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We aimed to better understand multidimensional remote acculturation to South African, United States of America (US), and United Kingdom (UK) cultures among 144 thirteen- to seventeen-year-old (M = 15.28, SD = 1.06; 43.1% female; 36.6% Black African, 23.9% Southeast Asian, 21.8% Multiracial, 16.2% White, 1.4% Other) urban adolescents in Malawi. Adolescents completed questionnaires measuring remote acculturation, cultural exposure, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being. A hierarchical cluster analysis identified three remote acculturation clusters: Traditional Malawians (TMs), Westernised Multicultural Malawians (WMMs), and British Assimilated Malawians (BAMs). Clusters differed in their racial and ethnic makeup. BAMs had the lowest cultural exposure to Malawian food, media, communication, and transnationalism. WMMs had higher positive affect than BAMs; WMMs and BAMs reported higher parental autonomy support than TMs; and TMs reported the highest conflict with their mothers. Our findings highlight the significant positive role of remote acculturation in the identity formation and well-being of 21st century sub-Saharan African adolescents.

Keywords: remote acculturation, Malawi, identity, globalisation, self-construal, well-being

Introduction

One impact of globalisation is that adolescents today are frequently exposed to the values, norms, and practices of locations they have never visited (Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2015). For example, urban adolescents growing up in Blantyre, Malawi are regularly exposed to televised programming, food, and travellers from the US, the UK, and South Africa. 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 (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). Remote acculturation has been demonstrated among urban Jamaican early adolescents (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; 2015), urban South African emerging adults (Ferguson & Adams, 2016), and urban Zambian adolescents (Ferguson et al., 2015). However, there is some variation in remote acculturation findings across these African groups studied, the specific cultural exposure factors associated with remote acculturation among African adolescents are not yet clearly understood, and the impacts of remote acculturation on adolescent well-being remain uncertain (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, in press).

Given that remote acculturation and its potential impacts on adolescent well-being have significant implications for identity formation among 21st century African youth, the present study aimed to better understand remote acculturation among urban southern African adolescents by replicating and extending this prior work among adolescents growing up in Blantyre, Malawi. This is a particularly interesting context to study since, unlike their parents, adolescents growing up in this city are exposed to multiple cultural contexts within and outside of the African continent. Thus, we investigated (i) whether Malawian adolescents are remotely acculturated to the US, the UK, and/or South Africa; (ii) what factors (food, media, communication, and transnationalism) are associated with this remote acculturation; and (iii) how remote acculturation is associated with parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent well-being. We argue that a better understanding of cultural identity formation among contemporary African adolescents is essential both because the published research on this topic is quite limited (particularly for African adolescents living outside of South Africa) and because understanding African adolescent identity development may provide novel insights into the impacts of globalisation on human development and well-being more broadly.

Remote acculturation and globalisation

Psychological acculturation has traditionally focused on changes experienced by individuals (in values, attitudes, identity, and behaviour) resulting from their contact with people from a different culture due to international migration and travel, internal migration, or residing in a culturally plural society (Berry & Sam, 2016; see also Adams & Van de Vijver, this issue). Within this traditional model of acculturation, it is assumed that the acculturating individual has direct and continuous contact with the new culture (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936), and seeks contact and participation with the native culture, new culture, both, or neither (see bi-dimensional model: Berry, 1997). Although traditional models of acculturation have been supported by extensive research across multiple contexts (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006), there is a growing body of research demonstrating that individuals can become *remotely acculturated* to cultures with which they have not had direct or continuous contact,

due to growing globalisation and cultural exchanges made possible through traditional and social media and international trade; all part and parcel of 21st century life (Ferguson et al., in press).

Jensen, Arnett, and McKenzie (2011) applied Berry's (1997) bi-dimensional acculturation model to observations of non-migrant youth around the globe who appear to integrate (identify strongly with local and global cultures), assimilate (identify only with the global culture), separate (identify only with local culture), or become marginalised (identify weakly with both local and global cultures). Ferguson and Bornstein (2012) built on these observations by measuring acculturation to specific remote cultures rather than a non-specific global/Western culture, and by providing empirical evidence of individual differences in remote acculturation patterns within the same cultural group. They found that one third of urban Jamaican adolescents and 11% of their mothers were integrated "Americanised Jamaicans" with a higher European American cultural orientation, lower Jamaican cultural orientation, lower family obligations, and higher family values discrepancies and conflict between adolescents and mothers than the remaining separated "Traditional Jamaicans." Many urban adolescents growing up in Hong Kong show a similar acculturation to UK culture (Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008), associated with larger intergenerational family values discrepancies and higher parent–child conflict. Although there is evidence of assimilation among immigrant youth (Berry et al., 2006), assimilation to a remote culture has not yet been found in prior remote acculturation studies (Ferguson et al., in press).

African youth and remote acculturation
Given global influences from the US, the UK, and potentially other cultures, investigating whether remote acculturation occurs outside of geographical locations proximate to the US, particularly other contexts in the global South, is essential if we are to fully understand adolescent identity development in these contexts, as well as adolescent identity development more broadly. In addition, investigating the potential remote acculturation of African adolescents to US culture provides an important test of the reach of both globalisation and remote acculturation, as the continent's complex social, political, and economic history and contemporary state mean that globalisation mechanisms may not impact African adolescents in the same way as adolescents growing up in other parts of the global South (Ferguson, 2006).

To date, only two known studies have investigated remote acculturation in African contexts. Ferguson and Adams (2016) found that 71% of urban South African emerging adults growing up in Johannesburg post-Apartheid were remotely acculturated to a US culture. Ferguson and colleagues (2015) found that 42.2% of urban Zambian adolescents growing up in Lusaka were "Westernised Multicultural Zambians", who were more oriented towards US, UK, and South African cultures and had a lower level of obligation to their families and greater independent self-construal than "Traditional Zambians" (57.8%). Apparently, in sub-Saharan Africa, globalisation

produces not only Americanisation, or even Westernisation, but Multiculturalisation: African adolescents' identities are influenced and shaped by multiple cultural influences from both outside of and within the African continent. This idea is reminiscent of Mazrui's (1986) argument for a Triple Heritage (Traditional or Indigenous culture and spirituality, Arabic and Islam, and Western and Christian) for earlier generations of Africans.

Remote acculturation and cultural exposure
Remote acculturation is thought to result from individuals' exposure to and/or interaction with foreign cultures. Ferguson and Bornstein (2015) found that urban Jamaican adolescents who consumed more American-style food (e.g., "KFC", "Burger King") and US cable television, had higher US tourist contact, and/or had higher levels of transnational communications and stronger remote orientation to European American culture. Americanisation in South Africa was also associated with receiving gifts from a friend or relative living in the US, and consumption of US fast food (Ferguson & Adams, 2016).

Remote acculturation and parent-adolescent relationships
Relationships between remote acculturation and parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent well-being remain unclear, with mixed findings regarding remotely acculturating youths' life satisfaction and mental health across contexts studied and measures used (Ferguson et al., in press). Arguably, because adolescents sometimes acculturate faster and to a greater degree than do their parents, adolescent remote acculturation might lead to a mismatch between parents' and adolescents' behaviour, values, and identities (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; but see Telzer, 2010 for other possible mismatches). Remote acculturation gaps may be associated with higher levels of parent-adolescent conflict (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). In contrast, remote acculturation cluster was neither significantly associated with parent-adolescent conflict for urban youth in South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016) nor in urban Zambia (Ferguson et al., 2015). However, the South African population was of emerging adults, who may have less conflict with parents than adolescents, and the Zambian adolescent sample included a significant percentage of boarding students having limited contact with their parents. Thus, further work is needed to better understand when and how remote acculturation might be associated with parent-adolescent conflict for African adolescents.

It is also important to better understand whether remote acculturation is associated with parent-adolescent relationships in Africa more broadly, beyond conflict, because adolescents in remotely acculturating contexts perceive more liberal parental autonomy-granting in the US culture relative to local norms (Ferguson et al., in press). Perceived autonomy support (adolescents' understanding that their parents care about their feelings and allow them to make their own decisions) positively predicts life satisfaction among adolescents in the US, Denmark, South Korea, and Russia (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Ferguson, Kasser, & Jhang, 2011). The adoption of

cultural identities during remote acculturation involves some decision-making about cultural preferences by adolescents, and they may differ on the extent to which their parents support this identity exploration. In the present study, we investigated associations between remote acculturation and perceived parental autonomy support.

Remote acculturation and adolescent well-being
Self-construals are frequently studied in terms of independence (focusing on oneself and one's unique attributes; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) versus interdependence (focusing on social harmony and reliance on others). For youth in the global South, having a self-construal that is more independent can cause a mismatch between adolescents' identities and the expectations of the interdependent cultural contexts in which they live, particularly in cultural contexts that prioritise social harmony and group goals over personal agency and individual rights and freedom (Ferguson et al., 2015). These remotely acculturated adolescents may feel "different" from others in their peer group, or feel as though they don't belong, which may explain why Ferguson and colleagues (2015) found that remotely acculturated urban Zambian adolescents experienced lower life satisfaction than their traditional Zambian peers.

Jensen and colleagues (2011) argue that acculturation to multiple cultures resulting from globalisation can lead to identity confusion and mental health problems. However, the evidence supporting this perspective is mixed. For example, Ferguson and colleagues (2015) found that although Westernised Multicultural Zambians and Traditional Zambians differed in life satisfaction, they did not differ in mental health. Ferguson and Adams (2016) had similar findings in South Africa. Arguably, African adolescents growing up in a globalised society may have different expectations for their lives than what they experience, thus leading to an actual-ideal discrepancy. For example, Burrell (2012) argues that sub-Saharan Africans experience an increase in the flow of media and commodities as a result of globalisation, but have very limited opportunities to live and work in the contexts from which they receive these products. This leads to not just a "widening breach between the actual and the possible" (Weiss, 2002, p. 100), but also a widening breach between the possible (or probable) and the imaginable.

There are also potential positive impacts of forming a multicultural identity in an increasingly globalised society, including higher levels of adaptability and creativity (Ferguson et al., in press). Since remote acculturation has been more consistently associated with individual psychological well-being (life satisfaction) than ill-being (psychological problems) in Sub-Saharan Africa, empirical work specifically exploring positive development of remotely acculturating youth is much needed. For example, remote acculturation may be associated with positive affect and life satisfaction, two components of subjective well-being (Diener, 2000).

The current urban Malawian context
The present study aimed to better understand remote acculturation and identity development among urban

southern African adolescents by replicating and extending prior work to adolescents growing up in Blantyre, Malawi, a location that has recently experienced political, economic, and social changes. The city, home to nearly 1 million people, is rapidly urbanising (NSO Malawi, 2008), and is the commercial and communication hub of the country. Adolescents growing up in the city are exposed to ideas, food, media, and people from multiple contexts around the world, although only a small percentage of Malawi residents are foreign nationals, primarily from Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (NSO Malawi, 2008). As is true in Lusaka, Zambia, three dominant influences are the US, the UK, and South Africa, with Malawian youth having access to media and food from all three countries. They are exposed to, for example, the US MTV music video awards and Big Brother from the UK and South Africa, and food products such as M&M's from the US, Marmite from the UK, and South African Simba brand potato chips that can be purchased from South African retailer, Shoprite. However, under the 30-year rule of Dr H. Kamuzu Banda (1964-1994), the country was very much closed to foreign media and products, especially those from Western nations (Lwanda, 2009). Thus adolescents currently growing up in Blantyre are likely to have parents who grew up with much less exposure to the US, the UK, and South Africa than they themselves experience.

Because of its political history, Blantyre is an interesting city to study to better characterise the specific outside influences that are driving remote acculturation in southern African cities. Foreign products (including food, music, and electronics) and media (including television, film, and media available through mobile technologies) have become significantly more available in the last 20 years (Lwanda, 2009). On the other hand, travel patterns between Blantyre and major cities in the US, the UK, and South Africa may not have changed significantly. Thus, we hoped to better understand the specific factors contributing towards urban southern African adolescents' remote acculturation (in behaviour, values, and identity) through studying remote acculturation in the city of Blantyre.

In the present study, we replicated and extended previous work in Zambia by investigating the multidimensional remote acculturation of urban adolescents growing up in Blantyre, Malawi. We investigated (i) whether Malawian adolescents are remotely acculturated to the cultures of the US, the UK, and/or South Africa; (ii) what factors (food, media, communication, and transnationalism) are associated with this remote acculturation; and (iii) how remote acculturation is associated with parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent well-being. Based on previous remote acculturation research, particularly in African contexts, and our knowledge of the current context, we expected to identify at least two groups of adolescents based on their acculturation profiles: Traditional Malawians and Westernised Multicultural Malawians. In addition, we expected that cultural exposure to the remote contexts studied, particularly via television and food, would be positively associated with remote cultural orientation. Finally, based on prior research, we expected

that culturally traditional Malawian youth would report higher life satisfaction. Given mixed findings or the absence of strong theoretical rationale, we refrained from predictions regarding other aspects of adolescent well-being and parent-adolescent relations.

Method
Participants and setting
Two hundred and five 13- to 17-year-old adolescents (age M = 15.12, SD = 1.38; 48.2% female) attending an international school in Blantyre, Malawi completed a survey packet including demographic questions and a compilation of standardised questionnaires adapted for use with Malawian adolescents. All adolescents of the appropriate age attending the school were invited to participate. Of these, 144 (age M = 15.28, SD = 1.06; 43.1% female) who had lived in Malawi at least half of their lives were considered in the present study. Of these, 36.6% self-identified as Black African, 23.9% as Southeast Asian, 21.8% as Multiracial, 16.2% as White, and 1.4% as Other. Participants reported speaking English very often at home (M = 4.31, SD = 0.85 on a scale ranging from 1 = Not at all to 5 = All the time). English is the primary language of instruction at the school, which uses a British International curriculum.

Participants' primary income providers were fathers (77.5%), mothers (18.8%), or grandparents or aunts (3.6%). Of these, 65.7% received a Bachelor's, Tertiary, post-graduate, or professional degree. Participants' primary caregivers were mothers (81.7%), fathers (16.2%), or aunts (2.1%). Of these, 44.7% received a Bachelor's, Tertiary, post-graduate, or professional degree. Secondary caregivers were fathers (65.9%), mothers (15.9%), or other family members (siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, 13.0%).

Procedure
Institutional Review Board approval was obtained from Sarah Lawrence College and the study was approved by the senior management team of the school at which the research took place prior to participant recruitment. Participation was voluntary. Consent was obtained from parents or a school administrator who served in loco parentis for students who boarded at the school, and written assent was obtained from adolescents. Regardless of participation by individual students, all members of participating classes received an individual token of appreciation at the time of participation. Once the data had been analysed, each class received a class party and preliminary findings were discussed with all students who had been invited to participate.

Measures
Standard measures previously employed successfully in southern and/or sub-Saharan African settings were used or adapted for use in the current context. For each measure described below, we report the reliability (alpha values) in the present sample.

Multidimensional remote acculturation:

Cultural practices: Acculturation Rating Scales. Malawian Acculturation Rating Scales (adapted from Ferguson et al., 2015; see also Ferguson & Adams, 2016) assessed the level of cultural orientation towards cultures of Malawi (α = 0.82), the US (α = 0.73), the UK (α = 0.87), and South Africa (α = 0.80). On a 5-point scale, with low ratings indicating low frequency, 12 items asked about cultural practices and cultural identifications, such as media enjoyed (e.g., "I enjoy listening to Malawian/American/British/South African music"), contact with individuals from the four nations (e.g., "My friends, while I was growing up, were Malawian/American/British/South African"), parents' identification with the four nations (e.g., "My mother identifies herself as Malawian/American/British/South African"), and, for the heritage culture, languages spoken (e.g., "I speak mostly my home/ethnic language").

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 (α = 0.69, e.g., "It is a child's responsibility to look after their parents when they need help"). Participants rated their agreement with 14 statements on a 5-point scale, and items were averaged, with higher scores indicating greater responsibility towards the family.

Cultural identifications: Interdependent self-construal. Using the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), participants listed ten self-descriptions using their own words in response to the question, "Who am I?" Following from Ferguson et al. (2015), these ten responses were coded on whether they were interdependent /socially-oriented (e.g., "I am friendly," "I am Malawian") or independent (e.g., "I am intelligent"; Watkins, Yau, Dahlin, & Wondimu, 1997). Only seven responses were used in analyses as it was apparent from participants' responses, and from the decline in percentage of responses, that some fatigue set in after this point (see Watkins et al., 1997 showing no difference in major results between using seven vs. ten responses). The inter-rater reliability between the coders ranged from kappa = 0.9-1.00 across each of the seven response sets. Only responses on which the two coders agreed were used.

Cultural exposure. Participants' exposure to each target culture (Malawian, US, UK, and South African) was assessed using 5-point 24-item Cultural Exposure Scales (from 1 "never or almost never" to 5 "every day or most days") adapted from Ferguson and Adams' (2016) cultural exposure items. Additional items were written to create subscales to improve upon the single-item probes used in prior work. Current subscales included *food* (5 items, α = 0.78 Malawi, 0.80 South Africa, 0.79 the US, 0.83 the UK; e.g., "How often do you eat Malawian/South African/US/UK-style food at school or home?"), *media* (11 items, α = 0.86 Malawi, 0.86 South

Africa, 0.77 the US, 0.80 the UK; e.g., "How often do you watch Malawian/South African/US/UK TV?"), and *communication and transnationalism* (8 items, α = 0.63 Malawi, 0.88 South Africa, 0.87 the US, 0.86 the UK; e.g., "How often do you communicate with family/friends/acquaintances that live in Malawi/South Africa/the US/the UK by text, email, WhatsApp, or other form of text messaging?"). Alphas for all countries' overall Cultural Exposure Scales were high (Malawi α = 0.89, South Africa α = 0.93, the US α = 0.85, the UK α = 0.89).

Parent-adolescent relationships:

Parent-adolescent conflict. Adolescents' conflicts with their mothers were assessed with the 20-item true/false Conflict Behaviour Questionnaire (Robin & Foster, 1989; α = 0.76 for mothers, 0.77 for fathers; e.g., "We almost never seem to agree"). Scores were summed across the items after some items were reverse-scored. High scores reflect higher conflict. This measure has been used in previous remote acculturation research in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2015).

Autonomy support. Parental (mother/primary caregiver, father/secondary caregiver) autonomy support was assessed using the Perceptions of Parents (POP) Scale (Robbins, 1994; α = 0.81 for mothers, 0.78 for fathers). Nine items pertaining to mothers and nine to fathers (e.g., "My mother/father seems to know how I feel about things", "My mother/father allows me to decide things for myself") were scored on a 7-point scale, "not at all true" to "very true". This measure has been used successfully in prior cross-cultural research (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Ferguson et al., 2011).

Adolescent well-being:

Life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was measured using the 6-item Brief Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale (Seligson, Huebner, & Valois, 2003; α = 0.77). Items reflecting different domains of life (e.g., family, school experience, friendships) were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from "terrible" to "delighted." Scores were calculated by averaging across the items. This measure was used in previous remote acculturation research in Sub-Saharan Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2015).

Positive and negative affect. The International Positive and Negative Affect Schedule Short Form (I-PANAS-SF; Thompson, 2007; α = 0.52 positive, 0.74 negative) was used to assess adolescents' positive and negative affect. Participants responded to ten (5 positive: alert, inspired, determined, attentive, active; 5 negative: upset, hostile, ashamed, nervous, afraid) descriptors of how they typically feel on a 5-point scale ranging from "never" to "always". This measure has been used successfully in prior cross-cultural research (Wong, Ho, Li, Shin, & Tsai, 2011).

Data analysis

Correlations between the study's primary variables were conducted to confirm whether, as was found for Zambian adolescents, Malawian adolescents in the present sample could easily differentiate between the three remote cultures (US, UK, South African). Once this was confirmed, following Mooi and Sarstedt's (2011) guidelines, we conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward's procedure and squared Euclidian distance. This statistical procedure is useful for identifying sets of adolescents based on naturally occurring differences and similarities in their scores on the variables that comprise multidimensional remote acculturation. The same procedure was used in previous remote acculturation research in sub-Saharan Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2015). Cluster solutions with 2-, 3-, and 4-clusters seemed to be viable after inspecting the dendrogram and distances at which objects combined. However, upon further inspection, in the 2-cluster solution, participants in one cluster showed low orientation towards all four cultures and low family obligations. Additionally, in the 4-cluster solution one cluster showed high means across all clustering variables; including orientation towards the four cultures. Thus, the 3-cluster solution appeared to best fit remote acculturation theory (e.g., for strong Western culture orientation to align with low family obligations), and empirically, as clusters were optimally distinct from one another. The centroids computed from the hierarchical cluster analysis for the 3-cluster solution were subsequently used to run a K-means cluster analysis, which supported the initial 3-cluster solution. The reliability and stability of the resulting cluster solution was confirmed by repeating this entire procedure with the cases sorted in a different order, using split-half datasets (Mooi & Sarstedt, 2011), and finding identical/similar cluster solutions. Multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) or covariance (MANCOVAs) were then used to assess the association between clusters (see below: Traditional Malawians, Westernised Multicultural Malawians, British Assimilated Malawians) and racial and ethnic group, cultural exposure, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being.

Results
Remote acculturation clusters
Preliminary analyses

Correlational analyses between Malawian adolescents' orientations towards the four nations confirmed that the association among the cultural orientations was small (average R^2 = 0.06; range = 0.03-0.18: see Table 1).

Cluster analyses

A hierarchical cluster analysis identified three clusters: Traditional Malawians (TM; 30.6%, M_{age} = 15.30, SD_{age} = 1.19), Westernised Multicultural Malawians (WMM; 28.5%, M_{age} = 15.22, SD_{age} = 1.05), and British Assimilated Malawians (BAM; 41.0%, M_{age} = 15.37, SD_{age} = 0.94). TMs had the highest Malawian orientation (tied with WMMs), the lowest UK orientation, and the lowest US and South African orientation (tied with BAMs) (Figure 1 and Table 2). TMs reported the highest obligations

Table 1. Correlations among the major variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
1.	–															
2.	0.13	–														
3.	-0.18*	0.17*	–													
4.	0.23**	0.43**	0.25*	–												
5.	0.07	0.02	0.04	-0.04	–											
6.	-0.02	-0.03	<0.01	-0.05	0.09	–										
7.	0.04	-0.04	-0.07	0.03	-0.15	-0.20*	–									
8.	0.05	-0.17	-0.12	0.02	-0.03	-0.21*	0.28*	–								
9.	-0.02	0.15	0.09	0.08	0.15	0.21*	-0.71**	-0.26**	–							
10.	0.03	0.25**	0.07	0.01	0.03	0.24**	-0.21*	-0.67**	0.38**	–						
11.	0.14	0.01	0.04	-0.03	0.24**	0.19*	-0.35**	-0.33**	0.35**	0.34**	–					
12.	0.32**	0.24**	-0.02	0.11	0.17	0.10	-0.11	-0.11	0.16	0.11	0.28**	–				
13.	-0.08	-0.18*	0.09	-0.10	-0.17	-0.18*	0.38**	0.20*	-0.36**	-0.17*	-0.45**	-0.12	–			
14.	0.61**	0.17	0.08	0.15	0.07	-0.02	0.10	0.10	0.03	0.09	0.08	0.32*	0.06	–		
15.	0.23*	0.59**	0.10	0.19	0.19	0.08	0.04	-0.24*	0.14	0.26*	-0.03	0.28*	-0.15	0.38*	–	
16.	0.01	0.35**	0.55**	0.10	0.09	0.16	-0.10	-0.37**	0.16	0.30**	0.13	0.29*	-0.20	0.35**	0.58**	–
17.	0.26*	0.10	0.05	0.32**	0.17	0.04	0.22	-0.09	-0.05	0.09	0.11	0.28*	-0.08	0.38**	0.45*	0.38**

Note. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$; $n = 65-144$; 1 = Malawian orientation, 2 = South African orientation, 3 = UK orientation, 4 = US orientation, 5 = Family obligations, 6 = Interdependent self, 7 & 8 = Parent-adolescent conflict (mother & father), 9 & 10 = Autonomy support (mother & father), 11 = Life satisfaction, 12 = Positive affect, 13 = Negative affect, 14-17 = Overall cultural exposure to Malawian, South African, UK, and US cultures, respectively.
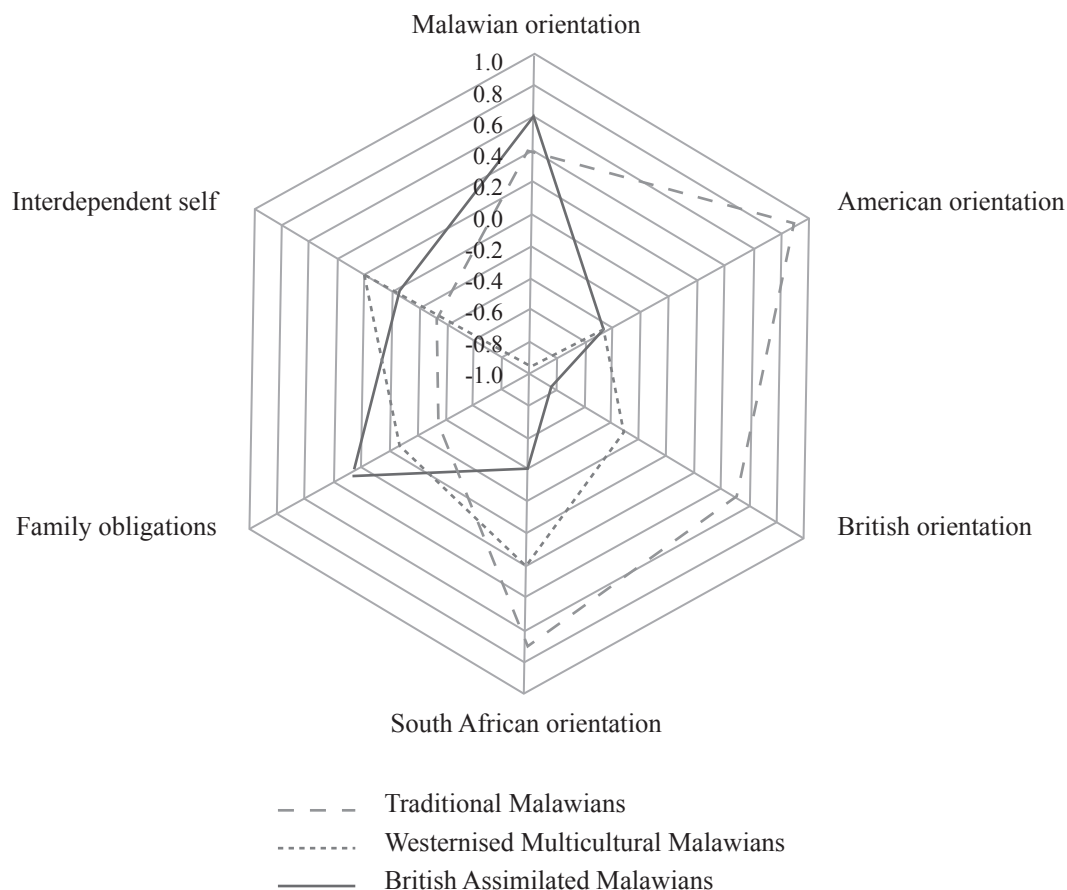

Figure 1. A spider graph of the differences (in z-scores) in multidimensional remote acculturation indicators between Traditional Malawians (TMs), Westernised Multicultural Malawians (WMMs) and British Assimilated Malawians (BAMs).

towards their families and more interdependent self-construals than WMMs. WMMs reported the highest orientation towards US and South African cultures, the highest UK orientation (tied with BAMs), and the highest Malawian orientation (tied with TMs). WMMs were also lower in family obligations than TMs and BAMs and lower in interdependent self-construals than BAMs. BAMs tied with WMMs for highest UK orientation, but had the lowest Malawian, US, and South African orientations. Interestingly, BAMs' obligations towards

Table 2. Comparison of cluster means among Traditional Malawian (TM), British Assimilated Malawian (BAM), and Westernised Multicultural Malawian (WMM) clusters

Variable (range)	F	partial η^2	TM $M(SD)$	BAM $M(SD)$	WMM $M(SD)$
Malawian orientation (1-5)	105.49***	0.60	3.78(.45)[a]	2.47(.47)[b]	3.60(.58)[a]
South African orientation (1-5)	24.66***	0.26	2.00(.51)[a]	2.10(.65)[a]	2.93(.85)[b]
US orientation (1-5)	44.40***	0.39	2.65(.48)[a]	2.70(.49)[a]	3.52(.49)[b]
UK orientation (1-5)	35.56***	0.34	2.45(.66)[a]	3.44(.83)[b]	3.71(.67)[b]
Family obligations (1-5)	4.58*	0.06	3.57(.65)[a]	3.34(.58)[b]	3.16(.64)[b]
Interdependent self (0-1)	3.92*	0.05	0.33(.26)[a, b]	0.40(.23)[a]	0.26(.24)[b]
Parent-adolescent conflict mother (0-20)	3.27*	0.05	7.35(3.89)[a]	5.31(4.11)[b]	6.41(5.23)[a, b]
Parent-adolescent conflict father (0-20)	0.31	0.01	6.17(4.49)[a]	4.93(.96)[a]	4.74(4.90)[a]
Autonomy support mother (1-7)	4.03*	0.06	4.41(1.06)[a]	4.93(.96)[b]	4.86(1.17)[b]
Autonomy support father (1-7)	0.76	0.01	4.49(1.11)[a]	4.59(1.04)[a]	4.82(1.19)[a]
Life satisfaction (1-7)	0.25	> 0.01	5.59(.82)[a]	5.40(.94)[a]	5.55(1.05)[a]
Positive affect (1-5)	3.15*	0.05	3.84(.56)[a, b]	3.60(.57)[a]	3.92(.55)[b]
Negative affect (1-5)	0.16	> 0.01	2.53(.64)[a]	2.63(.68)[a]	2.49(.79)[a]

Note. *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001. Error *df* for cluster indicators = 141; error *df* for well-being indicators = 125. Means with different superscripts are significantly different from one another; the differences between WMMs and TMs for Autonomy support from mothers, and between TMs and BAMs for Family obligations are marginally significant.

Table 3. Within-cluster ordering of cultural orientation scores

Cluster	Rankings of relative orientation to cultures
Traditional Malawians	Malawian > US = UK > South African
British Assimilated Malawians	UK > US > Malawian > South African
Westernised Multicultural Malawians	UK = Malawian = US > South African

Note. ">" and "<" refer to statistically significant differences where *p* < 0.05, whereas "=" refers to non-significant differences. The ordering of the clusters in the right column is based on the sizes of the means.

their families fell between TMs and WMMs. Within each cluster, adolescents' orientations towards the four cultures followed the expected pattern, according to repeated-measures ANOVAs conducted separately for each cluster (Table 3).

Remote acculturation across demographic groups

Age and gender did not differ significantly across clusters. In contrast, although all clusters included participants from all major racial and ethnic groups, clusters varied in their racial and ethnic makeup ($\chi^2(8) = 50.99$, $p < 0.001$, Cramer's V = 0.42). In the TM and WMM clusters, there were more Black African adolescents represented than other groups (Table 4). In the BAM cluster, Southeast Asian, White, and Multiracial adolescents were represented more than Black Africans.

Remote acculturation and cultural exposure

To test whether the clusters varied in exposure to the four target cultures, a multivariate analysis of covariance was conducted, in which cluster membership predicted different types of cultural exposure (i.e., food, media, and communication and transnationalism), controlling for race. Overall, the association between cluster membership and cultural exposure was not significant (Wilk's λ = 0.43, $F(32, 90) = 1.48$, $p = 0.08$, $\eta^2 = 0.34$). Clusters varied only in their exposure to Malawian food, media, and communication and transnationalism (Table 5). Specifically, with one exception, BAMs had lower Malawian cultural exposure than TMs and WMMs.

Although the sample size for the current analyses varied between 67 and 102, likely due to participant

fatigue, the results still fit the expected pattern of association between cultural exposure and cultural orientation (see Tables 1 and 4).

Remote acculturation, parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent well-being

A multivariate analysis of variance with Bonferroni corrections and race as a control variable examined cluster membership as a predictor for parent-adolescent conflict, autonomy support from parents, life satisfaction, and affect.

Adolescent-mother conflict significantly varied among the clusters ($F(2,125) = 3.27$, $p = 0.04$, $\eta^2 = 0.05$; see Table 2 for group means), with TMs reporting higher conflict with mothers than BAMs ($p = 0.04$). Autonomy support from mothers was also higher among BAMs ($p = 0.02$) and WMMs ($p = 0.09$) in contrast to TMs ($F(2,125) = 4.41$, $p = 0.02$, $\eta^2 = 0.06$). Other mean differences were not statistically significant (p's > 0.58).

The clusters varied in positive affect ($F(2,125) = 3.15$, $p = 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.05$), such that WMMs reported higher positive affect than BAMs ($p = 0.04$), with other comparisons being nonsignificant. The clusters did not significantly differ from one another on other well-being outcomes or related variables (p's > 0.17).

Discussion

In the present study, we demonstrated multidimensional remote acculturation to US, UK, and South African cultures among urban adolescents growing up in Blantyre, Malawi. Findings revealed two expected groups of Malawian adolescents (30.6% Traditional Malawians

Table 4. Membership in remote acculturation clusters by racial category

	Remote Acculturation Clusters			
	Traditional Malawian	British Assimilated Malawian	Westernised Multicultural Malawians	
Racial Group	*n(%)*	*n(%)*	*n(%)*	Total
Black African	29(67.4)	4(6.8)	19(47.5)	52
Southeast Asian	4(9.3)	23(39.0)	7(17.5)	34
White	1(2.3)	17(28.8)	5(12.5)	23
Multiracial	9(20.9)	13(22.0)	9(22.5)	31
Other	0(0)	2(3.4)	0(0)	2
Total	43(100)	59(100)	40(100)	142

Note. The percentages represent the composition of each cluster based on racial group. $N = 142$ because two participants did not report their racial background.

Table 5. Differences in cultural exposure across remote acculturation clusters

Variable	F	partial η^2	TM M(SD)	BAM M(SD)	WMM M(SD)
Malawi					
Food	5.31**	0.15	2.83(1.01)[a]	2.08(.96)[b]	2.83(.81)[a]
Media	6.70**	0.18	2.10(.67)[a]	1.47(.51)[b]	2.10(.57)[a]
C&T	3.37*	0.10	3.17(.41)[a, b]	3.11(.57)[b]	3.44(.38)[a]
Overall	8.16**	0.21	2.61(.57)[a]	2.15(.47)[b]	2.70(.41)[a]
South Africa					
Food	2.74	0.08	3.17(.59)[a]	2.96(.99)[a]	3.49(.86)[a]
Media	0.49	0.02	2.07(.83)[a]	1.88(.74)[a]	2.10(.58)[a]
C&T	1.75	0.06	2.26(.98)[a]	1.97(.90)[a]	2.46(.85)[a]
Overall	1.72	0.05	2.39(.71)[a]	2.17(.75)[a]	2.55(.60)[a]
UK					
Food	0.30	0.01	2.78(.79)[a]	3.06(1.12)[a]	2.91(1.08)[a]
Media	3.04	0.09	3.01(.68)[a]	3.11(.89)[a]	3.62(.62)[a]
C&T	1.06	0.03	2.34(1.05)[a]	2.69(1.04)[a]	2.87(.87)[a]
Overall	1.70	0.05	2.73(.71)[a]	2.96(.83)[a]	3.23(.62)[a]
U.S					
Food	0.36	0.01	3.86(.63)[a]	3.68(.87)[a]	3.71(.87)[a]
Media	1.01	0.03	3.25(.61)[a]	2.99(.61)[a]	3.33(.84)[a]
C&T	0.75	0.02	2.13(1.05)[a]	2.03(.82)[a]	2.28(.84)[a]
Overall	1.15	0.04	2.96(.63)[a]	2.76(.52)[a]	3.00(.65)[a]

Note. $*p < 0.05$, $**p < 0.01$, $***p < 0.001$. Means with different superscripts are significantly different from one another. C&T = Communication & Transnationalism.

– TMs and 28.5% Westernised Multicultural Malawians – WMMs), and a third novel group (41.0% British Assimilated Malawians – BAMs). Findings both replicate and extend past work on urban adolescents growing up in Lusaka, Zambia (Ferguson et al., 2015), where Traditional and Westernised Multicultural groups of adolescents were identified. However, in the present study the Westernised Multicultural group was highly acculturated to three remote cultures, and was strongly identified with Malawian culture. Further, contrary to our second prediction and in contrast to past work in South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016) and Jamaica (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012), WMMs did not differ from TMs in cultural exposure to local or remote cultures. These findings suggest that most African adolescents growing up in the 21st century still retain associations with their heritage cultures, some also identifying with other cultures both within and outside of sub-Saharan Africa. This has important implications for current debates concerning the loss of cultural values, beliefs, and practices as a result of globalisation. Our findings suggest that traditional values are not always lost, but can instead be incorporated into a broader, global, and multicultural identity. Moreover, this global multicultural

identity need not be associated with negative well-being: WMMs did not differ from TMs in terms of well-being.

The identification of a culturally assimilated group, BAMs, is new to the remote acculturation literature. These adolescents showed limited acculturation to US and South African cultures, but high acculturation to UK culture. They also had the lowest identification with Malawian culture, and their exposure to Malawian food, media and communications and transnationalism was very limited, and significantly lower than TMs and WMMs. However, BAM adolescents showed higher family obligations and higher interdependent self-construals than WMMs, and equally interdependent self-construals as TMs. Thus, although this group is assimilated to the UK, their identities are more complex (i.e., not simply individualistic). The family and interdependent orientation of BAMs may be related to the fact that 39% identified as Southeast Asian. And although 32% of BAMs were born in the UK, they spent 90% of their lives in Malawi on average. In addition, associations between cluster membership and study variables did not differ when UK-born participants were excluded. The finding that BAMs' orientation towards UK culture was strongly associated with their overall remote

exposure to the UK ($r=.62$, $p < 0.001$) further supports our interpretation that their UK acculturation is at least partly remote. Although further research is clearly warranted, remote acculturation patterns appear to differ across ethnic/racial groups in multicultural sub-Saharan African societies, with remote assimilation as a new possibility.

Remote acculturation and individual and family well-being

Supporting work in Zambia (Ferguson et al., 2015), remote acculturation was not associated with adolescent psychological problems. However, differing from past work in South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016) and Zambia (Ferguson et al., 2015), we found that remote acculturation clusters did not differ in life satisfaction. In addition, TMs did not differ from the remotely integrated or assimilated groups in terms of positive or negative affect. However, BAMs reported lower positive affect than WMMs, which is consistent with findings that assimilated immigrant youth have poorer psychological well-being than integrated peers (Berry et al., 2006).

In the present study, similar to past work with African youth in Zambia and South Africa (Ferguson & Adams, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2015), TMs and WMMs did not differ in terms of parental conflict. However, interestingly, BAMs reported lower mother-adolescent conflict than did their Traditional peers. It may be particularly challenging for TMs in an international school setting with a British curriculum, whereby TM adolescents may feel that their parents expect them to conform to traditional values and practices to a greater extent than they themselves would like to, particularly if they are encouraged to be more independent by both their teachers and their peers. The fact that TMs reported lower levels of parental autonomy support in comparison to both WMMs and BAMs fits with this explanation. Future work should investigate parents', teachers', and peers' remote acculturation in relation to adolescents' as well. Clearly, further research is warranted, but these findings together suggest that remote acculturation, including multidimensional forms involving taking on multiple cultural identities (from the US, the UK, South Africa, and Malawi), is not necessarily linked to poor adolescent well-being or parent-adolescent relationships.

Implications for acculturation research

In the present study, we both replicated and extended Ferguson and colleagues' (2015) work with urban Zambian adolescents, finding evidence of remote integration, separation, and assimilation. First, similar to Zambian adolescents, Malawian adolescents demonstrated evidence of multidimensional remote acculturation, with a significant group of Malawian adolescents (Westernised Multicultural Malawians) being simultaneously remotely acculturated to the US, the UK, and South Africa alongside their native culture. Also similar to Zambian adolescents, there was a significant group of Malawian adolescents who were Traditional Malawians, associating more strongly with Malawian culture (and having higher exposure to Malawian food, media, and communication and transnationalism) and less strongly with the US, the UK,

and South Africa, than their Westernised peers. Unique to this sample of adolescents was the identification of a British Assimilated group with limited acculturation to the US and South Africa, high acculturation to the UK, highly interdependent self-construals, and moderately high family obligations. Further research is warranted so as to better understand this group of adolescents.

This study also highlights that a multicultural identity based partly on remote acculturation need not be associated with negative outcomes for adolescent well-being, and may well influence urban African adolescents' relationships with their parents in meaningful and positive ways (e.g., greater autonomy support). Further work is needed so as to better understand parents' own remote acculturation processes, as well as the remote acculturation processes that may occur for adolescents attending public schools and those growing up in rural settings. The work published to date on remote acculturation in African contexts has largely focused on adolescents growing up in urban areas (Ferguson & Adams, 2016) and private secondary schools (Ferguson et al., 2015). Thus, further work on differing populations is essential. Arguably, adolescents attending public schools and/or living in rural areas might have less exposure to US, UK, and/or South African cultural products and consequently differing patterns of remote acculturation. On the other hand, with growing access to mobile technologies and social media, they may (now or soon) resemble the current sample. Nevertheless, the present study clearly demonstrates the importance of better understanding remote acculturation so as to better understand the multiple intersecting factors influencing the identity and well-being of African adolescents growing up in the 21st century.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in the present study we investigated (i) whether Malawian adolescents are remotely acculturated to the cultures of the US, the UK, and/or South Africa; (ii) what factors (food, media, communication and transnationalism) are associated with this remote acculturation; and (iii) how remote acculturation is associated with parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent well-being. We found that urban Malawian adolescents are indeed remotely acculturated to the cultures of the US, the UK, and South Africa, with 28.5% of adolescents showing a strong orientation to all three remote cultures and also strongly identifying with Malawian culture (Westernised Multicultural Malawians, WMMs), 41.0% demonstrating remote assimilation to the UK (British Assimilated Malawians, BAMs), and 30.6% primarily identifying with Malawian culture (Traditional Malawians, TMs). However, in answer to the second question, we found no clear evidence that this remote acculturation was associated with exposure to food, media, or communication and transnationalism: WMMs did not differ from TMs in cultural exposure to local or remote cultures. However, BAMs had significantly lower exposure to Malawian food, media, and communication and transnationalism than TMs and WMMs. Third, and finally, remote acculturation was associated with some dimensions of parent-adolescent relationships,

but had limited associations with adolescent well-being. Specifically, WMMs and BAMs reported higher levels of parental autonomy support than TMs, and BAMs reported lower mother-adolescent conflict than TMs. Remote acculturation was not associated with adolescent psychological problems or life satisfaction, but BAMs reported lower positive affect than WMMs. We thus found that urban Malawian adolescents show evidence of multidimensional remote acculturation, and that remote acculturation is not necessarily linked to poor adolescent well-being or parent-adolescent relationships.

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