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I am AmeriBritSouthAfrican-Zambian: Multidimensional remote acculturation and well-being among urban Zambian adolescents

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One impact of globalisation is that adolescents today are frequently exposed to the values, attitudes and norms of other nations without leaving their own backyards. This may lead to remote acculturation—cultural and psychological changes experienced by non-migrant individuals having indirect and/or intermittent contact with a geographically separate culture. Using quantitative and qualitative data, we examined multidimensional remote acculturation among 83 urban Zambian adolescents who are routinely exposed to U.S., U.K. and South African cultures through traditional and social media and materials/goods. Cluster analyses showed 2 distinct groups of adolescents. "Traditional Zambians, TZs" (55.4%) were significantly more oriented towards Zambian culture and reported a higher level of obligation to their families and greater interdependent self-construal compared with "Westernised Multicultural Zambians, WMZs" (44.6%), who were more oriented towards U.S., U.K. and South African cultures. Furthermore, remote acculturation predicted somewhat lower life satisfaction among WMZs. These results demonstrate that individuals' behaviours, values and identity may be influenced by multiple geographically distant cultures simultaneously and may be associated with psychological costs.

Keywords: Remote acculturation; Zambians; Globalisation; Self-construal; Well-being; Adolescents.

Remote acculturation is a modern form of acculturation resulting from globalisation, whereby individuals adopt the practices, values and identities of foreign cultures in which they have never lived (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). In this study, we extend these findings with a sample of understudied adolescents growing up in urban Zambia, an ideal location to examine remote acculturation. Owing to Zambia's recent economic development and the influx of foreign goods and media, as well as increasing internet use, adolescents in Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, currently have unprecedented access to international influences from multiple nations. This multinational influence allows us to test the possibility of multidimensional remote acculturation—that urban Zambian adolescents become oriented towards multiple remote cultures simultaneously, specifically, U.S., U.K. and South African cultures. While prior studies have focused mainly on remote acculturation in behaviours and values, this study also highlights remote identity acculturation. In addition, we examine whether remote acculturation is relevant to adolescents' well-being as has been found among remotely acculturated emerging adults (Ferguson & Adams, in press).

REMOTE ACCULTURATION: ACCULTURATION WITHOUT MIGRATION

Traditionally, acculturation research has focused on individuals in contexts impacted by migration, in which migrants and nationals come in contact and are changed

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in response to the cultural exchange (Sam & Berry, 2010). Psychological acculturation (henceforth "acculturation") refers to the changes in these individuals' behaviours, values and identity (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). However, *remote acculturation* proposes that acculturation can also occur among individuals who remain in their original country and are exposed indirectly and/or intermittently to geographically and historically distant cultures via globalisation mechanisms (Ferguson, 2013). Remote acculturation was originally conceptualised by Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) as a multidomain process involving behaviours, identity and values, as recommended by Schwartz et al. (2010). Our conceptualisation of remote acculturation in this article adheres to this same view.

Remote acculturation is linked to social change (Greenfield, 2015; Silbereisen & Chen, 2010), Chen's (2015) "pluralist–constructivist" perspective in particular. This perspective examines how cross-cultural exchanges and advances in modern technology increase individuals' exposure to values, ideas and lifestyles different from those of their native countries, with subsequent changes affecting cognitive and socioemotional development. Although both remote acculturation and social change focus on the psychological impact of globalisation, social change focuses more on examining group-level changes, whereas remote acculturation focuses more on individual differences in those changes. In addition, social change is seen as resulting from several types of major events, such as political shifts and economic changes; in contrast, remote acculturation focuses more exclusively on cultural globalisation as a source of remote acculturation.

Remote acculturation springs from the bidimensional conceptualisation of acculturation, which holds that individuals can embrace the values and customs of a new culture independently from their decision to stay connected to their ethnic culture (see Sam & Berry, 2010, for a more detailed explanation of the bidimensional model). Remote acculturation applies this understanding of acculturation to new geographically distant cultures, and local culture affiliation is seen as compatible rather than competing with remote culture affiliation. Berry's acculturation theory (Sam & Berry, 2010) predicts four theoretical possibilities for acculturation strategies when two cultural dimensions are crossed—integration (high contact with host and heritage cultures), assimilation (low on contact with heritage culture), separation (low on contact with host culture) and marginalisation (low on contact with both cultures)—but not all four are always present in a given population or context. For example, using latent-class analyses Schwartz and Zamboanga (2008) found multiple integrated groups and no clear marginalised group among immigrants. In the context of remote acculturation, where non-migrant individuals are still living in the home country, it is quite unlikely that they would disown their local culture because they are permanently embedded there. Thus, marginalisation and assimilation strategies are improbable, making integration and separation more likely.

Recently, remote acculturation was demonstrated among urban adolescents in Jamaica who have significant exposure to U.S. culture(s) on the island due to trade, tourism and technology (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Focus group interviews show that Jamaican adolescents perceive European American culture as a remote culture distinct from their own local culture (Jamaican); this is a prerequisite of acculturation (Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013). Using empirical clustering of multiple acculturation indicators, a two-cluster solution emerged as the best fit for Ferguson and Bornstein's Jamaican data, a finding later replicated in a new Jamaican cohort with confirmatory cluster analyses (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015). As expected, there was an integrated cluster labelled "Americanised Jamaicans" (33%) showing a strong orientation towards the local Jamaican culture in addition to marked acculturation towards U.S. culture in their behaviours (i.e. stronger European American entertainment preferences and social networks, weaker orientation to Jamaican culture), and values (i.e. weaker traditional family obligations values, larger parent–adolescent discrepancies in those values). There was also a separated cluster labelled "Traditional Jamaicans," compared to whom Americanised Jamaicans reported greater conflict with parents related to the parent–adolescent acculturation gap. Substantiating that their remote acculturation was towards U.S. culture, Americanised Jamaicans' scores on European American orientation were closer to a comparison group of Jamaican immigrants in the U.S. than to their Traditional Jamaican peers. Americanised Jamaicans' traditional family obligation values were also no different from a second comparison group of European Americans. Remote acculturation to the U.S. has also been documented among a diverse group of emerging adults in South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, in press). Other work shows acculturation towards British culture among a subset of Hong Kong adolescents in the former British colony (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008). In the current investigation, we build upon this previous research by studying remote acculturation in a sample of urban Zambian adolescents.

Remote acculturation occurs because of cultural exchanges of ideas, products and people (e.g. via media, food and tourists; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). These cultural exchanges are referred to as globalisation (Berry, 2008), and hence, globalisation prompts remote acculturation. Currently, individuals' exposure to geographically distant cultures is accelerated by advancements in modern technology and commerce (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Media may be a major mechanism of remote acculturation. Ferguson and Bornstein (2015) found that adolescents who consumed more U.S.

television (TV) and less local TV had significantly higher odds of being Americanised Jamaicans.

Remote acculturation is particularly salient among adolescents because determining one's cultural identity becomes highly important during adolescence (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Acculturation is itself a process of altering identities and adolescents are developmentally more receptive to new ideas that they could incorporate into their identities. In addition, given that adolescents are more interested in and consume more media, including global media, compared with other age groups (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), remote acculturation may be more clearly evident among adolescents.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN WELL-BEING-RELATED VARIABLES

Previous research suggests that remote acculturation is linked to well-being in terms of life satisfaction and psychological problems (Ferguson & Adams, in press). Thus, this study examined psychological distress, life satisfaction and parent–adolescent conflict. Adolescents are likely to adopt new values from foreign cultures faster than their parents (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), which may lead to greater conflict between adolescents and their parents.[1] Research suggests that greater intergenerational conflict characterises some families in which adolescents adopt different values than their parents (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Telzer, 2010).

Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) found that parent–adolescent dyads in Jamaica who were mismatched in their remote acculturation cluster (i.e. one partner was Americanised Jamaican whereas the other was Traditional Jamaican) reported significantly more parent–adolescent conflict compared with dyads in which partners were matched. The discrepancy may lead to disagreements on a variety of decisions guiding adolescents' development (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), potentially adding stress and confusion for both adolescents and parents.

Previous research on bicultural individuals who have integrated both the heritage and receiving cultures reports better psychological and sociocultural adaptation (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). However, this may not be true of remote acculturation, because inconsistencies in values and practices between native and remote cultures may add stress on the individual as they become less clear about their cultural identity (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). For instance, although individuals in collectivist African nations traditionally adopt interdependent self-concepts and thus view themselves as inherently connected to others (Triandis, 1994), adolescents whose self-concept becomes more independent with the influence of Western cultures may feel estranged from their local context. Whereas being bicultural may be adaptive if individuals must continually engage with both host and heritage cultures, remotely acculturated individuals may not have many opportunities to interact with individuals from the remote culture(s). In addition, the lives of individuals in Western nations portrayed through media exaggerate the wealth and luxury enjoyed by people in these nations, and Zambian adolescents who view such images may increase their expectations for similar lifestyles. Unrealistically high expectations may create greater potential for disappointment by adolescents who view their current situations as not meeting those expectations (Jensen & Arnett, 2012).

THE CURRENT STUDY

Zambia's economy has experienced rapid growth in the past decade, with the country's gross national income per capita increasing from $1830 in 2004 to $3070 in 2013 (World Bank, 2014). Urbanisation has also rapidly increased, with 40% of the population currently living in cities (UN data, 2014). These changes have brought a greater variety of international television programming, food and other consumer goods, particularly from the U.S., the U.K. and South Africa to urban centres in Zambia. Currently, Zambian youth have access to international media events and shows from the three countries (e.g. U.S. MTV music video awards, Big Brother from the U.K. and South Africa; see The Best of Zambia, 2014) and local grocery stores prominently feature South African, U.K. and U.S. foods (e.g. Simba brand potato chips from South Africa; see http://www.shoprite.co.zm/). Furthermore, internet use has increased dramatically from an estimated 20,000 users in 2000 to 1,589,010 users in 2012 (Internet World Stats, 2014). With an estimated 13.5% of Zambians using the internet in 2012 (UN data, 2014), Zambians now have freer remote access to these foreign cultures. Traditionally, Zambia has had multiple cultural and linguistic groups and influences (Prah, 2010), and it appears likely that recent social and economic developments have further increased the diversity of international presence in Zambia.

Multidimensional remote acculturation

Although the bidimensional model (e.g. Sam & Berry, 2010) has been commonly used in past acculturation research, a multidimensional perspective (i.e. acculturation to more than two cultures) may better

[1] Although parent–adolescent conflict has been included in cluster analyses in prior remote acculturation research (i.e. Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), it can also be considered to be a well-being outcome (see Birman, 2006). Therefore, it was treated as such in this study along with life satisfaction and psychological problems. Cluster analyses with or without parent–adolescent conflict provide the same results regarding cluster membership.

characterise twenty-first century youth who often reside in multicultural locations (Ferguson, 2013; Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012) and experiment with a variety of cultures' values and practices (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Thus, in this study, Zambian adolescents' *multidimensional remote acculturation* towards the U.S., U.K. and South Africa is examined.

Remote identity acculturation

In addition to remote behavioural and values acculturation, this study also highlights remote identity acculturation by examining interdependent versus independent self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Cultural groups that place priorities on social harmony and group goals encourage individuals to adopt an interdependent self-concept in which they view themselves as inherently connected and responsible to others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, those in contexts that value personal agency and individual rights and freedom are likely to have an independent self-concept. Zambians are likely to be more interdependent than individuals from Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada (Triandis, 1994); however, Zambian adolescents who are remotely acculturated to cultures such as those of the U.S. and the U.K. may have adopted a more independent self-concept compared with their Zambian peers.

Hypotheses

We aimed to investigate multidimensional remote acculturation in an understudied sample of adolescents who live in a location with remote multinational presence, and its relation to well-being-related outcomes. This is the first remote acculturation study to highlight remote identity acculturation by measuring adolescent self-construals. Zambian (and, indeed, African) adolescents are rarely represented in behavioural research; thus, we expected our findings to provide a unique contribution towards the current understanding of acculturation and globalisation. Our specific hypotheses were as follows:

1 Based on theory and empirical findings that marginalisation and assimilation are unlikely in remote acculturation, cluster analyses will identify integrated (i.e.WMZs) and separated (i.e. TZs) groups of adolescents. We expect WMZs to have stronger orientation towards the U.S., the U.K. and South Africa, lower family obligations and less interdependent self-construals compared to TZs.
2 Extending previous findings, compared to TZs, WMZs will report poorer psychological functioning, as indicated by lower life satisfaction, more psychological symptoms and higher conflict with their mothers.

METHOD

Participants and procedure

Eighty-three adolescents ($M_{age} = 15.12$, $SD_{age} = 1.38$; 48.2% females) from a private school in Lusaka completed several questionnaires in English. All participants were born and raised in Zambia or had lived in Zambia at least half of their lives, and identified themselves as Black African (43.4%), White (22.9%), Southeast Asian (13.3%), Multiracial or Coloured (13.3%), East Asian (2.4%) or Other (4.8%). Participants reported speaking English very often at home ($M = 4.51$, $SD = .72$ on a scale ranging from 1 = *Not at all* to 5 = *All the time*). English is also the primarily language of instruction at the school. The three most commonly spoken languages other than English include Nyanja ($n = 15$), Bemba ($n = 8$) and Gujarati ($n = 6$). Participants more frequently reported that fathers were the main income provider (85.7%) compared to mothers (13.1%). Education level of the income provider was as follows: 12.6% finished 10th or 11th grade or less, 2.1% passed International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) exams, 8.4% passed "A" level exams (IGCSE and "A" level exams are both competency exams in the British education system that many schools in Zambia follow), 43.2% completed at least some university work or training programme, and 33.7% completed a post-graduate or professional degree.

All students aged 13 and older were invited to participate. Participation was voluntary, and written consent was obtained from adolescents and their parents or a school administrator who served in loco parentis for students who boarded at the school. Regardless of participation by individual students, each participating class (10–20 students) as a whole received $50 (U.S.) in compensation to spend towards a class party.

Measures

Multidimensional remote acculturation

Multidimensional remote acculturation consisted of participants' cultural practices (i.e. consumption of foods, media preferences and use of languages), cultural values (i.e. valuing obligations towards one's family) and identifications with cultures (i.e. cultural self-concept), following recommendations by Schwartz et al. (2010). These measures are described below and Table 1 displays means and standard deviations.

Cultural practices: Acculturation Rating Scales

Acculturation Rating Scales (adapted from Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012 and Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) assessed the level of orientation towards

TABLE 1
Comparison of Westernised Multicultural Zambians (WMZ)[a] and Traditional Zambians (TZ)[b]

Variable (range)	*WMZ M (SD)*	*TZ M (SD)*	*df*	*F*	*p*
Zambian orientation (1–5)	3.24 (.82)	3.79 (.70)	81	11.04	.001
American orientation (1–5)	3.03 (.97)	1.84 (.57)	81	51.11	< .001
British orientation (1–5)	3.31 (.74)	2.33 (.46)	81	53.79	< .001
South African orientation (1–5)	2.77 (.70)	2.25 (.63)	81	12.59	.001
Family obligations (1–5)	3.21 (.54)	3.79 (.35)	81	34.56	< .001
Interdependent self (0–1)	.24 (.17)	.36 (.18)	81	9.74	.003
Life satisfaction (1–7)	5.14 (1.05)	5.54 (.93)	81	3.34	.07
Psychological problems (1–4)	2.23 (.51)	2.15 (.61)	79	.39	.54
Parent–adolescent conflict (0–20)	6.00 (4.70)	6.35 (3.81)	80	.14	.71

[a]$n = 37$. [b]$n = 46$.

the cultures of these nations: Zambia ($\alpha = .89$), U.S. ($\alpha = .81$),[2] U.K. ($\alpha = .85$) and South Africa ($\alpha = .78$). On a 5-point scale, with low ratings indicating low frequency or use, 11 items asked about languages spoken (e.g. "I speak mostly my home/ethnic language"), media enjoyed (e.g. "I enjoy listening to Zambian/American/British/South African music"), contact with individuals from the four nations (e.g. "My friends, while I was growing up, were Zambian/American/British/South African") and their parents' identification with the four nations (e.g. "My mother identifies herself as Zambian/American/British/South African"). Although it is plausible for Zambian youth to orient similarly towards U.S., U.K. and South African cultures because of positive images of all three cultures within Lusaka, we wanted to test this question empirically by keeping the cultures separate in measurement and analysis.[3]

Cultural values: Beliefs regarding obligations within the family

A subscale of the Family Values Scale (Berry et al., 2006) assessed participants' attitudes regarding their obligations to their families ($\alpha = .65$; e.g. "It is a child's responsibility to look after the parents when they need help"). Participants rated their agreement with 10 statements on a 5-point scale, ranging from "*strongly disagree*" to "*strongly agree*," and items were averaged, with high scores indicating greater responsibility towards the family.

Cultural identifications: Interdependent self-concept

Using the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), participants listed 20 self-descriptions in response to the question, "Who am I?" This method allowed participants to describe themselves in their own words. The first 10 responses[4] were coded independently by two of the authors after first establishing a coding scheme on whether they were interdependent/socially oriented (e.g. "I am friendly," "I am Zambian born") or independent (e.g. "I am smart") following the method used by Watkins, Yau, Dahlin, and Wondimu (1997). The inter-rater reliability between the coders ranged from $\kappa = .86–.98$ across each of the 10 response sets. Only responses on which the two coders agreed (93.5% of all TST responses) were used to calculate the proportion of responses reflecting interdependent descriptions.

Life satisfaction

Life satisfaction was measured using the six-item Brief Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale (Seligson, Huebner, & Valois, 2003; $\alpha = .80$). Items reflecting different domains of life (e.g. family, school

[2]Because the subscale assessing orientation to the U.S. initially showed low reliability ($\alpha = .67$), we conducted an exploratory factor analysis to identify a subset of items with higher reliability. The factor analysis revealed a single factor that explained about 25% of the variance consisting of items reflecting contact with Americans. The results of the main analyses are similar between the two versions of the variables. Furthermore, in contrast to prior remote acculturation studies in which the Acculturation Rating Scales included parallel items for distinct subcultures within the U.S. (i.e. African Americans and White Americans), this study assessed participants' orientation towards the U.S. culture overall. In a pilot survey, Zambian adolescents did not distinguish among the subcultures and may have found the previous bifurcated Acculturation Rating Scales used by Ferguson and colleagues to be confusing.

[3]Although a former British colony, we viewed British culture as being sufficiently distinct from Zambian culture in the experiences of modern Zambian adolescents that the U.K. merited inclusion in our study as a distinct culture.

[4]We used the first 10 responses for our analyses because some participants did not complete all 20 responses. Furthermore, we suspected that participants' fatigue increased as they continued the 20 statements, which may result in self-descriptions that are less reflective of the participants. Previous research (Watkins et al., 1997) shows that results do not vary significantly when comparing the results of the first 10 responses to the entire set of responses.

experience, friendships) were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from "*terrible*" to "*delighted*" (e.g. "I would describe my satisfaction with myself as ___"). Scores were calculated by averaging across the items.

Psychological problems

The 12-item General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg & Hillier, 1979; $\alpha = .79$) assessed participants' psychological health, including difficulty with concentration, mood and sleep. Participants rated the extent to which they experienced these symptoms (e.g. "felt constantly under strain") on a 4-point scale ranging from "*better* (*more*) *than usual*" to "*much less than usual*." Scores were calculated by averaging across the items (after reverse-scoring some items), with high scores reflecting greater negative psychological symptoms.

Parent–adolescent conflict

Conflicts that adolescents have with their mothers were assessed with the 20-item true/false Conflict Behaviour Questionnaire (Robin & Foster, 1989; $\alpha = .83$; e.g. "We almost never seem to agree"). Scores were summed across the items (in 0 or 1 binary form) after some items were reverse-scored. High scores reflect higher conflict.

RESULTS

Testing Hypothesis 1: Assessing remote acculturation clusters

Pilot testing indicated that Zambian youth easily differentiated among the three remote cultures and preliminary analyses showed a fair amount of statistical independence between ratings of the three cultures. Orientation to South Africa was unrelated to orientation to the U.S. and had a negligible association with orientation to the U.K. ($R^2 = .06$). Orientation to the U.S. shared a small amount of variance with orientation to the U.K ($R^2 = .19$), indicating that these cultural dimensions were relatively distinct for adolescents. See Table 2 for correlations among indicators of remote acculturation and well-being-related variables.

Cluster analysis results

Following from previous remote acculturation research (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015) and some immigrant acculturation studies (e.g. Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008), cluster analyses were employed for Hypothesis 1 because it is a parsimonious approach to assess behavioural, values and identity acculturation in a single analysis. Cluster analyses identify sets of adolescents based on naturally occurring differences in their scores on the remote acculturation variables: acculturation towards the four cultures, obligations in the family and interdependent self-concept. Individuals whose scores exhibit a similar pattern across variables are grouped together and differentiated from groups showing dissimilar patterns in their scores (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).

First, a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's procedure and squared Euclidian distance was computed to inform selection of the best fitting solution. Based on average distances and inspection of the dendrogram, two-, three- and four-cluster solutions were plausible, and were then compared for theoretical adequacy and optimal distinctiveness. Theoretically, remote behavioural acculturation (i.e. higher remote culture orientation) should be aligned with remote values acculturation (i.e. lower family obligations) and identity acculturation (i.e. less interdependent self-construal). The two-cluster solution supported this theoretical prediction (behaviour, values and identity were aligned in the expected directions) and there were significant cluster differences on all six acculturation indicators. The two clusters were consistent with our expectations for a WMZ group and a TZ group. For the three- and four- cluster solutions, on the other hand, acculturation behaviour, values and identity measures were not always aligned in the theoretically predicted directions and there were no cluster differences

TABLE 2
Correlations among remote acculturation indicators

	1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
1. Zambian orientation	—							
2. American orientation	−.08	—						
3. British orientation	−.13	.43***	—					
4. South African orientation	.15	.21	.25*	—				
5. Family obligations	.17	−.10	−.34**	−.12	—			
6. Interdependent self	.19	−.15	−.13	−.01	.29**	—		
7. Psychological problems	−.08	−.02	.00	.12	−.20	−.05	—	
8. Life satisfaction	.13	−.13	−.10	−.06	.32**	.04	−.48***	—
9. Parent–adolescent conflict	.15	−.09	.09	.03	−.19	.07	.37**	−.28*

*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

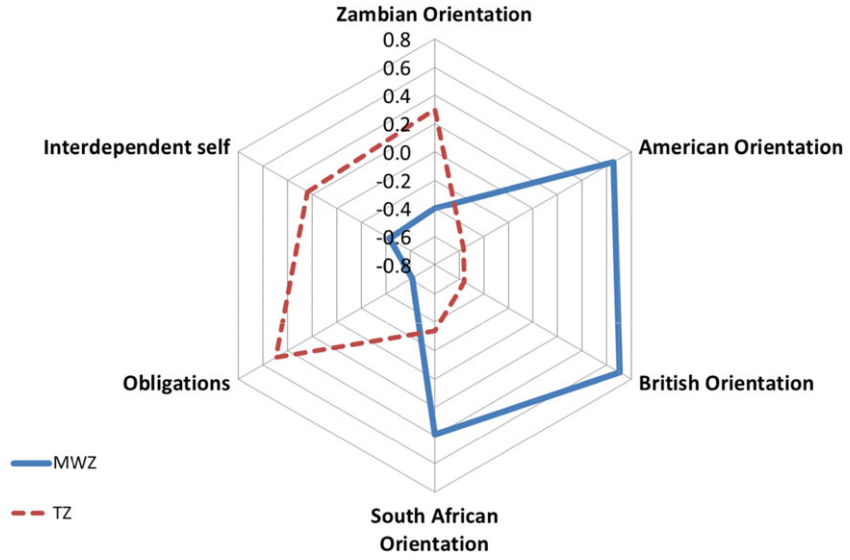

Figure 1. Differences (in z-scores) in multidimensional remote acculturation indicators between Westernised Multicultural Zambians (WMZ) and Traditional Zambians (TZ).

on half the indicators for the three-cluster solution, and no differences on five indicators for the four-cluster solution. Thus, the two-cluster solution was the best fit. The centroids computed by the hierarchical cluster analysis were then used to run a K-means cluster analysis, which supported the two-cluster solution initially identified by the hierarchical analysis. Stability of the two-cluster solution was further supported by computing a split-half multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), showing no significant differences on any acculturation indicators across the two sample halves (see Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011).

Follow-up analyses of variance (ANOVAs) confirmed that WMZs (44.6%, $M_{age} = 14.83$, $SD_{age} = 1.36$) scored lower on orientation towards Zambia ($d = -.73$) while consistently scoring higher on orientation towards the U.S. ($d = 1.50$), the U.K. ($d = 1.59$) and South Africa ($d = .78$; see Table 1 and Figure 1) compared to the other cluster (TZs, 55.4%, $M_{age} = 15.33$, $SD_{age} = 1.39$). The WMZs reported a significantly lower sense of obligation towards their families than the TZs ($d = -1.27$). WMZs ($M = .24$, $SD = .17$) were also less likely to include interdependent/socially oriented self descriptions in their TST responses compared to the TZs ($d = -.69$). These results support the first hypothesis that remote multidimensional acculturation can be seen in our sample of urban Zambian adolescents.

We explored the data in two ways to ensure that racial backgrounds of the WMZs and the TZs did not confound cluster membership. First, we examined cluster membership. Among WMZs, 32.4% were Black African, 2.9% were Southeast Asian, 38.2% were White, 20.6% were Multiracial and 5.9% identified themselves as "other." Among the TZs, 52.1% were Black African, 20.8% were Southeast Asian, 4.2% were East Asian, 12.5% were White, 6.3% were Multiracial and 4.2% identified themselves as "other." Thus, racial diversity characterises both clusters. Second, we conducted similar K-means cluster analyses on various subsamples (i.e. Zambian-born participants, Black African participants, non-Black African participants and non-White participants) and in each subsample found two clusters resembling WMZs and TZs, suggesting that the two clusters are reliable across a variety of groups differing in racial and immigrant status. In addition, we conducted MANCOVAs controlling for age, gender and parental education to confirm these differences across clusters. These control variables did not alter the original results of the cluster differences.

Testing Hypothesis 2: Differences in well-being-related variables

One-way ANOVAs assessing Hypothesis 2 showed that WMZs and TZs did not differ in psychological problems, $F(1, 79) = .39$, $p = .54$, $d = .14$, or in parent–adolescent conflict, $F(1, 80) = .14$, $p = .71$, $d = -.08$, in contrast to our hypothesis. However, TZs reported marginally significantly higher life satisfaction compared to WMZs, $F(1, 80) = 3.34$, $p = .07$, $d = -.40$.

DISCUSSION

In this study, we attempted to address the question posed by Jensen and Arnett (2012, p. 476): "What happens in the identity development of adolescents … when they are presented with multiple cultural contexts, including their local culture and other cultures they come into contact with via globalization?" Given that individuals residing

in less industrialised and less economically affluent locations are often overlooked in behavioural research (Heinrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), this study makes a unique contribution. In our sample of urban Zambian adolescents, we found evidence of multidimensional and remote acculturation to the U.S., the U.K. and South Africa. One subset of adolescents, whom we call "Westernised Multicultural Zambians" (WMZs), reported having greater connections to these three remote cultures and, simultaneously, a lower identification and engagement with the Zambian culture, as well as lower obligations to supporting their family members compared to culturally traditional peers (TZs). These findings replicate previous research on remote acculturation in Jamaica (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012) showing that adolescents' behaviour, values and self-identification can be influenced by the cultures of locations they have never actually visited. By also measuring cultural self-construals, this study examines the identity domain up close and findings show evidence of remote identity acculturation. These results are among the first, to our knowledge, to contribute new evidence from Africa of remote acculturation among non-migrants, and also to demonstrate the multidimensionality of remote acculturation.

Although this study examined urban Zambian adolescents, the findings may generalise to urban adolescents in other cultures and nations. Jensen and Arnett (2012) propose that cultural identity has become more complex for adolescents, who have increasing access to other cultures through globalisation. Thus, we expect that multidimensional remote acculturation could be seen among adolescents in other nations similarly characterised by the presence of multiple remote cultures (e.g. Malawi, Tanzania, Vietnam and the Philippines).

We also investigated how remote acculturation associated with adolescent psychological well-being. Contrary to previous research (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), WMZs and TZs did not differ in their conflict with their mothers. Because some of our participants are boarders on the school campus, they may not interact with their mothers regularly. Alternatively, WMZs' parents may themselves be Westernised multiculturals, in which case, conflict is less likely to arise. However, this alternative is less likely because previous remote acculturation research in Jamaica showed that 70% of Americanised Jamaican adolescents had Traditional Jamaican mothers (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), although it is important to acknowledge that the orientation difference between parents and children might differ in Zambia.

While the WMZ adolescents may not experience poorer mental health, they may not be as satisfied with their lives as TZ adolescents. The contrasting findings with psychological symptoms and life satisfaction may result because subjective well-being and psychological distress are thought to be distinct aspects of psychological functioning (Keyes, 2005). Thus, being remotely acculturated may not place adolescents at greater risk for mental illness, but it may dampen adolescents' judgements about their lives. WMZs may have different expectations about their lives after their exposure to the remote cultures of the nations examined in this study. Media may portray individuals in these countries as having greater individual agency and/or an unrealistic level of luxury that do not fit with the local context. In addition to this actual-ideal discrepancy, WMZs may feel "different" from others or feel as though they do not belong with their peers. Their collectivistic local context may demand interdependence, whereas these youth are more independent in their self-view than others. Future research should further examine such possibilities.

Limitations and future research

Because this study uses a cross-sectional design, it cannot speak to the causal direction in the associations between remote acculturation and the well-being-related variables. Although we expect remote acculturation to affect one's social relationships and psychological health based on the theoretical framework, it is also possible that adolescents who are dissatisfied with their lives seek to acculturate to cultures that offer the values and behavioural norms they desire. We also did not examine intrapersonal factors (e.g. personality traits) or interpersonal factors (e.g. the quality of relationships with others in one's home country) that may facilitate remote acculturation. With these additional variables, future research using longitudinal designs may clarify the relationship between remote acculturation and predicted outcome variables.

Furthermore, this study has not examined in detail the kinds of globalisation-based exchanges of ideas and goods that produce remote acculturation. Media, such as TV and music, has been argued to play a major role in introducing adolescents to foreign cultures (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), and remotely acculturating adolescents in Jamaica who watch more American TV are, indeed, more likely to be Americanised Jamaicans (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015).[5] These researchers also found that U.S. food consumption, U.S. tourist interaction, transnational internet communication with U.S. family, friends and

[5]In this study, we did not investigate frequency of exposure to media from each of the three remote cultures. However, participants were asked a background question regarding their frequency of viewing American television with a scale ranging from "*never*" to "*everyday/most days*." WMZs reported marginally significantly higher frequency of viewing American television compared to TZs, $F(1, 78) = 3.11$, $p = .08$, controlling for participants' immigrant status. This result is consistent with Ferguson and Bornstein's (2014) finding that Americanised Jamaicans watch more American television.

acquaintances and receipt of gifts from U.S. relatives/friends were all positively correlated with orientation to European American culture. Future research in Zambia can systematically investigate these possible vehicles of remote acculturation.

Finally, studies that replicate multidimensional remote acculturation in other samples are important. With a growing population of urban Zambian youth with access to the internet and mobile phones (UN data, 2014), remote acculturation research will be increasingly relevant in Zambia. Other nations in Southern Africa, such as Malawi, Botswana and Zimbabwe, have some similarities to Zambia in having South African, British and American influences. In addition, studies in other locations, such as Tanzania and Kenya, may examine remote acculturation to non-Western remote cultures such as those from the Middle East (resulting from long-term trade and travel patterns). These replications can address another limitation of this study—small sample size, which limited the number of clusters that were examined (although in the current study, the two-cluster structure was the best fit for the data). Adolescents in our sample likely differed in socioeconomic status from typical Zambian adolescents who receive public schooling; however, they are an ideal sample to examine remote acculturation because they are more likely to encounter foreign media, consumer products and familial contacts that facilitate remote acculturation.

CONCLUSION

This study adds to the acculturation literature by documenting multidimensional remote acculturation for the first time, and doing so amongst a group of urban Zambian adolescents. In addition, this is one of only a small number of studies investigating adolescent identity development in Zambia, and indeed in the region as a whole, and findings demonstrate that remote acculturation does occur in their sense of identity. Future work on remote acculturation and the impacts of globalisation on youth more broadly is essential as AmeriBritSouthAfrican-Zambian adolescents and their remotely acculturating peers around the world transition towards adulthood.

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