Americanization in the Rainbow Nation: Remote Acculturation and Psychological Well-Being of South African Emerging Adults

Gail M. Ferguson[1,2] and Byron G. Adams[3,4]

Abstract

This article expands remote acculturation research by exploring the presence, vehicles, and well-being implications of Americanization in a racially diverse group of post-Apartheid emerging adults in Johannesburg, South Africa ($N = 370$, $M_{age} = 19.8$ years: 63% Black, 21% White, 11% Indian, and 5% Coloured). Cluster analyses revealed three Americanized South African clusters constituting 71% of the sample (i.e., African-Americanized, European-Americanized, and Multicultural-Americanized), and one culturally traditional cluster (29%). Receiving U.S. goods and consuming U.S. fast food were the primary vehicles of Americanization. European-Americanized youth had higher life satisfaction than Traditionals and lower psychological distress than African-Americanized youth, after controlling for race. However, remote acculturation was not linked to family values or family conflict. Taken together with prior research, the bicultural and multicultural patterns of remote acculturation profiles appear to be culture universals, although the form (e.g., remote culture targeted) and well-being implications of remote acculturation (i.e., psychological and family) appear to be culture-specific.

Emerging adults in South Africa today have grown up in a remarkably different country and world than did their ancestors. The end of Apartheid in the early 1990s meant that South African youth of all races were, for the first time, legally permitted to have interracial and intercultural contact within their own country, something their parents did not experience as youth. Like emerging adults in other parts of the world, today's South African youth also inhabit a newly globalized world which potentially affords them exposure to and contact with cultures far beyond their country's borders, including those of the United States (Arnett, 2002). This present-day reality of fluid intercultural exchange among local and foreign cultures gives new meaning to former President Mandela's inaugural vision of a "rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world" (Mandela90, n.d.) and begs the question: How are emerging adults in South Africa acculturating and adapting to life in this modern "glocal" cultural neighborhood? "Americanization"[1] has been demonstrated in the Caribbean as a remote form of acculturation—acculturation toward distant, nonnative cultures based on indirect and/or intermittent intercultural contact fostered by globalization forces (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). However, additional evidence is needed to speak to the generalizability of this phenomenon to countries far removed from the United States, to emerging adults, and to non-Black racial groups. Moreover, the implication of Americanization for youth psychological adaptation is

unclear. Therefore, the current study investigates the presence, vehicles, and well-being implications of remote acculturation among emerging adults in South Africa.

Globalization and Glocalization Produce Remote Acculturation

Globalization, which involves the interdependence and "multidirectional flows of goods, people, and ideas" (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011, p. 285), has produced a new form of acculturation across distance—*remote acculturation*—by bringing geographically and historically separate people groups into meaningful contact, albeit indirectly and/or intermittently (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). In some places, it is

[1]Department of Human and Community Development, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, Urbana, IL, USA
[2]Department of Psychology, Knox College, Galesburg, IL, USA
[3]Department of Culture Studies, Tilburg University, the Netherlands
[4]Department of Industrial Psychology and People Management, University of Johannesburg, Johannesburg, South Africa

Corresponding Author:
Gail M. Ferguson, PhD, Department of Human and Community Development, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, Doris Kelley Christopher Hall, MC-081, 904 West Nevada Street, Room 2015, Urbana, IL 61801, USA.
Email: gmfergus@illinois.edu

glocalization—"the co-presence . . . of both universalizing [global] and particularizing [local] tendencies" (Robertson, 1997)—that best describes the impact of global or specific foreign cultures on local realities.

A number of scholars have studied the impact of globalization on adolescents using various disciplinary lenses (e.g., anthropology and psychology) and approaches (e.g., conceptual, qualitative, and quantitative). Schlegel (2001) commented on the "transportability" of adolescent culture (e.g., American and European cultural products move into other settings, p. 86) and highlighted how "taste," especially for media, rather than kinship, neighborhood, or school, now drives social bonding and "fantasy identity construction" among modern youth (Schlegel, 2001, p. 77). Reviewing United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization international data, Karraker (2013) described how the exportation and importation of "core cultural goods" across countries (i.e., consumer goods that express and transport notions, images, and values pertinent to a certain way of life) is part and parcel of cultural globalization. Jensen (2003) presented ethnographic data on the impact of globalization on sexual self-determination among young people in India, whose traditional culture promotes arranged marriage. One young woman explained that imported foreign ideas/media had long made love marriages glamorous to her such that she did not want an arranged marriage. Similarly, an ethnography of Inuit adolescents in the Canadian arctic showed how after the introduction of Western television (TV) youth began playing ice hockey complete with its competitive braggadocio, a style of interaction that runs counter to Inuit cultural values of understated humility (Condon 1988, as cited in Jensen, 2003). Although parent–adolescent relationships in some globalizing societies suggest a "convergence" with Western patterns in terms of less authoritarianism with more open communication (e.g., in South and Southeast Asia: Larson, Wilson, Brown, Furstenburg, & Verma, 2002), "persistence" and "hybridization" are also responses to globalization (Larson, Wilson, & Rickman, 2009).

Complementing this earlier research, which elucidated societal and community-level responses to globalization (e.g., Jensen's Indian youth and Larson's hybridization), remote acculturation research assesses patterns in *individual* responses to globalization. Arnett (2002) forecasted the emergence of one particular individual pattern for youth dealing with a local and global culture—a bicultural identity—and later, Jensen and colleagues (2011) outlined four possible globalization-related acculturation profiles. Remote acculturation research has empirically examined this question in the Caribbean (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). In their 2012 study, Ferguson and Bornstein surveyed 245 early adolescents and their mothers in Kingston, Jamaica, and using cluster analyses found one cluster of youth with a bicultural profile in terms of cultural behaviors, values, and family interaction patterns. *Americanized Jamaicans*, as this cluster was labeled, reported high Jamaican culture orientation in addition to relatively high European American orientation, lower family obligations, higher intergenerational obligations

discrepancies, and higher parent–adolescent conflict compared to a second cluster of culturally *Traditional Jamaicans*. What is more, Americanized Jamaican adolescents' scores on European American Orientation and family obligations resembled those of Jamaican immigrant adolescents living in the United States, and fell in between those of traditional Jamaicans and U.S.-born European American adolescents. A replication study in a second cohort of 222 Jamaican early adolescents found near identical results to Ferguson and Bornstein's 2012 original findings: 38% of the sample was grouped into an Americanized Jamaican cluster based on similar indicators of remote acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). In this second study, Ferguson and Bornstein found higher odds of Americanization among girls with more frequent TV/Internet consumption and among adolescents with less local TV and sports consumption. In addition, food, tourism, and transnational communication were positively correlated with stronger European American cultural orientation.

Remote acculturation and emerging adulthood. Emerging adulthood, a distinct developmental period between adolescence and early adulthood in some societies, is characterized by elongated self-discovery, pursuit of higher education ahead of marriage and family, and mobility/instability (Arnett, 2000). Emerging adulthood is likely to be a sensitive period for acculturation via globalization mechanisms because emerging adults have greater access and openness to external cultural influences via globalization technologies, which inform their ongoing cultural and ethnic identity development (Arnett, 2002; Jensen et al., 2011; Phinney, 1990). Four of the five distinguishing features of emerging adulthood may facilitate remote acculturation. First, globalization mechanisms including goods, food, and media bring ever more remote cultures into local spaces and present youth with many options for *identity exploration,* and many *possibilities* to imagine and create their own futures. Feeling *in-between* is also salient because remotely acculturating youth straddle two or more cultural worlds. This experience may, in turn, contribute to a level of life *instability*—emotional, relational, and professional—if emerging adults strive for remote ideals that may be unattainable locally. All these features of emerging adulthood make it more common in industrialized nations and within privileged/educated sectors of developing nations. Thus, university students in South Africa, who now have unprecedented access to foreign goods, media, and Internet, represent an ideal population in which to study remote acculturation. Although only 16% of 18- to 24-year-old South Africans enroll in university (SouthAfrica.info, 2014), these urban middle-class youth are the most likely to experience classical emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2011). Remote acculturation may also be more common among youth with higher parental education if this socioeconomic background affords better access to remote cultures.

Remote acculturation and psychological well-being. The association between Americanization and psychological functioning remains largely unexplored. On the one hand, Jensen,

Arnett, and colleagues argue that a consequence of exposure to local and global cultures is that the cultural identity of emerging adults becomes much more complex, which gives rise to cultural identity confusion and compromised mental health (Arnett, 2002; Jensen, 2003; Jensen et al., 2011). Ferguson, Ferguson, and Ferguson (2015) found partial support for this idea among remotely acculturating Zambian youth: Those with stronger orientation toward American, British, and South African cultures reported diminished life satisfaction but no greater psychological distress than culturally traditional Zambian peers. However, Cheung-Blunden and Juang (2008) failed to find higher depressive symptoms among Chinese-Western bicultural adolescents in Hong Kong compared to their culturally traditional peers. On the other hand, biculturalism may be an advantage rather than being disadvantageous or neutral if it helps youth negotiate multiple cultures in their daily lives. Chen, Benet-Martínez, and Bond's (2008) study among nonmigrant Chinese university students in Hong Kong and Beijing showed that having a culturally integrated Chinese–Western identity was positively associated with psychological adjustment.

The South African Context

South Africa is a multicultural society with 11 official languages and more than 13 different cultural groups categorized into four official ethnocultural groups: Black (approximately 79.5% of population), White (9%), Coloured (9%), and Indian (2.5%). The Black group (specifically, individuals of African descent) comprises nine indigenous groups, whereas White South Africans descended mainly from Dutch and British migrants, the Coloured group comprises people of mixed descent,[2] and the Indian group consists of the descendants of indentured laborers and traders. Culturally speaking, the Black, Coloured, and Indian groups are considered collectivistic (Adams, van de Vijver, & de Bruin, 2012).

Historically, the White group established dominance in South Africa through discriminatory policies, laws, and practices institutionalized by Apartheid, whose segregationist intent was aimed primarily at the Black group. Presently, the Black group has the numerical and political majority, although the White group still controls much of the economy. Thus, the legacy of apartheid is still evident in political, social, and economic realms of daily life (Glaser, 2010; Seekings, 2008), and racial group (self-)segregation in public spaces still exists to some degree. A large study found that South African university students from both Black and White groups attribute low interracial mixing to group "differences" (e.g., language, socioeconomic status, and behaviors) in addition to group-specific perceptions (e.g., Black youth reported that White individuals were rejecting and had low cultural appreciation, whereas White youth reported that Black individuals were preoccupied with race; Finchilescu, Tredoux, Mynhardt, Pillay, & Muianga, 2007). There also remain significant racial differences in economic outcomes faced by emerging adults. For example, unemployment, which is estimated at 48.3% among 15- to 24-year

olds and 28.5% among 25- to 34-year olds, is disproportionately weighted toward the Black group (53.8% and 32.2%, respectively) compared to the Coloured, Indian, and White groups (43.3% and 22.4%, 22.1% and 9.4%, and 14.5% and 5.0%, respectively; National Youth Development Agency, 2011).

Context for remote acculturation in South Africa. Given that South Africans have direct and continuous contact with important aspects of Dutch and British cultures in their own society through colonization, ancestry, and national institutional infrastructure (e.g., educational system), neither culture can be considered remote based on Ferguson and Bornstein's (2012) definition. U.S. cultures, on the other hand, are geographically distant and South Africans are exposed remotely but not via colonial past, immigration histories, or an institutionalized cultural presence.

U.S. cultures are transmitted to South Africa via a number of potential vehicles, perhaps especially U.S. goods, food, and mass media. The most recent *Sunday Times* (2014) Generation Next poll of the coolest brands among over 5,000 urban and peri-urban South African youth aged 8–23 found that U.S. brands were chosen as the coolest brands in several categories including clothing, electronics, food, and media. Apple iPhone was voted the #1 "coolest cellphone 2014," and Apple Mac was the #2 "coolest computer brand 2014." Nike was the #1 "coolest clothing brand 2014," the #1 "coolest show/footwear brand," and had the #1 "coolest brand slogan" (i.e., "Just Do It"). Acquiring goods from the United States, especially if received in the form of gifts from relatives and friends returning from travels to the United States, may over time foster a vicarious connection to and identification with the U.S. way of life (Karraker, 2013).

In addition, South Africa has the largest economy on the African continent (Selvanathan & Selvanathan, 2004), and the 2014 *Sunday Times* poll shows significant popularity of U.S. food among local youth. For example, McDonald's and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) were the #1 and #2 "coolest fast-food places 2014" ahead of three popular local chains, Doritos and Lay's were the top two "coolest snacks 2014," and Kellog's Corn Flakes was the #1 "coolest breakfast cereal 2014." Given that consuming U.S. foods reinforces an Americanized identity among U.S. immigrant youth (Guendelman, Cheryan, & Monin, 2011), there may be a similarly Americanizing effect on nonmigrant youth in other countries.

The boom in South African media in the last 20 years has also provided South African youth with indirect yet continuous U.S. cultural exposure. Digital Satellite TV (DSTV), introduced in 1995, broadcasts approximately 90% U.S. programming across its 108 channels (per TV guide schedule for July 2012). So much so that South African youth voted the U.S. soap opera "Generations" as the "coolest current TV program 2014" and all five of the "coolest kids TV channels 2014" originated from the United States including Disney and Cartoon Network (*Sunday Times*, 2014). Media may be a vehicle of remote acculturation through passive socialization/social

learning or active self-socialization where emerging adults seek out media to meet developmental needs for autonomy, intimacy, and identity; or a combination of the two (Coyne, Padilla-Walker, & Howard, 2013). U.S. food and media combine into an especially powerful vehicle of Americanization: U.S. media advertisements for U.S. fast food.

Hypotheses

To date, there is little evidence of remote acculturation (1) in a country that is very far removed geographically from the culture of influence, (2) among emerging adults, (3) in a multicultural society, and (4) in relation to youth psychological well-being. The current study aimed to extend the remote acculturation literature in these four ways and to investigate the potential vehicles of Americanization in South Africa. Study hypotheses were 3-fold. First, we expected to find at least one Americanized remote acculturation cluster showing higher U.S. culture orientation. Second, we expected Americanization to be positively associated with the consumption of U.S. goods, food, and media. Third, we expected Americanization to be associated with more individualistic family values, conflictual family relations, and lower life satisfaction, although no prediction was made regarding psychological distress given mixed findings in the literature.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Following institutional review board approval, a total of 385 consenting students were recruited from undergraduate classes at a large public university in Johannesburg, South Africa (M_{age} = 19.80 years, SD = 1.87; 66.5% female; 63% self-identified as Black, 21% White, 11% Indian, and 5% Coloured). Data from 15 students were excluded because they were not born in South Africa (n = 13) or they had lived the majority of their lives in another country (n = 2). The remaining 370 students reported a mean household education level (i.e., primary earner) of 5.11 ("Some college (at least 1 year) or training program," SD = 1.50) on a 7-point scale ranging from *less than seventh grade* to *graduate professional degree* (see Hollingshead, 1975). Approximately 90% of students had never visited the United States and 99% had spent no more than 2 months there across their lifetime. Paper-and-pencil questionnaires were administered in English, the language of university instruction, and participants were offered minimal course credit.

The setting of Johannesburg. Johannesburg is a bustling metropolitan area, with a vibrant cosmopolitan environment. Since the abolishment of apartheid, it has been a free market (now the economic hub of sub-Saharan Africa), which has seen much development in terms of telecommunication, Internet, and satellite TV. Much of the programming on TV is European American and African American due to the popularity of DSTV and Top TV (TopTV), and foreign TV programs are available 24 hr a day. In addition, many of the radio stations play international music, mainly from the United States. For example, 94.7 Highveld Stereo, a Johannesburg-based radio station, has streamed "On Air with Ryan Seacrest" (American Idol Host) during the primetime slot

Measures

Acculturation. The Acculturation Rating Scale for Jamaican Americans (ARSJA; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015; Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012), a tridimensional acculturation measure used with Black and White populations in the Caribbean and North America, was adapted to create the Acculturation Rating Scale for South Africans (ARSSA). The ARSSA contains six parallel cultural orientation scales (OS): one pertaining to each of the four major South African cultures and one pertaining to each of the two U.S. cultures. Each cultural OS tapped cultural contact/friendships (e.g., "My friends now are [insert culture], e.g., "Black South African"), cultural entertainment (e.g., "I enjoy listening to [insert culture] music"), and cultural self-identification and parentage (e.g., I like to identify myself as [insert culture]; My father identifies/identified as [insert culture]). Language items were excluded from the ARSSA because they were unable to differentiate between South African orientation and U.S. orientation given that English is an official language in both countries. (The four excluded items were "I speak mostly my home language," "I enjoy speaking my home language," "I write in my home language," and "My thinking is done in my home language"). An "American" culture item was also excluded, as it was not racial group-specific (i.e., "I like to identify myself as a South African who is culturally American"). Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*none or not at all*) to 5 (*very much or always*), and subscale means were calculated.

Within the ARSSA, the Black South African OS (α = .92), White South African OS (α = .88), Coloured South African OS (α = .85), and Indian South African OS (α = .91) each contained 11 items and had identical wording except for the names of the target cultures. The European American OS contained 9 items (α = .70) as it did in the ARSJA, on which the ARSSA is modeled. The 9-item African American OS, which had identical wording to the European American OS except for the name of the target culture, had an initially low reliability of .66. A factor analysis was therefore performed, revealing two African American OS factors with an Eigenvalue above 2. These were used instead of the overall African American OS mean: a 4-item African American entertainment factor (African American Entertainment OS α = .79) and a 2-item African American contact factor (African American Contact OS α = .70).

For analyses, a South African Orientation Score (South African OS) variable was subsequently created to capture each participant's cultural orientation toward his or her own ethnic culture (i.e., South African OS = Black South African OS score for the Black group, White South African OS for the White youth, Coloured South African OS for the Coloured group, and Indian South African OS score for the Indian group).

Measurement invariance across racial groups was not calculated for the ARSSA because although the actual content of the scales was parallel across groups, the psychological content differed depending on whether the scale was referring to own-group orientation (e.g., Black South African OS for a Black student) or other-group orientation (e.g., White South African OS for the same Black student). The validity of the ARSSA measure is evident in the fact that each racial group reported the highest cultural orientation toward its own culture versus other cultures assessed, and gave higher scores to its own culture than did participants from other racial groups.

Family obligations and rights. Students completed the 14-item Family Values Scale (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), which included beliefs regarding youths' family obligations (10 items) and rights (4 items specifically regarding sexual self-determination, which is an important aspect of family rights impacted by globalization: Jensen, 2003). A 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) was used, and subscale means were calculated. The Obligations subscale was unidimensional and had mostly adequate reliability and validity across racial groups (i.e., Cronbach's α for Black youth = .67, White youth = .59, Indian youth = .80, Coloured youth = .69; Tucker's ϕ = 0.90–0.94 excluding 1 item regarding obedience to parents). A sample item is "It's the child's responsibility to look after parents when they need help." The Rights subscale was bidimensional—"Rights to date" and "Rights to marry"—and each dimension had adequate reliability and validity across racial groups: (i.e., Cronbach's α for Black youth = .88 and .86, White youth = .81 and .80, Indian youth = .89 and .76, Coloured youth = .82 and .89, respectively; Tucker's ϕ = 0.94–1.0). Respective sample items are "When a girl reaches the age of 16, it is alright for her to decide whom to date and when to date" and "Girls/Boys should live at home until they marry."

Parent–adolescent conflict. Students completed the 20-item true/false Conflict Behavior Questionnaire–Short Form (CBQ-20; Robin & Foster, 1989). A sample item is "We almost never seem to agree." Positively worded items were reverse scored, and the number of items reported to be true was summed (possible range = 0–20). The CBQ-20 is unidimensional and had adequate reliability and validity across racial groups (i.e., Cronbach's α for Black youth = .87, White youth = .86, Indian youth = .87, Coloured youth = .88; Tucker's ϕ = 0.97–1).

U.S. goods and contact. In order of decreasing directness of intercultural contact, participants rated their contact with people and goods from the United States. Specifically, participants reported how often they interact with U.S. tourists in their everyday lives and the frequency of phone/text and Internet contact with individuals in the United States using a 5-point Likert-type scale: 1 = *never*, 2 = *once every couple months*, 3 = *once every other week*, 4 = *once or twice per week*, 5 = *every day or most days*. They also reported whether or not relatives/friends living in the United States had ever brought gifts to South Africa for them (Y/N).

Consumption of U.S. food. Using items created for this study, students reported their frequency of consuming U.S. and local food. Items were rated on the 5-point Likert-type scale described above for U.S. goods and contact. Culturally relevant food examples were gathered informally from South African emerging adults prior to data collection to ensure content validity. For food, three to six examples were listed for local-style cuisine (e.g., lunch food: *chips and rolls*, *pap and meat*; fast food: *Nando's, Steers and Chicken Licken*) and three to six examples for U.S.-style cuisine (lunch food: *hamburgers, pizza, and hotdog*; fast food*: McDonalds, KFC, and Pizza Hut*).

Consumption of U.S. media. Using items created for this study, students reported their frequency of consuming[3] U.S. and local South African TV shows. As with the food consumption questions, culturally relevant media examples were gathered informally from South African emerging adults. Popular local and U.S. shows were solicited across different genres (e.g., reality TV, drama, and news). Five to six local TV programs were listed as nonexhaustive examples (e.g., *Generations*, *SABC News*, *7de Laan*, *e News*, *Kyknet*, and *South African Idol*) along with five to six U.S. examples (e.g., *America's Next Top Model, Fox/CNN News,* and *CSI*). Items were rated on the same 5-point Likert-type scale used for food consumption. Media consumption was also assessed in terms of the grand total minutes of combined TV/Internet consumption during four segments of a typical weekday and weekend.

Psychological well-being: life satisfaction and psychological problems. Students completed the 6-item Brief Multidimensional Student Life Satisfaction Scale (Huebner, Seligson, Valois, & Suldo, 2006) using a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*terrible*) to 5 (*delighted*). This measure is unidimensional and had adequate reliability and validity across racial groups (i.e., Cronbach's α for Black youth = .75, White youth = .79, Indian youth = .77, Coloured youth = .90; Tucker's ϕ = 0.99–1). Students also reported recent minor psychological problems on the 12-item General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12, Goldberg, 1972) using a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from, for example, 1 (*better than usual*) to 4 (*much less than usual*). This measure is unidimensional and had adequate reliability and validity across racial groups (i.e., Cronbach's α for Black youth = .87, White youth = .85, Indian youth = .87, Coloured youth = .88; Tucker's ϕ = 0.93–0.97).

Covariates. 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). They also reported the total number of lifetime days spent visiting the United States ranging from 1 (*no, I have never visited the United States*) to 6 (*yes, I have spent over 12 months in the United States*).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Analyses were conducted using SPSS Version 22. The Expectation–Maximization algorithm (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977) was used to impute small amounts of missing data (<4% per variable, <2% per case). Little's missing completely at random (MCAR) test was significant, $\chi^2(18,027) = 18,902.91$, $p = .000$. However, because χ^2 analyses are sensitive to sample size, we computed and evaluated the normed χ^2 ($\chi^2/df = 1.04$). The normed χ^2 was acceptable ($\chi^2/df < 1.5$ or 2; Bollen, 1989), and the data were treated as MCAR (see Klimstra et al., 2013; Schwartz et al., 2013, for similar analysis). Table 1 displays the means, standard deviations, and means comparisons of major study variables across racial groups. For the total sample, the African American OS received the strongest endorsement, followed by the Black South African OS and White South African OS, which were equivalent. Analyses for each racial group (see Table 1) showed that participants most strongly endorsed the cultural OS pertaining to their own ethnic/racial group, followed by one of the U.S. OS. Participant age was not associated with any demographic or study variables except Adolescent Rights to marry ($r = .14$, $p = .01$). Therefore, age was excluded from analyses.

Hypothesis 1: Remote Acculturation Clusters Will be Identified

Consistent with previous remote acculturation research (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015) and some immigrant acculturation studies (e.g., Berry et al., 2006), cluster analyses were employed to test Hypothesis 1 because it is a parsimonious person-centered approach to analyzing multiple acculturation variables in a single analysis. The aim of cluster analysis is to identify groups of individuals with similar patterns of scores within each cluster, whose patterns of scores differ from those of individuals in other clusters (Everitt, Landau, Leese, & Stahl, 2011). First, a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's procedure and squared Euclidean distance was computed to inform selection of the best fitting solution (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011). Input variables for the cluster analysis were the South African OS (captures cultural orientation toward one's own ethnic South African culture), European American OS, African American Entertainment OS, and African American Contact OS. Based on average distances and inspection of the dendrogram, three-, four-, and five-cluster solutions were plausible, so these were compared for theoretical adequacy and optimal distinctiveness. Remote acculturation theory predicts the presence of Americanized and traditional clusters distinguished by their European American OS and/or African American OS scores (especially African American Entertainment OS as cultural orientation based on entertainment is more remote than contact-based cultural orientation captured by the African American Contact OS). The four-cluster solution supported this theoretical prediction—each cluster had significantly different European American OS and African American Entertainment OS scores compared to other clusters. On the contrary, two clusters in the three-cluster solution did not differ in European American OS scores, and two clusters in the five-cluster solution did not differ in European American OS or African American Entertainment OS scores. Thus, the four-cluster solution was the best fit, and the centroids computed by the hierarchical cluster analysis were then used to run a K-means cluster analysis replicating the four-cluster solution (see Figure 1). Stability of this four-cluster solution was further supported by computing a split-half multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs), which showed no significant differences on any acculturation indicators across the two sample halves (see Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).[4] Multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) using raw scores and controlling for parental education and social desirability confirmed differences between clusters in all acculturation indicators: multivariate $F(12, 1089) = 90.64$, $p < .001$. Each cluster was labeled based on its highest cultural orientation scores (see Table 2 for F tests and effect sizes for each acculturation indicator).

Of the four clusters identified, three were Americanized South African clusters constituting 71% of the sample: 43% *African-Americanized South African*, 12% *European-Americanized South African*, and 16% *Multicultural-Americanized South African*. One culturally *traditional South African* cluster constituted the remaining 29% (see Table 3 for the sample distribution per cluster). Compared to the traditional South African cluster, the three Americanized South African clusters had significantly higher European American OS and African American Entertainment OS scores, and Multicultural Americanized South Africans also had higher African American Contact OS scores (see Table 2).

Youth in the African-Americanized South African cluster had the highest African American Entertainment OS (objectively high, meaning above scale midpoint), the highest South African OS scores (objectively very high), and had the second lowest European American OS (objectively low, meaning below scale midpoint; see Figure 1). By contrast, youth in the European-Americanized South African cluster had the second highest European American OS (though objectively low), the lowest South African OS (though objectively very high), and the lowest African American Entertainment OS (objectively low), and tied for the lowest African American Contact OS (objectively low). The Multicultural-Americanized South African cluster had the highest European American OS (objectively moderate), the highest African American Contact OS and the second highest African American Entertainment OS (both objectively high), and equally high South African OS (objectively high) compared to the other clusters. Youth in the traditional South African cluster had the lowest European American OS and African American Contact OS (both objectively low), the second lowest South African OS (objectively very high), and the second lowest African American Entertainment OS (objectively low).

Chi-squares and analyses of variance assessed the association between cluster membership and demographic variables (i.e., gender, age, race, parental education, and time spent in the

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of Major Study Variables by Racial Group.

Variable	Total Sample (N = 370, 100%)		Black South Africans (n = 233, 63%)		White South Africans (n = 78, 21%)		Coloured South Africans (n = 19, 5%)		Indian South Africans (n = 40, 11%)		MANCOVA Across Groups[1]	Effect Size
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	F	η^2
Parental education	5.11	1.47	5.16[a]	1.53	5.31[a]	1.32	4.95[a, b]	1.35	4.50[b]	1.28	3.10*	0.02
Black South African OS	3.57	1.09	4.32[a]	0.45	2.16[b]	0.51	2.67[c]	0.70	2.40[b, c]	0.44	525.69***	0.81
White South African OS	2.73	0.97	2.24[a]	0.51	4.32[b]	0.44	2.46[a, c]	0.44	2.54[c, d]	0.58	344.20***	0.74
Coloured South African OS	2.00	0.70	1.86[a]	0.49	1.76[a]	0.48	3.94[c]	0.62	2.32[d]	0.59	110.07***	0.47
Indian South African OS	1.93	0.91	1.60[a]	0.44	1.70[a]	0.46	2.33[c]	0.61	4.10[d]	0.62	314.07***	0.72
European American OS	2.44	0.54	2.28[a]	0.46	2.87[b]	0.51	2.25[a]	0.38	2.66[b]	0.55	54.58***	0.31
African American Entertainment OS	3.67	0.97	4.04[a]	0.71	2.71[b]	1.07	3.77[a]	0.61	3.32[a]	0.85	3.30***	0.03
African American Contact OS	1.63	0.85	1.54[a]	0.72	1.67[b]	0.95	1.84[a]	1.02	1.93[a]	1.14	33.33*	0.21
Family obligations	3.85	0.58	3.84[a, b]	0.57	3.67[b]	0.48	4.27[c, d]	0.49	4.04[a, d]	0.66	6.51***	0.05
Right to date	3.56	1.12	3.52[a]	1.18	3.94[a, b]	0.84	3.61[b]	1.14	3.04[b]	1.00	5.33***	0.04
Right to marry	3.69	1.17	3.63[a]	1.25	3.93[a]	0.96	3.87[a]	1.05	3.50[a]	1.05	1.97[ns]	0.02
Conflict with mother	4.50	4.37	4.81[a]	4.50	3.71[a]	3.92	4.55[a]	4.32	4.21[a]	4.23	1.16[ns]	0.01
Life satisfaction	5.53	0.91	5.43[a]	0.91	5.94[b]	0.72	5.57[a, b]	1.13	5.81[b]	0.75	10.71***	0.24
Psychological problems	2.04	0.58	2.10[a]	0.60	1.87[b]	0.46	1.91[a, b]	0.60	2.03[a, b]	0.56	3.22*	0.03
ANOVA (F) across seven ARSSA scales[2]			1,329.37*** B > Ae > W/E > C > I/Ac		206.24*** W > E/Ae > B > C/I/Ac		30.08*** C/Ae > B/E/ W/I/Ac		52.63*** I > Ae > E/W/ B/C ≥ Ac			
η^2			.15		.27		.37		.43			

Note. Parent education = education of primary household earner (1–7). OS = Orientation Scale scores (scale = 1–5); Family Obligations and Rights (scale = 1–5); CBQ-20 = parent–adolescent conflict score (scale = 0–20); life satisfaction (scale = 1–7); psychological problems = (scale = 1–4; higher numbers = more problems); ANOVA = analysis of variance; ARSSA = Acculturation Rating Scale for South Africans; MANCOVA = Multivariate analysis of covariance.
[1]Covariates in MANCOVAs are parental education and social desirability, except for Row 1 where social desirability alone is covaried. Significant differences across racial groups are indicated with superscripts of differing letters and a Bonferroni correction was applied to MANCOVAs. [2]Bonferroni correction was applied to correct for multiple comparisons in within-subjects ANOVAs; B = Black South African OS; W = White South African OS; C = Coloured South African OS; I = Indian South African OS; E = European American OS; Ae = African American Entertainment OS; and Ac = African American Contact OS.
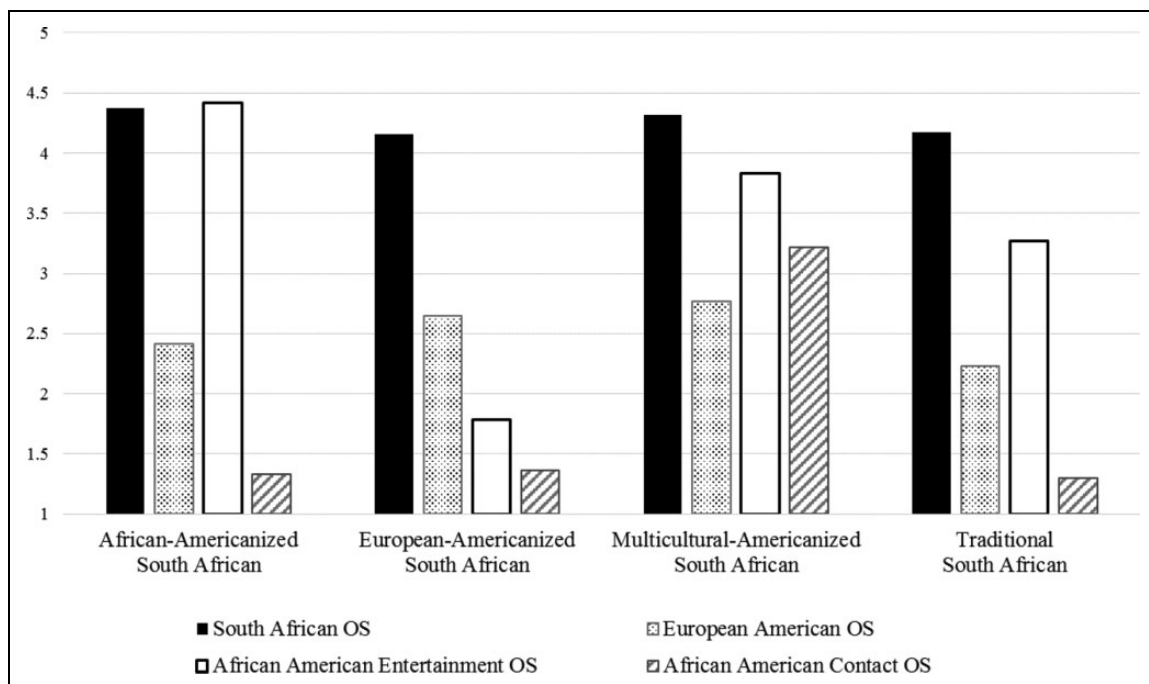*$p < .05$. ***$p < .001$.

Figure 1. Remote acculturation clusters. *Note.* OS = Orientation Scale scores (scale = 1–5).

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations of Major Study Variables by Remote Acculturation Cluster.

Variable	African-Americanized South African ($n = 158$, 43%)		European-Americanized South African ($n = 44$, 12%)		Multicultural-Americanized South African ($n = 59$, 16%)		Traditional South African ($n = 109$, 29%)		MANCOVA[1] Across Clusters	Effect Size
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	F	η^2
South African OS[2]	4.37[a]	0.40	4.16[a,b]	0.74	4.32[a, b]	0.48	4.17[b]	0.44	4.71**	0.04
European American OS	2.41[a]	0.45	2.65[b]	0.63	2.77[b]	0.61	2.23[c]	0.45	16.93***	0.12
African American Entertainment OS	4.42[a]	0.38	1.78[b]	0.50	3.83[c]	0.79	3.27[d]	0.37	378.93***	0.76
African American Contact OS	1.33[a]	0.41	1.36[a]	0.53	3.22[b]	0.68	1.30[a]	0.43	254.37***	0.68
Family obligations	3.88[a]	0.48	3.82[a]	0.51	3.78[a]	0.67	3.84[a]	0.67	0.72[ns]	0.01
Right to date	3.52[a]	1.19	3.69[a]	0.95	3.66[a]	1.07	3.52[a]	1.12	0.95[ns]	0.01
Right to marry	3.72[a]	1.21	3.89[a]	0.95	3.80[a]	1.20	3.51[a]	1.16	1.78[ns]	0.01
Conflict with mother	4.61[a]	4.13	3.41[a]	3.35	4.73[a]	5.00	4.65[a]	4.70	1.15[ns]	0.01
Life satisfaction	5.42[a,b]	0.86	5.84[a]	0.84	5.76[a,b]	0.92	5.42[b]	0.95	3.15*	0.02
Psychological problems	2.11[a]	0.60	1.85[b]	0.47	2.01[a,b]	0.55	2.02[a,b]	0.58	2.44[†]	0.02
Within-subjects ANOVA (F) across 4 ARSSA scales[3]	2276.88*** S = Ae > E > Ac		194.32*** S > E > Ae > Ac		69.15*** S > Ae > Ac > E		951.67*** S > Ac > E > Ac			
η^2 (ARSSA)	.94		.82		.54		.90			

Note. OS = Orientation Scale scores (scale = 1–5); Family Obligations and Rights (scale = 1–5); CBQ-20 = parent–adolescent conflict score (scale = 0–20); life satisfaction (scale = 1–7); psychological problems = (scale = 1–4; higher numbers = more problems); ANOVA = analysis of variance; ARSSA = Acculturation Rating Scale for South Africans; MANCOVA = Multivariate analysis of covariance.
[1]Covariates in MANCOVAs of cluster differences in South African OS, European American OS, African American Entertainment OS, and African American Contact OS are parental education and social desirability, and race is a third covariate in assessing cluster differences in family values and well-being. [2]South African Orientation refers to each participant's orientation toward one's own culture. [3]Bonferroni correction was applied to correct for multiple comparisons in within-subjects ANOVAs; S = South African OS; E = European American OS; Ae = African American Entertainment OS; and Ac = African American Contact OS. Significant differences ($p < .05$) across clusters/rows are indicated with superscripts of differing letters and a Bonferroni correction was applied to between-subjects MANCOVAs.
[†]$p < .10$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 3. Distribution of Participants Into Remote Acculturation Clusters by Racial Group.

	Remote Acculturation Cluster								
	African-Americanized South African		European-Americanized South African		Multicultural-Americanized South African		Traditional South African		
Racial Group	n (%)	ASR	n (%)	ASR	n (%)	ASR	n (%)	ASR	Total
African/Black	137 (87)	8.16	5 (11)	−7.55	30 (51)	−2.10	61 (56)	−1.80	233
White	10 (6)	−6.01	33 (75)	9.34	12 (20.5)	−0.15	23 (21)	0.01	78
Coloured	3 (2)	−2.43	0 (0)	−1.64	5 (8)	1.27	11 (10)	2.79	19
Indian	8 (5)	−3.07	6 (14)	0.64	12 (20.5)	2.57	14 (13)	0.81	40
Total	158 (100)	n/a	44 (100)	n/a	59 (100)	n/a	109 (100)	n/a	370

Note. Percentages refer to the proportion of each Cluster belonging to each racial group. $\chi^2(9) = 134.48$, $p < .001$. ASR = adjusted standardized residuals; n/a = not applicable.

United States). Gender, age, and parental education were not associated with cluster membership but race was, $\chi^2(9) = 134.48$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .35$. The African-Americanized cluster was primarily Black (87%) and the European-Americanized was primarily White (75%), whereas the Multicultural Americanized South African was racially mixed (51% Black, 20% White, 20% Asian/Indian, and 9% Coloured; see Table 3). European-Americanized and Multicultural-Americanized South Africans reported more time visiting the United States compared to African-Americanized and traditional South Africans, $F(3, 366) = 6.97$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .05$. Although statistically significant, this difference was hardly meaningful as the mean time in the United States for all four clusters fell between 1.0 and 1.5 days.

Hypothesis 2: U.S. Goods and Contact, Food, and Media as Vehicles of Americanization

Analyses for Hypothesis 2 were computed in two steps. First, partial correlations were computed among the European

American OS, African American Entertainment OS, and African American Contact OS and all potential vehicles of remote acculturation as a preliminary strategy to determine the most relevant variables to include in the subsequent logistic regression analyses. Analyses controlled for parental education, social desirability, and race because these variables were significantly associated with remote acculturation variables and/or potential vehicles of Americanization. Time spent in the United States was also controlled here to be conservative. Partial correlation results revealed that American OS scores were significantly correlated with three sets of remote acculturation vehicles: (1) goods and contact frequency (from/with U.S. individuals), (2) food consumption frequency (United States and local), and (3) media consumption frequency (United States and local; see Table 4 for a listing of these significant variables).

Second, these three sets of vehicles were entered as predictors into three separate hierarchical binary logistic regression analyses predicting the likelihood that adolescents would fall into an Americanized South African group (i.e., all three Americanized South African clusters combined) versus the traditional South African cluster (see Table 4).[5] Control variables of parental education, social desirability, race, and time spent visiting the United States were included in Step 1, and those with significant effects were retained in the analysis. Predictors of interest were entered into Step 2.

Estimation and convergence of the models were successful (<5 iterations for all models), standard errors in all models were relatively low, and Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit tests indicated acceptable fit for all models. The goods and contact model was significant in predicting remote acculturation cluster, $\chi^2(7) = 21.75$, $p = .003$ (Nagelkerke pseudo $R^2 = .08$). Specifically, there was an effect of having a relative/friend who brings gifts from the United States ($B = .76$, odds ratio $[OR] = 2.15$) such that having a gift-bearing relative versus not was associated with 115% higher odds of Americanization. The food consumption frequency model was also significant in predicting remote acculturation cluster, $\chi^2(7) = 20.94$, $p = .004$ (Nagelkerke pseudo $R^2 = .08$). Specifically, there was a main effect of U.S. fast-food consumption on Americanization ($B = .27$, $OR = 1.31$), meaning that a 1 standard deviation (SD) increase in frequency of consuming U.S. fast food was associated with 31% higher odds of being Americanized. The media consumption frequency model was not significant in predicting remote acculturation cluster.

Hypothesis 3: Remote Acculturation Clusters will be Associated with Individualistic Values, Family Conflict, and Psychological Well-Being

For Hypothesis 3, a MANCOVA was computed with remote acculturation cluster as the independent variable (i.e., all four clusters), and family obligations, adolescent rights to date and marry (respectively), parent–adolescent conflict, life satisfaction, and psychological problems as the dependent variables. Parental education, social desirability, and race were treated as covariates because these variables were significantly associated with remote acculturation variables and/or well-being. Results revealed a main effect of cluster on life satisfaction scores, $F(3, 363) = 3.15$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .02$, such that European-Americanized South Africans had higher life satisfaction than did traditionals (Cohen's $d = .45$). There was also a marginally significant main effect of cluster on psychological problems, $F(3, 363) = 2.44$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2 = .02$, such that African-Americanized South Africans had higher psychological distress than European-Americanized peers (Cohen's $d = .48$). Family values and conflict did not differ across remote acculturation cluster.

Discussion

Despite the fact that South Africa is over 5 times further removed from the United States than is Jamaica, Americanization is about twice as prevalent in South Africa (71%) as it is in Jamaica (33–38%: Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). Therefore, remote acculturation toward U.S. cultures does not depend solely on the geographical proximity but on the relative cultural influence exerted by the remote U.S. culture in the local setting. Study results also demonstrate that remote acculturation is not just an early adolescent phenomenon but is also quite salient in emerging adulthood, probably facilitated by the lengthy identity exploration, the consideration of multiple life possibilities, and feelings of in-betweenness of this developmental stage (Arnett, 2000). Moreover, remote acculturation is not a Black youth phenomenon nor does it merely reflect marginal/minority youth seeking belonging outside their homeland. Americanized South African youth hailed from all racial groups in this multiethnic sample. Importantly, negotiating multiple local and remote cultural worlds can be linked to psychological distress for some youth who may get caught between their ideals and local realities.

Remote Acculturation in South Africa—Diverse Bicultural and Multicultural Patterns

Taken together with prior remote acculturation findings in the Caribbean (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015) and Zambia (Ferguson et al., 2015), there is an emerging consensus that remote acculturation generally produces integration (i.e., bi/multicultural youth) or separation (i.e., culturally traditional youth) rather than assimilation or marginalization. The high prevalence of Americanization and the orientation toward one or more remote cultures in the current sample lend support to the prediction that most people today acquire globalization-based bicultural identities (Arnett, 2002). However, findings in this study add complexity to Arnett's prediction due to the multiculturalism of the local society and the remote society. First, the presence of four remote acculturation clusters in this South African sample indicates that remote acculturation is more complex in a multicultural/multiracial society than it is in a monocultural/racial one like Jamaica (two clusters). Second, the presence of remote acculturation clusters targeting different U.S.

Table 4. Vehicles of Americanization Predicting Remote Acculturation Cluster Membership Using Binary Logistic Regression Analyses.

Remote Acculturation Vehicles/Predictors[a]	Americanized South African ($n = 261$)			Traditional South African ($n = 109$)				
	M	SD	β[b]	M	SD	Wald χ^2	p	OR
Goods and contact								
Step 1: $\chi^2(3) = 8.20$, $p = .04$								
Racial group	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	11.93	0.01	n/a
Step 2: $\chi^2(4) = 13.55$, $p = .01$								
U.S. tourist contact	1.31	0.61	−0.18	1.35	0.65	2.13	0.15	0.83
Phone communication with United States	1.50	0.97	0.22	1.30	0.80	1.11	0.29	1.24
Internet communication with United States	1.75	1.21	0.15	1.49	1.05	0.56	0.45	1.16
Relative/friend who brings gifts from United States (Y = 0, N = 1)[c]	**0.77**	**0.42**	**0.76**	**0.88**	**0.33**	**4.56**	**0.03**	**2.15**
Food consumption								
Step 1: $\chi^2(3) = 8.41$, $p = .04$								
Racial group	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	11.00	0.01	n/a
Step 2: $\chi^2(4) = 12.53$, $p = .01$								
U.S.-style lunch	3.28	1.09	0.15	3.08	0.97	1.24	0.27	1.17
U.S. fast food	**3.29**	**0.95**	**0.27**	**2.97**	**0.90**	**2.87**	**0.09**	**1.31**
South African-style lunch	3.87	1.19	−0.13	3.94	1.22	1.11	0.29	0.88
South African fast food	3.52	0.95	0.10	3.11	0.86	0.44	0.51	1.11
Media consumption								
Step 1: $\chi^2(3) = 8.41$, $p = .04$								
Racial group	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	9.30	0.03	n/a
Step 2: $\chi^2(3) = 2.40$, $p = ns$								
Total weekly TV/Internet minutes	761.26	466.15	−0.06	738.42	378.29	0.19	0.66	0.95
U.S. TV	4.13	1.05	0.19	4.00	1.13	2.36	0.12	1.21
South African TV	4.22	1.16	0.01	4.15	1.18	0.01	0.92	1.01

Note. OR = odds ratio.
[a]Three separate hierarchical binary logistic regression analyses were computed for goods and contact, food and media variables, respectively. Parental education, social desirability, and lifetime days visiting the United States were not significant predictors and were dropped from the models. [b]βs reported here are from Step 2 of each regression and represent the relative log odds of being in an Americanized South African cluster versus the Traditional South African cluster for every 1 SD increase in the predictor. [c]βs reported here represent the relative log odds of being in this Americanized South African cluster versus the traditional cluster if one moves from having a gift-bearing relative/friend to not having one. Homer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit tests indicated adequate model fit for all steps in above analyses, all ps > .05. Significant predictors are bolded, excluding race.

(sub)cultures indicates that racial/cultural heritage and experiences of privilege/oppression play a role in selecting the remote culture. In the current study, 87% of the African-Americanized cluster came from the Black group and 75% of the European-Americanized cluster came from the White group. This is consistent with the findings of Ferguson and colleagues (2012) that Black U.S. immigrants were more oriented toward African American culture than mainstream European American culture, whereas the opposite was true for non-Black U.S. immigrants.

It is important to note that although European American Orientation scores of the three Americanized clusters were high relative to our expectations for nonmigrants, and higher than the scores of their culturally traditional South African peers, they were not always above the scale midpoint (see Table 2 and Figure 1). In addition, although the African American Orientation scores were highest for African-Americanized and Multicultural-Americanized emerging adults, they were also objectively high for traditional South Africans. This may be a testament to a cultural link that South Africans perceive between their own culture and African American culture, suggesting the possibility of a pan-ethnic Black/African identity.

African American culture has a particularly strong pull on South African youth. About 60% of the Americanized emerging adults were African-Americanized. For South African emerging adults, African American culture may reflect a "self-selected culture," a subculture carefully chosen because of its distinct anti-mainstream values (Arnett, 2002). South African youth, from the Black group in particular, may resonate with African Americans' racial struggles and hard-won civil rights successes and may desire to incorporate elements of this counterculture in their self-designed identity. The case of "Hiplife" music in Ghana, a youth-driven genre birthed from a glocalized cross between traditional Highlife Ghanaian music and African American rap music, demonstrates that biculturalism by way of African-Americanization is not unique to South African youth (Oduro-Frimpong, 2009). Ghanaian Hiplife music is an active cultural form which confronts political, economic, and societal issues of the day. Hiplife entertainers resemble African American rap stars in their dress, gait, and in being predominantly men, while maintaining some distinctly Ghanaian elements in lyrical content.

African American culture may also represent a uniquely positive example of progressive and accomplished Black and Brown groups in the world, making it a particularly attractive cultural identity option for some South African emerging adults. For example, President Obama's story (i.e., a biracial self-identified African American born to a Black Kenyan father and a White American mother, who was raised partly by his grandmother) may be uniquely inspiring to South African emerging adults from the Black and Coloured groups seeking personal and societal advancement. This post-Apartheid generation in South Africa may also have an intensified search for cultural affiliation and belonging and may look abroad to meet this need, given the ongoing interracial/cultural divisions in their homeland (Seekings, 2008). Perceiving many key interracial differences and disliking the race/culture-related behavior of other groups are likely to impede South African emerging adults' sense of cultural affiliation and belonging within their country (Finchilescu et al., 2007). This may explain why, next to their own ethnic culture, each racial group was most oriented toward a U.S. culture rather than toward another ethnocultural group within South Africa (see Table 1). In this way, Americanization has the potential to act as a unifying cultural force in a nation still healing from institutionalized racial and cultural divisions.

However, nearly 30% of South African emerging adults were *not* Americanized. Traditional South African emerging adults strongly endorse their local culture and are much less oriented toward foreign cultures. Taken together with similar findings in the Caribbean and the elsewhere, the weight of the evidence supports the conclusion that globalization does not eradicate local cultures (Arnett, 2002; Berry, 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015; Ferguson, Desir, & Bornstein, 2013; Robertson, 1997). Rather, in some instances, globalization actually strengthens or revives local culture engagement (Berry, 2008; Larson et al., 2009). This is one potential explanation for why African-Americanized youth had even higher South African Orientation scores than did their culturally traditional peers.

Americanization in South Africa Is linked to Consumption of U.S. Goods and Food

Findings supported our expectations that U.S. goods and food would be vehicles of remote intercultural contact facilitating remote acculturation in South Africa. Youth whose family and friends brought gifts for them from the United States were more likely to be Americanized. This result is not surprising, given how "cool" South African youth find U.S. products to be. In the *Sunday Times* 2014 Generation Next poll of the coolest brands among South African youngsters, multiple U.S. brands were voted as #1 including Nike (coolest clothes, shoes, and slogan) and Apple (coolest computer and cell phone). Consumer products can be very effective purveyors of culture because along with the item often comes values, attitudes, and identity aspirations (Karraker, 2013). This is in line with Schlegel's (2001) commentary on the

"transportability" of adolescent culture, including ways in which American cultural products move into other settings, driving what she called "fantasy identity construction" among modern youth (Schlegel, 2001, p. 77).

That U.S. fast food increases the odds of Americanization among South African youth was also expected based on its popularity among South African youth. The 2014 *Sunday Times* poll showed that McDonald's and KFC were the #1 and #2 "coolest fast food places 2014" ahead of three popular local chains. Current results are also consistent with food acculturation research among U.S. immigrants. A review of 34 quantitative and qualitative studies of immigrant food acculturation in the United States shows that stronger U.S. culture orientation is linked to consuming more fast food (Ayala, Baquero, & Klinger, 2008). In addition, U.S. researchers have found that college students from immigrant backgrounds consume more prototypically American food to reinforce their American identity/image when this identity is threatened in a social situation (Guendelman et al., 2011). There may be a similarly Americanizing effect of consuming U.S. fast food on nonmigrant youth in other countries who are remote acculturating toward U.S. cultures.

U.S. media was less important for remote acculturation than expected. Although U.S. media consumption was positively correlated with European American Orientation scores, $r(364) = .22$, $p < .001$, it was not a significant predictor of remote acculturation clusters because it was not associated with either of the African American Orientation variables. The inclusion of U.S. music as a potential vehicle of remote acculturation may have produced stronger associations given that South African youth voted MTV as the #2 "coolest music channel 2014," and all five of "coolest international celebrities 2014" were American music stars including Drake (#1) and Beyonce (#2).

Americanization in South Africa Has Mixed Implications for Psychological Well-Being

Some Americanized South African clusters fared better psychologically than others: European-Americanized South Africans had higher life satisfaction than traditional South Africans and also reported lower psychological distress than African-Americanized South Africans. Importantly, these well-being differences were not due to race because analyses controlled for race. Rather, African-Americanized youngsters' acute awareness of the discrepancy between their actual reality (e.g., present societal challenges stemming from the legacy of Apartheid) and their ideal (i.e., the perceived civil and economic successes of African Americans in the United States) may contribute to their higher distress. Jensen and colleagues (2011) highlight how exposure to global cultures via media in Nepal and other places may diminish youths' life satisfaction and cause psychic distress by opening the world to young people without giving them the means to fully experience it due to local constraints and limited means.

On the one hand, the psychic discomfort of African-Americanized South Africans may promote active self-development and motivate their participation in efforts to bring about societal change (Brandstädter, 1999; Ferguson, 2011; Lerner, 1982). That is, disenfranchised South African emerging adults (especially those in the Black group), who already have poor psychological well-being, may seek out African-Americanization as a path to self-empowerment and social progress. Social justice motivations can be a marker of positive youth development even though they may temporally increase psychological distress. On the other hand, African-Americanization may lead to poorer well-being if countercultural attitudes or social justice efforts take a psychological toll. There is also a possibility that already disadvantaged youth who remotely acculturate toward a marginalized subculture of another country (such as African American culture) may intensify their discontent, at least in the short term, as both local and remote identities carry liabilities. Contrary to the propositions of Jensen and colleagues (2011) and the remote acculturation findings among Westernized Multicultural Zambian youth in Zambia, European-Americanized South African youth had *higher* life satisfaction than did traditionals. In addition, Multicultural-Americanized South African emerging adults fared as well psychologically as did traditional South Africans. These findings suggest that remote acculturation is neither uniformly risky nor uniformly beneficial but depends at least in part on the specific remote (sub)culture, the local setting, and potentially also the motivation for remote acculturation.

Remote acculturation was not associated with individualistic family values or family well-being (i.e., parent–youth conflict levels), which suggests that remote acculturation among South African emerging adults may be domain differentiated—more behavioral and peer centered (i.e., pertaining to preferences for entertainment, food, fashion, etc.) than values and family centered. In support of this interpretation, the 2014 *Sunday Times* poll demonstrated that modern South African youth maintain a high level of interdependence and family centeredness in the face of Americanizing influences. Despite choosing many U.S. brands as coolest, youth voted "family and parents" as the #1 thing "they can't live without" ahead of many consumer goods including cellphones (#2), clothes (#3), and music (#4; *Sunday Times*, 2014).

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Current results may not be generalizable to nonuniversity students, rural youth, and those in settings with lower U.S. cultural penetration. Americanization may be less likely to occur in a rural setting based on a study in rural Haiti (Ferguson, Désir, & Bornstein, 2013). In addition, given the small subsample of Coloured emerging adults (due to the low percentage of Coloured individuals in the higher education), replication in an oversampled cohort of Coloured youth would be useful to confirm generalizability in that group. The single-item probes used to explore the vehicles of Americanization may have

lacked some precision, breadth, or sensitivity to capture the full range of possible effects. For example, failing to include U.S. music consumption frequency may have limited findings regarding U.S. media as a vehicle of Americanization. Nevertheless, the findings using these measures generally supported expectations. Creative experimental and longitudinal research would be helpful in assessing the directionality of remote acculturation and cultural consumption variables.

One avenue for fruitful new research is to explore the function of remote acculturation for young people across contexts. African-Americanization for South African youth may serve the function of group empowerment and group solidarity, whereas European-Americanization may serve the purpose of entertainment or personal advancement, and Multicultural-Americanization may serve a racial unification function. Multi-method research would be particularly helpful in exploring these ideas (Jensen, 2003). Future research can include measures of bi/multicultural identity integration as a possible explanatory variable for well-being differences across Americanized clusters (Chen et al., 2008). Finally, Americanization has been investigated in the remote acculturation literature to date based on its vast exportation of core cultural goods. However, exploring other remote cultures will add breadth to the existing literature.

Conclusion

Remote acculturation in the form of Americanization is not solely dependent on close geographical proximity nor is it limited to early adolescents or Black youth. Moreover, it can be more powerful than traditional acculturation toward other cultures in one's physical milieu. Taken together with prior findings in the Caribbean, the existence of remote acculturation and its bi/multicultural nature appear to be culture universals of remote acculturation. On the other hand, the form (e.g., which remote culture is targeted) and well-being implications of remote acculturation appear to be culture-specific. Remote acculturation may be a new mechanism by which youth are actively producing their own development in this 21st century. For South African emerging adults, this may mean the adoption of cultural self-guides from the far-removed United States, in order to strive for former President Mandela's vision of building "a rainbow nation at peace with itself" wherein "all South Africans, both Black and White, will be able to walk tall" (Mandela90, n.d.).

Authors' Note

An earlier version of this article was presented at the 2012 Biennial Meeting of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Author Contribution

G. Ferguson contributed to conception, design, analysis, and interpretation; drafted the manuscript; critically revised the manuscript; and gave final approval. B. Adams contributed to design, acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation; critically revised the manuscript; and gave final approval.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

Funding

Notes

1. The term "America" is used colloquially in Africa and the Caribbean to refer to the United States; therefore, quotation marks will not be used for the term Americanization in this article.
2. The four racial labels used in this article are official terms from the South African government. The Coloured group is considered one of the four major racial groups in South Africa and includes individuals of many mixed ethnicities (primarily between the first European settlers and the Black, Malay, Khoisan, and Indian groups: Adams, Van de Vijver, De Bruin, & Bueno Torres, 2014).
3. The Acculturation Rating Scale for South Africans (the African American Orientation Scale and European American Orientation Scale in particular) does not overlap with the consumption of U. S. media items. This is because the ARSSA taps *enjoyment of* U. S. TV and movies (e.g., AAOS: "I enjoy Black American/African American TV"), whereas the consumption items tap *actual consumption frequency* (e.g., How often do you watch American TV programs?). This is a subtle but important distinction that allows us to assess how one's acculturation orientation (i.e., enjoyment of a culture) is associated with degree of exposure (i.e., frequency of consumption of cultural products).
4. A K-means cluster analysis excluding participants from the Coloured group showed the same four clusters.
5. Binary logistic regression was preferable to multinomial regression for two reasons. First, we were more interested in predicting the likelihood of falling into any Americanized cluster relative to the traditional cluster, regardless of which Americanized cluster it was. Second, more cases per cell in the dependent variable (DV; i.e., remote acculturation cluster size) were needed in order to include demographic control variables in the analysis without inflating *OR*s. Peduzzi, Concato, Kemper, Holford, and Feinstein (1996) recommend a ratio of 1 predictor for every 10 cases in the smallest cell of the DV in a logistic regression analysis. Given that our largest regression had five predictors including control variables, each cluster needed at least 50 cases. This was the case in a dichotomous Americanization variable (109 traditional vs. 261 Americanized) for a binary regression but was not the case in a four-category Americanization variable (the smallest cell being 44 European-Americanized South Africana) for a multinomial regression.

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Author Biographies

Gail M. Ferguson is an assistant professor of human development and family studies at the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign. Her scholarship lies at the intersection of cross-cultural psychology, developmental psychology, and clinical psychology, and her current research investigates 21st century forms of youth acculturation. The long-term goal of her research program is to better understand and promote the health and well-being of Black youth across countries, with a particular focus on Caribbean youth.

Byron G. Adams is a postdoctoral fellow at Tilburg University in the Netherlands. He is an industrial and cross-cultural psychologist interested in exploring the relationship between identity, intergroup relations, and psychosocial functioning, and gaining insight into identity and personality across cultural groups, mainly in South Africa.