host brands such as McVities biscuits and Ribena juice more often than ethnic equivalents, such as Parle-G biscuits and Rubicon juice. This group was characterised by lower levels of consumer ethnocentrism, probably as a result of greater participation in the host culture.

The study has a number of implications for research and practice. In terms of research implications, Berry’s (1980) acculturation model and Mendoza’s (1989) CLSI scale have been successfully adapted for use with the British Indian population. The findings add further support for the use of bi-dimensional acculturation measures, confirming the existence of sizeable ‘separated’ and ‘assimilated’ consumers whose behaviour is distinct and different from the ‘integrated’ group. The fact that these British Indian sub-groups have distinct and different consumption outcomes adds weight to the notion that ethnic minorities from a common ancestral country should not be treated as a single homogeneous group (Lindridge 2010). Furthermore, previous studies have tended to focus on single products or brands (Podoshen 2006; Rajagopalan and Heitmeyer 2005) or consider culturally-loaded items such as food or clothing. Since some product categories such as ‘food’ are more culturally loaded than others which could affect the consumer behaviour outcomes, different product types have been included in the current study in order to address this limitation and to increase confidence in the results, while also answering the various calls for such a research study (Burton 2000; Laroche et al. 1997; Omar, Hirst and Blankson 2004).

Turning to the practical implications, considerable potential is indicated for practitioners to adapt their marketing and targeting strategies on the basis of acculturation categories. For example, by specifically targeting separated consumers who are relatively unacculturated and who prefer ethnic over host brands, host brand manufacturers could enjoy first-mover advantage by establishing their brands and potentially creating brand loyalty amongst this group. Because consumption patterns adopted in the separation stage may be habit forming in the longer run, such strategies may provide the basis for future competitive advantage. Alternatively, brands designed to cater for separated consumers could reach out to the integrated and assimilated consumers by offering brand extensions that meet the requirements of the other two categories. For example, one of the brands used in this research, Shana, is preferred by separated consumers for the range of frozen foods that it offers. Possible strategies for reaching out to assimilated consumers could include extending the brand into a chilled, fresh product range with short shelf-life. Since assimilated consumers are unlikely to live in the same geographical areas as separated individuals (Emslie, Bent and Seaman 2007), this product extension could be supported with an online retail format to be able to reach them. Finally, understanding the consumer behaviour of integrated individuals could help marketers to release the untapped potential of consumers whose preferences swing between host and ethnic brands. Thus marketing programmes could be significantly modified for different acculturation groups and there is potential for targeting products and services both within acculturation categories as well as between them.

CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

British Indians were successfully segmented into three acculturation categories using the CLSI, with acculturation category membership having a bearing on British Indians’ consumer behaviour. The separated consumers preferred ethnic brands more than host brands, assimilated consumers preferred host brands more than ethnic brands and integrated consumers had brand preferences falling between these two. Acculturation category thus has a potential for use as a segmentation variable.
As the study focuses on the British Indian population, it is unclear the extent to which the results are generalisable to other ethnic minority populations. Future studies could replicate this methodological approach with other immigrant groups and in other contexts. Furthermore, although the results establish the existence of Berry’s (1980) three acculturation categories amongst British Indians, the study uses cross-sectional data and therefore does not consider how consumer behaviour is shaped by acculturation over time. A longitudinal study examining immigrants for a longer time period would yield a better understanding of the transition through acculturation categories and the implications for consumption outcomes.

This research included products or services where comparable offerings for host and ethnic brands were available. Future research could try to understand role of those product types where meaningful ethnic brand options may not be available to the British Indian consumers, such as cars and consumer durables, examining how separated, integrated and assimilated consumers differ in their brand preferences for such products. While this study has focused on brand preference, future research might also reflect upon other aspects of consumer behaviour such as shopping orientations, media preferences, consumer satisfaction, brand loyalty, the consumer decision-making process and customer service expectations.

**APPENDIX 1**

A study of people of Indian origin living in the UK

**Section One**

Cultural Life Styles Inventory (Version 3.0) by Richard H. Mendoza, PhD {Amended, with permission, by Rohini Vijaygopal, Doctoral Student, Open University Business School, UK}

The questions in this questionnaire are designed to describe certain aspects of your particular cultural life style. There are questions concerning the foods you like to eat, the language you use when speaking with your friends and relatives, and the various preferences that you have in many other areas. This is NOT a test and there are no right or wrong answers. Please read each question carefully and provide your response to each item by selecting the relevant option or typing in the relevant box. Try not to skip any item and answer as accurately as you can.

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please Note: By ‘Indian language’, I mean any language (other than English) spoken in India such as Hindi, Gujarati, Punjabi etc.

1. What language do you use when you speak with your GRANDPARENTS? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I do not have grandparents

2. What language do you use when you speak with your PARENTS? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I do not have parents

3. What language do you use when you speak with your BROTHERS and SISTERS? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I do not have brothers or sisters

4. What language do you use when you speak with your SPOUSE or PERSON you LIVE WITH? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I am not married or living with anyone

5. What language do you use when you speak with your CHILDREN? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I do not have children

6. What language do you use when you speak with your CLOSEST FRIENDS? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian
   - More Indian than English
   - More English than Indian
   - Only English
   - Both Indian and English about equally
   - Only or mostly another language - (please specify):
     - I do not have any close friends
7. What kind of RECORDS, TAPES, DVDs or COMPACT DISCS (CD'S) do you own? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian-speaking records, tapes, DVDs and CD's
   - Mostly Indian-speaking records, tapes, DVDs and CD's
   - Mostly English-speaking records, tapes, DVDs and CD's
   - Only English-speaking records, tapes, DVDs and CD's
   - Both Indian and English-speaking records, tapes, DVDs and CD's about equally
   - Only or mostly records, tapes, DVDs and CD's in another language (please specify the language of the records, tapes, DVDs or CD's):
   - I do not own any records, tapes, DVDs or CD's

8. What kind of RADIO stations do you listen to? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian-speaking radio stations
   - Mostly Indian-speaking radio stations
   - Mostly English-speaking radio stations
   - Only English-speaking radio stations
   - Both Indian and English-speaking radio stations about equally
   - Only or mostly radio stations in another language (please specify the language of the radio station):
   - I do not listen to radio

9. What kind of TELEVISION stations do you watch? (Please select one only)
   - Only Indian-speaking television stations
   - Mostly Indian-speaking television stations
   - Mostly English-speaking television stations
   - Only English-speaking television stations
   - Both Indian and English-speaking television stations about equally
   - Only or mostly television stations in another language (please specify the language of the television station):
   - I do not watch television

10. What kind of NEWSPAPERS and MAGAZINES do you read? (Please select one only)
    - Only newspapers and magazines in Indian
    - Mostly newspapers and magazines in Indian
    - Mostly newspapers and magazines in English
    - Only newspapers and magazines in English
    - Both newspapers and magazines in Indian and English about equally
    - Only or mostly newspapers and magazines in another language (please specify the language of the newspapers and magazines):
    - I do not read newspapers or magazines

11. In what language do you PRAY? (Please select one only)
    - Only in Indian
    - More in Indian than in English
    - More in English than in Indian
    - Only in English
    - Both in Indian and English about equally
    - Only or mostly in another language - (please specify):
    - I do not pray

12. In what language are the JOKES with which you are familiar? (Please select one only)
    - Only in Indian
    - More in Indian than in English
    - More in English than in Indian
    - Only in English
    - Some are in Indian and some are in English about equally
    - All or most are in another language - (please specify):
    - I am not familiar with any jokes

13. What kind of FOODS do you typically eat AT HOME? (Please select one only)
    - Only Indian foods
    - Mostly Indian foods
    - Mostly Non-Indian, British Mainstream foods
    - Only Non-Indian, British Mainstream foods
    - Both Indian and Non-Indian, British Mainstream foods about equally
    - Only or mostly other types of foods (please specify the origin of the other types of food):
    - I do not eat at home

14. At what kind of RESTAURANTS do you typically eat? (Please select one only)
    - Only at Indian restaurants
    - Mostly at Indian restaurants
    - Mostly at Non-Indian restaurants
    - Only at Non-Indian restaurants
    - Both at Indian and Non-Indian restaurants about equally
    - Only or mostly at other kinds of restaurants (please specify the origin of the other kinds of restaurants):
    - I do not eat at restaurants

15. What are the ethnic backgrounds of your CLOSEST FRIENDS? (Please select one only)
    - All are Indian or Indian-British
    - Most are Indian or Indian-British
    - Most are British Mainstream
    - All are British Mainstream
    - Both Indian / Indian-British and British Mainstream about equally
    - All or most are of another ethnic group - (please specify):
    - I do not have any close friends
16. What is the ethnic background of the people you have DATED?
(Please select one only)
- All are Indian or Indian-British
- Most are Indian or Indian-British
- Most are British Mainstream
- All are British Mainstream
- Both Indian / Indian-British and British Mainstream about equally
- All or most are of another ethnic group - (please specify):
- I have not dated anyone

17. When you go to SOCIAL FUNCTIONS such as parties, dances, picnics or sports events, what is the ethnic background of the people (including your family members) that you typically go with?
(Please select one only)
- Always with Indians or Indian-British
- Mostly with Indians or Indian-British
- Mostly with British Mainstream
- Always with British Mainstream
- Both Indians / Indian-British and British Mainstream about equally
- Always or mostly with individuals from another ethnic group (please specify):
- I do not go to social functions

18. What is the ethnic makeup of the NEIGHBORHOOD where you live?
(Please select one only)
- Only Indian or Indian-British
- Mostly Indian or Indian-British
- Mostly British Mainstream
- Only British Mainstream
- Both Indian / Indian-British and British Mainstream about equally
- Only or mostly other ethnic group(s) - (please specify):
- I do not know my neighbourhood well

19. Which NATIONAL ANTHEM do you know the words to?
(Please select one only)
- Only the Indian national anthem
- Mostly the Indian national anthem
- Mostly the British (U.K.) national anthem
- Only the British (U.K.) national anthem
- Both the Indian and British (U.K.) national anthems about equally
- Neither the Indian nor the British (U.K.) national anthems
- I do not know the words to any national anthem

20. Which NATIONAL or CULTURAL HERITAGE do you feel MOST PROUD OF?
(Please select one only)
- Unquestionably my Indian heritage
- Primarily my Indian heritage
- Primarily my British (U.K.) heritage
- Unquestionably my British (U.K.) heritage
- Both my Indian and British (U.K.) heritages about equally
- Other national or cultural heritage - (please specify):
- I do not feel proud of any national / cultural heritage

21. What types of national or cultural holidays do you typically celebrate?
(Please select one only)
- Only Indian holidays
- Mostly Indian holidays
- Mostly British (U.K.) holidays
- Only British (U.K.) holidays
- Both Indian and British (U.K.) holidays about equally
- Only or mostly other national or cultural holidays (please specify):
- I do not celebrate any national or cultural holidays

22. What is the ethnic background of the MOVIE STARS and POPULAR SINGERS that you MOST ADMIRE?
(Please select one only)
- All are Indian or Indian-British
- Most are Indian or Indian-British
- Most are British Mainstream
- All are British Mainstream
- Some are Indian / Indian-British and some are British Mainstream about equally
- All or most are from another ethnic group - (please specify):
- I do not admire any movie stars or popular singers

23. If you had a choice, what is the ethnic background of the person that you would / did MARRY?
(Please select one only)
- Most definitely an Indian or Indian-British
- Preferably an Indian or Indian-British
- Most definitely a British Mainstream
- Preferably a British Mainstream
- Either an Indian / Indian-British or British Mainstream, it would not matter to me
- Neither an Indian / Indian-British nor a British Mainstream.
- Other ethnic group: (please specify):
- I cannot imagine being married
24. You are a parent / Imagine you are a new parent. What type of NAMES would / did you give your children?
   (Please select one only)
   o Most definitely Indian names
   o Probably Indian names
   o Probably English or English Mainstream names
   o Most definitely English or English Mainstream names
   o Either Indian or English / English Mainstream names, it would not matter to me
   o Neither Indian nor English / English Mainstream names. Other ethnic names: (please specify):
     o I cannot imagine being a parent

25. You are a parent / Imagine you are a new parent. If you had children, in what language would / did you TEACH them to READ, WRITE and SPEAK?
   (Please select one only)
   o Only in Indian (with no English)
   o Primarily in Indian (with some English)
   o Primarily in English (with some Indian)
   o Only in English (with no Indian)
   o Equally in both Indian and English
   o Only or primarily in another language - (please specify):
     o I cannot imagine being a parent

26. Which culture and way of life do you believe is RESPONSIBLE for the SOCIAL PROBLEMS (such as poverty, teenage pregnancies and gangs) found in some Indian-British communities in the U.K.?
   (Please select one only)
   o Only the British Mainstream culture
   o Mostly the British Mainstream culture
   o Mostly the Indian culture
   o Only the Indian culture
   o Both Indian and British Mainstream cultures about equally
   o Only or mostly another culture, social condition or way of life (please specify):
     o I do not know

27. At what kind of STORES do you TYPICALLY SHOP?
   (Please select one only)
   o Only at stores that have Indian-speaking workers
   o Primarily at stores that have Indian-speaking workers
   o Primarily at stores that have English-speaking workers
   o Only at stores that have English-speaking workers
   o Both, at stores that have Indian-speaking and English-speaking workers about equally
   o Only or primarily at stores with workers that speak another language (please specify the language):
     o I do not go shopping

28. How do you prefer to be IDENTIFIED?
   (Please select one only)
   o Most definitely as an Indian, Indian-British
   o Preferably as an Indian, Indian-British
   o Preferably as a British, British Mainstream
   o Most definitely as British, British Mainstream
   o Either as an Indian / Indian-British or as a British / British Mainstream, I have no preference
   o Neither as an Indian / Indian-British nor as a British / British Mainstream. Other group: (please specify):
     o I do prefer not to be identified in this way

29. Which culture and way of life would you say has had the MOST POSITIVE INFLUENCE on your life?
   (Please select one only)
   o Most definitely the Indian culture
   o Probably the Indian culture
   o Probably the British Mainstream culture
   o Most definitely the British Mainstream culture
   o Both Indian and British Mainstream cultures about equally
   o Neither Indian nor British Mainstream cultures. Other culture: (please specify):
     o No culture / way of life has had any positive influence on me

Section Two

Please choose one brand for each option that you would consistently prefer to buy. Please assume that the two brands under each option are similar in price, packaging and availability. If you are not familiar with any sets of brands, please skip that particular option and move on to the next one.

a: (Please select one only)
   Jet Airways       British Airways
   b: (Please select one only)
   Bollywood         Hollywood
   c: (Please select one only)
   ICICI Bank        Barclays Bank
   d: (Please select one only)
   KTC Cooking Oil   Flora Cooking Oil
   e: (Please select one only)
   Zee TV            ITV
   f: (Please select one only)
   Star Tours        Thompson Travels
   g: (Please select one only)
   Parle- G Biscuits McVities Biscuits
   h: (Please select one only)
   Mysore Sandal Soap Dove Soap
   i: (Please select one only)
   Rubicon Juice     Ribena Juice
   j: (Please select one only)
   Shana Frozen Food Bird’s Eye Frozen Food
   k: (Please select one only)
   Pride Olive Oil    Filipo Berio Olive Oil
   l: (Please select one only)
   Tilda Rice        Uncle Ben’s Rice
REFERENCE:


