Reverse acculturation - a global rebalancing phenomenon or driven by globalised diaspora

Kirsten Lindsay Chan
Student number: 123 607 09

A research project submitted to the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration.

11th November 2013
ABSTRACT

Globalisation has emphasised two forces in cross-cultural research – heterogenisation and homogenisation, which contribute to the increased power of diasporas and the emergence of a global consumer culture. Reverse acculturation is a recent phenomenon, describing the change in direction of the acculturation process, back towards the culture of origin. Within a global context, reverse acculturation is investigated to determine which globalisation force drives fully acculturated individuals to return to their roots.

An exploratory qualitative study was conducted with five South African Chinese and five Anglo-Saxon individuals. The findings identified the need for an evolved acculturation process that recognises integration between homeland and hostland as non-temporary. The findings acknowledged the significance of diaspora research and the growing influence of China on global culture.

This confirmed the need for a dynamic definition of acculturation with the factors of life events, life stages and family as significant to the process. The existence of a heterogeneous global culture was supported over a homogenous culture, requiring a cosmopolitan definition to update the current definition based on outdated Western logic. The main findings were applied to evolve the traditional framework towards a dynamic acculturation process driven by individual agency and influenced by a multi-layered construct of variables.
KEY WORDS

Reverse acculturation, global culture, diaspora, cosmopolitan culture, non-Western global culture
DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my own work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Business Administration at the Gordon Institute of Business Science, University of Pretoria. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University. I further declare that I have obtained the necessary authorisation and consent to carry out this research.

Kirsten Lindsay Chan
11th November 2013
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Recognition and sincere appreciation to the people that have made this journey towards completing this research report possible.

To my husband and best friend, John – my deepest appreciation for your unwavering support, love and belief in me. Your humour kept me sane, your faith in my abilities spurred me on, and your constant motivation helped me through many challenges. I appreciate all you have sacrificed to enable me to complete my studies. Last, but not least, thank you for being an amazing dad. I love you.

Hannah and Riley – thank you for your patience and understanding while mommy went back to school. If I can offer any words of advice: maintain your curiosity, love and hunger for learning and adventure. I hope this will encourage you to follow your dreams, step out of your comfort zone and value your own growth. I love you, my angels. You are the best.

To my classmates, who I have the privilege of calling friends - diversity is such a gift. Thank you for the exposure to diverse cultures, thoughts, beliefs and opinions. This has been an amazing adventure filled with laughter, learning and a camaraderie that I will never forget.

To my supervisor, Kerry Chipp – my sincere gratitude for your passion, guidance and patience. Your willingness to listen to my interests and ideas before guiding me down different paths ensured that this work was deeply and personally meaningful.

To my interviewees – thank you for your time and openness in sharing your experiences and life views.
Claire Pienaar, my editor – thank you for being the positive voice of reason and hope.

Monica Sonqishe and the team in the GIBS Information Centre – thank you for your willing and efficient help with referencing and sourcing of content.
DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my grandparents and parents. Despite fleeing a war in China and struggling through Apartheid, you were able to give us many opportunities, including the opportunities to study at some of the best institutions in South Africa. You have taught us the values of hard work, honesty, integrity and humbleness as role models.

Mom and Dad, thank you for always encouraging us all to do our best and believing that we were all destined to be something great. This journey has provided me with insights into our family’s journey to South Africa and the hardships, traditions and memories that you carried across from China.
# CONTENTS

Abstract ................................................................. i  
Key words ............................................................. ii  
Declaration .......................................................... iii  
Acknowledgements ................................................ iv  
Dedication ............................................................ vi  
Contents ................................................................ vii  
Table of tables ....................................................... x  
Table of figures ..................................................... xi  

## CHAPTER 1: Introduction to the research problem  
1.1 Identity and acculturation .................................. 2  
1.2 Diaspora identity ............................................ 4  
1.3 A changing global culture .......................... 5  
1.4 Research objectives ................................... 6  
1.5 Academic contribution ............................... 6  
1.6 Business and consumer relevance ............ 7  

## CHAPTER 2: Literature review  
2.1 Identity and culture ........................................... 9  
2.2 Transnational migrations .............................. 10  
2.3 Acculturation .................................................. 10  
2.3.1 Marginalisation ....................................... 12  
2.3.2 Segregation and diaspora ..................... 12  
2.3.3 Integration and factors influencing integration 14  
2.3.4 Assimilation or fully acculturated ........... 15  
2.3.5 Factors influencing acculturation ............ 15  
2.4 Globalisation .................................................. 18  
2.4.1 Strengthening diaspora - heterogenisation .... 18  
2.4.2 Global consumer culture .................... 20  
2.5 Cosmopolitan review of theory ................. 22  
2.5.1 Measurement of global culture ............ 22  
2.5.2 Global rebalancing ................................ 24  
2.6 Reverse acculturation .................................... 25
2.6.1 Globalisation and reverse acculturation ......................................... 26
2.6.2 Influences of globalisation and globalised diaspora ..................... 26
2.6.3 A rebalanced global consumer culture ........................................ 27
2.7 Conclusion....................................................................................... 27

CHAPTER 3: Research questions 30

CHAPTER 4: Research methodology 31

4.1 Research design............................................................................. 31
4.2 Population and sampling .............................................................. 32
  4.2.1 Target population criteria......................................................... 32
  4.2.2 Quota groups ......................................................................... 33
  4.2.3 Sampling frame and sample technique .................................... 34
4.3 Interview process and schedule .................................................... 35
4.4 Data gathering process and analysis approach .............................. 37
4.5 Data verification............................................................................ 38
4.6 Limitations of the research............................................................ 39

CHAPTER 5: Results 41

5.1 Summary of interviews and interviewees ...................................... 41
5.2 Definitions of culture .................................................................. 44
5.3 Reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora ............................. 47
  5.3.1 Integration between homeland and hostland culture .............. 51
  5.3.2 Attitude of hostland................................................................. 52
  5.3.3 Hostland culture incompatible ............................................... 54
  5.3.4 Life stage or life event ............................................................ 54
  5.3.5 Influence of family or homeland ............................................ 55
  5.3.6 Recent growth in diaspora for immigrants ............................. 56
5.4 Reverse acculturation and global culture ...................................... 57
  5.4.1 Global culture is mixed and interconnected ......................... 60
  5.4.2 China influences global culture ............................................. 62
  5.4.3 The West influences global culture ....................................... 63
  5.4.4 Homogenous global culture .................................................. 64
  5.4.5 Isolation of China and Chinese culture ................................. 66
5.5 Combination of globalised diaspora and global consumer culture .... 67
  5.5.1 Codes and themes linked to integration .................................. 68
  5.5.2 Code frequency analysis ....................................................... 69
TABLE OF TABLES

Table 1: Summary of interviews and duration in minutes ..............................................42
Table 2: Summary of Anglo-Saxon interviewees (Group A) ...........................................43
Table 3: Summary of Chinese South African interviewees (Group C) .........................44
Table 4: Codes linked to definition of culture ...............................................................45
Table 5: Grouping codes into themes linked to globalised diaspora .........................48
Table 6: Reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora ..............................................50
Table 7: Grouping codes into themes linked to global culture .....................................58
Table 8: Descriptions of global culture ........................................................................59
Table 9: Word count for “choice” and variations .........................................................61
Table 10: Frequency of mentioning China’s isolation from global culture .................66
Table 11: Grouping codes linked to integration ............................................................68
Table 12: Rank table of code frequency across all interviews ......................................70
Table 13: Rank table of co-occurrence with reverse acculturation ............................71
Table 14: Key findings per research question ...............................................................71
Table 15: Summary of interviewees’ biographical information ...................................109
Table 16: Codes linked to globalised diaspora .............................................................110
Table 17: Codes linked to global culture .................................................................111
Table 18: Codes linked to integration ........................................................................111
TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Four acculturation strategies adapted from Berry (1997) .....................12
Figure 2: Acculturation Framework (Berry, 1997, p. 15).................................16
Figure 3: Proposed framework of reverse acculturation from literature ............29
Figure 4: Structure of findings for definition of culture .....................................46
Figure 5: Reverse acculturation due to globalised diaspora ...............................49
Figure 6: Descriptions of global culture ..........................................................59
Figure 7: Codes linked to integration and mixed global culture .........................69
Figure 8: Proposed globalised acculturation framework .................................95
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

飲水思源

_Yin shui ssu yüan_

_When you drink the water, remember the spring_

A Chinese idiom that speaks of acknowledgement and gratitude for one’s ancestors, their journey and one’s heritage

Culture plays a significant role in how individuals experience everyday events by acting as the _lens_ through which they view the world. It shapes the way individuals behave and interact (McCracken, 1986). Culture is no longer synonymous with national borders as migrations and globalisation have facilitated the ease of movement of people, information, capital and power across borders both physically and virtually (Johnson, 2012). This mobility requires culture to be treated as a multi-dimensional construct that has led to various studies in the field of cross-cultural research that are focused on understanding the process of acculturation and assimilation (Kaynak & Kara, 2013).

For migrants, acculturation is a deeply personal and emotive process of selecting _what you hold on to, and what you let go of_ (Prois, 2013). This process has largely been viewed as unidirectional in flow where migrants choose to hold onto their homeland culture; integrate some of the hostland culture into their norms and values or to fully adopt the culture of their hostland (Berry, 1997; Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).
A relatively new phenomenon presented in the research of Kim and Park (2009) described reverse acculturation where American-born Koreans who were fully acculturated introduced the norms and behaviour from their Korean heritage into their American life. These individuals had fully adapted to the American culture, but later in their lives they chose to practise the wedding traditions and rituals from their homeland culture. This contradicts the current acculturation theory, suggesting that the process of acculturation is dynamic and not unidirectional. Kim and Park (2009) have indicated that this phenomenon is enabled by technology and globalisation, which has exposed fully acculturated American Koreans to their country of origin.

1.1 IDENTITY AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is viewed as a multicultural process of incorporating or adapting to the customs of an alternate culture, where both migrants and the natives of the hostland are influenced by the cross-cultural interactions (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Mendoza, 1989). This considers the impact of the homeland and hostland cultures, but does not acknowledge the role of individual agency and preference. Migrations and globalisation have increased the volume of cross-cultural interactions, which has resulted in a world that is more transnational, diverse and global (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Today the process of acculturation is prevalent and experienced across the globe, which magnifies the significance of understanding how this process has evolved from the traditional models developed by Mendoza (1989) and Berry (1997).

The hostland culture plays a large role in acculturation which influences identity. Eric Liu is an Asian-American and former deputy domestic policy advisor to President Bill Clinton. He founded the Citizen University movement to stimulate engagement concerning what it means to be a great American citizen. This was based on a strong view that the American identity is based on hybridity and its power is due to its diversity (Prois, 2013). In Eric Liu’s 2013 interview with The
Huffington Post he advocated that the world is only moving towards hybridity and there is a need for a third force, such as citizenship or patriotism, to unite this diversity by enabling individuals to engage on something other than their differences (Prois, 2013).

The Citizen University movement identified America as a nation of minorities, which could be unified in their attachment to America and American identity despite their differences. It is illustrative of current topical discussions regarding cultural integration and identity. One such incident was the homicide of Trayvon Martin, which divided the American public as it debated race dynamics, racial profiling and the role of the media (Liu, 2013). Another example of the complex dynamic between ethnic identity, citizenship and patriotism were the political debates of American immigration policy which unearthed deeply held prejudices against Mexicans living in the United States and sparked questions on the definition of an American identity (Parker, 2013).

Similarly, Beech’s (2013) Time magazine article reflected on the changing profile of the modern Australian identity that has been driven by immigration policies that actively encouraged a multicultural population. This has not left Australia without challenges, as the subject of asylum seekers became an electoral issue leading up to the 2013 federal elections and triggered outspoken public dialogue about the influx of new immigrants who had not made efforts to assimilate (Beech, 2013).

Sapa’s (2013) article emphasised similar discussions in South Africa. South Africa attracted the international spotlight when its reputation as a rainbow nation with a celebrated diverse population was damaged by xenophobic violence against immigrants. South Africa’s Minister of Home Affairs, Naledi Pandor, remarked on the impact, stating that “anti-immigrant violence is inseparable from the evil of racism. The insidious nature of rising levels of ethnicism in our society is another cause for concern” (Sapa, 2013, para.7).
These examples emphasise the influence of the hostland environment and the roles of patriotism, cultural diversity, ethnicity and integration in shaping identities.

1.2 **DIASPORA IDENTITY**

The views that the world is moving towards an integrated hybridity, as described by Eric Liu above, only acknowledge the role of the hostland culture in influencing an individual’s identity. It overlooks the growing presence and power of diaspora communities. Diasporas are communities of individuals with strong ethnic group consciousness that have limited interest in adopting the norms and behaviours of the hostland’s culture (Johnson, 2012). These communities reinforce the preference and perpetuate the strong ties that individuals have with their homeland culture. This occurs despite the dynamics of diversity and patriotism within their hostland culture. The cultural, political and economic influence of diaspora in their homeland country has been enabled and strengthened through globalisation (Jacobsen, 2009, p.70). This has strengthened the preference for the individuals’ homeland culture by making it more accessible.

Evidence of the strong ties to the motherland or homeland culture is seen in the role of diaspora communities during the 2010-2011 Arab Spring in the Middle East. Diaspora communities around the globe were actively involved in the socio-political change, exhibiting the influence of diaspora that fervently identified with events impacting their homeland culture, even though they were not physically in the motherland where these events occurred (Johnson, 2012).

Acculturation and diaspora research have progressed independently, despite the shared focus on culture, identity and how cultural identity is influenced by human migrations. Traditional acculturation studies have excluded the power of diasporas in their models, overlooking the possibility that the homeland culture
is the long-term preferred culture for individuals (Johnson, 2012). The concept of reverse acculturation that was introduced by Kim and Park (2009) contradicts traditional acculturation research summarised in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework. The concept has not been reviewed in relation to diaspora research. Currently there is no evidence to prove or disprove that this phenomenon may be connected to fully acculturated individuals who are motivated by specific factors to identify with diaspora communities.

1.3 A CHANGING GLOBAL CULTURE

The world economies have needed to redefine their approaches following the global financial crisis and the subsequent emergence of China and India as global powers (Jacobsen, 2009). Jacobsen (2009) maintained that changes in economic power cannot be separated from political and cultural influences as they are deeply intertwined. This indicates that the global rebalancing of power towards China and India cannot exclude their influence on global culture. China is viewed as the top global power by developed economies, including America, placing it in the spotlight of the world’s business and political community (Hammond, 2013).

Globalisation is seen to promote increased homogeneity of groups by strengthening the mobility of information and people across international borders (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). This infers that acculturation to a hostland culture has been replaced by acculturation to a global culture. To date, the definition of this homogenous global culture has largely been influenced by Western logic and associations. This traditional approach may have been relevant before the global financial crisis, where Western countries were the global economic powers, but that status quo has since been challenged. Bhatia and Ram (2009) argued that traditional definitions and acculturation models have been based on Western experiences and logic, overlooking non-Western perspectives. Their argument refers to the literature...
not considering the changing power of non-Western countries, but also ignores the impact of events such as the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001 on non-Western immigrants.

In this light global culture has not been updated to account for the shift of economic power from Western countries. There is no evidence to prove or disprove that reverse acculturation may be connected to a changing homogenous global culture that is shifting, as part of the global rebalancing of power.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This research was conducted to determine whether the phenomenon of reverse acculturation is driven by diaspora identification, where individuals show preference for their homeland culture after having fully acculturated to their hostland. It also investigated whether the phenomenon is rather determined by acculturation to a homogenous global culture, where this global culture has shifted from its Western characterisation due to global rebalancing.

1.5 ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTION

Globalisation in the twenty-first century has agitated the need for more cosmopolitan-based definitions and methodologies by researchers across a large and varied span of disciplines that include anthropology, social psychology, geography, international law, political philosophy and cross-cultural research (Beck & Sznaider, 2010; Calcutt, Woodward, & Skrbis, 2009; Gupta, 2012; Robinson, 2011). The out-dated nature of global culture definitions and measurement tools are emphasised by global development and change studies that consider the economic, political and cultural elements as intertwined (Jacobsen, 2009). Each of these elements has undergone fundamental
changes following the global financial crisis and the subsequent rising of emerging economies. This has signified that Western-based perspectives and assumptions can no longer be accepted as the standard (Jacobsen, 2009; Pieterse, 2011). More relevant and current definitions are overdue.

Despite the need for a more relevant cosmopolitan definition of global culture, recent methodological tools that were developed by Cleveland and Laroche (2007) to measure acculturation to this global culture remain based on Western consumer behaviour, preferences and attributes. Subsequent research by Gupta (2012) failed to evolve this definition despite being based on Indian consumer studies. The growing influences of India and China have been acknowledged by Kappel (2011) and Lagerkvist (2009), however it is unclear what this means to global culture. Furthermore, it is unclear whether there is a homogenous global culture that individuals are acculturating towards or whether globalisation has enabled a multipolar society with a wider variety of countries that are able to exert their influence. Based on Jacobsen’s (2009) argument that relative economic growth is intertwined with growing cultural and political power, all countries that have achieved economic growth should be able to increase the attraction for their diaspora to hold onto their homeland identity.

In determining what drives reverse acculturation, the research analysed the arguments from cross-cultural research on diaspora and acculturation. Although both these areas of research concentrate on cultural identity, the fields are not often brought together to share, leverage and capitalise on their efforts or findings.

1.6 BUSINESS AND CONSUMER RELEVANCE

Research on culture provides important insights into the areas of marketing, business management and the practice of psychology since culture is seen to be an important determinant of consumers’ attitudes, behaviours and lifestyles.
Brands consumption is considered to be an expression of consumer identity; as individuals transfer meanings from the context of their social identity into their brand choices (Kaynak & Kara, 2013). Equally, potential employees apply the same transfer of meaning in the company brands they are willing to be associated with.

Management literature also delves into developments in cultural research to understand factors that may influence cultural capital and the management of diversity (Cleveland, Erdoğan, Arıkan, & Poyraz, 2011). International business research on human resources and customer relations' strategies are grounded on value-based models of culture where cultural capital is considered to be a sought after competency (Taras, Rowney, & Steel, 2013).

At a social level, psychologists that manage and assist patients with understanding their identities also have interests in this field. This is amplified with the rising number of transracial and international adoptees that experience difficulties in defining their identities as they mature into adulthood (Baden, Teweke, & Ahluwalia, 2012).
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 IDENTITY AND CULTURE

Culture forms part of individuals’ identities and has influenced behaviour as a "blueprint of human activity, the co-ordinates of social action and productive activity" (Kaynak & Kara, 2013; McCracken, 1986, p.72). Ethnic identification refers to the emotional bond of individuals to their ethnic culture through a “common set of values, beliefs, traditions and heritage” (Liu, 2011, p.407). Research has revealed that cultural or ethnic self-awareness is not fixed but is highly dependent on the context of social interactions (Liu, 2011). This culture construct has been defined as multi-layered with superficial artefacts including clothing, language and traditions. Evidence has concluded that values are the core layer of this multi-layered construct of culture (Taras et al., 2013). The transfer of culture has not been defined as genetic but has been defined as the adoption of the norms and behaviours through a complex, dynamic, contingent and evolving process of exposure over time (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Lawson, 2011). Identity is not static and is defined as a “perpetual process of refreshing, renewing, and reforming itself” (Johnson, 2012, p.48).

As context plays such a large role in culture and identity formation, the increased diversity of global culture influences the type of social interactions that individuals are exposed to and the consequent adoption of norms and behaviours. Globalisation and the increased diversity of nations have also influenced the forces of patriotism and cosmopolitanism. Patriotism is considered to be a trait that exhibits a “significant degree of loyalty to one’s country and an associated disposition to take pride in it” (Audi, 2009, p. 367). Closely linked to nationalism, patriotism stresses that the emotional connection to citizenship is a force that exists in countries, as expressed by Eric Liu in his Citizen University movement (Prois, 2013).
2.2 TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATIONS

The significance of exposure and geographical location has resulted in migrations playing a meaningful role in the process of cultural identification. Early migration studies presented motives for migrations that were spatial or economic, driving people to move to higher income or less densely populated spaces (De Haas, 2010). Other perspectives revealed that migrations were not always a matter of free choice with negative migration experiences linked to forced displacements of people. Others were driven by survival due to negative political, economic and social situations (Kim & Park, 2009). These have been defined as push and pull motives for migration where push motives include involuntary or forced migration with negative expectations (Berry, 1997).

Beyond the causes for migrations, their occurrences have resulted in culturally plural societies with individuals from different cultural backgrounds living together (Berry, 1997). Migrants undergo a process of acculturation when they migrate from their homeland to their hostland, where they consider adopting the norms and values of a culture other than their own (Johnson, 2012; Mendoza, 1989).

2.3 ACCULTURATION

In the seminal acculturation research of Mendoza (1989) and Penaloza (1994), the multicultural concept was defined which suggested that individuals do not only adopt the norms of their hostland culture but also incorporated their homeland culture into their norms and behaviour. The validity of this multicultural concept has been confirmed and acknowledged in more recent studies (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Mendoza’s (1989) literature also identified acculturation to be bi-directional between the homeland and hostland, where individuals of the hostland culture were also influenced by the new culture introduced into their environment.
Almost a decade after Mendoza’s (1989) seminal work, Berry (1997) developed an acculturation framework and described this process of acculturation through four strategies that considered situational and individual factors. In his research the multicultural concept was viewed as a state of integration in the acculturation process. This process was regarded as one-way or existing on a continuum between refusing to assimilate to full-acculturation or assimilation to the hostland culture (Berry, 1997; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Mendoza, 1989). This conceptual framework explicitly assumed acculturation was unidirectional in nature with the final long-term outcome to be assimilation or “leading finally to a person’s adaptation” (Berry, 1997, p. 15). Unidirectional or one-way refers to the assumption that the end state of the acculturation process for an individual is the adaption to the hostland culture. The framework does not cover the bi-directional concept of Mendoza (1989) that looked at the influence of the immigrant’s culture on the hostland’s culture.

Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework (as adapted and summarised in Figure 1) applied two attitudinal dimensions to define four acculturation strategies: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. The two attitude dimensions were defined as the value of maintaining one’s identity and characteristics contrasted with the value of maintaining relationships with the larger society (Berry, 1997). In this framework, there was acknowledgement that both a dominant and non-dominant culture existed, based on the relative power of the hostland and homeland cultures but it was still conceptualised by Berry (1997) as unidirectional at an individual level towards the hostland culture. It does not consider the impact of the motherland on the acculturation process.
2.3.1 Marginalisation

The marginalisation strategy was defined as a forced state as opposed to the other three strategies, as it combined forced assimilation and forced exclusion or discrimination (Berry, 1997). This strategy is aligned to the push motives of migration theory described in Section 2.2. Apartheid is a prime example of marginalisation where non-whites were forcefully and sometimes violently excluded from participating in the South African economy which resulted in physical and psychological divisions between racial population groups (Hammett, 2012). Apartheid not only focused on the native South African black population, but also included non-white immigrants such as the Chinese (Yap & Man, 1996).

2.3.2 Segregation and diaspora

As part of Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework, segregation (or separation) was defined as the state where individuals had chosen to hold onto their homeland culture and avoid interaction with other cultures. Within the acculturation framework, this was viewed as a temporary state with the acculturation process ultimately resulting in adaption to the hostland culture. This is the only acknowledgement of an individual’s choice to maintain an
identity with the country of origin. The acculturation therefore assumes that this choice will change to include some components of the hostland culture until final adaption where the hostland culture replaces the homeland culture.

Berry (1997) motivated the need for his conceptual acculturation framework by emphasising the Western-based bias of previous migration and acculturation research that was rooted in findings from North America, Australia and Europe. However, the acculturation process defined by Berry (1997) did not consider the culturally distinct and political experiences of non-Western immigrants, immigrants in non-Western countries or findings from diaspora research that covered immigrant experiences (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). This framework also did not take into account the findings from Penaloza (1994) that the situation and environment were critical to the acculturation process, where individuals who were able to move back to the homeland or live in diaspora environments enabled them to remain in a state of segregation.

Failing to consider diaspora research and the significance of access to diaspora in the environment has resulted in a contradiction with Berry’s (1997) assumptions of a one-way process towards eventual assimilation of the dominant culture. Johnson’s (2012) summary of diaspora studies noted that exposure to other cultures could actually reinforce an individual’s preferred identification with their homeland culture rather than encourage eventual identification to the hostland culture, as Berry (1997) had assumed.

Diaspora studies became distinct from transnational migration theory with the inclusion of the active processes of self-identification of members with their homeland identity and the diaspora community (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Johnson, 2012). Diaspora studies maintain a strong emphasis on the process and not the categorisation of people. Diaspora communities have been defined as immigrant communities that actively maintain connections to their homeland and recognise themselves as a community (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). These communities have displayed a strong ethnic group consciousness with
resistance to adopting the norms and behaviours of the hostland’s culture and are therefore aligned to Berry’s (1997) segregation or separation strategy but contradict the assumption of eventual assimilation (Johnson, 2012).

In fact, Bhatia and Ram (2009) argued that traumatic migration experiences contribute to stronger identification with diaspora communities, pointing to the link between Berry’s (1997) marginalisation strategy and diaspora theory. Initial diaspora research was focused on the victimised and traumatised diaspora communities, but later evolved to the living diaspora of the twenty-first century where individual agency and action within the diaspora became more central to studies (Johnson, 2012). The growing interest and focus in diaspora supports the integration and separation principles of Berry’s (1997) framework. Together with Penaloza’s (1994) findings of the importance of environment, diaspora research provides evidence of the assumption that acculturation eventually leads to assimilation is deeply flawed.

2.3.3 Integration and factors influencing integration

Berry’s (1997) integration strategy refers to the state where individuals have seen value in both maintaining their homeland culture and in engaging with other cultural groups. This is aligned with Mendoza’s (1989) multicultural theory or Penaloza’s (1994) hybrid culture of incorporating both cultures rather than selecting one over the other, with mutual accommodation between the dominant and non-dominant cultures (Berry, 1997). Recent theory views integration beyond merely a combination of hostland and homeland culture but a process of active switching between the two cultural identities depending on the social context (Liu, 2011). This refers to agency of the individual who actively chooses a cultural identity based on the situation or context.

Diaspora research does not view cultural identity as a simple one-way process that reaches a final state, but rather has been focused on “understanding the construction of self and identity in terms of colonial histories and present day
transnational migration” (Bhatia & Ram, 2009, p.142). It views the construction of immigrant identities as complex and dynamic.

### 2.3.4 Assimilation or fully acculturated

Berry’s (1997) assimilation strategy refers to the final state where individuals have not chosen to maintain their original cultural identity but rather to fully adopt the culture of the hostland. Kim and Park (2009) referred to this state as fully acculturated. On this basis, acculturation theory has been criticised by both transnational migration and diaspora research. Acculturation studies have supported their one-way acculturation process with the argument that connections to the homeland culture do not survive beyond the first generation, implying that subsequent generations are fully acculturated to the hostland culture (Johnson, 2012).

Bhatia and Ram (2009) have argued that there is no final, fixed and static state. Instead, the process of acculturation is fluid, dynamic and unstable at times. This was illustrated in their research when fully acculturated Indian immigrants who had considered themselves as white Americans found that they needed to renegotiate their identities based on their own fears and the reactions of others post the 9/11 terrorist attacks (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). This revealed that there exist factors that disrupt the so-called final state of assimilation at an individual level, emphasising the over-simplistic view that assimilation is a final and fixed state.

### 2.3.5 Factors influencing acculturation

Factors influencing integration are referred to as moderating factors in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework, which are divided into individual variables and group or context level variables. Individual level variables are further divided into those influencing acculturation before the process commences, and those influencing acculturation during the process. These have been presented in
Group level variables, shown in the left of Figure 2, include a hostland cultural environment that is open and inclusive towards cultural diversity with relatively low levels of prejudice and where positive mutual attitudes exist among cultural groups (Berry, 1997). Penaloza (1994) and Mendoza (1989) did not assume inclusive environments but indicated rather that the size and strength of the diaspora in the new environment affected the acculturation process, which can be equated to the social support variable under Society of Settlement of the framework in Figure 2.

Mendoza (1989) found that increasing generations also provided evidence of higher assimilation of the mainstream culture, which could be equated to the migration variable in Berry’s (1997) framework under the variables for moderation factors prior to acculturation. Other factors that have been identified as influential in integration are education, interaction with locals, physical traits, language and cultural distance; where the more dissimilar the hostland culture
is from an individual’s homeland, impacts how easily an individual can assimilate (Liu, 2011; Taras et al., 2013).

Berry (1997) and Penaloza (1994) both assumed that some of these variables were only influential before the acculturation process and not during, by explicitly separating them into pre acculturation and during acculturation. Pre-acculturation variables include age, education, language and cultural distance. Penaloza (1994) also included ethnic identity in her consumer acculturation model (p. 36). This reinforces the clear directional nature of the acculturation framework towards the final state of assimilation by discounting the impact of pre-acculturation variables once the process had commenced. This assumed that cultural distance could be overcome and was only significant in the early phases of the acculturation process.

Beyond the flawed assumption that the process is unidirectional, there are several aspects that were not accounted for in the acculturation framework. All layers of an individual’s culture do not progress along the acculturation continuum at the same rate, with the core culture values taking the longest to adapt (Taras et al., 2013).

Life events are only considered in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework at the early phases of the process under Acculturation experience as shown in Figure 2. The impact of life events is therefore not considered at later phases of acculturation towards adaption. This does not accommodate for Bhatia and Ram’s (2009) findings that there exists a continual renegotiation of identity whenever the hostland environment undergoes change or volatility. This therefore discounts the impact of life events when an individual has integrated or become fully acculturated to the hostland environment.
2.4 GLOBALISATION

The process of acculturation is largely influenced by the increase in globalisation, which has dissolved the boundaries between countries with the increased movement of people, information, technology, capital, media and ideas across borders (Banerjee & German, 2011; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Ger, 1999). The definition of globalisation is strikingly similar to the definition of acculturation and has been described as the “process of interaction and integration among the peoples, companies, and governments of different nations” (Chiu et al., 2011, p. 664). For immigrants in a hostland culture, the exposure and social interactions influence the acculturation to the hostland culture. Globalisation has intensified the volume and diversity of these social interactions so that they are not exclusive to only the hostland culture. Immigrants are therefore exposed to global social interactions that influence their acculturation process.

These global flows are diverse, complex and multi-directional with significant sociocultural ramifications (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011; Ger, 1999). Globalisation has transformed the nature, speed and influence of acculturation and there is recognition that globalisation involves two opposing impacts on consumer behaviour and culture: heterogenisation and homogenisation (Chiu et al., 2011; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

2.4.1 Strengthening diaspora - heterogenisation

Heterogenisation or the promotion of the differences within a country is largely due to the increase in movements of people, technology and information across the globe, intensifying the multicultural composition and diversity of nations (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). This differentiating force “strengthens or reactivates national, ethnic, and communal identities and the pattern of interrelationships fuels a hybridization of social life” (Ger, 1999, p.66). Technological advancements of globalisation have assisted immigrants by
Reducing their assimilation stress by enabling them to maintain their sense of identity to their hostland so that they do not feel forced to assimilate (Bacigalupe & Camara, 2012; Banerjee & German, 2011). In this sense, globalisation has diluted the pressure to acculturate to the hostland culture.

Diaspora communities have existed in a geographical sense, but globalisation has reinforced the growth and strength of their imagined existence or shared consciousness through an emergence of formal networks of diaspora in the twenty first century (Johnson, 2012). Globalisation has enabled the development of digital diaspora through advancements in informational and communication technologies and the Internet (Banerjee & German, 2011). At a country level, globalisation has made nations more economically dependent on the international community but it has also enabled the increased influence of diaspora through political and social awareness that allows them to be assertive as global citizens (Jacobsen, 2009). Globalisation has therefore enabled a powerful resurgence of virtual transnational identities with the self-identification of more immigrants as members of diaspora (Jacobsen, 2009).

Globalisation has not only strengthened the number and size of diasporas but has also strengthened cultural, political and economic influence of the individuals over their homeland country, which allows for a “fluidity that permeates the contemporary international community” (Jacobsen, 2009, p.70). The significance of the geo-political influence of modern diasporas is also evident in the individuals’ hostland, with the growing discussions amongst political analysts, academics, and intellectuals. The strengthening of their influence through globalisation has increased the recognition of the role of diaspora in both the revolutionary process of change and future reconstruction of the countries affected by the Arab Spring of 2010 and 2011 (Johnson, 2012). Governments have also recognised the importance of affiliating with these communities. The United States hosted its second annual Global Diaspora Forum in 2012 to strengthen relationships between the diaspora communities and American institutions (Johnson, 2012). These forums are focused on
facilitating and enabling the development of scalable and sustainable solutions (Johnson, 2012).

### 2.4.2 Global consumer culture

The second impact of globalisation is **homogenisation**, referring to the emergence of a **global consumer culture** across country boundaries. This international cultural entity is identified as a group of individuals or segments with common consumer behaviours that are not driven by the individuals’ cultural and social differences. Rather, these individuals view the world as their market place (Caldwell, Blackwell, & Tulloch, 2006; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Globalisation and technology trends have enabled increased transnational mobility across the areas of finance, communication and transportation, which enable the strengthening of this international community (Jacobsen, 2009).

Chiu et al. (2011) have characterised globalisation as new, modern, scientific and results-orientated with a Western view of global cultural values. Audi (2009) is another academic with a Western view of so called universal cross-cultural values, explicitly referring to these universal values as “Western philosophy, English literature, and American initiative” (p. 379). These perspectives emphasise that the academic definitions of global culture remain dominated by Western influence. An alternative view presented by Lawson (2011) proposes a balanced view where commonality is based on fundamental aspects of culture referring to “cosmopolitan pluralism that continues to value difference and particularity while remaining committed to a conception of humanity” (p.27).

Some academics do not support the existence of a homogenous global culture, observing it as an artificial social construct lacking in history. Others have argued that it is heterogeneous and enables migrants to build up political, social and economic capital with their abilities to operate in both their homeland and
hostland environments (Banerjee & German, 2011). Regardless of whether they view the global culture as homogenous or heterogeneous, there is acknowledgement of an emerging global culture.

Homogenisation across countries is considered to be a paradigm shift for the marketing discipline’s segmentation of markets from an approach based on national borders towards strategies that target global commonalities (Carpenter, Moore, Doherty, & Alexander, 2012; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Although the supporting literature advocates for a definition that encompasses more than traditional national borders, global commonalities used by Cleveland and Laroche (2007) as well as Carpenter et al. (2012) remain largely based on American or Western cultural elements. Whereas the cosmopolitan stance refers to studies of travellers and immigrants since the advent of globalisation, describing openness and desire to experience different cultures and the adaptability and flexibility to relocate and adjust to new cultures (Caldwell et al., 2006).

Calcutt et al. (2009) referred to cosmopolitanism as a cognitive orientation of global openness, which includes concepts of universalism and tolerance or willingness to engage with others. Within cross-cultural studies, cosmopolitanism refers to a global culture of openness which is not defined by Western cultural attributes but rather exists as an international cultural entity that is not linked to any specific country (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007).

It was on this basis that Cleveland and Laroche (2007) developed their acculturation to global consumer culture (AGCC) measurement scale. This measured the level of acculturation to this global culture across components like cosmopolitanism, exposure to marketing of multinational corporations, exposure to global media, language, social interactions and self-identification with a global culture. Cosmopolitans have been viewed as intellectuals with both the willingness and ability to engage with different cultures across the globe. However, subsequent research revealed that ordinary individuals could possess
the same outlook (Brett & Moran, 2011).

2.5 COSMOPOLITAN REVIEW OF THEORY

2.5.1 Measurement of global culture

Both cosmopolitanism and reverse acculturation analyse the dynamic nature of the process of acculturation. Under limitations of their research, Cleveland and Laroche (2007) noted the strong Western influence of their AGCC tool which is symptomatic of the legacy of Western based logic. Although Gupta (2012) expanded on this research post the global financial crisis, the subsequent research did not address this identified limitation, as it did not evolve the definition of a global consumer culture to be less Western in description. Reviewing the tool against Taras et al.’s (2013) multi-layered interpretation on culture also emphasises that the AGCC tool only considered the superficial layers of culture and neglected to include values that are at the core of cultural identity. The AGCC tool also fails to consider the role of global politics and economic power, which has been noted by Jacobsen (2009) as inseparable from culture.

Other research has begun to identify the Western bias in globalisation concepts. Chiu et al. (2011) described globalisation using the term modern in addition to other Western descriptions, but also pointed to an example of how the Hong Kong Chinese have differentiated between modernisation and Westernisation. Modernisation was defined as the “acquisition of specific skills and competencies that have fuelled the economic development in the West” whereas Westernisation was defined as the “adoption of the Western social-moral values” (Chiu et al., 2011, p.669). This distinction differentiates Western economic development skills from Western culture, signalling that not all academics define globalisation as Westernisation. However, there is still a lack of recognition of Eastern economic skills and competencies in this perspective.
Recent literature regards this shift away from Western logic as a paradigm shift, by emphasising the significance of a cosmopolitan outlook in many other disciplines where their methodologies and assumptions were based in Western and colonial frameworks or logic (Beck & Sznaider, 2010). Such thinking has extended to geography and urbanisation, where comparative studies on methodologies have highlighted the colonial-inherited framing and assumptions that require a “more global thinking about cities” (Robinson, 2011, p. 127). This stresses the legacy of previous political power structures on academic theory that has not been updated to accommodate structures that are more current. This structure change is expected to extend to culture.

Research that investigated whether culture was an antecedent to cosmopolitanism revealed that in relation to Hofstede’s cultural paradigm, there was insufficient evidence to support this relationship (Cleveland et al., 2011). However, Triandis (1997) who criticised much of the logic applied by Berry (1997) in his acculturation theory has identified that cultural distance and plays a key role in acculturation. This shows that cosmopolitanism may not be dependent on Western values or upbringing, but cultural distance needs to be considered. Beck and Sznaider (2010) also identified the need for a more cosmopolitan outlook, which refers to an outlook that considers non-Western viewpoints. They have identified the need for this more relevant outlook in disciplines including anthropology, ethnology, international relations, international law, political philosophy and social sciences. The dynamics of cosmopolitanism, nationalism and globalisation are complex with differing views across different cultural research fields that disagree on the relevance, relative strength and influence of these forces on individuals (Haller & Roudometof, 2010).

Cleveland and Laroche (2007) referred to this global culture as non-specific to any particular country, which is aligned to the cosmopolitan definitions above when they set out a methodology to measure acculturation to the global consumer culture with their AGCC tool. The difficulty encountered in any large
paradigm shift is apparent, as their own work suffers from the vestiges of the very paradigm they seek to change. Consequently, in contradiction to the global cosmopolitan argument, several dimensions of their AGCC tool measured acculturation to a global culture by equating global mass media and openness dimensions to Western-based descriptions. These descriptions included “I enjoy watching Hollywood films at the theatre”; “I enjoy listening to music that is popular in the United States”, “I like the way that Americans dress” and “I would rather live like people do in the United States” (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007, p.254-255). This highlights the exceedingly skewed view of global culture being equivalent to American culture, not just Western culture. This measurement of acculturation to a global culture does not regard the definition of cosmopolitanism, applying a narrow and even American nationalistic view of globalisation and cosmopolitanism.

Similarly, acculturation research which has expanded on the work propounded by Cleveland and Laroche (2007) suffers from a similar affliction as the second empirical research study in this new paradigm by Gupta (2012) also equated the global culture to associations with Western traditions, American or English products and Western media. It is therefore apparent that a considerably deeper review of globalisation, its influences on acculturation and what a global culture includes is required. Lagerkvist (2009) defended this argument, stating, “one should not perceive cultural globalization as a Western machine steamrolling the features of other cultures” (p.370).

### 2.5.2 Global rebalancing

Globalisation has also contributed to global economic development and has intensified the interdependence amongst nations and cultures (Chiu et al., 2011). Possibly integral to the paradigm shift from a Western to a truly cosmopolitan definition of global culture is the reframing of the macro geopolitical landscape. The strong economic growth of China, India and Brazil has resulted in a growth in their political power with the increased influence of
these economies on international policies regarding global energy, trade and development (Kappel, 2011).

Following the global financial crisis the dominance of emerging economies is expected to extend due to global rebalancing, which is viewed as a tipping point in the history of international relations (Pieterse, 2011). Significant trends of global rebalancing include the opportunity to learn how these societies are transforming and revitalising their modernity, as well as a reconfiguration of world order as these emerging economies play a more powerful role (Pieterse, 2011).

This rebalancing is not only financial and economic but can be regarded as multidimensional; which will impact political, institutional, social and cultural processes (Jacobsen, 2009; Pieterse, 2011). The rising economies have influenced culture as "global values and norms are affected by growing, densely populated, and quickly modernizing developing nations in Asia" (Lagerkvist, 2009, p.368). Western-based definitions of a global culture have underestimated the social significance of the more recent conceptions of modernisation that transformed the Indian and Chinese civilisations. Evidence from Wong (2012) has indicated that culture may lag behind economic influence especially in post-colonial nations such as Singapore, where cultural expressions in theatre have become diverse and global but the industry has sought affirmation of the quality of its productions from the West.

2.6 REVERSE ACCULTURATION

Reverse acculturation was presented as a new phenomenon in acculturation research by Kim and Park (2009), which analysed fully acculturated immigrants who introduce norms and behaviour from their homeland heritage into the American lives. Weddings are cultural rituals that express the cultural identity of individuals and the shift in trends prompted Kim and Park (2009) to investigate
this reverse trend in acculturation. The research described a growing trend amongst fully acculturated American-born Koreans who activated their preferences to have traditional Korean wedding ceremonies (Kim & Park, 2009).

This phenomenon has contradicted the traditional acculturation theory described by Berry (1997) and Mendoza (1989) as it considered the process of acculturation as dynamic and not simply one of increased assimilation over time and generations. It introduced the possibility that once individuals become fully acculturated the acculturation process can reverse.

2.6.1 Globalisation and reverse acculturation

Kim and Park (2009) have speculated that globalisation has facilitated this recent phenomenon of reverse acculturation through increased mobility between hostland and homeland, as well as the access to information via technology and the Internet. This speculation proposes that globalisation has introduced changes to the dynamics of the process of acculturation. Globalisation also reinforces the influence of economic powers. Shifts in economic and political power are also felt through globalisation.

2.6.2 Influences of globalisation and globalised diaspora

The novelty of reverse acculturation in acculturation research may be due to the fact that the traditional acculturation frameworks have not acknowledged the growing assertive influence of diaspora and the influence of globalisation on the acculturation process (Jacobsen, 2009). The traditional acculturation framework has assumed that the process is one-way towards a final state of adapting to the hostland culture (Berry, 1997). However, globalisation is seen to contribute to the increase of diaspora influences and the resurgence of diaspora identities (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Jacobsen, 2009; Johnson, 2012). Globalisation provides immigrants with increased access to their homeland and diaspora, decreasing the assimilation stress of having to adapt to their hostland culture.
Diaspora literature and the influence of globalisation on the one-way process of acculturation have not been applied to acculturation research to investigate whether this has changed the dynamics of the acculturation process and driven the phenomenon of reverse acculturation. In addition, Mendoza’s (1989) concept of the influence of immigrant culture on the hostland is not considered in the framework.

2.6.3 A rebalanced global consumer culture

The links between the increased dominance of emerging economies and reverse acculturation have not been investigated. Jacobsen (2009), Lagerkvist (2009) and Pieterse (2011) provide evidence that Asia’s growing economic influence has influenced global norms and values. This reveals the influence of non-Western economies on global culture with Asia as a current example following the global financial crisis.

Recent research of acculturation to a global consumer culture has ignored the impact of global rebalancing on this global consumer culture. The possibility exists that reverse acculturation is a consequence of acculturation to a global consumer culture that has shifted and become more influenced by Asia.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Reverse acculturation may be a combination of a changing acculturation process and a changing global culture. Similar to the argument that acculturation research should extend its framework to incorporate findings from globalised diaspora studies, Lawson (2011) argued that conceptualising culture requires considerations from both particularist and universalist approaches. This argument described the globalised world as inherently pluralistic or heterogeneous whilst also becoming increasingly cosmopolitan. Lawson (2011)
viewed cosmopolitanism in a globalised world as cosmopolitan pluralism, which identifies shared global norms but continues to value and be sensitive to the cultural differences. Rather than oversimplifying global culture to be based on Western or Eastern norms, this approach acknowledges culture as a highly complex and contingent process that requires sensitivity to the history and the context (Lawson, 2011).

The literature reviewed identified possible determiners of reverse acculturation. This has been summarised in Figure 3, demonstrating the continuum of acculturation towards adaption to a hostland culture as well as acculturation to a global culture. Although there are suggestions based on theoretical arguments that this process should not be unidirectional towards adaption, it is represented as such based on Berry’s (1997) traditional acculturation framework. An arrow, flowing from the stages of marginalisation or separation through to assimilation, represents the assumption that the acculturation process is unidirectional. On the left, the model also highlights the overlap of marginalisation and separation stages of acculturation to diaspora studies that are strengthened through the heterogeneous force of globalisation. The homogenous force of globalisation is shown on the right towards a global culture, which is an extension of acculturation to a hostland culture to a global culture.

The dotted red arrows emphasise reverse acculturation where the literature has not confirmed whether this is due to globalised diaspora or a global consumer culture. The directed circular arrow depicts this global culture, which Jacobsen (2009), Lagerkvist (2009) and Pieterse (2011) believe has evolved.
The research conducted investigated whether reverse acculturation is a phenomenon that has been driven by stronger diaspora identification processes or whether the global consumer culture has evolved following the global rebalancing.
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research brings together cross-cultural research on acculturation and globalised diaspora together with research from global development and change studies. Kim and Park (2009) have recently identified the concept of reverse acculturation as a new phenomenon. However, the causes of this phenomenon have not been analysed. The relationship between the process of identification with diaspora and identification with global consumer culture was analysed in relation to reverse acculturation.

The following open-ended research questions were defined for further exploration:

- **Research question 1:** Is reverse acculturation in minority groups due to their identification as diasporas?

- **Research question 2:** Is reverse acculturation of minority groups due to acculturation to a global consumer culture that has evolved to become less Western?

- **Research question 3:** Is reverse acculturation of minority groups due to both their identification as diasporas and acculturation to a global consumer culture that has evolved to become less Western?
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research conducted was exploratory in nature in order to determine if there was a relationship between the diaspora process, a changing global consumer culture and the phenomenon of reverse acculturation. At the time of conducting the research, only a handful of research studies had been carried out to build upon the work of Kim and Park (2009) on reverse acculturation. Of these research studies, none linked reverse acculturation to a global consumer culture or diaspora studies. McCracken (1988) attests that culture, by its very nature is complex and nuanced, making the reductionist approach of quantitative research inappropriate.

For these reasons a qualitative approach was undertaken to gain new and deep insights that assessed acculturation in an innovative manner since qualitative research is exploratory in nature and aims to “seek new insights, ask new questions and to assess topics in a new light” (Saunders & Lewis; 2012, p. 110; Zikmund, 2003). This was well-suited to explore the new phenomenon of reverse acculturation, especially when empirical methodology to measure global acculturation has not progressed to the paradigm shifts that these same methodologies advocate for but fail to implement, as described in the literature review in Chapter 2.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

In order to understand the experiences, individual semi-structured depth interviews applying McCracken’s (1988) long interview technique were used to collect cross-sectional data. The literature review in Chapter 2 exposed the first step of McCracken’s (1988) four-step inquiry process. This was followed by a cultural review to create awareness of associations, experiences and assumptions by those involved in the research and enable de-familiarisation or
personal distance from the content. The literature review and interview schedule were used as part of the cultural review. Applying this qualitative interview technique enabled the collection of insights from interviewees as well as minimised the dangers of familiarity the interviewer had on the topic (McCracken, 1988).

Individual depth interviews were selected over expert interviews to understand individual experiences and perceptions of the relationships between the identified variables, rather than expert views of how consumers behave (Saunders & Lewis, 2012). This was supported by the literature that referred to diaspora studies as organic and necessarily based on personal experiences (Johnson, 2012).

The research strategy applied was deductive as this research proposal sought to examine the existing theories in acculturation research, global rebalancing and diaspora studies against the phenomenon of reverse acculturation through the qualitative data collected during interviews (Saunders & Lewis, 2012).

4.2 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

4.2.1 Target population criteria

The target population included South-African born descendants of Chinese immigrants or Chinese immigrants that had been fully acculturated to South African culture. The target population also included another ethnic stratum of Anglo-Saxon South Africans to determine if they had been influenced by Chinese culture. The members of the target population needed to have shown a recent interest in Chinese culture and exhibited the characteristics of being cosmopolitan: intellectuals with an outward orientation or openness. Calcutt et al. (2009) as well as Cleveland and Laroche (2007) referred to cosmopolitanism as a cognitive orientation of global openness, noting cosmopolitans as intellectuals who are aware of global events.
The interest in Chinese culture has been purposefully selected as the literature review referred to the rebalancing of global power towards China following the global financial crisis across financial, economic, political, institutional, social and cultural processes (Jacobsen, 2009; Pieterse, 2011). China has also been described as the largest economic power in a bi-polar world (Hammond, 2013). This would confirm whether China’s global economic power had influenced the fully acculturated South African Chinese and/or the Anglo-Saxon Sinophiles. Sampling for the proposed research was made up of two quotas using judgement. Quotas were used to ensure the samples represented specific characteristics of the population (Saunders & Lewis, 2012).

4.2.2 Quota groups

Two quotas were selected to compare the data collected from Chinese South Africans exposed to acculturation forces of a their hostland culture but showing interest in China with Sinophiles of Anglo-Saxon descent. Through this, the similarity between the data from the two quotas on the impacts of globalisation on global consumer culture and the diaspora identification process could be identified in relation to reverse acculturation.

The first quota consisted of South African born descendants of Chinese immigrants or Chinese immigrants who had been fully acculturated to South African culture. These individuals exhibited a recent interest in China, and were therefore considered to experience a degree of reverse acculturation after being fully acculturated to their new hostland country. This allowed the collection of qualitative interview data to reveal whether this was due to homogenous or heterogeneous forces. Their Asian heritage was also in alignment to the Korean population in the research conducted by Kim and Park (2009) who first introduced the concept of reverse acculturation.
The second quota was made up of Sinophiles of Anglo-Saxon descent. This was aligned to the concepts of Beck and Sznaider’s (2010) that were covered in the literature review that referred to the traditional, colonial Western definitions of global culture with the argument that a more contemporary and cosmopolitan definition is required. This also provided the opportunity to determine if the Sinophiles cosmopolitan view was based on a Western view of global culture or whether it had a wider perspective. This second quota would also be able to confirm if their interest in China was based on exposure to Chinese immigrants or a change in global culture.

A total of ten interviews were conducted both the quotas, aligned to McCracken’s (1988) suggestion of a maximum of eight interviews using the long interview technique. The two quota groups were referred to as Group C (where C denoted Chinese) and Group A (where A denoted Anglo-Saxon). Group C formed the first group of five fully acculturated South African born Chinese citizens with recent interest in China. Group A consisted of five Anglo-Saxon South Africans who had recent interest in Chinese culture and had been exposed to China by travelling to the country in the last five years.

4.2.3 Sampling frame and sample technique

A sampling frame for these two target populations was not available. The sampling technique applied for the research was snowball sampling with multiple points of departure. Snowball sampling has been considered an appropriate technique for exploratory research and was applied to enable identification of individuals who exhibited recent interest in understanding a migrant culture. Saunders and Lewis (2012) recommended this non-probability sampling approach when identification of members of the target population is difficult to identify. Following identification, this approach was also ideal to gain access to both groups of samples with the interviewees identifying and assisting with introductions to the next candidate interviewees.
The approach was also ideal as the research had access to fully acculturated South African born Chinese citizens as well as South African Sinophiles. In South Africa, South African born Chinese have been considered as highly acculturated in their adoption of alternate norms and behaviours (Yap & Man, 1996).

4.3 INTERVIEW PROCESS AND SCHEDULE

The interview schedule constructed (and presented in Appendix A: Interview questions) included basic biographical questions followed by a set of introductory open or grand questions and defined sets of prompts (McCracken, 1988). To enable interviewees to feel comfortable expressing their opinions the introductions to the interview, email correspondence and the letter of consent confirmed that their identities would not be disclosed in the research.

The biographical questions were constructed to reconfirm the profile of the interviewees that had been introduced using the snowball sampling method. The level of education was used to qualify interviewees as intellectuals. McCracken (1988) suggested the use of grand open questions that are general and non-directive to allow interviewees to tell their own story with floating prompts or repetition of statements interviewees had made to encourage elaboration. The opening questions prompted interviewees to define what culture meant to them and how they interpreted the world.

Prompts were either planned or floating, with the former used to uncover specific themes and the floating prompts used to encourage further elaboration by the interviewee when references to specific themes were mentioned (McCracken, 1988). Prompts probed how they identified themselves with a culture; the reasons for that identification and what they believed influenced this identification. This was then extended to a more general level to what they viewed influenced any individual’s culture. Prompts to enable elaboration of
these factors included a question about what their view on culture was with increased interactions with different cultures, as well as how any of these factors had changed over time. These were included to obtain an understanding of the impacts of globalisation.

To encourage the interviewees to share their experiences and views of China and global culture, planned prompts were used to open up the discussion to their view of Chinese culture; whether global culture was becoming more homogenous or heterogeneous and whether they thought the process of identification with a new culture could reverse.

Contrast prompts were specifically formulated to encourage discussion about the differences between global culture, homeland culture and hostland culture or for a comparison of their current culture and how it had changed over time. Prompts allowed for categories or themes that were exposed in the literature and cultural review to be discussed during the interview without a structured order. This was appropriate to allow the interviewees to speak freely in their own manner (McCracken, 1988). This also enabled expanding of any discussion points during the interviews as appropriate (Saunders & Lewis, 2012).

Probing by repeating statements that the interviewees had made were used in addition to the prompts detailed in Appendix A: Interview questions, to stimulate elaboration of any statements made by the interviewees as recommended by Zikmund (2003).
4.4 DATA GATHERING PROCESS AND ANALYSIS APPROACH

Interview dialogues in audio format were independently transferred into transcripts before an additional quality assurance review was conducted comparing the notes taken and the audio. This was conducted to confirm the quality of the transcripts and to correct any errors that were revealed. To aid the analysis of the qualitative data, *Atlas.ti*, a computer-aided qualitative data analysis package, was used for analysing the data. The unit of data for the analysis was sentence level of all the transcript data (Saunders & Lewis, 2012).

In order to test the research questions, an initial set of categories was defined to rationalise the codification of the data, as recommended by Saunders and Lewis (2012). This was based on the themes and constructs identified in the literature review in Chapter 2.

The selective coding of the transcripts involved several runs of analysis through the transcript data during ten read-throughs of the data (Mayring, 2004). Initially transcripts were coded based on patterns identified from observations during the first analysis of the transcripts using McCracken's (1988) analysis approach. These codes were then rationalised in subsequent runs of analysis using themes or categories from the interviews conducted. Finally, codes were rationalised against the constructs identified in the literature review.

Once codification was completed, cost lists were constructed based on co-occurring code queries and the relationships between codes. These were then grouped into themes. These queries enabled identification of co-occurring codes or codes that appeared in sentences adjacent to the coded sentences, referred to as neighbouring codes. The grouping of codes into themes presented the relationship between codes and allowed for higher-level queries to be run based on themes or groups of codes. This was conducted to determine the frequency of specific themes or constructs mentioned in the data.
In order to confirm accuracy of including each sentence in the theme analysis, each sentence was reviewed before it was counted.

Frequency of codes and word count queries were also analysed to determine the importance of these constructs to the interviewees. The data was analysed by observing the relationships between constructs of code themes and co-occurrence queries.

4.5 DATA VERIFICATION

The collection, analysis and interpretation of qualitative data are subject to personal bias of the individuals conducting the research. McCracken’s (1988) long interview technique accommodates for this by including a cultural review by the researchers to create awareness of their own perspectives and introduce distance between the researcher and the qualitative data.

In order to triangulate the qualitative data obtained from the ten interviewees, a book written by a South African Chinese journalist, Ufrieda Ho, was used as a secondary data source. Ho’s (2011) memoir of growing up as Chinese in South Africa and being the daughter of a Chinese immigrant ensured her profile fitted the target population of this research. The use of this secondary data fulfilled two of the four essential aspects of triangulation described by Jonsen and Jehn (2009) as using alternative data sources and methods for obtaining the data. The third aspect is covered by the type of literature sources used in the literature review of Chapter 2 which included research sourced from the fields of acculturation, migration, sociology, psychology, international relations, marketing, China studies and business management. The final aspect of data triangulation was not possible, as it required the use of additional investigators to make up the research team.
4.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The research was conducted to understand the drivers of reverse acculturation. It involved the collection and analysis of qualitative data from depth interviews with individuals that had been exposed to the trends of globalisation. One of the limitations identified referred to the identification of the interviewees using the snowball technique. The snowball technique lends itself to the tendency of individuals to identify and suggest others who are similar to themselves, resulting in a homogenous sample that introduces bias into the research (Saunders & Lewis, 2012).

Trends of globalisation have included the increased openness for transnational migrations or movement of people from one country to another (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Johnson, 2012). Reasons for migration movements vary, but can be based in adverse political, social or economic factors such as those referred to in the reverse acculturation research of Kim and Park (2009). One of the quotas involved fully acculturated South African Chinese individuals who are descendants of immigrants. Referring to Table 10 found in Appendix B: Interviewee summary, most of their forefathers fled China during the World Wars (Yap & Man, 1996). These immigrants not only moved to South Africa due to negative migration reasons but were also subject to Apartheid (Yap & Man, 1996). Although this does not necessarily bias them from having either diaspora or cosmopolitan views, it may have resulted in a homogenous sample that introduced bias into the research.

The timing of this research relative to China’s recent emergence as a global power is also acknowledged as a limitation. Although Jacobsen (2009) noted the intertwined nature of the economic, political and cultural elements, it cannot be assumed that the change is simultaneous or immediate. Penaloza (1994) referred to the access to family and homeland as an influencer of the acculturation process. A possible limitation is the influence of where the interviewee’s family is located. Family located globally could influence the
identification with the homeland as a way of maintaining a sense of family cohesion.
CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

The interviews provided diverse views from the two sets of interviewees with regard to their views of globalisation, Chinese culture and identification with Chinese culture.

The research questions are provided below for ease of reference:

- **Research question 1**: Is reverse acculturation in minority groups due to their identification as diasporas?

- **Research question 2**: Is reverse acculturation of minority groups due to a changing global consumer culture?

- **Research question 3**: Is reverse acculturation of minority groups due to both their identification as diasporas and a changing global consumer culture?

The chapter is structured based on the three research questions above. A summary of the interviews is also provided, followed by the interpretations of the interviewees’ defined cultures. The structures of findings have been summarised diagrammatically in each section, based on the grouping of the codes.

5.1 SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS AND INTERVIEWEES

Ten interviews were conducted with individuals to understand their views of culture, reverse acculturation, globalisation and China. Nine of these interviews took place at the interviewees’ offices and one interview was held at a location at a university.
The two samples were diverse in age, gender and occupation based on their biographical profiles as summarised in Table 15 in Appendix B: Interviewee summary. All the interviewees were educated and revealed openness to other cultures, opinions or people during their interviews.

A summary of the interviews conducted and their duration is detailed below in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of interviews and duration in minutes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of interviews</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total duration of interviews</td>
<td>527 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average duration</td>
<td>52 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortest interview</td>
<td>32 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longest interview</td>
<td>95 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time the research was conducted, Group A constituted five Anglo-Saxons, who had all travelled to China and worked or lived there within the past five years. All exposure of these members indicated long and protracted engagements with China. A brief summary of their profiles is provided in Table 2 below.
Table 2: Summary of Anglo-Saxon interviewees (Group A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee identifier</th>
<th>Exposure to China</th>
<th>Reason for initial interest</th>
<th>Current involvement with China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Lived there as a young child and for 6 months while completing her PhD. Visited China and Hong Kong several other times</td>
<td>Travel driven by personal interest in China</td>
<td>Social interest and network of friends in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Lived and worked in China for two and a half years after completing her undergraduate degree</td>
<td>Travel driven by personal interest in China</td>
<td>Current job role focuses on business in China. Frequently travels for business. Maintains social network of friends in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Lived and worked in China for almost 3 years</td>
<td>Business – his company required his expertise in China as part of his job role</td>
<td>Social interest and network of friends in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Lived, studied and worked in China for ten years</td>
<td>Travel driven by personal interest – not specific to China</td>
<td>Current job role focuses on business in China. Frequently travels for business. Maintains social network of friends in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Lived and studied in Taiwan and other parts of Asia. Travels frequently to China</td>
<td>Study of history and travel driven by personal interest</td>
<td>Current job role focuses on business in China. Frequently travels for business. Maintains social network of friends in China</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group C, consisted of five South African Chinese citizens who had indicated an interest in China and most had maintained this interest. Interviewees included first, second and third generations of Chinese immigrants in South Africa. A brief summary of their profiles is provided in Table 3 below.
### Table 3: Summary of Chinese South African interviewees (Group C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee identifier</th>
<th>Chinese background</th>
<th>Reason for recent interest</th>
<th>Current involvement with China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Grandparents moved from China to South Africa</td>
<td>Business and personal</td>
<td>Current job role focuses on business in China. Chairman of a Chinese diaspora association. Frequently travels for business and social reasons with family and friends in China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Parents moved from China to South Africa</td>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Current job role focuses on business in China. Frequently travels to China for business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>Born and went to school in Taiwan. Moved to South Africa after University.</td>
<td>Spiritual</td>
<td>Deeply involved in Buddhist community in South Africa. Child is currently working in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>Parents moved from China to South Africa</td>
<td>Son is working in China</td>
<td>Child is currently working in China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>Grandparents moved from China to South Africa</td>
<td>Selected China as MBA global elective destination</td>
<td>Limited to interest in Asian martial arts and has selected to visit China as part of upcoming global elective for her MBA.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.2 DEFINITIONS OF CULTURE

In order to comprehensively explore the research, the interviews commenced with interviewees defining culture in their own words. The responses are presented as a structure of findings in Figure 4, summarised after analysing the codes associated with the definition of culture. These codes were grouped based on whether they defined what was incorporated into culture, the nature of culture and what influenced culture. The structure of findings demonstrates the relationship between certain codes, with the full list of the codes provided in Table 4 below. This table displays the codes linked to qualitative data from Group A and Group C in alphabetical order.
Table 4: Codes linked to definition of culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes linked to Group A’s definition of culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Background or history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Culture influenced by environment (incl. company, city, region)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Culture is dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ethnic background or country of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Expectations of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Grew up with it or how you were brought up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• How you seek interaction with others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influence of older generation and family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influenced by globalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influenced by the government and institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perspective of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Way people behave, react to situations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Codes linked to Group C’s definition of culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Arts, food, music, rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Background or history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Culture influenced by environment (incl. company, city, region)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Culture is dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Events of the past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Grew up with it or how you were brought up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influenced by context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Influenced by shock events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Perspective of the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Way people behave, react to situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Your nationality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four of the Group C interviewees explicitly included the integration of their South African and Chinese heritage in their definition of their culture. There was no expression of negative sentiment towards their identification with South African or Chinese cultures.

“If people ask me about my culture it’s definitely a Chinese-South African culture intertwined intermixed together” [C1]

All of Group A’s interviewees revealed a cosmopolitan outlook during their interviews linked to an openness and interest in other cultures and worldviews. Openness to other views, people and cultures was also expressed by Group C. There was also support of a dynamic view of culture as described in the quotes below.
"I don't think culture is a static thing. It moves, it changes" [A1]

"Culture is never static, cultures tends to shift albeit it slowly, culture is a set of sort of communal societal national norms that come about over an extended period of time" [A5]

"cultures will change over time. Nothing is static." [C2]

5.3 REVERSE ACCULTURATION AND GLOBALISED DIASPORA

The qualitative data linked to the first research question was analysed by evaluating the codes linked to globalised diaspora and stages or variables of the acculturation process. The full list of these codes is shown in Table 16 in Appendix C: Supporting qualitative data. These codes were grouped into six main themes as shown in Table 5, before they were summarised as a structure of findings in Figure 5.
Table 5: Grouping codes into themes linked to globalised diaspora

- **Size and support of diaspora**
  - Diaspora
  - New Chinese immigrants

- **Influence of family or homeland**
  - Expectations of homeland
  - Influence of parents or older generations

- **New culture not compatible**
  - After spending time realise it’s not compatible
  - Different language
  - Different values, norms, philosophies
  - Difficulties integrating

- **Negative attitude of hostland**
  - Anti-Chinese sentiment
  - Apartheid
  - Embarrassed on homeland culture
  - Hostland conservative
  - Negative attitude of hostland
  - Seen as an “other” (highlighted by physical appearance)
  - Xenophobia

- **Integration between homeland and hostland cultures**
  - Choosing what you take from other cultures
  - Integration
  - Link to your heritage
  - Maintain Chinese traditions/exposure
  - Maintain connections to your homeland
  - Understand your heritage

- **Life stage or life events**
  - Death
  - Dramatic event
  - Getting married
  - Getting older - go back to your roots
  - Having children
  - Life stage – youth want to integrate, as you get older you go back
The frequencies of the codes were counted against the relevant theme. These are provided in rank order in Table 6. A total of 101 mentions of the codes linked to globalised diaspora and the variables of the acculturation process were mentioned. The first column of this table specifies the rank, with a rank of one for the theme with the highest total mentions. The total number of mentions for the codes linked to each theme is split into Group A and Group C, before the total number of mentions is provided in the last column.
Table 6: Reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Mentions by Group A</th>
<th>Mentions by Group C</th>
<th>Total Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Integration of homeland and hostland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negative attitude of hostland</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>New culture not compatible</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Life stage or life event</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Influence of family or homeland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Recent growth in diaspora for immigrants</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>101</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data from Group C referred to their experiences growing up as immigrants or descendants of Chinese immigrants within South Africa. Data from Group A included their experiences of attempting to integrate in China while living there. All of Group A expressed a willingness and desire to integrate into the Chinese culture in China.

A quote that emphasised the influence of globalisation and identification with diaspora is repeated below.

“what I find so interesting is that as you get, sort of, the (sic) globalisation you get this countervailing force, almost like there is a fierce desire of a lot of people to hang onto culture as they see it and to kind of regionalise in a sense and there is (sic) a lot of people almost in a defensive way have become more wedded to what they perceive their culture to be” [A1]
5.3.1 Integration between homeland and hostland culture

The highest-ranking theme is integration between the homeland and hostland culture with a total of 30 mentions out of the 101 mentions for the six themes identified. The codes are detailed in Table 5 and referred to a willingness to maintain traditions, links and connections to the homeland culture. Choice was also included in this theme; highlighting individual agency in integration. A significant portion (87 per cent) of the mentions for this theme was from the Group C interviewees, the descendants of Chinese immigrants or first generation immigrants who have been living in South Africa.

This theme is characterised by the statement below by interviewee C3 who considers herself both Chinese and South African. The quote suggests that she does not see being Chinese and South African as mutually exclusive, but values the simultaneous combination of the two cultures.

“Both everything, I am very South African now but I am still very Chinese and I think it’s a very good combination” [C3]

Interviewee C1 considered his culture to be an integrated one as a Chinese South African. He stated that the challenges of integration experienced by immigrants in a hostland environment are shared with other Chinese diaspora members in other countries. He also stressed the importance of the diaspora communities. It has been included under the theme of integration as he expressed value in integration between his Chinese culture and his South African culture as noted in Section 5.2. This quote also highlights the community of diaspora around the world, where identification with Chinese diaspora is a unifying force.
“From all over the world, Chinese and you know (sic) we talk and we sit down and discuss ideas and issues and problems and the same things that that they experience whether it’s in San Francisco, in Italy, Portugal, Mauritius, doesn’t matter where, they are experienced by the same by the Chinese wherever they are, common of feeling “Wow, I don't really fit in here 100 per cent”” [C1]

“With globalisation I think the importance of associations, of cultural associations, is so much more important because with all this mixing and matching and now (sic) cultures in the future may become intertwined and indistinguishable.” [C1]

The secondary data source supported the experiences of Group C, as highlighted in the quote below.

“The Chinese have adapted and changed, too, here in this golden mountain. No culture stands still and survives. We keep what is useful, we discard the rest.” (Ho, 2011, p. 227)

5.3.2 Attitude of hostland

The next theme refers to the hostilities experienced by individuals in the hostland environment. This is the second highest-ranked theme with codes linked to this theme totalling 25 mentions. 17 of the 25 mentions are dominated by experiences shared by Group A interviewees of their time living in China.

Codes linked to this theme refer to xenophobia, Apartheid, being treated as an “other” or the negative manner in which foreigners were treated in the hostland. The fact that the physical appearance of interviewees clearly identified themselves as foreigners or “others” was included in this theme.
The quotes below focus on similar experiences of not being accepted in the hostland culture but with different contexts. For Group A this was based on their recent experiences with China. For Group C this was related to their experiences with Apartheid and acceptance in the South Africa when it was announced that South African Chinese are recognised under the Black Economic Empowerment legislation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“You will never be accepted as a Westerner, no matter how much you speak or how hard you try, or how much duck lung or duck tongue you eat, you will never, ever be accepted” [A3]</td>
<td>“that’s why a lot of the youngsters all left the country when they didn’t enjoy this discrimination” [C4]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee A3 expressed his frustration and experience of the unwillingness of the Chinese to accept foreigners.</td>
<td>Interviewee C4 describes the negative treatment and impact of apartheid on South African Chinese citizens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“they will see you as Chinese, they don’t see a South African, that’s wrong. I see a South African entirely, you just happen to, your grandparents, or your great-grandparents were from China, big deal. They are not going to look at me and say ‘hey that’s a British guy’, they are going to say ‘hey, there’s a South African guy. I look South African, that’s the difference” [A5]</td>
<td>“The Chinese still felt too black for some, too white for others and economically, socially and politically they were still pushed up against the margins.” (Ho, 2011, p. 215)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee A5 highlights the role of cultural distance and physical difference in identifying and recognising people as South African.</td>
<td>The secondary data is quoted from a description of the time when it was announced that South African Chinese were acknowledged under the Black Economic Empowerment legislation. It is aligned to the experiences of Group C interviewees and feeling marginalised.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.3 Hostland culture incompatible

The third highest-ranked theme, based on 23 total mentions of codes, related to the incompatibility of the hostland. It was dominated by 15 mentions from Group A. This theme included codes linked to the differences between values, philosophies and norms, which could not be overcome. Included in this is the reference to time, where the realisation of incompatibility is reached after considerable time has been spent attempting to assimilate. This is emphasised in the two experiences quoted by interviewee A2 below.

“person might try and reverse themselves if they discovered that there was an aspect of the new culture that they found distasteful or that they didn’t want to be part of. I think it’s very easy when you spend two years somewhere, you get a very shallow understanding of something and you think that’s great, I want to be like that. And then you actually realise that it’s not what you thought it was” [A2]

“There was one guy who left and he wrote an article, he had lived in Beijing for about ten, fifteen years and he wrote an article saying he is leaving China because he has realised that no matter how much he tries, he will never be fully accepted and so he is going home, he is tired of trying now [emphasis added]” [A2]

5.3.4 Life stage or life event

The fourth ranked theme with a total number of 11 related codes mentioned referred to life stage or life events. It included dramatic events, life stages or events such as having children, marriage or a death in the family. These triggered the need for the individual to understand their heritage. The South African Chinese interviewees linked this with a Chinese cultural trait of going back to one’s roots, as evidenced in the quote below.
“Many Chinese believe that it’s like the tree, we describe the leaves always falling back to its roots, so Chinese always very emphasise on roots (sic). So leaves always fall back to its roots, so Chinese especially, it’s a race very compassionate about their roots (sic)” [C3]

5.3.5 Influence of family or homeland

The fifth ranked theme, with a total number of nine mentions, referred to the influence of family or the hostland. Group A respondents referred to observations and books to explain the role of family and why Chinese individuals would reverse the acculturation process. They did not share their own experiences of reverse acculturation and the influence of their family. Both Group A and Group C interviewees made references to Chinese literature or Chinese values that highlighted the influence of family or hostland to promote understanding and valuing one’s roots.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group A</th>
<th>Group C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Asian parents in America and now the kids are more American than Asian, and so they try and pull them back into the fold” [A2]</td>
<td>“What influences it is the accumulation of trial and error of the past and their teachings of their fathers and their great grandfathers” [C2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Anglo-Saxon interviewee noted a trend she observed in Asian parents and in books that focus on Asian mothers who bring their children back to their traditions.</td>
<td>Whist a Chinese South African referred to the learning and teachings of his ancestors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The influence of parents is more frankly expressed in the quote from the secondary date below. It refers to the pressure from parents for children to maintain the homeland traditions by dissuading them from dating non-Chinese
individuals.

“My dad said that white men were not a good choice for Chinese girls. He said they did not understand or have respect for the traditions and customs.” (Ho, 2011, p. 123)

5.3.6 Recent growth in diaspora for immigrants

The lowest ranked theme with only three mentions is related to the recent influx of immigrant Chinese that counterbalances the decreasing numbers of South African Chinese. Interviewee C1, a third generation South African Chinese who chairs a Chinese diaspora association, noted the influx of Chinese immigrants. He noted that the immigrant Chinese population currently outnumber the “local Chinese” population and two of the code mentions linked to this theme of growing diaspora in South Africa were obtained from his interview transcript. A clear distinction is made between the new immigrants and the “local Chinese” diaspora, as can be seen in the first and third quotes.

“Currently I think there is (sic) maybe only about 3000 in the whole of South Africa left of us local Chinese whereas there is 300 000 new Chinese” [C1]

However, even with the perception that the “local Chinese” community is small relative to the immigrant Chinese population, there is still the recognition of a close-knit “local Chinese” diaspora, as apparent in the following quote.

“the Chinese South African community is very small, they are quite conservative, they all know each other, and I just never hung out with them” [C5]

This distinction between the local Chinese diaspora and the new wave of immigrants from China was also raised in the secondary data.
“People in the community repeatedly complain to me: ‘Please Ufreida, you have to write in your articles that we are not like the daai lok jays.’ [emphasis added] It is a loaded term for the newcomers from the mainland, meant to imply someone who is uncouth and uncultured” (Ho, 2011, p. 218)

5.4 REVERSE ACCULTURATION AND GLOBAL CULTURE

The qualitative data linked to the second research question was analysed by evaluating the codes linked to global culture. In addition to these codes, an emerging theme was identified that was linked to China’s relationship to this global culture and has been included in Section 5.4.5. The full list of the codes linked to global culture is shown in Table 17 in Appendix C: Supporting qualitative data. These codes were grouped into four main themes as shown in Table 7 before they were summarised as a structure of findings in Figure 6 below.
Table 7: Grouping codes into themes linked to global culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Homogenous global culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Becoming more similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Fundamentally we are the same</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Global culture is mixed and interconnected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Access to cultures (media and technology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Choice in defining your own culture (not only about where you are born)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Cosmopolitan outlook / openness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Exposure to cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Global culture not Eastern or Western</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Interconnectedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Mixing of many cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o No single global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Social networks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>West influences global culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o China influenced by the West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o China see globalisation as “Westernisation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o China’s foreigner worship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Global culture influenced by the West</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>China influences global culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o China an economic or global power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o China’s power in the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Global culture influenced by the East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Interest in China (growing interest)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The frequencies of the codes were counted against the relevant theme and are provided in rank order in Table 8 below. The first column of this table specifies the rank, with a rank of one for the theme with the highest total mentions. The total number of mentions for the codes linked to the themes is split into Group A and Group C, before the total number of mentions is provided in the last column.

When asked the question “Why would the process of identification with a new culture reverse?” none of the interviewees referred directly to a changing global culture. However, their discussions of global culture and the impact of globalisation revealed four themes regarding a description of what global culture is and are ranked based on total mentions in Table 8 below.
Figure 6: Descriptions of global culture

Table 8: Descriptions of global culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Mentions by Group A</th>
<th>Mentions by Group C</th>
<th>Total Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Global culture is mixed and interconnected</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>China influences global culture</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>West influences global culture</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Homogenous global culture</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td><strong>96</strong></td>
<td><strong>217</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of Group A’s interviewees actively expressed a cosmopolitan outlook with an openness and interest to understand other cultures. Three of the five Group A interviewees described their interest in Chinese culture as novel or exclusive at the time of visiting and living in China, but noted a current growing interest in China from the rest of the world.

“You can see something and get inspirations from actions or accents from all sorts of different places in the world so the sense of you belonging to a specific place might be weakened” [C1]

“I don’t think I was ever very locally-minded, and in that sense I would say the experience of being in China has augmented an existing general, global outlook” [C2]

“I’m perhaps a lot more embracing when it came (sic) to cultures” [A3]

5.4.1 Global culture is mixed and interconnected

The highest-ranked theme with codes that had a total of 128 mentions was in support of a mixed, heterogeneous and interconnected global culture. The interconnectedness was linked to codes relating to access via media, technology and social networks.

The qualitative data revealed that both Group A and Group C interviewees viewed themselves as part of a global village that was mixed and interconnected. A cosmopolitan outlook and openness to other cultures evidenced the willingness and ability to choose elements of other cultures to incorporate into one’s own identity that were seen as constructive or beneficial. These elements of choice and interconnectedness are shown in the structure of findings of Figure 6 and emphasised in the quote below.
“Because you interact with each other and you analyse the value systems of others and if it has merit, you will change, if you believe, ja (sic) that you will benefit from it, you will change” [C2]

Personal choice and individual agency were highlighted in the codes linked to individuals choosing how to define their own culture and having a cosmopolitan outlook. This is reiterated in the quotes below on individuals choosing what they are exposed to and what they include in their culture.

To investigate this concept of choice and the importance of choice in the context of culture and reverse acculturation, a word count was done on choice and variations of this word as shown in Table 9 below. Variations of the word “choice” were mentioned 42 times across all the interviews. 37 of these 42 mentions came from Group A.

Table 9: Word count for “choice” and variations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Word count for Group A</th>
<th>Word count for Group C</th>
<th>Total word count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choices</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choose</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choosing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chose</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>42</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The code for cosmopolitan outlook was linked to the qualitative data for each of the Group A interviewees. Referring to Table 8, sixty per cent of the 128 mentions were by Group A interviewees, with the following two quotes mentioning this freedom of choice.

“because the world is so globalised you have a lot more freedom in a way to define your culture” [A1]
“I think it’s a matter of what you choose to be in the world and who you choose to be with and who (sic) choose to listen to and once again, how you react to certain things so I think I have a certain culture which is probably different from most other peoples culture, but I think culture is often confused with an ethnic identity” [A4]

5.4.2 China influences global culture

The second highest-ranked theme was China’s influence on global culture with a total of 41 mentions and ranked higher than the West’s influence on global culture. There was a more balanced contribution between codes from Group A and Group C’s statements. The theme included the growing influence of China due to its economic or global power and the presence of Chinese cultural elements in global culture. There was also the identification of a long-held influence of China on Asian culture.

The quote below from interviewee C1 referred to the value South African and American business leaders have placed in exposing their children to Chinese culture.

“So for example Michael Jordaan, FNB’s CEO, he sent his two daughters to learn Chinese. In America, global CEOs would make sure that their toddlers would go to a Chinese crèche where they would only speak Chinese because they wanted them to get exposure to Chinese culture, speaking, language, things like that.” [C1]
A Group A interviewee noted the power of China in the East and Asian culture.

“I see Chinese as the Latin of Asia in many ways. Korean script before they changed their written script. Japanese script comes from Chinese script and then they have the traditional characters that they still use. Their script flows from Chinese Script and then the Korean script comes from Japanese script and then they sort of rejected it about a hundred fifty years ago. But in a sense all cultural frames of references will flow from the Chinese language as it had in Europe from Latin and Roman culture, which I find really interesting.” [A1]

The interest in China from Group A was also driven by an interest to be immersed in an environment that was very different to their own, as is evident in the description below.

“because it is a completely different way of thinking to the way that you are taught as Westerner” [A1]

5.4.3 The West influences global culture

The view that the global culture is still heavily influenced by Western culture was the third highest-ranking theme with 26 total mentions of its codes. These codes included how China and global culture remain influenced by the West, the foreigner worship experienced by Anglo-Saxon foreigners in China and how China see globalisation as “Westernisation”. The quotes below exhibit how descriptions referred to globalisation as Americanisation or Westernisation.

“I think there is an overwhelming skew to America and I think it is probably because America it (sic) is an instance of globalisation in one country” [A1]

C5 mentioned the West has previously being the most influential and powerful, which has resulted in cultures moving towards Western ways but acknowledged
that this is now changing.

“I think generally still the move is still more towards Western culture, they were the most influential, most powerful, even though that’s changing now. But in terms of business or anything else, the other cultures moves (sic) towards Western things and think (sic) English is still very much the language.” [C5]

5.4.4 Homogenous global culture

The lowest-ranked of the themes linked to global culture was for a homogenous culture, with a total of 22 mentions. Fifteen of these 22 mentions were from Group C. Five of the ten interviewees (two from Group A, three from Group C) advocated for a global culture that was becoming more homogenous with individuals around the world becoming more similar based on their similar needs. However, interviewees who supported a homogenous global culture did not state that this homogenous global culture would replace their homeland culture.

C3 spoke of finding a sense of belonging as an immigrant because she did not find many differences between herself and other diverse ethnicities in South Africa. She is the only immigrant and first generation Chinese South African of Group C, who immigrated in her twenties to South Africa.
“At the beginning, Chinese immigrants like us always feel like that (sic) we are floating leaves on the river, no roots. And to Chinese the roots are very important, Chinese care about roots. But as I grow older and then (sic) I am very used to South African environment and the friends, society, culture, everything. And I realise this is a global village.”…

“Because the world becomes smaller and smaller and I don't find it much difference (sic) and then I don't feel like I am floating anymore” [C3]

One of the codes linked to homogenous global culture was **fundamentally the same**, with this commonality aptly described in the quote below when A3 described how the world is becoming more similar.

“Hope, desire, needs, belief in equality” [A3]

In contrast to the support for a homogenous global culture, interviewee A1 provided a perspective of why there would not be a single global culture. Her opinion was that individuals seek to identify with an in-group that is not completely inclusive.

“I think fundamentally most human beings have a need to belong and you can’t belong to something if it is completely inclusive to the point that everyone can be part of it. You want to define yourself as someone special, and you want your tribe and if everybody is your tribe, it gets harder to define what your tribe is. So I think in some way you will always, you know humans will always try and define themselves in terms of who and where they belong” [A1]

The view expressed by A1 above was supported by interviewee A5, who supported the existence of globalised communities but viewed the existence of these groups as rare.
“to think that we are all one big happy globalised family is very naïve, but there is (sic) pockets of it” [A5]

5.4.5 Isolation of China and Chinese culture

A strong theme mentioned in the description of Chinese culture and global culture was China’s isolation from the rest of the world. The frequency of this group of statements is summarised in Table 10. This theme included the codes for statements referring to Chinese culture being dismissive of Western ways, not open to global culture as well as its physical and political isolation from the rest of the world.

In total there were 36 mentions of codes related to this theme. These were dominated by mentions from Group A interviewees who contributed to 31 of the 36 mentions.

Table 10: Frequency of mentioning China’s isolation from global culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mentions by Group A</th>
<th>Mentions by Group C</th>
<th>Total Mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China is isolated from global culture</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three quotes by interviewee A4 that formed part of this theme of isolation are noted below. The first quote describes the impact of the historical isolation of China, which did not experience colonialism. The last two quotes discuss the shift in China’s youth to a more Sino-centric attitude following the growth in China’s global power, post the global financial crisis.
“If Alexander the Great didn’t turn around in India, if he had actually gone on to China as he planned originally, who knows what China would have been today. If that happened two and a half thousand years ago, it would be very interesting so Chinese culture is simply very different from the rest of the world because they managed to develop a culture in such a secluded environment” [A4]

“Chinese young people seem to be very much more Sino-centric today than they were back then, they are much more dismissive of Western ways and culture and the people than they were back then. I think the country is much more inward looking than it was ten years ago certainly” [A4]

“soon after it was the financial crisis and then suddenly China generally thought ‘but hey, we have got a better model, we actually got this right, we are the ones that are going to rule the world’ and the attitude changed very soon after that, it became much more self-assured. When the stimulus came in 2009 the whole place was awash with money, people became very brash and just from what I heard from other people after I left, that became less pleasant to be there, the romanticism of ten years prior was gone” [A4]

5.5 COMBINATION OF GLOBALISED DIASPORA AND GLOBAL CONSUMER CULTURE

In reviewing the qualitative analysis for globalised diaspora in Section 5.3 and global consumer culture in Section 5.4, a common theme of integration or interconnectedness was identified. Integration was the top-ranked theme for reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora in Section 5.3, as the theme integration of homeland and hostland. However, the significant contribution of these mentions came from Group C. For Section 5.4 that analysed reverse acculturation and global culture, interconnectedness was the top-ranked theme
as *global culture is mixed and interconnected*. This theme had a more even contribution to its total number of mentions with 77 from Group A and 51 from Group C, as per Table 8 in Section 5.4.

### 5.5.1 Codes and themes linked to integration

A list of all codes linked to the *integration of homeland and hostland* and *global culture is mixed and interconnected* themes of globalised diaspora and global consumer respectively, are provided in Table 18 of Appendix C: Supporting qualitative data. These were grouped into six themes as shown in Table 11. This grouping is summarised below in Figure 7, with the themes shaded in blue linked to the integration theme for reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora, whilst the codes shaded green are linked to the theme of a global culture that is mixed and interconnected.

**Table 11: Grouping codes linked to integration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Access to and mixing of different cultures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Access to cultures (media and technology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Social networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Exposure to cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Interconnectedness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Mixing of many cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o No single global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Global culture not Eastern or Western</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Choosing culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Choosing what you take from other cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Choice in defining your own culture (not only about where you are born)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Cosmopolitan outlook or openness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Cosmopolitan outlook / openness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Multiple influences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Understand heritage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>• Maintain links to homeland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o Link to your heritage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Maintain Chinese traditions/exposure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Maintain connections to your homeland</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.5.2 Code frequency analysis

In order to compare the qualitative data linked to either globalised diaspora or global culture, a code frequency table was processed. A summary of this is shown in Table 12 below, providing the top ten codes mentioned across all the interviews with subtotals of the frequencies per group.
Codes that support the common theme of integration or interconnectedness from this list include: cosmopolitan outlook, globalisation, openness, integration and choosing culture. Global culture could also be included since half of the interviewees viewed this global culture as heterogeneous as discussed in Section 5.4.4.

The highest mentioned code was cosmopolitan outlook with a total of 62 mentions, with 58 of these linked to the Group A interviews. Closely linked to this is the fifth highest mentioned code of openness with 40 mentions and 29 of these were also from Group A interviewees.

Global culture was the second highest mentioned code, with 47 mentions in total. It is important to note that these mentions did not necessarily relate to support of a single homogenous global culture but included diverse descriptions by the interviewees as detailed in Section 5.4.1. Globalisation was the third highest mentioned code with 45 mentions and 33 of these from Group A.

Codes linked exclusively to the acculturation process in this top ten list include difficulties integrating and diaspora. The codes of global culture and
interest in China are linked exclusively to the research question that looked at
global culture.

These ten codes were then run using a co-occurrence query with the reverse acculturation code to deliver the results presented in Table 13 below. Only four of the codes from the top ten list in Table 12 provided co-occurrence results.

Table 13: Rank table of co-occurrence with reverse acculturation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>TOTAL across all interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Difficulties integrating</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Diaspora</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Global culture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 CONCLUSION

The significant data findings for each of the research questions are summarised in Table 14 below.

Table 14: Key findings per research question

| Research question 1: Reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora | Six themes were identified through the qualitative analysis of related codes: integration of homeland and hostland, negative attitude of hostland, new culture not compatible, life stage or life event, influence of family or homeland and recent growth in diaspora for immigrants | Highest ranked theme was for an Integration of homeland and hostland with individual choice being included as an important component. | Life events, life stages, family and the influences from the homeland encouraged individuals to connect back to their homeland culture | Some individuals were not able to assimilate to the hostland culture despite a willingness to, either because they realised the culture was too different or because of the negative attitude of the hostland |
The qualitative data was validated through findings in the secondary data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research question 2: Reverse acculturation and a changing global culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Four themes identified through qualitative analysis of the related codes: <strong>global culture is mixed and interconnected</strong>, <strong>China influences global culture</strong>, <strong>West influences global culture</strong> and <strong>homogenous global culture</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Highest ranked theme was for <strong>Global culture that is mixed and interconnected</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The theme of <strong>China influences global culture</strong> was ranked higher than the theme of the <strong>West influences global culture</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Lowest ranked theme was for a homogenous global culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- A theme emerged from the qualitative data with China’s isolation from the world due to its history as well a purposeful current isolation from the rest of the world following its growth in economic power</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research question 3: Reverse acculturation, globalised diaspora and a changing global culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- A common theme of integration or interconnectedness was identified from the two research questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- This included: <strong>mixing of different cultures</strong>, <strong>choosing culture</strong>, <strong>cosmopolitan outlook or openness</strong>, <strong>multiple influences</strong>, <strong>understand heritage</strong> and <strong>maintain links to homeland</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- This was supported by six of the top ten codes based on mention in the data supporting this theme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Chapter 5 presented the results of the research process that involved ten qualitative in-depth interviews, which were conducted to explore the drivers of reverse acculturation. The analysis of the qualitative data identified several themes linked to reverse acculturation, globalised diaspora and a changing global culture. This chapter discusses the qualitative data in relation to the academic theory on acculturation, diaspora, globalisation, global culture and global rebalancing that was examined in the literature review in Chapter 2.

This discussion is structured according to the three research questions, in alignment to the structure of Chapter 5. These research questions were based on the dual globalisation forces of heterogenisation and homogenisation, with a focus on strengthening globalised diaspora and a changing global culture.

6.1 CULTURE

The structured findings in Figure 4 of Section 5.2 provided a structural summary of the codes linked to the interviewees’ definition of culture. The data showed culture was described as dynamic with influence from an individual’s background, upbringing, hostland environment and context. The qualitative data supports the definition of culture of Lawson (2011), Johnson (2012), Cleveland and Laroche (2007) that define culture as dynamic and influenced by context and environment. Referring to Table 4, it indicates that both Group A and Group C identified culture as dynamic.

The qualitative data also highlighted globalisation as influential on culture, which is supported by Liu’s (2011) argument that culture is highly dependent on social interactions. Globalisation impacts these social interactions by increasing their volume and variety (Banerjee & German, 2011; Cleveland & Laroche, 2007;
Ger, 1999). There was no qualitative data to suggest that any interviewees believed culture is static or fixed or based on the hostland environment, as Berry’s (1997) final state of adaption suggests.

In addition some individual factors were included. These included how you seek interactions with others and perspective of the world. The first refers to individual agency which is not driven by the homeland or hostland culture. This was only mentioned by Group A interviewees. The second refers to perspectives of the world, largely shaped by cultural identification but which considers an element of individual control in what this perspective is. In terms of acculturation research, individual agency is not raised in Berry’s (1997) framework but it is identified as a core construct in diaspora research, where identification with diaspora involves individual agency (Johnson, 2012).

6.2 REVERSE ACCULTURATION AND GLOBALISED DIASPORA

The analysis of the qualitative data related to the first research question of whether reverse acculturation in minority groups is due to their identification as diasporas, revealed six themes. These were grouped in Table 5, summarised in Figure 5 and ranked according to mention by theme in Table 6. These findings are analysed against the acculturation theory of Section 2.3, specifically focusing on the factors influencing acculturation from Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework that were comprehensively discussed in Section 2.3.5 along with diaspora theory from Section 2.4.1.

The highest ranked theme of integration of homeland and hostland supports the multicultural acculturation concept of Mendoza (1989), which viewed acculturation as the incorporation of norms and behaviours from both the homeland and hostland. This is also aligned to Berry’s (1997) acculturation strategy of integration, which described the act of maintaining a connection to
the non-dominant or homeland culture. The qualitative data challenges the greater acculturation framework and its assumptions.

6.2.1 Dynamic nature of acculturation and diaspora research

Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework proposed that the process of acculturation was unidirectional in nature with the final end state being that of adaption or full acculturation. As part of this theory, it assumed that connections to the homeland culture would not survive beyond the first generation.

Table 3 displays that four of the five Group C interviewees were second or third generation South African Chinese citizens. All the Group C interviewees have maintained or renewed an interest in China. Interviewee C1, a third generation South African Chinese, maintains strong links to his homeland culture as exhibited by his role as the chairman of a Chinese diaspora association. This contradicts the literature of Berry (1997) and Mendoza (1989), which assumed connections to the homeland would not extend beyond one generation.

Table 6 indicates the highest-ranked theme as integration between the homeland and hostland with the majority of mentions from Group C. In Section 5.2, four of the five Group C interviewees explicitly defined their culture as a combination of South African and Chinese. The data also indicates that up to three generations post the initial immigration into the hostland there is strong evidence of remaining in a state of integration. This is significant as Berry’s (1997) literature assumed the Group C immigrants would be fully acculturated to the South African culture.

There were no mentions that related to experiencing any external pressure to assimilate. This contradicts the assumption that the final stage of acculturation is adaption through the shedding of the homeland culture as has been assumed by Berry (1997) in his acculturation literature. This supports the literature by Bacigalupe and Camara (2012), Banerjee and German (2010) and Ger (1999)
that globalisation reduces the assimilation stress as diaspora and the homeland are more accessible.

A significant finding in the qualitative data from Section 5.3.3 describes the realisation, after a considerable amount of time that the incompatibility between the homeland and hostland culture is too large to overcome. After much effort and a protracted period of exposure, individuals have given up attempting to assimilate or to be accepted. Time is therefore an important factor of the acculturation process but does not guarantee adaption. This contradicts the theory that assimilation is the final state of the acculturation framework.

6.2.2 Factors influencing acculturation

Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework, reproduced in Figure 2, detailed the group and individual variables that influence acculturation. The qualitative data from the research conducted supports the inclusion of most of these variables but contradicts the assumption that these variables are static. The data also contradicts the categorisation of some of these variables. The variables in the acculturation framework have been categorised as significant either prior to the acculturation process or as a step in the process.

6.2.2.1 Hostland environment

The assumption that acculturation requires an inclusive hostland environment, that is tolerant and open to diversity, was not supported by the qualitative data. Table 6 shows that the South African Chinese interviewees contributed to the significant majority of the mentions for the integration theme. This was the highest-ranking theme, where some interviewees even defined themselves as Western with an absence of negative sentiment linked to their descriptions of themselves. Yap and Man (1996) covered the experiences of Chinese South Africans during Apartheid where they were considered non-Whites within an environment intolerant to cultural diversity. This contradicts
Berry’s (1997) assumption that acculturation requires a hostland environment (or society of settlement) that is inclusive with low levels of prejudice and positive mutual attitudes among cultural groups.

The influx of the new immigrant Chinese population that is discussed in Section 5.3.6 by interviewee C1 together with the distinction made between this diaspora and the “local Chinese” diaspora also refers to the changing attitude of the hostland culture. This hostland culture is therefore also not static and should be seen as influential throughout the acculturation process and not as significant only at the start of the acculturation process.

Table 6 showed that the second highest-ranking theme was negative attitudes of the hostland. This data supports Berry’s (1997) acculturation theory that a hostile environment that was not receptive to multicultural or ethnic diversity prevented integration and full acculturation from progressing. This theme was dominated by mentions of the experiences of Group A interviewees living in China, where interviewees referred to the lack of acceptance that prevented them from becoming integrated into the hostland culture. Table 6 also shows that Group C only contributed to 30 per cent of the mentions for the theme negative attitude of hostland. There are conflicting experiences of the hostland between Group A and Group C.

The time in the hostland does not justify the different integration experiences of Group A and Group C. Interviewee C3 is the only first generation South African Chinese interviewee. She described her culture in her quote in Section 5.2 as a simultaneous combination of both South African and Chinese. In contrast, the quote from interviewee A2 in Section 5.3.3 refers to someone who spent ten to fifteen years in China but was still not able to integrate. There is no further evidence to indicate if the different experiences are due to the reasons for migration, the culture or environment of the homeland, the culture or environment of the hostland, the size of the diaspora in the hostland or any other factors. South Africa has a far more diverse population to China but there
is no ability to determine whether this is related to the negative attitude of the hostland.

This theme reinforces the role of the hostland attitude to immigrants in general and immigrants that can be differentiated from the hostland culture by either class, physical appearance or any another variable of cultural distance. As noted in Table 5, the negative attitude of the hostland included the code for “other” which was highlighted in both Group A and Group C individuals by their physical appearance in the hostland. Interviewee A5 gives a clear example of this in the quote in Section 5.3.2 where being Chinese is a physical marker that prevents South Africans from considering Chinese South Africans as South African. This may be aligned to cultural distance in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework, but this is seen as influencing acculturation only prior to acculturation. It does not take into account that the hostland may still perceive someone as an “other” even after an individual has become fully acculturated.

This indicates that there is more complexity regarding the society of settlement variable than simply the attitude of the hostland and its tolerance for diversity. Berry’s (1997) framework does not explain the relative importance of variables or the interdependence of these variables. This highlights that reverse acculturation can be based on either the incompatibility of the hostland or rejection from the hostland. The data referring to an individual who abandoned his efforts after ten to fifteen years also shows that the number of years within a hostland environment is not an effective predictor of acculturation.

6.2.2.2 Life stage and life event

Section 5.3.4 details the theme of life stages or life events such as marriage, death, having children, ageing or a dramatic event that triggers renewed interest and identification with one’s homeland culture. These events or life stages have generated a need to assert the homeland cultural identity. Berry’s (1997)
acculturation framework does not consider these variables as individual level variables. In the model shown in Figure 2, these variables can only be mapped to an early phase referred to as life events in the acculturation process, highlighting the assumption in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework that they are not significant at any other time.

The acculturation framework does not take into account the influence of these events during the acculturation process. The existence of these factors raised through the qualitative data emphasises the non-static nature of the state of being fully acculturated, referred to by Berry (1997) as the ‘final stage’ of adaption. The surfacing of this theme supports the diaspora literature of Bhatia and Ram (2009), where events can trigger a renegotiation of individuals’ identities, reinforcing the fluid and dynamic nature of cultural identification and acculturation.

6.2.2.3 Family and homeland

Family or the expectations of the homeland culture are not explicitly included in the acculturation framework but have surfaced as a theme in the qualitative data. The Chinese cultural trait of valuing one’s roots is also not accommodated for in the acculturation framework. This is explicitly mentioned in several quotes in Section 5.3 and may have bearing on the influence of family, a life stage and/or the individual’s values. These factors were identified in both the interview transcripts and the secondary data source.

This theme for the influence of family or homeland achieved 9 mentions, evenly spread between the two groups of interviewees as per Section 5.3.5. The social support variable in the acculturation framework, shown as a group level variable in Figure 2, may be a reference to family. However, the literature does not explicitly refer to how either the homeland culture or family influences the acculturation process or whether they encourage family members to identify with their homeland culture.
Interestingly, none of the interviewees from Group A referred to an influence from their family or homeland to return to their homeland culture. The contributions towards this theme referred to their views of why Chinese immigrants or immigrant descendants would reverse back to their Chinese culture. They did not elude to a desire or explanation for the possibility of an Anglo-Saxon wanting to identify with their motherland.

6.2.2.4 Diaspora communities

The recent *growth in diaspora for immigrants* diaspora theme is supported by the acculturation framework and literature as part of the ethnic society under social support in the group variable defined as society of settlement. Although identified as a sixth theme it is noted in Section 5.3.6 that only three mentions for this theme were observed.

Although there is strong evidence of the relevance of diaspora research, there is not much evidence for the strong identification with Group C and the South African Chinese diaspora communities. In the qualitative data there was a distinction made between the “local Chinese” diaspora and the new immigrants, as mentioned in the quotes in Section 5.3.6. The “local Chinese” diaspora generally migrated to South Africa to escape the war in China and then had to contend with Apartheid (Yap & Man, 1996). Whereas, the new immigrants have been able to migrate for pull reasons post the advent of globalisation and China’s rise as an economic power. This indicates that there may be an identification that is based on similar conditions of influencing variables of acculturation.

6.2.3 Globalised diaspora drives reverse acculturation

The qualitative data supports the criticism of acculturation theory voiced by Johnson (2012) as well as Bhatia and Ram (2009), which refer to diaspora
research as evidence that immigration and acculturation does not equate to eventual adaption. From the data, there is evidence that acculturation to the hostland culture exists simultaneously with identification with one’s homeland, even in the long term. This contradicts the assumption that the acculturation process is a one-way process towards adaption, with integration as only a temporary stage until an individual becomes fully acculturation (Berry, 1997). This supports the diaspora research of Bacigalupe and Camara (2012) and Banerjee and German (2011) that globalisation has reduced the pressure to assimilate to the hostland culture.

The attitude of the hostland is more complex than it is presented in the acculturation framework. The distinct experiences of Group A and Group C highlight the need to understand this complexity in more detail. The data also indicated that this hostland environment changes over time, which may influence the acculturation process and introduce additional event or time bound identification characteristics to diaspora.

Certain events or factors encourage the connection to the homeland culture including life stage, life events, family or the homeland culture. This indicates that culture is not fixed or static when one reaches the adaption stage, but is responsive to these factors at any point in time. Acculturation cannot be viewed as a directed process that reaches final state, but is more aligned to Johnson’s (2012) definition of a “perpetual process of refreshing, renewing, and reforming itself” (p.48).

The role of the diaspora communities was not supported in the qualitative data but life stage, life events, family or the homeland culture are recognised as part of the diaspora research, This highlights that although the diaspora communities themselves were not significant in driving reverse acculturation, the data supported the findings from globalised diaspora research that the assimilation stress is reduced through globalisation.
The simultaneous identification of developing a sense of belonging to the hostland environment and identification with one’s heritage is poignantly summarised by the following quotes by interviewee C3, who discussed the initial experience of immigrants as feeling as though they lacked roots but who later found a sense of belonging in a global village.

“Many Chinese believe that it’s like the tree, we describe the leaves always falling back to its roots, so Chinese always very emphasise on roots (sic). So leaves always fall back to its roots [emphasis added] so Chinese especially, it’s a race very compassionate about their roots (sic)” [C3]

“At the beginning, Chinese immigrants like us always feel like that we are floating leaves on the river, no roots and to Chinese the roots are very important. Chinese care about roots [emphasis added]. But as I grow older, and then I am (sic) very used to South African environment and the friends, society, culture, everything. And I realize this is a global village” [C3]
6.3 REVERSE ACCULTURATION AND GLOBAL CULTURE

The second research question explored whether reverse acculturation of minority groups is due to a changing global consumer culture. The analysis of the qualitative data revealed four themes as summarised in Figure 6 with Table 5 providing a ranking of these themes based on how many of the related codes were mentioned. These findings are analysed against the literature for acculturation to a global consumer culture reviewed in Sections 2.4.2 and 2.5.1 as well as the literature reviewed on global rebalancing in Section 2.5.2.

As highlighted in Section 5.4, none of the interviewees referred directly to a changing global culture when asked the question of what drives reverse acculturation. Analysis of the transcript data that describes global culture was used to understand whether this culture is homogenous and has shifted with global rebalancing.

Reviewing the qualitative data against the literature of global consumer culture led to the argument for a more cosmopolitan definition of this culture. This reveals contradicting evidence to a homogenous global culture and strong support for the argument of more relevant and cosmopolitan definition of this culture.

6.3.1 Limited support for a homogenous global culture

As detailed in Section 5.4.4, half of the interviewees (split between Group A and Group C) believed that globally we are becoming similar. These descriptions did not suggest that this equated to the existence of a single global culture but rather referred to having similar fundamental needs as highlighted in the quote by interviewee A3 in Section 5.4.4. The qualitative data also did not indicate that this growing similarity replaced the homeland or hostland cultures. The data supports the argument by Lawson (2011) who argued for the existence of both
a particularist and universalist view of global culture, which he referred to as cosmopolitan pluralism that values the inherent differences as well as acknowledges a universal or shared global humanness.

The qualitative data did not validate the view that there exists a homogenous global culture as proposed by Caldwell et al. (2006), Carpenter et al. (2012) and Cleveland and Laroche (2007). Carpenter et al. (2012) and Cleveland and Laroche (2007) referred to the growing commonalities in the superficial layers of culture in this international market, with these commonalities driving a paradigm shift for the field of marketing. This superficial layer included norms, behaviours and clothing as described in Taras et al.’s (2013) definition of culture as a multi-layered construct. Rather, the data validated a commonality at the core layer of the multi-layered culture construct, relating to values and fundamental needs. As globalisation has increased the diversity of countries, this cosmopolitan outlook refers rather to the greater tolerance for diversity.

6.3.2 Global culture that is mixed and interconnected

As per Table 8 in Section 5.4, the highest-ranked theme related to global culture was *global culture as mixed and interconnected*. As shown in Table 8, this accounted for a total of 128 mentions based on related codes, relative to the total of 217 mentions of codes linked to these themes for global culture. This equates to 60 per cent of mentions across all codes linked to the themes for global culture, emphasising the significant support for a heterogeneous global culture. This supports Banerjee and German (2011) which advocated a heterogeneous global culture where migrants developed a mixed culture, which enabled them to operate in both their homeland and hostland environments.

Two components of this theme for *global culture as mixed and interconnected* are the codes for a cosmopolitan outlook and the individual’s choices in defining their own culture. These codes grouped into themes are detailed in Table 7. The qualitative data therefore supports the inclusion of a
cosmopolitan outlook as part of measuring acculturation to a global consumer culture, as used by Cleveland and Laroche’s (2007) AGCC tool. The definition of cosmopolitanism by Calcutt et al. (2009) described it as a cognitive orientation of global openness that includes the concept of universalism. This aligns with Lawson’s (2011) definition of cosmopolitan pluralism that was linked to the statements made by the interviewees that the world is becoming increasingly similar because of an identified commonality of being fundamentally the same.

The qualitative data included the code for an individuals’ choice in defining their own culture, referring to the individual agency of selecting what to include in one’s own culture. The word count for choice and variations of choice (choices, choose, choosing and chose) show a total of 42 mentions, with 37 of these mentions from Group A. As emphasised by the quote made by interviewee A1 in Section 5.4.4, globalisation has enabled more freedom and exposure to other cultures to enable individuals to define their own culture. This shows that this data is more aligned to perspectives from Group A’s cosmopolitan Sinophiles. This supports the theory for globalisation enabling a heterogeneous global culture, as identified by (Ger, 1999) who referred to it as strengthening interrelationships and fuelling a “hybridization of social life” (p. 66).

6.3.3 Supporting a less-Western view of global culture

Table 8 shows that both China influences global culture and the West influences global culture were themes that emerged in describing global culture. The influence of China, both culturally and economically, is recognised by both Group A and Group C interviewees through discussions that included China’s growing economic power, the growing interest in China and the view of China’s influence in the East. Interviewee A1 from Group A described China as the “Latin of Asia”[A1] and interviewee C1 referenced how business leaders are ensuring their children are exposed to Chinese culture and language. This draws a direct link between growing economic power and social norms,
supporting Lagerkvist (2009) and Pieterse’s (2011) argument that economic power and culture are intertwined. The economic power of China has spilled over into the social choices of business leaders as an acknowledgement of global rebalancing.

Evidence of Western influence on global culture was also acknowledged in the interviews, describing the West as previously the “most influential, most powerful” [C5]. This is recognition of the legacy of the West but also acknowledgement that this is changing. Even though there was evidence that globalisation is still considered Americanisation or Westernisation, as mentioned in the quotes in Section 5.4.3, the frequency for codes linked to China influences global culture outranked the frequency for codes linked to the West influences global culture. The influence of China gathered 41 mentions in total when compared to the influence of the West, which gathered a mere 26 mentions. Analysing the groups separately, both Groups A and C mentioned the influence of China on global culture more often than the influence of the West. This indicates a shift towards China and an acknowledgement of its strong influence on global culture across both groups.

The qualitative data therefore does not support the literature that defines global culture in terms of Western philosophy, behaviours and norms. Western components were used to measure acculturation to global consumer culture in Cleveland and Laroche’s (2007) AGCC measurement scale. This tool and approach was further upheld in consequent research by Gupta (2012), which reapplied the tool for a study based in India. Audi (2009) also supported a Western perspective of global culture, and alleged the culture has “Western philosophy, English literature, and American initiative” (p. 379). Chiu et al. (2011) also have a Western based view on modernisation as the application of Western economic skills. This has equated economic success to the application of Western economic skills and competencies.
The data instead supports the arguments of Beck and Sznaider (2010), Robinson (2011) and Lagerkvist (2009) presented in Section 2.5.1, supporting changes in academic theory to shift towards a cosmopolitan logic and away from colonial, traditional and Western definition and logic. Jacobsen (2009) and Pieterse (2011) advocated the view that China’s rising economic power would have a multidimensional impact on political, institutional, social and cultural processes, which Lagerkvist (2009) supported by stating that global values and norms are being influenced by the global rebalancing towards Asia. The qualitative data endorses these arguments with the influence of China emerging as a more frequently mentioned theme in relation to a description of global culture.

There was also evidence from the responses of Group A that their interest in China was driven by their cosmopolitan mind-set and their openness to immerse themselves in other cultures that were very different to their own, as China was seen as “a completely different way of thinking to the way that you are taught as a Westerner” [A1]. This further builds on the case for a more evolved definition of global culture that considers both the growing influence of China and the need to focus on the cosmopolitan mind-set that globalisation has enabled. This refers to a willingness to be exposed to different approaches and cultures.

6.3.4 Isolation of China and Chinese culture

The qualitative data for the theme of China is isolated from global culture was raised predominately by Group A, as detailed in Table 10 of Section 5.4.5. The quotes included in Section 5.4.5 focus on the view that China’s historical isolation may have influenced how isolated it was from global culture. The interviewees discussed the noticeable change in China before and after the global financial crisis, with China becoming more Sino-centric as it rose as a global economic power. This supports Kappel (2011) and Pieterse’s (2011) view of how China’s strong economic growth has resulted in increased political
power and influence in the international community. Together with the qualitative data noted in Section 5.4.2, this supports Jacobsen (2009) and Pieterse’s (2011) argument that financial and economic rebalancing had impacts on cultural processes. Not only did this provide evidence of China’s influence on global culture but the active dismissal of Western culture in China.

The last quote provided in Section 5.4.5 emphasises how Westerners assumed the globalisation of China was equated to Westernisation of its culture. This insight supports the argument by Beck and Sznaider (2010), Robinson (2011) and Lagerkvist (2009) that a more relevant definition of global culture is required that strives for less Western associations.

6.4 REVERSE ACCULTURATION - DIASPORA AND GLOBAL CONSUMER CULTURE

6.4.1 Common theme of integration

The results of the qualitative data analysis (shown in Section 5.5 and summarised in Figure 7) highlighted a common theme of integration or interconnectedness for reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora as well as for reverse acculturation and global culture. The data shows the theme of integration and interconnectedness as the top ranked theme as detailed in Table 6 of Section 5.3 and Table 8 of Section 5.4. Integration was largely supported by the Group C interviewees, with four of these interviewees using integration to define their culture as discussed in Section 5.2. A global culture that is mixed and interconnected was supported by both groups, with Group A’s openness to this global culture evidenced through their cosmopolitan outlook.

The data provides substantial evidence that reverse acculturation cannot be isolated to either the impacts of globalised diaspora or a changing global culture. Rather it supports both arguments as presented in Section 6.2.3 and Section 6.3.2.
Figure 7 of Section 5.5.1 shows the grouping of codes linked to the themes of *integration of homeland and hostland* and *global culture is mixed and interconnected*. It shows the codes for multiple influences, links to the homeland culture and a mixing of cultures that refer to the global context individuals find themselves in. This supports the argument shared by Bacigalupe and Camara (2012), Banerjee and German (2011), Ger (1999) and Johnson (2012) that globalisation has impacted the acculturation process by decreasing the force of assimilation through globalised diaspora. All nations now operate within highly diverse environments which impact the variety of social interactions that they are exposed to. Globalisation also increases the volume of these interactions which are not confined to physical engagements but include virtual ones as well.

Globalisation allows individuals to remain in a state of integration as defined in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework where they can identify with aspects of both their homeland and hostland. The qualitative data also supports Ger’s (1999) view of a hybrid, heterogeneous global culture. Globalisation has provided individuals with access to other cultures outside of their hostland. This exposes them to cultures beyond their hostland, enabling them to also integrate with a heterogeneous global culture.

Beyond highlighting how individuals are able to live within a more diverse context, the qualitative data also highlighted the components of a cosmopolitan outlook and individual agency in selecting how individuals define their culture. Both components appeared in Figure 7 of Section 5.5.1 and Table 12 of the top ten codes mentioned during the interviews, with *cosmopolitan outlook* as the highest ranked code; *choosing culture* was ranked sixth. *Openness* is closely linked to a cosmopolitan outlook and was ranked fifth. All mentions of these codes were dominated by the Group A interviewees, who all expressed a cosmopolitan outlook as discussed in Section 5.2. In fact, choice was present in the theme of integration as well as part of its own theme when used to describe
global culture, as evidenced in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

6.4.2 Supporting both homeland and global culture

Table 13 showed the results of a co-occurrence query of the code for reverse acculturation and the top ten codes mentioned during the interviews, shown in Table 12 of Section 5.5. The results emphasised that codes co-occurring to reverse acculturation were linked to both the globalised diaspora and global culture. The codes difficulties integrating, diaspora and integration are linked to themes for reverse acculturation and globalised diaspora as detailed in Table 5. The codes for integration and global culture are linked to the reverse acculturation and global consumer culture as detailed in Table 7. The qualitative data therefore supports the argument for a heterogeneous global culture where cosmopolitan outlook and individual agency allows citizens to be open to engage and adapt to other cultures where they see value in doing so. It also enables them with the opportunity to maintain and strengthen the link to their homeland through globalised diaspora.

This factor of individual agency is strongly supported in the literature of diaspora theory where identification with diaspora communities is seen as an act of personal choice (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Johnson, 2012). Caldwell et al. (2006) refer to this individual agency in there reference to an openness and willingness to experience, adapt and adjust to new cultures. Individual agency is therefore part of identification with diaspora as well as acculturation to a global culture, where individuals choose how they define their own culture in a globalised world.
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This chapter revisits the research objectives against the main findings presented in the previous chapter. It provides a reviewed assessment of acculturation within a globalised world, which provides a proposed framework that updates the acculturation framework with the findings of Chapter 5. Recommendations to managers, marketers, psychologists and academics are provided based on these findings with consideration of the identified limitations. Recommendations for future research are also provided to enhance the findings.

7.1 RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Culture is inseparable from identity and is developed through the process of acculturation to cultures. This acculturation occurs through an ongoing complex and dynamic process of exposure and interactions to cultural norms and behaviours (Lawson, 2011). In a globalised world, there is an accelerated increase in the volume and variety of these interactions, both physically and virtually. This has influenced the traditional acculturation process through the forces of heterogenisation and homogenisation.

This research sought to investigate the drivers of the concept of reverse acculturation, which was introduced by Kim and Park (2009) as a new phenomenon that contradicted traditional acculturation research. The research was conducted to determine whether the heterogenisation force of globalisation and increased power of globalised diaspora had altered the acculturation process, enabling individuals to revert back through the unidirectional continuum. The research also sought to look at the homogenisation force of globalisation together with the influence of global rebalancing on global culture, to determine if reverse acculturation was rather due to the acculturation to a
global culture, which had evolved to be less-Western in nature.

7.2 **MAIN FINDINGS**

The research conducted an exploratory qualitative study involving ten in-depth interviews with descendants of Chinese South African immigrants and Anglo-Saxon Sinophiles. Deep insights from the two groups of interviewees were obtained, which could be directly linked to the three research questions presented in Chapter 3. The research findings emphasised the need for a more evolved acculturation framework given the impacts of globalisation. It also focussed on the opportunity for the disparate fields of acculturation, diaspora and global studies to collaborate.

7.2.1 **Dynamic acculturation process**

A main finding that contradicted Berry’s (1997) traditional acculturation literature but supported diaspora studies was the dynamic nature of acculturation. Traditional theory has viewed this process of acculturation as unidirectional towards an eventual state of adaption to a hostland culture. The qualitative data however, showed that individuals are able to remain in a state of integration where they combine aspects of both their homeland and hostland culture simultaneously (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). This process and the variables influencing acculturation are dynamic, influencing the process of acculturation on an ongoing basis.

The traditional categorisations of various factors that were assumed to only influence the acculturation process at a specific stage are no longer relevant. The findings demonstrated that the traditional framework dismissed the significance of the influence of these factors throughout the acculturation process. The process is dynamic and the factors of life stage, life events and family have a strong influence throughout the process.
The influence of a hostile hostland environment is more complex than it has been portrayed in Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework. Conflicting outcomes were experienced in relation to a hostile hostland environment with some being able to adapt and others giving abandoning their protracted attempt to integrate when they realised that despite their lengthy efforts they were still not accepted by the hostland.

### 7.2.2 Integration and individual agency

Powerful globalised diaspora and access to the homeland through technology has diluted the assimilation stress of immigrants. Diaspora and technology have enabled immigrants to live in a state of integration where they comfortably combine aspects of their hostland and homeland culture.

There was support for the concept of individual agency where individuals are able to the components from the hostland culture and simultaneously identify with diaspora. This was also dynamic and triggered by factors such as family, life events and life stages. This explained the concept of reverse acculturation with fully acculturated individuals who were not only influenced by these variables to return to their homeland culture, but that this reversal involved individual agency.

A key finding was that this extended to acculturation to global consumer culture. Not only were individuals able to choose to reverse to their homeland culture but they were also exposed and able to choose to integrate elements from other cultures where they perceived benefit or value.
7.2.3 Heterogeneous and dynamic global culture

The findings supported a heterogeneous global culture with universal commonality at a fundamental level. This global culture is not homogenous but mixed, interconnected and influenced by various factors. This was aligned to Lawson’s (2011) description of cosmopolitan pluralism. There was evidence of the influence of global economic power on global culture and a shift towards a greater influence from China. This indicated that this global culture itself is dynamic and sensitive to changes in political and economic power.

The current academic definitions of global culture are still Western-based arising from the legacy of traditional and colonial logic. Following the recommendations by Beck and Sznaider (2010) a cosmopolitan definition of global culture is required that focuses on the universal, fundamental commonalities while simultaneously acknowledges the heterogeneous nature based on inherent cultural differences.

7.3 PROPOSED GLOBALISED ACCULTURATION FRAMEWORK

The main findings have been applied to the traditional acculturation framework to develop the proposed globalised acculturation framework presented in Figure 8. The framework depicts the dynamic nature of the acculturation process with the red arrow on the left. It is a bi-directional arrow driven by time and individual agency. This reflects the choice of individuals to select elements across all the layers as well as the dynamic nature of this state, which is not fixed or final.

The variables have been divided across five layers, commencing with individual factors at the core and global culture as the most external layer. The variables of each layer are detailed to the right, including the group and individual variables of Berry’s (1997) traditional framework. The variables have not been divided as relevant only prior or during the acculturation process, aligned to the
findings from the research that their relevance cannot be discounted after the acculturation process has begun.

The variables noted in red have been added from the findings of this research. At an individual level it includes a cosmopolitan outlook, life stage and life events. A new layer for family, friends and community have been included to acknowledge the findings that this is a variable that plays a significant role in acculturation. At the homeland level it includes homeland culture to acknowledge the inherent differences of homeland culture (such as the Chinese cultural trait of valuing one’s roots) that influence acculturation. The hostland level includes the diversity of the hostland as well as the size of the diaspora. This has evolved Berry’s (1997) acculturation framework with the findings in the literature that are aligned to Penaloza’s (1994) findings.

Global culture has been explicitly included, based on the findings of the research. It is the outermost layer and is also dynamic, sensitive to the balance of global economic power and significant global events.

Figure 8: Proposed globalised acculturation framework
7.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the main findings from the research conducted, the following recommendations have been provided per stakeholder group.

7.4.1 Recommendations for managers

Globalisation will continue to increase the diversity of the workplace and place great importance on the field of international studies. The ability to understand cultural identification and influencers of the acculturation process will empower managers and team members to develop their cultural capital. Leveraging this cultural capital through diversified teams will enable teams to unlock competitive advantages as they use the diverse logics, opinions and ideas in a productive manner.

The ability to understand the acculturation process in a global context also provides insights into human resources, international business relations and customer strategies, which consider cultural capital in their strategies. As globalisation creates a more interconnected world, this will translate into more business partnerships across national borders. Cultural capital is not only relevant in managing a diverse team but also in managing international business relationships.

7.4.2 Recommendations for marketers

The lack of a relevant and agreed upon definition of global culture offers the opportunity for leading marketers. Market leaders who are able to determine what commonalities exist in a heterogeneous global culture and capitalise on their findings ahead of the market will be able to secure market-share and competitive advantage. Culture is a strategic driver of consumers’ attitudes,
behaviours and lifestyles, which is increasingly heterogeneous in a globalised world. Globalisation also increases the accessibility of the target market, provided it can be defined. Therefore, the ability to understand the dynamic nature of heterogeneous global markets will be crucial to develop sustainable and differentiated global brands.

7.4.3 Recommendations for psychologists

Psychologists are dealing with increased cases of transracial and international adoptees that experience difficulties in defining their identities as they mature into adulthood (Baden et al., 2012). Understanding the dynamic nature of acculturation within a global context will provide psychologists with an appreciation of the power of both diaspora and a heterogeneous global culture which are more accessible and influential due to globalisation. This will provide insights in the non-static process of acculturation that is a core component of identity.

7.4.4 Recommendations for future research

There has been limited research in the field of acculturation that combines the findings of diaspora research and global rebalancing. This research has identified clear linkages between these fields that can contribute to understanding individual culture and global culture. The first recommendation would be the appreciation and incorporation of these fields into acculturation research to ensure its relevance in a globalised context.

The findings also emphasise the outdated approach to measuring global culture against a homogenous and narrow view that is highly skewed to American culture. Cosmopolitan pluralism provides a good starting point for the Cleveland and Laroche’s (2007) AGCC tool to be reconstructed to measure acculturation to a truly cosmopolitan global culture. The frame for what constitutes global culture needs to be widened by drawing from different disciplines and
acknowledging the diversity of global culture.

The proposed globalised acculturation framework presented in Figure 8 can be refined through studies that look at whether there is evidence of reverse acculturation in non-Asian immigrants or which delve into the relationship between variables to determine if there exists any interdependence between any variable. The family, friends and community variable could be expanded to determine the aspects of this layer that influence acculturation. This could include the influence of social networks and social media or other ways that connect global diaspora.

Diasporas have been defined based on country of origin. Future research could consider if the concept of diaspora will now evolve in a globalised world to be based on events or other commonalities.

7.5 LIMITATIONS

Limitations based on the research methodology are detailed further in Section 4.6 and refer to the usage of the snowball sampling technique and choice of target population that may introduce a homogenous sample. As there has been limited research conducted on the concept of reverse acculturation, it has been based on the comparison of Asian immigrants. These findings may be interdependent with the rising power of Asia post the global financial crisis and may not be transferrable to African immigrants or any other immigrant population that is not Western or Eastern.

There is limited research available in acculturation studies that look at the intergenerational social structures. This research identified the role of family as significant but did include the location of family structures relative to the immigrants undergoing acculturation.
This research did not cover the cultural distance between the homeland and hostland in detail. As Triandis (1997) highlights, cultural distance plays a role in acculturation. The relationship between the multi-layered variable construct and variables for cultural difference have not been examined. The cultural difference between Anglo-Saxons and China, in China may be significant as opposed to Chinese immigrants in South Africa.

This research has also not included the role and influence of patriotism towards a changed nation. Nationalism and patriotism are often in a converse position to cosmopolitanism, holding the interest of the nation as a priority over international interests (Audi, 2009). Patriotism to either the hostland or homeland country may introduce bias in the responses of highly patriotic interviewees and is noted as a possible limitation. South Africa’s journey from Apartheid to its new democracy involved patriotic campaigns to assist its citizens in embracing diversity and South Africa as a rainbow nation. This patriotism may have influenced the acculturation of South African Chinese in South Africa.

7.6 CONCLUSION

Kim and Park (2009) introduced reverse acculturation as a new phenomenon in the field of acculturation research. This phenomenon is driven by the forces of globalisation, which have altered the cultural landscape, requiring an evolved and more dynamic acculturation framework that considers the influence of both globalised diaspora and a dynamic heterogeneous global culture. This heterogeneous culture has also undergone a change, evolving in the shifts experienced in global economic power.

Individual agency as well as the ease of accessibility to both the homeland and a heterogeneous global culture has enabled individuals to select and integrate
components to their own culture. Acculturation is a perpetual and dynamic process of evolving ones culture through the exposure to various cultures and the influence of multiple variables. Family, life events, life stage and the hostland environment are variables that play a key role in influencing individuals and the process of acculturation.

Berry’s (1997) traditional acculturation framework was restructured into the proposed globalised acculturation framework presented in Figure 8. This evolved view of the acculturation framework is presented as a dynamic process driven by time and individual agency that are subject to a multi-layered set of variables. These layers include individual; family, friends and communities; homeland; hostland and global culture. The global culture layer has been included into the acculturation model to acknowledge the role of global culture and the influence of global economic power.

This model provides a global framework for international business manager, marketers and psychologists to understand the acculturation process in business, consumer marketing and patient management. It provides a holistic view of all the variables that influence acculturation and highlights the important component of individual agency. This model is also a basis for academics to expand on acculturation research by leveraging off diaspora and global studies. These recommendations are provided in detail in Section 7.4.

Acculturation is a dynamic and ongoing process where individuals are able to continually refine their cultural identification. Globalisation has provided individuals with increased access and exposure to their homeland and a heterogeneous global culture. This global culture is sensitive to global economic power balances. Within a globalised context, individual agency and access provides individuals with wider variety and choice in how they define their identity.
REFERENCE LIST


APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

INTERVIEW INFORMATION

☐ Interview date
☐ Place
☐ Time

BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWEE

☐ Name and surname
☐ Gender
☐ Birth date and Age
☐ Birth Place
☐ Demographic categorisation (SA DTI categorisation)
☐ Ethnic background
☐ Mother’s birth place
☐ When Mother moved to South Africa
☐ Father’s birth place
☐ When Father moved to South Africa (if relevant)
☐ When did family first move to South Africa (if relevant)

Questions to confirm meeting criteria of target population and quota

☐ Respondent’s education (including highest level and speciality)
☐ Occupation
☐ Read local level news
☐ Read city level news
☐ Read national news
☐ Read international news

OPENING, GENERAL AND NON-DIRECTIVE QUESTIONS (GRAND QUESTIONS)

☐ What does culture mean to you?
☐ How do you see the world?

FLOATING PROMPTS FOR FURTHER ELABORATION

☐ How do individuals identify themselves with a culture?
☐ What other influences or factors impact an individual’s culture?
☐ What do you identify your culture to be and why?
What do you think about the increased interactions with different cultures?
Does cultural identification change over time? Why?

PLANNED PROMPTS

General planned prompts

What is Chinese culture?
Are we becoming more or less similar across the world?
Why would the process of identification with a new culture reverse?

Contrast prompts

What is the difference between identifying yourself with South African culture and identifying yourself with X’s culture? (where X is the relevant homeland culture)
What is the difference between identifying yourself with a global culture and identifying yourself as X? (Where X is the relevant homeland culture)
What is the difference between how you identify yourself today and how you identified yourself ten years ago?
## APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWEE SUMMARY

**Table 15: Summary of interviewees' biographical information**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Highest form of education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>Credit Analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Honours degree</td>
<td>Analyst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Honours degree</td>
<td>Geology exploration manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Masters of Business Administration</td>
<td>General manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>Advisor, consultant and investor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Masters of Business Administration</td>
<td>Investment Banker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Mechanical Engineering certificate</td>
<td>Managing Director of company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3rd year at university</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Honours degree</td>
<td>Managing Director of company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Honours degree</td>
<td>Developer/analyst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### APPENDIX C: SUPPORTING QUALITATIVE DATA

**Table 16: Codes linked to globalised diaspora**

- After spending time realise it's not compatible
- Anti-Chinese sentiment
- Apartheid
- Choosing what you take from other cultures
- Death
- Diaspora
- Different language
- Different values, norms, philosophies
- Difficulties integrating
- Dramatic event
- Embarrassed on homeland culture
- Expectations of homeland
- Getting married
- Getting older - go back to your roots
- Having children
- Hostland conservative
- Influence of family or homeland
- Influence of parents or older generations
- Integration
- Lifestage – youth want to integrate, as you get older you go back
- Link to your heritage
- Maintain Chinese traditions/exposure
- Maintain connections to your homeland
- Negative attitude of hostland
- New Chinese immigrants
- Seen as an “other” (highlighted by physical appearance)
- Understand your heritage
- Xenophobia
Table 17: Codes linked to global culture

- Access to cultures (media and technology)
- Becoming more similar
- China an economic or global power
- China influenced by the West
- China see globalisation as "Westernisation"
- China’s foreigner worship
- China’s power in the East
- Choice in defining your own culture (not only about where you are born)
- Cosmopolitan outlook / openness
- Exposure to cultures
- Fundamentally we are the same
- Global culture influenced by the East
- Global culture influenced by the West
- Global culture not Eastern or Western
- Integration
- Interconnectedness
- Interest in China (growing interest)
- Mixing of many cultures
- No single global culture
- Social networks

Table 18: Codes linked to integration

- Integration between homeland and hostland cultures
  - Choosing what you take from other cultures
  - Link to your heritage
  - Maintain Chinese traditions/exposure
  - Maintain connections to your homeland
  - Understand your heritage
- Global culture is mixed and interconnected
  - Access to cultures (media and technology)
  - Social networks
  - Exposure to cultures
  - Integration
  - Interconnectedness
  - Choice in defining your own culture (not only about where you are born)
  - Cosmopolitan outlook / openness
  - Mixing of many cultures
  - No single global culture
  - Global culture not Eastern or Western