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The **CJP** is an academic, peer-reviewed journal which publishes literature reviews, empirical studies, book reviews, brief reports and pieces on psychology in the public interest. Our focus is on Caribbean populations, and matters which impact Caribbean people, locally, regionally and globally. The **CJP** provides a forum for academic scholarship and discourse, addresses topics of interest in contemporary Caribbean society, encourages publication by Caribbean authors locally and abroad, and aims to build capacity for the production of academic scholarship in the region. The Department of Sociology, Psychology and Social Work at the Mona Campus has partnered with The University of the West Indies Press and the Office of Graduate Studies and Research of The University of the West Indies to achieve the mission of the journal. The Office of Graduate Studies and Research provides a platform for inter-campus and regional collaboration to support research and publication in psychology as it relates to Caribbean people and society. The **CJP** is grounded in a multi-disciplinary approach to examining human behaviour, and encourages the integration of sociology, psychology, social psychology, social theory, history and poetics to investigate Caribbean human experience.

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Caribbean Migration and Globalization: Illuminating New Global Patterns of Acculturation and Adaptation in the 21st Century

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Abstract

At this particular point in history, what do we know about the cultural and health consequences for Caribbean people of coming into contact with new cultures, both those in the Diaspora abroad and those who remain in the region? New Caribbean research over the last several years has illuminated global patterns of acculturation and adaptation for 21st Century youth, adults, and families. This paper summarizes theory, research, and applications pertaining to new forms of acculturation occurring among Caribbean people. This paper also analyzes how well Caribbean people are adapting to their cultural surroundings focusing both on families abroad in the diaspora and those within the region.

Key words: *Caribbean Migration; Globalization; Acculturation; Adaptation*

Caribbean Migration and Globalization: Illuminating New Global Patterns of Acculturation and Adaptation in the 21st Century

Caribbean culture as we know it today has been shaped by centuries of migration and globalization. In the 15th to 19th centuries, the predominant cultural flow was from Europe, Africa, then Asia into the Caribbean via colonization, the slave trade, and the transport of indentured laborers ([UK] National Archives, 2017). The 20th century reversed this direction of cultural flow with significant out-migration from the Caribbean of skilled and semi-skilled workers, and later their families, to Europe, North America, Central America, and some African locations (Thomas-Hope, 2002; Zong & Batalova, 2016). In the 21st century, modern globalization (including tourism, trade, and technologies) facilitates multi-directional cultural flows from the world to the Caribbean and the Caribbean to the world (Ferguson, 2016). Consider that Latin American and Caribbean exports of core cultural goods more than doubled from 1994 to 2002 (to US$1,634 million) and the region imported even more than it exported (US$2,292 million) (UNESCO Institute for Social Science, 2005). So, what do we now know about the cultural and health consequences for Caribbean people – those in the diaspora and those who remain in the region – of coming into contact with new cultures?

This question is central to the discipline of acculturation, and new Caribbean research conducted by my colleagues and I in this area over the last several years has illuminated global patterns of acculturation and adaptation for 21st century youth, adults, and families. In this paper I will summarize theory, research, and applications pertaining to new forms of acculturation occurring among Caribbean people. I also will summarize how well Caribbean people are adapting to their cultural surroundings, focusing on families in the diaspora and those within the region.

Migration and Tridimensional Acculturation in the Caribbean Diaspora

> "Keeping a foot in three worlds can feel as awkward as it sounds."
>
> (Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014, p. 249)

With a net migration of -120,000 individuals in 2017 (World Bank Group, 2017), the Caribbean region has very high rates of international out-migration in relation to its population. Surpassing Canada and the UK, the United States is now the top receiving country for Caribbean emigrants (Thomas-Hope, 2002). There are approximately 4 million Caribbean immigrants in the United States, with Jamaica as the largest English-speaking country of origin (Zong & Batalova, 2016). The Caribbean diaspora in the United States has been a case study for a recent theoretical advance in acculturation.

Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that follows contact between people from different cultures (Berry & Sam, 2016). Acculturation researchers in sociology began to explore how Caribbean immigrants in the United States simultaneously navigate their old (Caribbean) and new (US) cultures. Sociologist Portes and colleagues (e.g., Portes & Zhou, 1993) have studied Haitian and other Caribbean youth in Florida, proposing that they follow a "downward assimilative" pathway in the US society in terms of poor grades and behavioral outcomes to resemble the marginalized poor African American society, unlike white immigrant groups who have access to an "upward assimilation" pathway into middle class European American society. Psychologists, on the other hand, have not studied acculturation in Caribbean immigrants until recently.

Berry's bidimensional acculturation framework has been a popular and dominant manner of conceptualizing acculturation processes since 1980 (see Berry, 1997). This framework holds that immigrants have to deal with two cultures during acculturation, rather than having to choose between the two. That is, within some limits present in the new society (e.g., discrimination), immigrants

choose the degree to which they want to adopt features of the new culture and have contact with and participate in the new society. At the same time, they make a similar decision regarding their heritage culture, deciding how much to retain and practice. These decisions determine the "acculturation strategies" they employ (see Berry, 2017): assimilation (strong orientation toward new culture only); separation (strong orientation toward to heritage culture only); integration (strong orientation towards both cultures); or in rare cases marginalization (weak orientation towards either culture, often due to some sort of marginalization from both societies).

Hence, classical acculturation theories in sociology and psychology have both used a bidimensional (2D) conceptualization of acculturation to capture how immigrants navigate their old and new cultural experiences. These 2D acculturation models focus on a single culture of origin and a single destination culture for immigrants, and were successful in transforming flat caricatures of acculturating people into more complex figures who were capable of experiencing roundly bicultural profiles. However, the limitations of a 2D approach became more apparent at the turn of the 21st century. Contemporary newcomers to diverse societies such as the United States must deal with more than two new cultures – majority/mainstream and minority cultures in that new society in addition to the cultural traditions they bring along with them (Wamwara-Mbugua, Cornwell, & Boller, 2008). Caribbean immigrants in the United States, who are largely Black, have a phenotypic resemblance to African Americans, tend to settle in ethnic enclaves near low income African American neighborhoods when they first arrive (based on modest budgets after transition from a developing region), and tend to seek support from African Americans to meet consumer and cultural needs for religious services, entertainment, and beauty services (see Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). In recognition that this reality called for expanded theory, I introduced tridimensional (3D) acculturation theory along with some colleagues as a model which better conceptualizes how Black Caribbean immigrants and similar groups in multicultural receiving societies straddle three cultures:

majority and minority cultures in their new societies (e.g., mainstream European American culture and African American culture) plus their heritage Caribbean cultures (e.g., Jamaican, Trinidadian) (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012).

We first tested this theoretical proposition in a cross-cultural study – Culture and Family Life Study – of Jamaican immigrant families mainly in New York and Illinois, compared with samples of non-migrant Jamaican families on the island and European American and African American families in the United States (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). In that study, both Caribbean immigrant adolescents and their mothers showed evidence of 3D acculturation. The mean scores for immigrants' orientations to their Caribbean culture, European American culture, and African American culture were all high – all above the scale midpoint – supporting the proposition to move beyond 2D acculturation models because more than two cultural affiliations were possible. Results of individual immigrant profiles showed that a whopping 40% of immigrant youth and mothers were tricultural, meaning that they personally identified strongly with all three cultures. A replication and extension study among approximately 90 older adult Jamaican immigrants in the Chicago area provided remarkably similar results, with close to 50% of the sample reporting tricultural profiles (Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014).

3D acculturation studies among Caribbean immigrants have also shown that triculturalism is linked to both positive and negative adjustment depending on the life domain and immigrant characteristics (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014). For example, tricultural immigrant youth had better behavioral adjustment than their mono-/bicultural peers, but tricultural boys who were first-generation immigrants (meaning, Jamaican-born) and who were more strongly oriented to African American culture than their Jamaican culture, had worse academic adjustment compared to their peers (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014). For older adult Jamaican immigrants, triculturalism was also a challenge – tricultural adults reported high psychological distress (though still objectively low levels) than

did mono-cultural adults who maintained a singular Jamaican identity (Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014).

3D acculturation should be included in future research on the adjustment and well-being of Caribbean immigrants in the diaspora as it has the potential to deliver a more nuanced look at factors related to better or worse adjustment. For example, the ground-breaking National Survey of American Life (NSAL) captured the physical and psychological health of a nationally representative sample of Black Americans, including Caribbean Blacks. Although proxy measures of acculturation were included – such as country of birth – measures of individual cultural orientations were not included. The NSAL found, for example, that first-generation Caribbean Blacks in the United States reported better psychological health than did second- and later-generation Caribbean Blacks or US-born African Americans (Broman, Neighbors, Delva, Torres, & Jackson, 2008; Williams, Haile, Gonzalez, Neighbors, & Baser, 2007). This is an extremely positive and useful finding, but it does mask the potential variability within the first-generation Caribbean Black immigrant population in that not all first-generation Caribbean Blacks may be faring equally well. 3D acculturation theory would predict that some of these first-generation Caribbean Blacks – tricultural older adults or African American-identified boys, for example – may not be faring as well as their peers. The inclusion of 3D acculturation measures in future research would provide this sort of nuanced information, which can facilitate prevention and intervention efforts targeted towards these particular individuals in the Diaspora who may be at risk for poorer adjustment. 3D research would also benefit from larger representative samples of Caribbean immigrants in the United States and elsewhere in the Diaspora.

3D acculturation theory developed from Caribbean immigrant research in the United States has influenced the field of migration and acculturation and is currently being applied by other research groups to new immigrant populations. Yoon, Johnson, Bates, & Rana (2016) have applied 3D acculturation theory to Sudanese refugees in the United States who orient towards their ethnic Sudanese culture along with (mainstream) American and African

American cultures. Others have studied 3D acculturation and well-being among Chinese immigrant groups in the United States, focusing on their tripartite orientations towards Chinese, mainstream American, and Chinese American cultures (Kim & Hou, 2016). Given the diversity of Caribbean populations, multidimensional models of acculturation will also be needed to best capture the experiences of some groups such as Indo-Trinidadian immigrants in the United States who may find more than three cultural streams to be relevant (e.g., two from the home country – Indo- and Afro- Trinidadian cultures, European American cultures, along with multiple candidate minority US cultures).

Remote Acculturation in the Caribbean

"My culture, I don't know. My body is in Jamaica but my mind is in America."

(Student #582, *Culture, Health, and Family Life Study*, 2014)

Anyone who has visited a Caribbean city in the last two decades can plainly see that Caribbean people in the region have nearly as much exposure to US culture right in their own neighborhoods (e.g., consider bottomless US cable packages) as do Caribbean people living in the United States. The Caribbean region has been bathed in a tsunami of US influences over the last two decades owing to the tourism industry which thrives on a majority of US visitors, the exponential growth in accessibility of US cable and online media, Caribbean transnationalism and the ease with which family members in the United States can travel back to the region bringing/sending US consumer products, and information and communications technologies which facilitate seamless contact across the miles between trips (see Ferguson, 2016 for review). Until recently, existing acculturation theories focused solely on immigrants. Yet it seemed to me that Caribbean non-migrants in the region were also dealing with a meeting of cultures, albeit globalization-facilitated by indirect and/or intermittent contact. Shouldn't this also prompt a form of acculturation, I wondered? To account for this possibility, I proposed and tested remote

acculturation as a modern form of non-migrant acculturation (see Ferguson, 2013).

In a sample of approximately 250 families in Kingston, compared to families in the United States, a colleague and I found that about one in every three high school students and 1 in every 10 of their mothers demonstrated a bicultural profile as an "Americanized Jamaican", in contrast to most of their peers who maintained a traditional Jamaican identity (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). This research shows that Americanized Jamaicans are distinctly different from their traditional peers in that they have a strong orientation towards their Jamaican culture in addition to a stronger than expected orientation towards European American culture. They also report weaker traditional family values such as teenagers' obligations to obey, respect, and help parents; greater mother-teen gaps in these family values; and much higher levels of mother-teen conflict relative to their culturally traditional peers (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). An interesting finding from this study was that affinity for African American culture did not distinguish Americanized Jamaicans in Jamaica from their culturally traditional peers – both had moderately high African American orientation, possibly due to the similarity in African-derived cultures. Rather, it was heightened affinity for European American culture that characterized Americanized Jamaicans (see cultural orientation scores of select participants in Table 1). Of note, remote acculturation has largely been unrelated to socioeconomic status and in the few cases where it has been associated, this has been used as a control variable in analyses predicting well-being (e.g., see Ferguson, Muzaffar, Iturbide, Chu, & Meeks Gardner, 2017).

Our Caribbean research has shown remote acculturation to be more of an urban phenomenon than a rural one. One study among over 100 adolescents in north rural Haiti showed that youth were generally very strongly oriented towards their own Haitian culture, but weakly oriented to European American culture (Ferguson, Desir, & Bornstein, 2014). However, our findings in that study suggested that remote acculturation could have a creeping effect as youth exposure to the US culture (e.g., more frequent contact with

US tourists in Haiti) was positively and significantly correlated with orientation toward European American culture.

Remote acculturation research on Americanization has been conducted in several other countries outside the Caribbean informed by the theory and methods developed and tested in the Caribbean: South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016), Zambia (Y. Ferguson, K. Ferguson, & G. Ferguson, 2017), Malawi (K. Ferguson, Y. Ferguson, & G. Ferguson, 2017), India (Ozer & Schwartz, 2016), and Mexico (Lorenzo-Blanco et al., 2017), for example.

New Youth Remote Acculturation Findings from the Culture and Family Life Study

To gather a more in-depth understanding of the lived experience of remote acculturation, a subsample of the families who participated in initial data collection for the Culture and Family Life Study consented to be contacted for follow-up one to two years later. Unfortunately, only a boys-only high school was able to fully accommodate the continued data collection and so the learnings gathered represent the remote acculturation experiences of boys and their mothers in Kingston. Some of these families participated in student-only and mother-only focus group interviews, providing insights into their views of Jamaican culture, American culture, Americanized Jamaicans (youth: Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013), as well as parenting approaches in the context of remote acculturation (mothers: Ferguson & Iturbide, 2015). Of interest, in their 2013 article, Ferguson and Iturbide described how Jamaican students construed typical Jamaican youth as aggressive, resilient, fashion-obsessed, and over-controlled by parents, whereas they construed typical American teenagers, who they identified as European American/White, as spoiled risk-takers with permissive parents in a society which affords them many opportunities.

Longitudinal Remote Acculturation Youth Data. Approximately 15 boys and some of their mothers completed questionnaires at three time points across two years within this study (with approximate one-year intervals). At each time point they reported on their orientation or affinity toward Jamaican culture and

European American culture, respectively. These longitudinal data, which have not been previously reported, provide the first suggestions regarding the stability of remote acculturation over time. The Jamaican Orientation Scale (JOS: 16 items) and the European American Orientation Scale (EAOS: 9 items) of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans were administered at each time point (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012; see Appendix of Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015 for the scale items). Both scales measured remote acculturation in behavioral and identity domains combined: preference for cultural entertainment (e.g., "I enjoy Jamaican TV/movies"), cultural contacts and participation (e.g., "My friends now are of White American/European American origin"), and cultural identity (e.g., "I like to identify myself as Jamaican") on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (none or none at all) to 5 (very much or always). Both scales were found to be reliable in T1 data with adolescents and mothers (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012) and in a distinct replication adolescent-only sample in Kingston (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014).

Table 1 shows JOS and EAOS scores for eight of these Jamaican students whose Identity Maps are shown in Figure 1 (a-d) & Figure 2 (a-d). The two distinct remote acculturation profiles identified in the T1 sample are evident: Americanized Jamaican and Traditional Jamaican. Although students with both profiles have high JOS scores across all three time points (i.e., above the scale midpoint), students differ in their EAOS scores. Unlike Traditional Jamaicans, Americanized Jamaicans had higher EAOS scores overall with one or more high EAOS scores above the scale midpoint (range = 1-5, midpoint = 3). It is not surprising that their EAOS scores were not quite as high as JOS scores, as one would not expect individuals born and bred in Jamaica, most of whom have never visited the United States, to have as strong an affinity for a foreign culture as for their own native culture. What is surprising, however, is that some youth, whom we term Americanized Jamaicans, report enough of an affinity for US culture from afar that they are measurably different from their peers across time points, as demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1 *Cultural Orientation Scores of Jamaican Adolescents Showing Their Remote Acculturation Profiles*

ID	Remote Acculturation Profile	JOSt1 M	EAOSt1 M	JOSt2 M	EAOSt2 M	JOSt3 M	EAOSt3 M	JOSt1-3 SD	EAOSt1-3 SD
440	Americanized Jamaican	4.00	2.78	4.31	2.50	4.47	3.38	0.24	0.45
474	Americanized Jamaican	3.50	2.33	3.81	2.00	3.50	3.00	0.18	0.51
424	Americanized Jamaican	3.81	3.56	3.19	4.00	3.59	3.50	0.31	0.27
514	Americanized Jamaican	3.38	3.22	3.25	2.25	3.76	4.13	0.27	0.94
500	Traditional Jamaican	3.56	1.89	3.75	1.50	3.76	2.25	0.11	0.38
503[a]	Traditional Jamaican	3.94	2.78	3.75	2.75	3.65	2.38	0.15	0.22
491	Traditional Jamaican	3.81	2.56	4.25	2.63	-	-	0.31	0.05
494[a]	Traditional Jamaican	4.50	2.22	4.50	2.38	4.65	1.63	0.09	0.40

Note: JOS = Jamaican Orientation Scale; EAOS = European American Orientation Scale; Scales ranged from 1 (low orientation) to 5 (high orientation); All adolescents except IDs 503 and 494 were originally categorized at T1 into the listed remote acculturation profiles based on cluster analyses. IDs 503 and 494 were originally categorized at TI as "Americanized Jamaican"; however, their generally decreasing EAOS scores from T1-T3 suggest that their longitudinal profiles are more consistent with the Traditional Jamaican profile.

Figure 1 *Identity Maps by Adolescent Boys in Jamaica showing an Americanized Jamaican Identity*

a. ID 440
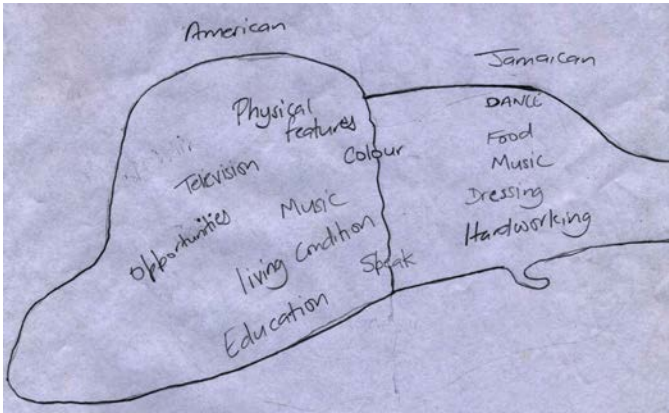
b. ID 474

Note: Top to Bottom: Mixed Group, Souls, Gospel, Dancehall, Hip Hop, Reggae, R&B

c. ID 424
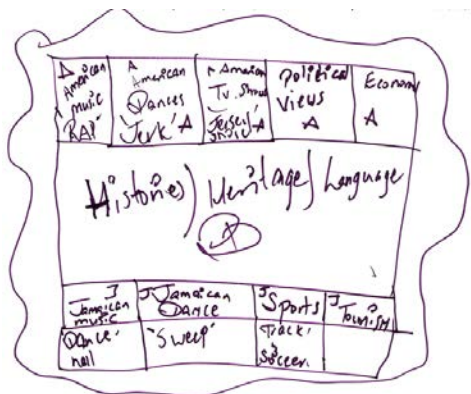
Note: A = American Music 'rap', American Dances 'Jerk', Political Views, Economy. B = Histories/Heritage/Language. J = Jamaican Music 'Dancehall', Jamaican Dance 'Sweep', Sports 'Track and Soccer', Tourism

d. ID 514
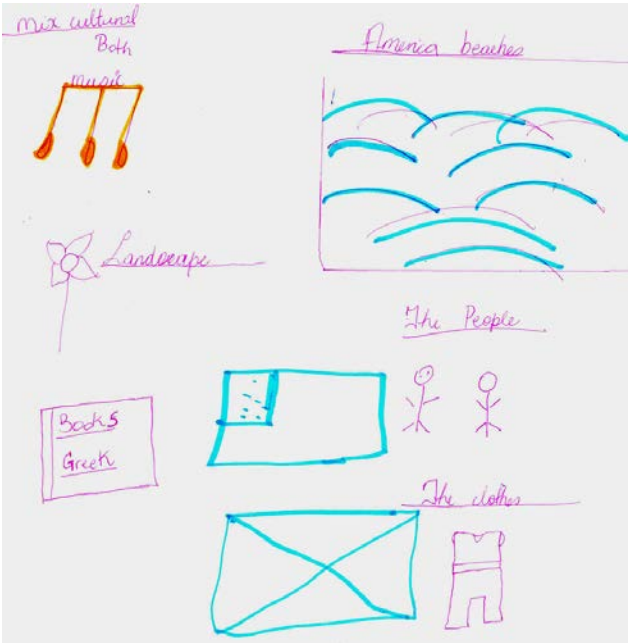
Figure 2 *Identity Maps by Adolescent Boys in Jamaica showing a Traditional Jamaican Identity*

    a.   ID 511

    b.   ID 503

Note. Top bubbles L-R: "Jamaican people are the best", "We are the hypest people", and "We are very happy". Bottom bubbles L-R: "We are proud of our country (sport)", and "We are the most religious country (Christian)"

c.   ID 491

Note: Top words: "DON'T WANNA CHANGE". Bottom Words L-R: "Business MAN", "HAPPINESS LOVE" [Very pale original drawing so this reproduction is accurate; essential elements are visible.]

d.   ID 494
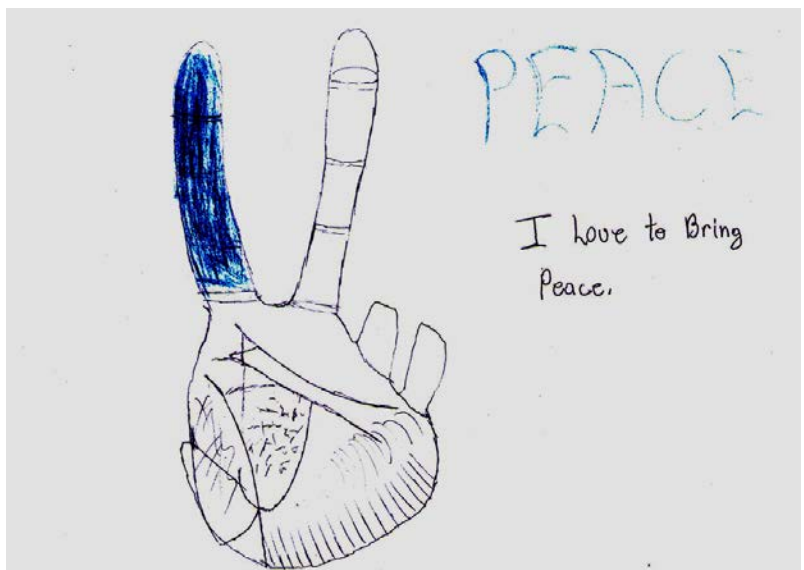
Figure 3. *A Mother's Identity Map Depicting a "Selective Adoption" Approach to Parenting (ID 501)*

Overall, these data demonstrated moderate stability in remote acculturation over time. Based on standard deviation scores calculated to assess the variability in JOS and EAOS scores across time points, respectively, there was twice as much variability in European American Orientation (Average SD across all eight boys = 0.40) than in Jamaican Orientation (Average SD across all eight boys = 0.20). In addition, Americanized peers (Average SD across 4 boys for JOS and EAOS = 0.25, .54, respectively) showed twice as much variability in their cultural orientations than did their Traditional peers (Average SD across 4 boys for JOS and EAOS = 0.16, .26, respectively). Visual inspection of the score trajectories across time (i.e., statistical calculations of growth curves would have been grossly underpowered) also demonstrated that for a minority of youth, trajectories of cultural orientation across the two years showed a transition from one remote acculturation profile to another. For example, Figure 1b shows an adolescent (ID 474) who Americanized over time – he appeared more like a Traditional Jamaican at earlier time points but transitioned into an Americanized Jamaican by t3 (EAOS scores across timepoints = 2.33, 2.00, 3.00). The reverse direction was also evident whereby

an adolescent traditionalized over time, such as in Figure 2b (ID 503: EAOS over time = 2.78, 2.75, 2.38).

Remote Acculturation Youth Drawings. Drawings represented another prong of the multi-method approach used by the Culture and Family Life Study to capture richer descriptions of the remote acculturation experience. We adapted Identity Maps from Sirin & Fine (2007), and asked boys at T3 to draw a map to represent their many social and cultural identities after completing their questionnaires. Boys displayed and described their maps to the focus group. Figures 1 and 2 show all identity maps that included any cultural content (n=8). For Americanized Jamaican students (see Figure 1) identity maps all included explicit graphical or textual indications that they hold both Jamaican and American cultures within their identities (e.g., a flag with one half referencing Jamaican elements and the other half referencing US elements). For Traditional Jamaican students on the other hand (see Figure 2), there were prominent displays of Jamaican culture only (e.g., exclusive inclusion of the Jamaican national flag). It is informative to note that the identity maps reflected acculturation in all three major domains showing acculturation from the surface-level to deep levels, and this was true for adolescents of both remote acculturation profiles. Domains represented in identity maps were the 1) behavior domain, including entertainment preferences such as music and TV choices; 2) values such as religion and career goals; and 3) identity, including personality characteristics such as being hardworking.

Remote Acculturation and Parenting. Remote acculturation has important implications for parenting in the Caribbean. Mothers are less likely to be Americanized (1 in 10: Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) but even those who remain culturally traditional must somehow navigate societal Americanization in parenting their teenagers. Focus groups with mothers from the Culture and Family Life Study revealed two alternative approaches employed by Jamaican mothers: 1) Resistance, meaning the wholesale rejection of US culture and sole adherence to Jamaican cultural values and parenting practices, and 2) Selective adoption, meaning the

adoption of only certain aspects of US culture which they perceive as compatible with local culture.

Figure 3 displays an identity map of a mother using a selective adoption parenting strategy. This identity map was selected because it was the only one which depicted a cultural parenting style (versus personal identity). The core of her parenting style is "family-oriented; rooted in strong Jamaican culture with a little difference." One Jamaican element involves guaranteeing her son's needs are met and ensuring the presence of positive role models. On the other hand, several selectively adopted elements of her parenting style derive from US TV shows – the Cosby Show in particular – according to this mother's explanation. These adopted elements range from having an open line of parent-teen communication where the teen is allowed to have a voice, to being willing to apologize if in the wrong, to forming personal relationships with the teen's friends and their families, and including the teenager in the creation of family rules. These specific parenting strategies reflect an authoritative parenting style rather than an authoritarian one; it is possible that remote acculturation may play a role in promoting authoritative approaches in the Caribbean (Lipps et al., 2012).

Remote Acculturation, Health, and Well-Being. Remote acculturation studies show that many remotely Americanized youth across countries, with a notable exception in Zambia, experience higher psychological distress, lower life satisfaction, and greater parent-adolescent conflict compared to culturally traditional peers (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015; Y. Ferguson, K. Ferguson, & G. Ferguson, 2017). For remotely Americanized youth and adults in Jamaica who have never travelled to the US, feeling American (stronger identification as American) is associated with watching American (more US cable TV), and, in turn, eating American (more unhealthy foods) (Ferguson, Muzaffar, et al., 2017). In this recent study of 330 adolescent-mother dyads in Jamaica, not only did one's remote acculturation and US cable viewing predict one's own unhealthy eating, but mothers' US cable TV viewing hours also predicted their

daughters' unhealthy eating. Reflections from Jamaican mothers in Dr. Ferguson's focus group interviews complement these quantitative findings perfectly. For example, "[I] think fast food…is taking a toll on them as if they're Americanized" said one mother.

Understanding the health challenges of Americanized Jamaicans allows for targeted prevention and intervention public health approaches. Since 2016 I have led a transdisciplinary international team comprising experts in remote acculturation and media/advertising from the Family Resiliency Center and College of Media at the University of Illinois, along with an expert in Caribbean nutrition from the University of the West Indies Open Campus in Jamaica. Our team has translated our basic findings on remote acculturation into an innovative global health family intervention in Jamaica, called the "J(amaican) and U(nited) S(tates) Media? Programme" (Ferguson, Fiese, Nelson, & Meeks Gardner, in press). The JUS Media? Programme (go.illinois.edu/jusmedia) teaches families to question the food messages in media and advertising, and is the very first intervention to address the negative impact of US media on healthy habits of youth and families in other countries, while explicitly taking globalization and Americanization into account.

The JUS Media? Programme comprises an interactive 2-session workshop for adolescents and their mothers with supplementary text messages which 1) teach media literacy principles pertinent to food advertising (e.g., teens and mothers are primary targets of fast food ads; persuasion tactics are used), and 2) train participants to "subvertise" (i.e., first deconstruct food ads based on media literacy principles, then subvert the advertising by creating counter-ads which expose their pernicious messages). Preliminary findings from the first experimental efficacy study evaluating this intervention show that youth and families in Jamaica who received the intervention in Spring 2017 reported significantly higher media literacy and fruit consumption compared to the control group immediately after the intervention (Ferguson, Meeks Gardner, et al., 2017). In addition, families who received text messages following the face:face workshop had significantly higher media literacy up to three months after the intervention (Ferguson, Meeks

Gardner, et al., 2017). By targeting remotely acculturating individuals with a strong US-orientation, the JUS Media? Programme has promise as a cost-effective global health early intervention for the Caribbean and other developing countries.

Remote Acculturation: From Americanization to Jamaicanization Research. The leading role of the Caribbean in remote acculturation research goes beyond Americanization. My colleagues and I have also investigated how remote acculturation might transport Caribbean culture to the world via the globalization avenue of music (Ferguson, Boer, et al., 2016). Music can express, transmit, and strengthen the values of listeners and reggae music offers a vehicle for the remote acculturation of non-Jamaicans towards Jamaican values. Since its birth in Jamaica, reggae music has been known for promoting social change and self-empowerment to resist and be resilient against oppressive systems and poverty. Reggae, especially "old-school" reggae, has been immensely popular among young people across the world; consider that Rototom Sunsplash, the largest European reggae festival, recorded approximately 220,000 attendees in 2017 (rototomsunsplash.com). See Table 2 for a sampling of reggae lyrics by beloved Jamaican artists and more recent non-Jamaican artists communicating these same iconic Jamaican values.

In a 12-country study of university students in Jamaica compared to students across Europe, South America, Africa, and Asia (total N = 2,561), we demonstrated the Jamaicanization of youth in far flung countries through reggae music. We found that reggae lovers across the globe (measured by strong preferences for 'reggae and ska') also reported having personal values which were aligned with the values of reggae lovers in Jamaica. In Jamaica, preferences for reggae music were most strongly correlated with openness to change values and self-enhancement (i.e., self-empowerment) values. As we also predicted, across countries, openness to change was the value most strongly correlated with reggae preference, and self-enhancement values were also strong among reggae lovers in South Africa and the Philippines, two countries with severe historical struggles against societal

Table 2 *Jamaicanization of global youth?: Sampling of Reggae Songs from Jamaican and non-Jamaican Artists Communicating Themes of Empowerment and Change. Reprinted with permission from Ferguson, Boer, Fischer, Hanke, Ferreira, Gouveia Zenger (2016)*

Jamaican artists

Songwriter	Year	Song	Excerpt from Lyrics	Themes
Delroy Wilson, Bunny Lee	1971	Better Must Come	I've been trying a long, long time still I didn't make it, Everything I try to do seems to go wrong, It seems I have done something wrong But they're trying to keep me down, Who God bless, no one curse... Better must come one day, Better must come, they can't conquer me...	Empowerment, Hope, Change
Jimmy Cliff	1972	The Harder They Come	...As sure as the sun will shine, I'm gonna get my share now, what's mine And then the harder they come, The harder they fall, one and all... Well, the oppressors are trying to keep me down, Trying to drive me underground And they think that they have got the battle won... And I keep on fighting for the things I want, though I know that when you're dead you can't But I'd rather be a free man in my grave, than living as a puppet or a slave	Empowerment, Resilience, Dominance
Jimmy Cliff	1972	You Can Get it if You Really Want	...You can get it if you really want, But you must try, try and try, try and try You'll succeed at last Persecution, you must bear, Win or lose, you got to get your share Got your mind set on a dream, You can get it though hard it may seem now... Opposition will come your way but the hotter the battle you see, It's the sweeter the victory...	Empowerment, Perseverance, Dominance

Bob Marley	1973	Get Up, Stand Up	...Get up, stand up: stand up for your rights! Get up, stand up: don't give up the fight!... Most people think, Great God will come from the skies, Take away everything, And make everybody feel high. But if you know what life is worth, You will look for yours on earth: And now you see the light, You stand up for your rights. Jah!...	Empowerment, Resistance, Freedom of Thought and Religion
Vincent Ford and Bob Marley	1974	No Woman, No Cry	...Say I remember when we used to sit in a government yard in Trench Town Good friends we have, Oh, good friends we lost along the way In this great future, You can't forget your past, So dry your tears, I say No woman, no cry, No woman, no cry, Little darling, don't shed no tears... Then we would cook cornmeal porridge, Of which I'll share with you My feet is my only carriage, And so I've got to push on through...	Empowerment, Comfort, Solidarity
Peter Tosh	1977	Equal Rights	...Everyone is crying out for peace, yes, None is crying out for justice I don't want no peace, I need equal rights and justice Just give me my share, equal rights and justice... And there will be no crime, equal rights and justice... Palestinians are fighting for equal rights and justice Down in Angola, equal rights and justice, Down in Botswana, equal rights and justice...	Common Struggle for Equality and Justice, Empowerment, Change
Bob Marley & Lee Perry	1977	Exodus	...Men and people will fight ya down when ya see Jah light... So we gonna walk - all right - through de roads of creation We the generation trod through great tribulation Exodus, all right! Movement of Jah people!....Move! Move! Move! Move! Move! Jah come to break downpression, rule equality, wipe away transgression, set the captives free...	Empowerment, Progress toward Change, Freedom

Dennis Brown	1978	Equal Rights	...Every man has an equal right to live and be free, no matter what colour, class or race he may be Treat him right, Lord and oh, treat him good, take a tip from me, don't hang him on a tree... Remember how we're all of flesh and blood, lift your brother up, don't push him in the mud You should never give against another man...	Equality, Brotherhood, Freedom
Burning Spear	1991	Come, Come	...Oh, Jah Rastafari help us one and all, Come mek we say what we have to say Come along, come mek we do what we have to do, Need more strength to fight this struggle… To fight this struggle, you got to be brave…	Empowerment for Change
Non-Jamaican Artists				
Lucky Dube (South Africa)	1988	Together As One	Too many people hate apartheid, Why do you like it? Hey you Rasta man, Hey European, Indian man We've got to come together as one, Not forgetting the Japanese The cats and the dogs, Have forgiven each other, What is wrong with us All those years, Fighting each other, But no solution	Change, Reconciliation
Los Fabulosos Cadillacs (Argentina)	1989	El Sonido Joven De America	Ya está por explotar el sonido joven de América una ola de calor que se siente venir y que vas a estallar tenés que confiar, el alma sos vos, no puedo parar, ya no vas a parar. Hey, yo soy como vos, que somos lo malo de la generación nada está por terminar, es solo vivir esta ola de calor	Change, Empowerment, Progress
Gentleman (Germany)	1999	A Who Dem Want Blame	A who dem want blame, get up, stand up, cause people, it's a shame Dem say dem share your pain, a when you check it out you stand alone ina the rain... When me see a dem flex, politricks in dis ya time, dem haffi be a hypocrite fi get di next	Empowerment, Inequality, Political

				dime	Corruption, Growth and Change
				Segregation, injustice and crime...It's a hard road to travel and a mighty long way to go with positive movements, a so we a grow outta the bottomless pit, where did we rise up now…	
				Dem a warmonger, try fi bun peace	
				Babylon always try fi abuse, but we nuh go step in a wicked man shoes	
Sister Kaya (Japan)	2003	Woman Souljah		It's Jah Jah Vibration It's Jah Jah Vibration	Change
				We no want no more war, Let's get to Zion	
Gentleman (Germany)	2010	Nothin'a Change		Nothing a change, Everything remain the same	Desperation, Social Inequality, Hope for Change
				'Cuz the ghetto youths dem still a suffer, No food fi days	
				Instead a life get easy it only get tougher and tougher	
				Mama bawl out and she call out - call out pon Jah	
				Say she pray every day fi the pain go away, All now she can't get better...	
				While the system designed to hurt your chances…just the under privileged a get disadvantage...	

injustices. Our findings suggest that reggae music may have the potential to activate young peoples' openness to change values and, in turn, prompt more favorable attitudes towards outgroups – this is a direction for future experimental research.

Conclusion

> "Oriens Ex Occidente Lux [A Light rising from the West]"
> (The UWI Motto, established 1949)

In this article, I have showcased how Caribbean psychology has taken a decisive lead in forging path-breaking directions for acculturation theory and research. A decade of research conducted by my colleagues and I have utilized Caribbean experiences from families in the diaspora and in the region as a case study for modern transnational families experiencing 21st century forms of acculturation. This research has elucidated the need for tridimensional (3D) and some multidimensional acculturation theory, to capture the experience of immigrants of color in multicultural societies where the heritage cultures they bring (#1) are greeted by both majority (#2) and minority (#3) destination cultures. Close to one half of these immigrants are tricultural and somehow keep a foot in all three worlds as they journey along. This Caribbean research has inspired research in other populations including Indians and Chinese Americans, and new research in the United States exploring the phenomenological experience of 3D acculturation promises to deepen our understanding of the lived experience of triculturalism (e.g., South East Asian refugee youth in the United States: Nguyen, Ferguson, Azen, & Xiong, 2017).

Caribbean research has also exposed and empirically documented the presence of remote acculturation whereby non-migrants acculturate towards faraway cultures by way of globalization avenues such as media, tourism, and transnationalism. Between 33% and 70% of non-migrant youth and about 10% of mothers in world regions surveyed display an Americanized identity ranging from simple bicultural forms such as "Americanized Jamaicans" in Jamaica to complex multicultural forms such as "AmeriBritSouthAfricanZambians"

in Zambia. Moreover, this line of basic Caribbean research is being successfully translated into targeted school- and community-based global health interventions because remote acculturation is a cultural determinant of health in the Caribbean. Of course, remote acculturation is multidirectional and Caribbean culture is also bringing about the Jamaicanization of young people worldwide through reggae music. This is yet another interesting and worthwhile avenue for research and intervention to explore the possibility of intentionally using reggae to foster positive social change efforts among young people worldwide.

Remote acculturation scholarship has inspired work by researchers in other populations including Mexico and the United States. Moreover, remote acculturation has expanded transdisciplinarily to include media and nutrition lenses. Ongoing work documents the media landscapes (e.g., Americanized food advertising in Jamaica: Nelson, Ahn, Giray, Ferguson, 2017) and food landscapes (e.g., Caribbean dietary practices: Giray & Ferguson, 2017; Stennet, Meeks Gardner, & Ferguson, 2017) in the Caribbean as a model for other developing regions, both of which mediate the effects of remote acculturation on health.

3D and remote acculturation theory and research, birthed through a University of the West Indies collaboration one decade ago, is now featured in the 2016 Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology (Ferguson & Birman, 2016) and in the 2017 Oxford Handbook of Acculturation and Health (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, 2017). The findings of this scholarship are benefitting the Caribbean directly through new intervention programs such as the JUS Media? Program, while also serving as a model for other developing regions experiencing similar globalization-related phenomena.

The UWI (Open Campus and Mona Campus), has been a steady partner in this program of research thus far, and, I hope, will be for many years to come. There are presently untapped prospects for UWI-led acculturation research given the inter-region migration for education and employment across UWI sites. This presents readily available and low-cost opportunities to conduct theory-informed research investigating the acculturation and adaptation of sojourning students and staff across islands, and to explore ways to tailor

orientation and support services to these student/staff needs. UWI counseling services currently offered to international students could be informed and bolstered by such empirical research – this would make for very meaningful and actionable Masters and Dissertation projects. And of course, the Caribbean Journal of Psychology is an ideal outlet for such new research.

In closing, I have dedicated my career to promoting Caribbean research for Caribbean people, but the impact of my efforts has gone far beyond this region. May Caribbean psychology and the UWI continue to partner in and champion new scientific pathways as it lives up to its motto to be a light rising from the West [Indies] to the world.

About the Author

Gail M. Ferguson is Assistant Professor in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. A clinical psychologist by training, her research interests include the psychological impact of 21st Century globalization (e.g., media, information and communication technologies, consumer goods, and migration) on adolescent identity, family relations, and health.

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