

# Remote acculturation: The “Americanization” of Jamaican Islanders

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## Abstract

Twenty-first century globalization forces of technology and trade transport cultures across territorial borders. Cultural exchange now occurs in the absence of first-hand continuous contact that accompanies population migration. We propose and test a modern type of acculturation—*remote acculturation*—associated with indirect and/or intermittent contact between geographically separate groups. Our findings uncover indicators of remote acculturation in behavior, identity, family values, intergenerational discrepancies, and parent–adolescent conflict among families from one culture (Jamaican Islanders) to a geographically separate culture (European American) that emulate traditional acculturation of emigrants from the same ethnic group (Jamaican Immigrants) now settled in that foreign nation (United States of America).

## Keywords

acculturation, Black/African American, Caribbean/West Indian, deterritorialization, family obligations, globalization, immigrant paradox, immigration, tridimensional acculturation

There is an urgent need to focus on the cultural dynamics of what is now called *deterritorialization*. This term applies... to ethnic groups... which increasingly operate in ways that transcend specific territorial boundaries and identities. (Appadurai, 1991, p. 192)

Acculturation is traditionally defined as processes of change that occur in two or more formerly distinct cultural groups following contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936; Sam, 2006). Immigration and similar processes that involve the movement of one group to live amongst another is an obvious mechanism producing traditional acculturation via direct sustained contact between newcomers and natives. However, modern trade, media, and technology have introduced the possibility that indirect and/or intermittent cultural contact in our “globalized, deterritorialized world” may also produce *remote acculturation*, despite permanent geographical separation of the two interacting cultural groups (Appadurai, 1991, p. 196). The significant influx of U.S. media and cultural products into the geographically and culturally distinct Caribbean island of Jamaica, combined with high levels of emigration from Jamaica to the United States, make the Jamaican diaspora an interesting population in which to investigate this possibility. To do so, this paper assesses several indicators of acculturation (i.e., behavior and identity, family values, intergenerational discrepancies, and parent–adolescent conflict) among adolescent–parent dyads in Jamaica compared to Jamaican Immigrant, African American, and European American dyads in the United States.

into *continuous first-hand contact*, [emphasis added] with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149). According to this definition, acculturative contact must be direct—occurring in the same place and time—and sustained, thereby excluding non-face-to-face communications, vicarious exposures to a foreign culture, and intermittent contact (Sam, 2006). However, a recent study in Hong Kong, an ex-colony of Britain since 1997, challenged this assumption. Cheung-Blunden and Juang (2008) demonstrated that bidimensional acculturation towards both Chinese and Western (mostly British) cultures occurs among nonimmigrant adolescents in Hong Kong. The acculturation of Hong Kong youth towards British culture may represent an “extended contact effect” (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997), whereby adolescents become oriented towards Western culture due merely to their knowledge that parents and other adults had close relations with the British.

Globalization and its effects present another compelling reason to reconsider the relevance of privileging direct and sustained acculturative contact over indirect and/or intermittent forms in acculturation theory. Globalization has economic, political, technological, and cultural components, and involves cultural transmission of ideas and goods (Berry, 2008). If globalization is the “contact that provides the starting point for acculturation” (Berry, 2008, p. 332), then modern forms of globalization should birth modern forms of acculturation. International trade, for example, mushroomed in the late 20th century allowing exchanges of

## Globalization redefines acculturative contact

The classic 1936 definition of acculturation derives from anthropology and is still widely supported among acculturation researchers in psychology: “Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come

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consumer products of many kinds. Indeed, new evidence indicates that the mere consumption of food from a particular culture reinforces a cultural identity concordant with that culture (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011). In addition, mass media have developed as a major force behind cultural globalization through the creation of a “new social neighborhood” (Appadurai, 1991, p. 196). Technological innovations of the 21st century, including rapidly advancing new media (i.e., Internet-based Skype and social networking), have greatly expanded the social neighborhood beyond the reach of old media (i.e., TV, magazines). Contrary to prior eras in which meaningful cultural contact may have been synonymous with direct face-to-face communication, today’s mass media facilitate indirect contact wherein “the most remote and illustrious men are met *as if they* were in the circle of one’s peers” (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 215). Individuals now create and maintain kinship and friendship bonds across the globe via voice over Internet protocol (VOIP) and Internet chat groups (Parks & Floyd, 1996), and develop intimate “para-social bonds” with personae on television, radio, and web sites (Hoerner, 1999; Horton & Wohl, 1956).

Globalization also challenges the traditional acculturation requirement of continuous exposure. Accordingly, Sam (2006) acknowledged that “perhaps, the issues of ‘how long’ or ‘continuous’ contact in themselves are not as important as the resulting *change* following the contact” (2006, p. 14). Compared to the early 20th century, short-term tourism, including spring break vacations and destination weddings, added to technology and trade, now afford many more individuals brief, intermittent contact with other cultures. The cumulative effect of multiple intermittent exposures may eventuate in some degree of acculturation.

## Psychological acculturation

Acculturation research in psychology has tried to answer questions regarding the processes (e.g., acculturation strategies), indicators (e.g., changes in cultural practices, identity, values), and adaptational outcomes (e.g., psychological and sociocultural adjustment) of individuals and groups following intercultural contact (Berry & Sabatier, 2011). Berry’s (1997) bidimensional acculturation model proposes that individuals acculturate along two distinct cultural dimensions based on the degree of preference for maintaining one’s ethnic heritage culture and participating in the nonnative culture. Support for this bidimensional framework and evidence of biculturalism has been found in a number of immigrant groups (Kosic, 2002; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000) and in nonimmigrants in Hong Kong (i.e., Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008). However, a tridimensional model is more appropriate for some acculturating individuals in multicultural societies, including Black immigrants in the United States who acculturate towards multiple destination cultures rather than one (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, in press). For example, 40% of Black Jamaican Immigrants in Ferguson et al.’s (in press) study were tri-cultural, having a strong orientation towards their ethnic culture, African American culture, and European American culture. As most receiving nations are today multicultural, it is likely that immigrants will acculturate according to a multidimensional model.

Although behavioral acculturation (e.g., language, food, interpersonal associations) has received the most attention, values acculturation is also of significance. Immigrant and nonimmigrant families from more traditional, interdependent, collectivistic

non-Western societies are likely to encounter less traditional, more independent, and individualistic Western values in the nonnative society. For example, compared to nonimmigrant adolescents and parents across several nations, immigrant families place a higher value on teenagers’ obligations to contribute to the family and care for parents, and a lower value on teenagers’ individual rights to date or marry by a certain age (International Comparative Study of Ethno-Cultural Youth [ICSEY]: Phinney & Vedder, 2006; Phinney, Ong, & Madden). Acculturating nonimmigrants from former colonies such as Hong Kong also fit this pattern of cultural differences between the ethnic and nonnative cultures (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008).

Parent–adolescent discrepancies in family values, which are normative during adolescence, are colored by acculturation (Birman, 2006; Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Nguyen & Williams, 1989; see Phinney et al., 2000, for contradictory evidence). Cross-cultural research indicates that parent–adolescent discrepancies in family values are larger among immigrant families compared to non-immigrant families (Nguyen & Williams, 1989; Phinney & Vedder, 2006), and larger intergenerational family values discrepancies are associated with more parent–adolescent conflict (Rosenthal, Ranieri, & Klimidis, 1996). Kwak’s (2003) review of intergenerational family relationships across immigrant and nonimmigrant families further indicates that cultural distance between the native and nonnative cultures intensifies parent–adolescent negotiations regarding the trade-off between family embeddedness and adolescent autonomy, which in turn predisposes immigrant families to greater family disagreements. Not surprisingly, therefore, immigrant adolescents and parents tend to experience more relational conflict than do nonimmigrants (Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003). For example, Dinh, Sarason, and Sarason (1994) found that Vietnamese immigrant youth reported more conflictual and ambivalent relationships with parents than did their native-born peers in the United States. Like their adolescents, immigrant parents have also been found to report more parent–adolescent conflict than do nonimmigrant parents (Rosenthal, 1984). However, nonimmigrant youth in non-Western countries who are more oriented towards Western cultures may show similar intergenerational patterns to those of immigrant youth: adolescents in Hong Kong who were more oriented towards British culture reported larger intergenerational family values discrepancies and higher associated parent–child conflict than did adolescents with lower British culture orientation (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008).

In addition, adolescents acculturate faster than their parents. Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik, (2006), found that among Hispanic immigrant youth in the United States, but not adults, there was a positive association between number of years spent in the nonnative culture and the adoption of nonnative cultural practices. This dissonant acculturation often creates an intergenerational “culture lag” in families that can put strain on parent–adolescent relationships (Kağitçibaşı, 2007; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

## Case study: “Americanization” of Jamaican society

Although globalization is not necessarily Americanization (as Veseth, 2005, points out using the example of America’s notable lack of affinity for the most popular global sport, soccer), Americanization may be considered a type of cultural globalization in which there is a stronger unidirectional flow of cultural influence and products from the USA to another society than vice versa

(Avraham & First, 2003). Given that Traditional Jamaican culture espouses collectivism and familism (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2002; Hofstede, 2001), and Jamaican youth traditionally value obedience and deference to parental wishes (Richardson, 1999), the increasing influx of U.S. culture into Jamaica sets the stage for remote acculturation—in the instantiation of “Americanization” of Jamaican Islanders.

**Increased accessibility of Internet, U.S. media, and popular culture.** Multiple forms of U.S. media are now pervasive in Jamaica, given the widespread distribution of television sets and Hollywood movies in local theatres, U.S. cable (50% penetration since its 1998 introduction; Dunn, 2008), and Internet access (30% in 2003 to 55% in 2007; Dunn, 2008). Islanders not only learn about and become familiar with U.S. culture from traditional media, but now they can *participate* remotely in U.S. culture through new media such as VOIP/Skype calling, social networking, blogging, and real-time online gaming.

**Influx of U.S. consumer goods and remittances.** U.S. imports to Jamaica of many kinds (e.g., food, apparel, electronics, vehicles) have expanded by over 200% since 1998 (Bank of Jamaica, 2010b). In addition to commercial imports, Jamaican Immigrants living in the United States commonly remit barrels of goods to their families on the island (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2002). Indigenous islanders’ ever-expanding diet for U.S. consumer products constitutes another source of immersion into U.S. culture. Monetary remittances received primarily from the United States also play a role (200+% increase since 2000; Bank of Jamaica, 2008, 2010b): Although U.S. currency does not necessarily convey U.S. culture, families who rely on remittances likely develop a gratitude and fondness for the United States and its cultures.

**Tourism industry.** The majority of tourists to Jamaica come from the United States (1.2 million in 2009, 50% growth rate from 1998–2008; Bank of Jamaica, 2010a). As a primary source of revenue, the tourism industry allows many islanders brief and sporadic contact with U.S. visitors. Over time, these intermittent but accumulated experiences may increase indigenous islanders’ familiarity with and orientation towards U.S. cultures.

## The current study

Prior research documents immigrant acculturation via direct sustained contact between cultural groups and acculturation to the culture of a former colonizer. However, the possibility of remote acculturation to a geographically separate nonnative culture fostered by globalization forces, rather than historical linkages such as colonization, is newly emerging. Anthropologists who have taken the lead in exploring how globalization changes cultural reproduction suggest that “a new style of ethnography can . . . capture the impact of deterritorialization on the imaginative resources of lived, local experiences” (Appadurai, 1991, p. 196). Psychology is equipped to investigate the acculturation of nationals in geographically separate countries in search of individual and interpersonal downstream effects of 21st century globalization. Thus, in this study, we measure individual and interpersonal indicators of acculturation (cultural practices and identification, family values, intergenerational discrepancies, and parent–adolescent conflict) in Jamaican Islanders compared to Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans in the United States.

First, we expected to find a set of Jamaican Islanders characterized by several indicators of remote acculturation in a manner that resembles immigrant acculturation: stronger cultural orientation towards one or more U.S. cultures, lower family obligations, higher adolescent rights, higher parent–adolescent value discrepancies, and higher intergenerational conflict (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Ferguson et al., in press)—Hypothesis 1. Second, relative to mothers, we expected more adolescents, particularly older adolescents, to be U.S. oriented (Schwartz et al., 2006)—Hypothesis 2. Third, we expected that intergenerational discrepancies in Islanders’ remote acculturation and intergenerational discrepancies in all groups’ family values would predict parent–adolescent conflict (Birman, 2006; Kwak, 2003)—Hypothesis 3.

## Method

**Participants and procedure.** Altogether, 473 adolescent–mother dyads in Jamaica and the United States completed questionnaires following institutional review board approval by Knox College, USA, and the University of the West Indies, Jamaica. Parental/guardian consent, and adolescent assent were also obtained. Jamaican Islanders lived in Kingston, St. Andrew, or St. Catherine and were recruited from schools, after-school programs, and churches. U.S. participants lived in Illinois or New York and were recruited from schools, cultural festivals, churches, and families of undergraduate students. Data from 376 adolescent–mother dyads were used in analyses after excluding 27 non-Jamaican U.S. immigrant dyads and 70 dyads (21 European American, 49 Jamaican) to whom the acculturation scale was not administered for logistical reasons. Included and excluded European American dyads did not differ; however, included islander dyads had higher family obligations,  $t(586) = 2.59, p < .05$ , Cohen’s  $d = .25$ , and lower parent–adolescent conflict,  $t(586) = -5.72, p < .001, d = -.60$ . Notwithstanding, both included and excluded islanders reported obligations above, and conflict below, scale midpoints.

On average, participating mothers were 41.58 years of age ( $SD = 6.47$ ) and adolescents were 13.70 years of age ( $SD = 2.16$ ; 53% girls). The sample included: 245 Jamaican Islander dyads (born/reared Jamaican residents<sup>1</sup>); 38 Jamaican Immigrant dyads (U.S. residents [average residential length of 20 years for mothers, 11 years for adolescents,  $SDs = 11.55$  and  $5.72$ , respectively], Jamaican-born mother/father, and U.S. or Jamaican-born adolescent); 36 African American dyads (native-born U.S. residents); and 57 European American dyads (native-born U.S. residents). Participants completed English questionnaires individually, and individual incentives ( $\leq$ US\$10.00 value) or group drawings ( $\leq$ US\$50.00 value) were used. Educational levels of primary household earners (94% biological or stepparents) are presented by group in Table 1.

## Measures

**Behavioral and identity acculturation.** Participants completed the 34-item Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA; Ferguson et al., in press), a three-statement orthogonal measure adapted from Scale I of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA-II; Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). The ARSJA measures cultural behavior (e.g., friends/associations, entertainment/food preferences) and identity (i.e., the degree to which an individual identifies as a member of the target cultural groups). The ARSJA has three subscales: the 16-item Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS; two items on the corresponding 17-item

ARSMA-II subscale regarding movie and TV preference were combined; Chronbach's  $\alpha = .95$ ); the nine-item European American Orientation Scale (EAOS; four items on the corresponding 13-item ARSMA-II subscale were removed because they pertained to English language and a generic American identity, which do not delineate the target cultures;  $\alpha = .88$ ); and the nine-item African American Orientation Scale (AAOS in parallel to the EAOS;  $\alpha = .85$ ). Participants responded to items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*None or not at all*) to 5 (*Very much or always*). Subscale means were calculated with higher scores indicating stronger orientation towards the respective culture.

**Adolescent rights and obligations.** Participants completed the 14-item Family Values Scale (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Participants rated their agreement or disagreement with four statements about adolescent rights in the family (subscale  $\alpha = .82$ ) and 10 statements about adolescent obligations in the family (subscale  $\alpha = .75$ ) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). Subscale means were calculated with higher scores reflecting stronger values.

**Intergenerational discrepancies.** Discrepancies were calculated using two different methods (Birman, 2006). For intergenerational remote acculturation discrepancy, a new variable was created to dummy code dyadic match/mismatch in remote acculturation. For intergenerational values discrepancy, absolute parent-adolescent difference scores were calculated for rights and obligations separately.

**Parent-adolescent conflict.** Parents and adolescents completed 20-item parallel versions of the true/false Conflict Behavior Questionnaire Short-Form (CBQ-20; Robin & Foster, 1989). Positively worded items were reverse scored and the number of items reported to be true was summed (possible range = 0–20,  $\alpha = .86$ ). Higher scores reflect higher levels of reported parent-adolescent conflict.

**Social desirability.** Participants completed the 11-item true/false Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale Short-Form A (Reynolds, 1982). After reverse-scoring, a scale score was created by summing the number of items reported true (possible range = 0–11).

**Plan of analysis.** To test for the emergence of an “Americanized” acculturation grouping, an empirical K-means clustering strategy was chosen over a theory-driven strategy (e.g., cross-tabulation based on midpoint ARSJA subscale splits) to incorporate all indicators of acculturation in the determination of acculturation clusters (see Berry et al., 2006). This is the most parsimonious analytic strategy, and it avoids artificially constraining the data to fit a theoretical mold in this first exploration of remote acculturation (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). K-means cluster analyses were performed for islander adolescents and mothers separately to assess potential intergenerational differences in remote acculturation. ARSJA subscale scores, adolescent rights and obligations scores, intergenerational rights and obligations discrepancy scores, and parent-adolescent conflict scores were entered into cluster analyses. To confirm hypothesized differences between clusters and the U.S. subsamples, multivariate analyses of variance were planned for adolescents and mothers separately in the event of intergenerational differences in clustering, whereas dyadic multilevel modeling was planned in the event of identical clustering for adolescents and mothers.

Chi-square analyses were used to evaluate whether, relative to mothers, adolescents, particularly older adolescents, were more U.S.-oriented. To test whether intergenerational discrepancies in remote acculturation and family values predicted parent-adolescent conflict, an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) assessed differences in parent-adolescent conflict based on remote acculturation cluster discrepancy (i.e., match vs. mismatch). Next, multilevel modeling with restricted maximum likelihood was used to estimate actor-partner interdependence models (APIM) assessing the effects of rights and obligations scores and their respective intergenerational discrepancies on parent-adolescent conflict. Separate APIM analyses were conducted for each cultural group.

## Results

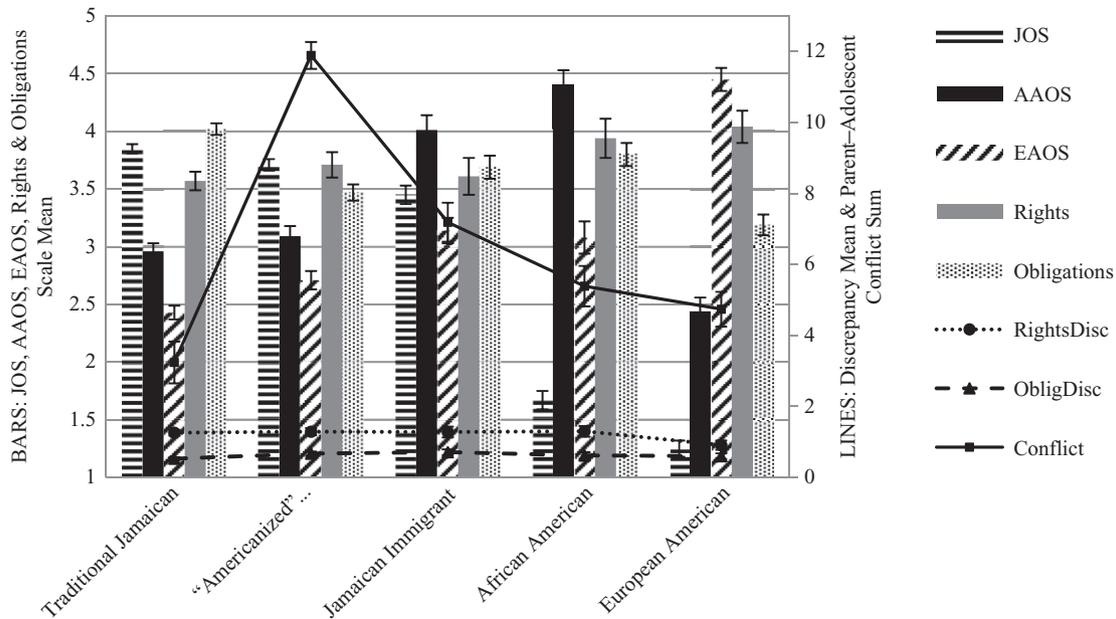
**Preliminary analyses.** Fewer than 5% of the data from administered measures in the original dataset were missing: Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test,  $\chi^2(28,004) = 31,241, p < .001$ . Missing data points were imputed using the expectation-maximization algorithm (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977). In the sample overall, adolescents' age was positively correlated with their AAOS, EAOS, rights, and conflict scores ( $r = .20, .21, .17, .17, ps < .01$ ) and negatively correlated with JOS and obligations ( $r = -.22, -.22, ps < .001$ ) scores, whereas mothers' age was positively correlated with their EAOS scores ( $r = .17, p < .01$ ) and negatively correlated with JOS, AAOS, and obligations scores ( $r = -.32, -.19, -.13, ps < .05$ ). Shared variance between ARSJA subscales was computed to investigate the independence of the three dimensions in the entire sample. The JOS shared miniscule variance with the AAOS ( $R^2_{\text{adolescents}} = .006, R^2_{\text{mothers}} = .029$ ), and some variance with the EAOS (negative association;  $R^2 = .30$  and  $.32$ , respectively). In addition, the AAOS and EAOS shared negligible variance ( $R^2 = .022$  and  $.019$ , respectively). Given the range of shared variances among the ARSJA subscales, especially the relative independence of the AAOS and the EAOS, the three subscales are treated separately. Only statistically significant results are presented unless otherwise stated.

Hypothesis 1: A set of Jamaican Islanders will be characterized by several indicators of remote acculturation and will resemble Jamaican Immigrants.

### Remote acculturation clusters

**Adolescents.** Cluster analyses revealed a two-cluster solution which aligned with expectations: (a) A *Traditional Jamaican cluster* (67%) with high JOS and obligations scores, and low EAOS, obligations discrepancies, and conflict scores; and (b) An “*Americanized Jamaican cluster*” (33%) with lower JOS and obligations scores, and higher EAOS, obligations discrepancies, and conflict scores. Adolescent clusters did not differ in AAOS rights, or rights discrepancy scores. Chi-square analyses revealed that more girls (41%) than boys (27%) fell into the “Americanized” Jamaican cluster,  $\chi^2(1, n = 245) = 4.95, p < .019, \Phi = .14$ . Parental education was unrelated to cluster membership. Means and standard errors of acculturation indicators for each adolescent cluster are displayed in Figure 1.

**Mothers.** Results of a two-cluster solution for mothers were unclear. Although the two clusters differed in JOS, obligations discrepancy, and conflict scores in the expected manner, the clusters did not differ significantly on key indicators of AAOS, EAOS, or



**Figure 1.** Mean differences between Traditional and “Americanized” Jamaican Islander adolescents on acculturation variables entered into cluster analyses compared to Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans in the United States.

Note. JOS, AAOS, EAOS = Jamaican, African American, and European American Orientation Scales (1–5), respectively; rights, obligations = adolescent rights and obligations (1–5); RightsDisc and ObligDisc = intergenerational discrepancy scores (0–4); conflict = CBQ-20 scores (0–20). Standard error bars are attached to each column.

family values scores. Therefore, a three-cluster solution was performed revealing: (a) A *Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict cluster* (Cluster I) (66%) with high JOS and obligations scores, low AAOS and obligations discrepancy scores, and the lowest conflict scores; (b) A *Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict cluster* (Cluster II) (23%), whose JOS scores were lower than Cluster I, obligations scores were higher than Cluster III, and conflict scores were higher than Cluster I but lower than Cluster III; and (c) An *“Americanized” Jamaican cluster* (Cluster III) (11%) with the highest EAOS, obligations discrepancies, and conflict scores, and JOS scores falling in between Clusters I and II. Similar to adolescent clusters, maternal clusters did not differ in AAOS, rights scores, or parental education. Means and standard errors of acculturation indicators for each maternal cluster are displayed in Figure 2.

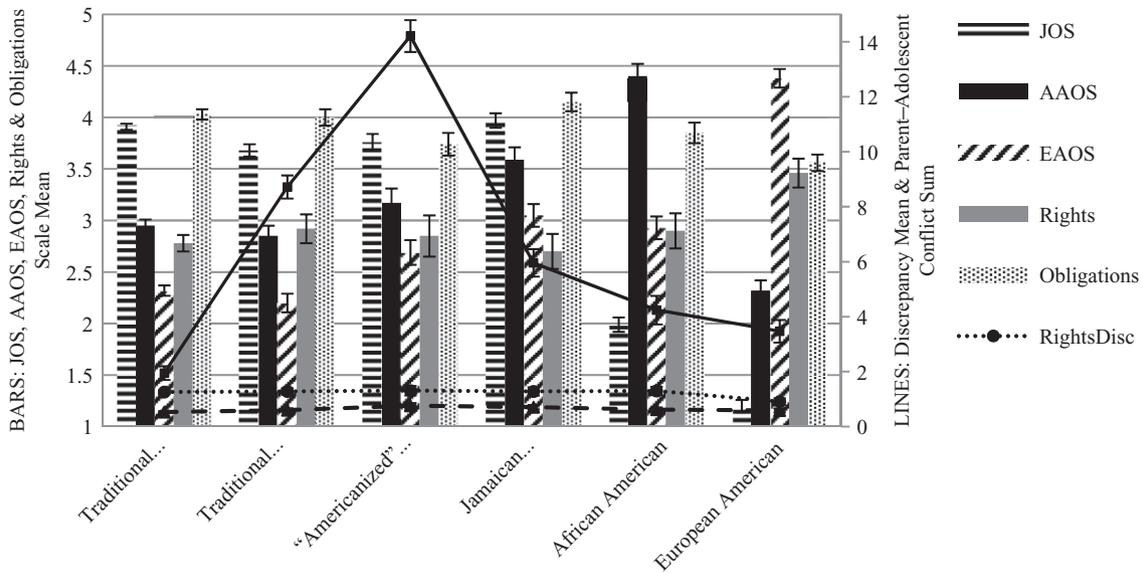
See Table 2 for cluster membership across both generations. “Americanized” Jamaican adolescents were seven times as likely to have mothers in the “Americanized” Jamaican cluster (28%) and twice as likely to have mothers in the Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict cluster (35%) than were Traditional Jamaican adolescents (4% and 17%, respectively),  $\chi^2(2, n = 245) = 48.89, p < .001, \Phi = .45$ .

**Comparison of remote acculturation clusters and U.S. groups.** Given that significant intergenerational differences in clustering emerged, separate analyses were performed for adolescents and mothers.

**Adolescents.** A two-way 5 (group: 2 Acculturation Clusters + 3 U.S. Comparison Groups)  $\times$  2 (gender) multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) was used to assess group differences in all indicators of acculturation, controlling for adolescent age, parent education, and social desirability. See Table 1 for mean

comparisons and standard deviations of main study variables across acculturation clusters and U.S. groups. The MANCOVA omnibus effect was significant for group,  $F(32, 1436) = 39.42, p < .001$ , and for gender,  $F(32, 356) = 3.56, p < .01$ . There were main effects of group on EAOS scores,  $F(4, 363) = 62.02, p < .001, \eta^2 = .40$ , and on JOS scores,  $F(4, 363) = 378.97, p < .001, \eta^2 = .80$ . European Americans reported the highest EAOS scores followed by Jamaican Immigrants and African Americans (equal), “Americanized” Jamaicans, and Traditional Jamaicans. Traditional Jamaicans reported the highest JOS scores, followed by “Americanized” Jamaicans, Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans. There was a main effect of group on AAOS scores, but no difference between remote acculturation clusters,  $F(4, 363) = 46.33, p < .001, \eta^2 = .33$  (see Table 1). In addition, there was a main effect of gender on EAOS scores,  $F(4, 363) = 11.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ , and AAOS scores,  $F(4, 363) = 9.48, p < .01, \eta^2 = .02$ . Girls reported higher EAOS ( $M = 3.20, SD = .99$ ) than did boys ( $M = 2.70, SD = .89$ ), and higher AAOS scores ( $M = 3.31, SD = .99$ ) scores than did boys ( $M = 3.02, SD = .95$ ).

There was a main effect of group on adolescent obligations,  $F(4, 363) = 13.36, p < .001, \eta^2 = .13$ . Traditional Jamaicans reported the highest obligations scores followed by Jamaican Immigrants, then “Americanized” Jamaicans and European Americans (equal). African Americans’ obligations scores were not different from Traditional Jamaicans’ or Jamaican Immigrants’. There was no significant main effect of group rights or obligations discrepancies; however, means comparisons revealed that “Americanized” Jamaican adolescents reported marginally higher obligations discrepancies than Traditional Jamaican, which was confirmed by a one-tailed independent-samples *t* test,  $t(243) = 1.88, p = .03$ . Boys reported higher obligations ( $M = 3.83, SD = .64$ ) than did girls ( $M = 3.60, SD = .69$ ). There was also a main effect of group on CBQ-20 scores,  $F(4, 363) = 78.76, p < .001, \eta^2 = .46$ . “Americanized”



**Figure 2.** Mean differences between Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict, Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict, and “Americanized” Jamaican mothers in Jamaica on acculturation variables entered into the cluster analyses, compared to Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans in the United States.

Note. JOS, AAOS, EAOS = Jamaican, African American, and European American Orientation Scales (1–5), respectively; rights, obligations = adolescent rights and obligations (1–5); RightsDisc and ObligDisc = intergenerational discrepancy scores (0–4); conflict = CBQ-20 scores (0–20). Standard error bars are attached to each column.

**Table 1.** Acculturation indicators for Traditional and “Americanized” Jamaican adolescents in Jamaica, and Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans in the United States

	Traditional Jamaican (n = 165)		Americanized Jamaican (n = 80)		Jamaican Immigrant (n = 38)		African American (n = 36)		European American (n = 57)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
ParEdu	4.71 <sup>a</sup>	1.60	4.84 <sup>a</sup>	1.41	5.43 <sup>b</sup>	1.16	5.03 <sup>a,b</sup>	1.15	6.12 <sup>c</sup>	0.84
JOS	3.85 <sup>a</sup>	.41	3.71 <sup>b</sup>	.51	3.45 <sup>c</sup>	.79	1.67 <sup>d</sup>	.44	1.25 <sup>e</sup>	.26
AAOS	2.96 <sup>a</sup>	.90	3.09 <sup>a</sup>	.72	4.01 <sup>b</sup>	.71	4.40 <sup>c</sup>	.64	2.44 <sup>d</sup>	.82
EAOS	2.43 <sup>a</sup>	.67	2.71 <sup>b</sup>	.65	3.14 <sup>c</sup>	.82	3.08 <sup>c</sup>	.82	4.45 <sup>d</sup>	.55
Rights	3.57 <sup>a</sup>	1.02	3.71 <sup>a</sup>	1.02	3.61 <sup>a</sup>	1.05	3.94 <sup>a,b</sup>	.85	4.04 <sup>b</sup>	.87
Obligations	4.02 <sup>a</sup>	.55	3.47 <sup>b</sup>	.66	3.69 <sup>c</sup>	.73	3.80 <sup>a,c</sup>	.56	3.19 <sup>b</sup>	.58
Rdiscrepancy	1.26 <sup>a</sup>	.87	1.29 <sup>a</sup>	.96	1.28 <sup>a</sup>	.95	1.30 <sup>a</sup>	1.00	.91 <sup>b</sup>	.77
Odiscrepancy	.53 <sup>a</sup>	.44	.67 <sup>b</sup>	.58	.71 <sup>b</sup>	.57	.62 <sup>a,b</sup>	.62	.60 <sup>a,b</sup>	.42
CBQ-20	3.24 <sup>a</sup>	2.31	11.89 <sup>b</sup>	2.90	7.19 <sup>c</sup>	5.30	5.39 <sup>d</sup>	4.31	4.74 <sup>d</sup>	4.44

Note. ParEdu = parental mean education level (Hollingshead, 1975, 1–7 scale); JOS, AAOS, EAOS = Jamaican, African American, and European American Orientation Scales, respectively; rights, obligations = adolescent rights and obligations mean scores, respectively; Rdiscrepancy and Odiscrepancy = absolute values of the adolescent–mother rights and obligations discrepancies, respectively; CBQ-20 = dyadic conflict mean score. For each variable, significant differences between groups ( $p \leq .05$ , except for Odiscrepancy,  $ps = .06$ ) are indicated with superscripts of differing letters, whereas matching superscripts indicate nonsignificant differences.

Jamaicans reported the highest CBQ-20 scores followed by Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans (equal), then Traditional Jamaicans. Findings were identical using mother-reported dyadic conflict as the dependent variable. There were no significant interactions.

**Mothers.** A one-way MANCOVA (group: 3 Acculturation Clusters + 3 U.S. Comparison Groups) was used controlling for maternal age, parent education, and social desirability. See Table 3 for mean comparisons and standard deviations of main study variables across acculturation clusters and U.S. groups. The MANCOVA omnibus effect was significant for group,  $F(40, 1790) = 32.40, p < .001$ . There were main effects

of group on EAOS scores,  $F(5, 361) = 70.96, p < .001, \eta^2 = .49$ . European Americans reported the highest EAOS scores followed by Jamaican Immigrants, “Americanized” Jamaicans, and both Traditional Jamaican clusters (equal). African Americans’ EAOS scores were no different from Jamaican Immigrants’ or Americanized Jamaicans’. In addition, there were significant group effects on AAOS,  $F(5, 361) = 37.65, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$ , and JOS scores,  $F(5, 361) = 334.08, p < .001, \eta^2 = .82$  (see Table 3). However, “Americanized” Jamaican mothers’ AAOS and JOS scores were no different from the scores of either cluster of Traditional Jamaican mothers.

There was a main effect of group on adolescent rights,  $F(5, 361) = 4.22, p < .01, \eta^2 = .05$ : European Americans’ scores exceed all other

**Table 2.** Remote acculturation cluster membership for adolescents and mothers in Jamaica

Maternal clusters	Adolescent clusters		
	Traditional Jamaican	“Americanized” Jamaican	Total
Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict	131	30	161
Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict	28	28	56
“Americanized” Jamaican	6	22	28
Total	165	80	245

**Table 3.** Acculturation indicators for Traditional Jamaican low conflict, Traditional Jamaican moderate conflict, and “Americanized” Jamaican mothers in Jamaica, compared to Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans in the United States

	Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict (n = 161)		Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict (n = 56)		“Americanized” Jamaican (n = 28)		Jamaican Immigrant (n = 38)		African American (n = 36)		European American (n = 57)	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
ParEdu	4.77 <sup>a</sup>	1.56	4.77 <sup>a</sup>	1.49	4.64 <sup>a</sup>	1.57	5.43 <sup>a,b</sup>	1.17	5.03 <sup>a,b</sup>	1.16	6.12 <sup>c</sup>	.85
JOS	3.91 <sup>a</sup>	.34	3.68 <sup>b</sup>	.44	3.76 <sup>a,b</sup>	.49	3.97 <sup>a,c</sup>	.66	1.99 <sup>d</sup>	.68	1.20 <sup>e</sup>	.18
AAOS	2.95 <sup>a</sup>	.75	2.85 <sup>a</sup>	.80	3.17 <sup>a</sup>	.79	3.59 <sup>b</sup>	.82	4.40 <sup>c</sup>	.55	2.32 <sup>d</sup>	.66
EAOS	2.32 <sup>a</sup>	.62	2.20 <sup>a</sup>	.62	2.69 <sup>b</sup>	.85	3.05 <sup>c</sup>	.80	2.93 <sup>b,c</sup>	.78	4.38 <sup>e</sup>	.43
Rights	2.78 <sup>a</sup>	.97	2.92 <sup>a</sup>	1.21	2.85 <sup>a</sup>	1.12	2.70 <sup>a</sup>	1.04	2.90 <sup>a</sup>	1.13	3.46 <sup>b</sup>	.88
Obligations	4.03 <sup>a</sup>	.51	4.00 <sup>a</sup>	.68	3.74 <sup>b</sup>	.72	4.15 <sup>a,c</sup>	.52	3.85 <sup>b</sup>	.71	3.56 <sup>b</sup>	.46
Rdiscrepancy	1.26 <sup>a</sup>	.88	1.28 <sup>a</sup>	.97	1.31 <sup>a</sup>	.88	1.20 <sup>a</sup>	.95	1.30 <sup>a</sup>	1.01	.91 <sup>b</sup>	.77
Odiscrepancy	.53 <sup>a</sup>	.43	.60 <sup>a,b</sup>	.62	.76 <sup>b</sup>	.52	.71 <sup>a,b</sup>	.57	.62 <sup>a,b</sup>	.62	.59 <sup>a</sup>	.42
CBQ-20	1.95 <sup>a</sup>	1.48	8.72 <sup>b</sup>	1.75	14.21 <sup>c</sup>	2.13	5.96 <sup>d</sup>	4.98	4.24 <sup>e</sup>	4.96	3.47 <sup>e</sup>	4.54

Note. ParEdu = parental mean education level (Hollingshead, 1975, 1–7 scale); JOS, AAOS, EAOS = Jamaican, African American, and European American Orientation Scales, respectively; rights, obligations, Rdiscrepancy, and Odiscrepancy = adolescent rights and obligations mean scores, and absolute values of adolescent–mother discrepancies for each, respectively; CBQ-20 = dyadic conflict mean score. For each variable, significant differences between groups ( $p \leq .05$ , except for Odiscrepancy,  $ps = .06$ ) are indicated with superscripts of differing letters, whereas matching superscripts indicate nonsignificant differences.

groups’. A main effect of group on obligations,  $F(5, 361) = 4.87$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .06$ , showed that Jamaican Immigrants reported equal scores to both sets of Traditional Jamaican mothers, and those scores were higher than “Americanized” Jamaicans’, African Americans’, and European Americans’ scores (equal scores across the latter three groups). There was no effect of group on rights or obligations discrepancies; however, means comparisons revealed that “Americanized” Jamaicans reported significantly higher obligations discrepancies than Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict mothers, which was confirmed by a one-tailed independent-samples  $t$  test,  $t(187) = 2.55$ ,  $p < .01$ . In addition, there was a main effect of group on parent–adolescent conflict,  $F(5, 361) = 87.85$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .55$ . “Americanized” Jamaicans reported the highest conflict followed by Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict mothers, Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans and European Americans (equal), and finally Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict mothers. Findings were identical using adolescent-reported dyadic conflict as the dependent variable. There were no significant gender effects or interactions.

Hypothesis 2: Relative to mothers, adolescents, particularly older adolescents, will be significantly U.S.-oriented.

Three times as many adolescents as mothers fell into the “Americanized” Jamaican cluster (i.e., 33% versus 11%). Moreover, “Americanized” Jamaican adolescents ( $M = 14.20$ ,  $SD = 2.13$ ) were older than Traditional Jamaican adolescents ( $M = 12.82$ ,  $SD = 1.95$ ),  $t(243) = 5.02$ ,  $p < .001$ , Cohen’s  $d = .68$ . Maternal clusters did not differ in age.

Hypothesis 3: Intergenerational discrepancies in remote acculturation and family values will predict parent–adolescent conflict across groups.

The conflict scores of parent–adolescent dyads matched on remote acculturation (i.e., both were in the “Americanized” cluster or both were in a traditional cluster) was compared to those of mismatched dyads using a one-way ANCOVA controlling for all demographics and social desirability. There was an effect of intergenerational discrepancy on conflict,  $F(1, 239) = 126.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .32$ . As expected, mismatched dyads reported higher adolescent-reported conflict ( $M = 10.87$ ,  $SD = 2.94$ ) than matched dyads ( $M = 4.36$ ,  $SD = 4.10$ ),  $d = 1.82$ . Results were also significant for mother-reported conflict, although the effect was smaller ( $d = .45$ ). Remote acculturation cluster discrepancy did not predict intergenerational family values discrepancies.

Preliminary repeated-measures ANCOVAs controlling for social desirability revealed that for the entire sample mothers reported lower rights ( $M = 2.91$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ) than adolescents ( $M = 3.71$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ),  $F(1, 374) = 34.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .33$ , and higher obligations ( $M = 3.71$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) than adolescents ( $M = 2.91$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ),  $F(1, 374) = 39.47$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $d = .78$ . APIM analyses were conducted for Jamaican Islanders altogether (to maximize variance in scores), Jamaican Immigrants, African Americans, and European Americans (see Table 4). Results for Jamaican Islanders showed an actor effect ( $\beta = -1.98$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and an actor–partner discrepancy effect ( $\beta = 1.05$ ,  $p = .05$ ) for obligations. That is, islanders with lower obligations and higher

**Table 4.** Parameter estimates from actor–partner interdependence models for each cultural group using rights and obligations scores and intergenerational discrepancies (actor–partner effect) to predict parent–adolescent conflict

Predictor	Actor effect			Partner effect			Actor–partner effect			Pseudo $R^2$ for model
	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	<i>b</i>	SE	$\beta$	
<i>Jamaican Islanders</i>										
Rights	.43*	.19	.48	-.23	.19	-.25	.30	.30	.27	.01
Obligations	-1.98***	.33	-1.27	-.31	.33	-.20	1.05 <sup>+</sup>	.54	.53	.09
<i>Jamaican Immigrants</i>										
Rights	.71	.49	.78	.09	.49	.10	1.94**	.73	1.75	.12
Obligations	-1.29	.96	-.83	.81	.96	.52	2.34	1.49	1.18	.07
<i>African Americans</i>										
Rights	.06	.50	.07	-.64	.50	-.70	1.60*	.67	1.44	.13
Obligations	.37	.93	.24	.07	.93	.05	1.00	1.20	.50	.00
<i>European Americans</i>										
Rights	.62	.45	.68	-.12	.45	-.13	.20	.22	.18	.02
Obligations	-.15	.64	-.10	.35	.64	.22	6.15***	1.03	3.09	.30

Note. *b* = unstandardized coefficient. SE = standard error of unstandardized regression coefficient.  $\beta$  = standardized regression coefficient. <sup>+</sup> $p$  = .05; \* $p$  < .05; \*\* $p$  < .01; \*\*\* $p$  < .001.

obligations discrepancies reported higher parent–adolescent conflict. Results were similar for European Americans: there was a significant actor–partner discrepancy effect for obligations in the same direction ( $\beta = 6.15$ ,  $p < .001$ ). For rights, APIM results revealed a significant actor effect among Jamaican Islanders ( $\beta = .43$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and an actor–partner discrepancy effect among Jamaican Immigrants ( $\beta = 1.94$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Islanders who endorsed higher rights, and immigrants who reported higher rights discrepancies, reported more parent–adolescent conflict. For African Americans, there was a significant actor–partner discrepancy effect for rights ( $\beta = 1.60$ ,  $p < .05$ ) such that larger discrepancies predicted higher parent–adolescent conflict. The actor, partner, and actor–partner discrepancy effects for obligations accounted for 0–30% of the variance in conflict across groups, whereas the combined effects for rights accounted for 2–13% of the variance in conflict across groups.

## Discussion

### Summary

Our aim was to introduce and demonstrate indicators of *remote acculturation* as a modern form of acculturation birthed by modern globalization forces, which permit indirect and/or intermittent intercultural contact between geographically separate groups. A large sample of resident adolescent–mother dyads in Jamaica reported their cultural behavior and identity, family values, intergenerational values discrepancies, and adolescent–mother conflict, which were compared to those of Jamaican Immigrant, African American, and European American dyads living in the United States. Results revealed an “*Americanized*” Jamaican cluster of island adolescents (33%) and mothers (11%), who resembled Jamaican Immigrants and nonimmigrant European Americans in the United States. Across adolescents and mothers, distinguishing features of remotely acculturated “*Americanized*” Jamaicans included higher European American cultural orientation, lower family obligations, larger intergenerational obligations discrepancies, and higher parent–adolescent conflict. Overall, our findings suggest that acculturation can and does occur remotely in the absence of historical linkages such as colonization,

particularly among youth, and is not accounted for by socioeconomic status.

Hypothesis 1: Remote acculturation is acculturation.

Remote acculturation clusters differed in all categories of indicators: behavior and identity, family values, intergenerational values discrepancies, and parent–adolescent conflict. The emergence of distinct remote acculturation clusters among adolescents and mothers supports the dimensional acculturation framework (Berry, 1997; Ferguson et al., in press). That is, like other acculturating groups such as immigrants, Jamaican Islanders are not culturally homogeneous, but evidence individual differences in their contact/participation in multiple cultures and associated family dynamics. This result accords with Cheung-Blunden and Juang’s (2008) finding that nonimmigrant Hong Kong adolescents acculturate towards both Chinese and British cultures, and those with stronger ethnic Chinese orientation have more positive and nurturing relationships with parents, whereas those with stronger British culture orientation have larger intergenerational obligations discrepancies and higher parent–adolescent conflict.

There was an interesting generational difference in the acculturation findings for Jamaican Islanders—not in American orientation but in ethnic orientation. Unlike Traditional Jamaican adolescents, Traditional Jamaican mothers formed two clusters, one having higher ethnic cultural orientation and lower conflict than the other. Mothers’ high ethnic culture maintenance might protect against parent–adolescent discord. This effect may be mediated by adherence to Traditional Jamaican child-rearing beliefs and disciplinary strategies which emphasize obedience and de-emphasize negotiations (Crawford-Brown & Rattray, 2002; Hofstede, 2001; Kağitçibaşı, 2007). This finding may also be understood in the context of the parent–adolescent remote acculturation match. Traditional Jamaican high ethnic/low conflict mothers were more likely to have Traditional Jamaican adolescents (> 80% match) than were Traditional Jamaican moderate ethnic/moderate conflict mothers (50% match), which helps to explain the difference in conflict levels between the two clusters.

“*Americanized*” Jamaicans are culturally cosmopolitan yet connected to their heritage culture, mothers in particular. Despite having a stronger European American orientation than Traditional

Jamaicans, and for adolescents having lower Jamaican culture orientation than Traditional Jamaicans, “Americanized” Jamaicans are decidedly Jamaican. They scored close to 4 on the 5-point JOS, significantly exceeding their AAOS and EAOS scores. “Americanized” Jamaicans appear to be integrated or bicultural rather than assimilated into European American culture: they do not relinquish their Jamaican culture in favor of adopting this non-Jamaican culture. This also supports the dimensional conceptualization of acculturation (Berry, 1997; Ferguson et al., in press) in which an individual may have high levels of engagement with a heritage culture and foreign cultures without pitting one against others. A strong endorsement of Jamaican cultural behaviors, food, entertainment, and personal associations may also reflect a compensatory strategy to hold onto the Jamaican culture due to “Americanized” Jamaicans’ awareness of a strong affinity for the U.S. culture (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Guendelman et al., 2011). Moreover, like Jamaican Immigrants in the United States, Jamaican Islanders evidence tridimensional acculturation (Ferguson et al., in press). Jamaican Islanders endorsed three cultural dimensions (Jamaican, African American, and European American cultures), and “Americanized” Jamaicans evidenced a stronger orientation toward African American than European American culture ( $d_{\text{adolescent}} = .55$ ,  $d_{\text{mother}} = .58$ ).

Contrary to expectations, rights and intergenerational rights discrepancies were not related to remote acculturation among islanders nor to traditional acculturation among immigrants. All groups except for European Americans had equal rights and rights discrepancy scores within each generation (mothers had lower rights and higher obligations than adolescents across groups). This result is discordant with ICSEY findings of lower rights among immigrant youth and equal rights discrepancies across immigrant and nonimmigrant youth (Phinney & Vedder, 2006). The similarity of Jamaican Islanders and Immigrants and African Americans in beliefs about adolescent rights may reflect a cultural difference in power distance rooted in African versus European heritage (Hofstede, 2001). Taken together with the less robust effects for obligations and obligations discrepancies, the current study provides support for prior findings that values acculturation trails behavioral acculturation (Berry & Sabatier, 2011).

It was also surprising that “Americanized” Jamaicans beat Jamaican Immigrants on two acculturation indicators by reporting the lowest obligations (equal to European Americans) and the highest parent–adolescent conflict. This finding may speak to the strength of remote acculturation, as does the finding that islanders were overall more oriented towards African American culture than were their European American peers. By contrast, “Americanized” Jamaicans do not feel as American as nonimmigrant Americans or Jamaican Immigrants living in the USA in terms of behavior and identity acculturation, which may point to some limits of remote acculturation.

**Potential mechanisms of acculturation.** Several mechanisms or vehicles of indirect and intermittent contact with U.S. cultures may potentially explain remote acculturation in Jamaica. “Americanized” Jamaicans may consume more U.S. media or develop stronger para-social relationships (i.e., intimate though one-sided relational bonds) with U.S. media personae, which may influence their own cultural behaviors and self-identification (Horton & Wohl, 1956). In fact, simply knowing that other islanders have close relationships with relatives and friends in the United States, or consuming U.S. cultural products including TV and food may facilitate a stronger U.S. orientation (Wright

et al., 1997) or reinforce one’s American identity (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Guendelman et al., 2011). Alternatively, “Americanized” Jamaicans may have more indirect long-distance contact with individuals in the United States, or more intermittent contact with U.S. tourists. However, remote acculturation is not explained by parental education.

Hypothesis 2: Remote acculturation is (currently) more of a youth phenomenon.

More Jamaican adolescents than mothers are “Americanized,” girls in particular. This accords with the immigrant acculturation literature showing that adolescents acculturate faster than their parents (culture lag hypothesis: Kağitçibaşı, 2007; Phinney et al., 2000; dissonant acculturation: Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It is possible that greater consumption of U.S. fashion media accounts for greater “Americanization” among Jamaican girls; however, the reasons behind this finding merit further investigation. In addition, older age was associated with “Americanization” for adolescents but not for mothers, which is consistent with Schwartz et al.’s (2006) findings among Hispanic immigrants in the United States. This may be because nonnative culture is much more likely to be adopted when it is introduced during childhood or adolescence rather than during adulthood (Schwartz et al., 2006). Alternatively, vehicles of remote acculturation may be more accessible to (e.g., Internet gaming) or more effectual for (e.g., adolescents are actively constructing their identities) adolescents.

Hypothesis 3: Intergenerational discrepancies in remote acculturation and family values are liabilities.

Intergenerational discrepancies—both acculturation gaps and obligations discrepancies—were problematic for parent–adolescent relationships. There was more conflict between parents and adolescents who were mismatched in remote acculturation clusters than there was in matched dyads (in fact, more than twice as much by adolescents’ report). This finding supports the idea that the intergenerational culture lag perturbs adolescent–parent relationships among acculturating families (Kağitçibaşı, 2007; Phinney et al., 2000). However, the opposite direction of effect is also possible: conflict may drive remote acculturation if it makes either or both partners more divergent in their cultural leanings. Cultural distance between adolescents and parents in mismatched dyads is likely to intensify age-appropriate parent–adolescent negotiations regarding the trade-off between family embeddedness and adolescent autonomy (Kwak, 2003).

Intergenerational discrepancies predicted dyadic conflict in all cultural groups, consistent with international findings (e.g., Phinney & Vedder, 2006; Rosenthal et al., 1996). Obligations discrepancies predicted conflict for Jamaican Islanders and European Americans, whereas rights discrepancies predicted conflict for Jamaican Immigrants and African Americans. Surprisingly, the effect of discrepancies on conflict was strongest for the European Americans (pseudo  $R^2 = .30$ ). As expected based on prior studies, Jamaican immigrant and “Americanized” Jamaican adolescents and mothers reported more conflict than did dyads in other groups (Birman, 2006; Dinh et al., 1994; Rosenthal, 1984); however, their values discrepancies were no larger than discrepancies in nonimmigrant U.S. groups. Clearly, there are other important risk and protective factors for parent–adolescent conflict among acculturating families beyond intergenerational values discrepancies, such as acculturation discrepancies in other domains or acculturative stress (Birman, 2006).

### Implications of remote acculturation for immigration

The possibility that some individuals remotely acculturate to a (potential future settlement) foreign culture (long before immigration) provides a potentially fruitful new perspective on immigrant adaptation. For example, Berry (1991) proposed that during the first phase of refugee acculturation (called “pre-departure”) refugees become oriented to the receiving culture before migration, which impacts their unfolding acculturation process after arrival. It is plausible that remote acculturation may partially underlie the immigrant paradox—markedly positive adaptation of first-generation immigrants relative to second-generation immigrants and nonimmigrants, despite socioeconomic challenges (García Coll & Marks, 2009). Consistent with this idea, Phinney et al. (2000) found that Mexican immigrant adolescent–parent dyads in the United States did not display erosion of family obligations from first generation to second and speculated that Mexicans had been exposed to American cultural values prior to immigration.

### Limitations and recommendations for future research

The main purpose of this initial study was to investigate the possibility of remote acculturation (are there indicators of remote acculturation present?) more than the process (by what mechanisms does remote acculturation occur?). Study findings are limited by a cross-sectional design which does not allow for causal interpretations of associations among variables. Our findings are most representative of urban Jamaicans. Replication in Jamaica and extension to other populations will be beneficial. Monocultural countries of origin and destination may be even more efficient choices, and a population with ambivalent, neutral, or negative attitudes towards the USA would provide another useful next step.

Following replication, future studies should include measures of individual exposure to various indirect and intermittent mechanisms of societal globalization like those we have suggested (e.g., exposure media, consumer products, tourists, and telephone/VOIP communication with US individuals). Which of these proposed mechanisms are related to remote acculturation and do they vary by context? What is the relative importance of directness and frequency of intercultural contact for remote acculturation? Do certain contextual factors (e.g., geographical proximity of the two cultures, urban/rural status, intent to emigrate), or individual differences (e.g., personality: openness to experience, creativity) moderate remote acculturation? In addition, although the current study focused on remote acculturation via unidirectional cultural influence (USA to Jamaica), future studies should examine bidirectional remote acculturation (Bornstein, in press).

### Conclusions

Acculturation theory in psychology needs to redefine the conditions necessary for acculturative contact to faithfully describe, explain, and predict 21st-century culture change. Our findings reveal that the dimensional acculturation framework describes the *remote acculturation* of Jamaican Islanders to the cultures of a geographically separate nation (the United States) in a similar manner to the traditional acculturation of actual Jamaican Immigrants.

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### Note

1. Except for two dyads in which adolescents listed a Jamaican address but mothers (born and raised Jamaican citizens who had lived most of their lives on the island) listed a current address in the USA. Results were virtually identical when these two mothers were excluded from analyses; therefore they were retained in the islander sample.

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