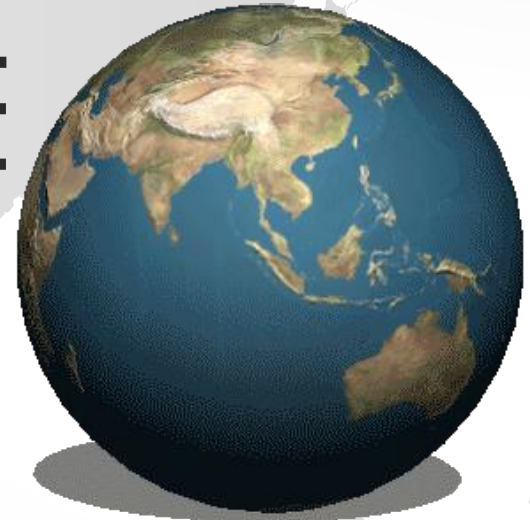


ETHNICITY, IDENTITY, ACCULTURATION, AND CONSUMER BEHAVIOR IN THE GLOBAL ERA



January 2017 Colloquium Series
Collaborative Graduate Program in Migration and Ethnic
Relations

©Mark Cleveland, PhD
The University of Western Ontario



Western

AROUND THE WORLD IN 80 DAYS (JULES VERNE, 1873)

Phileas Fogg

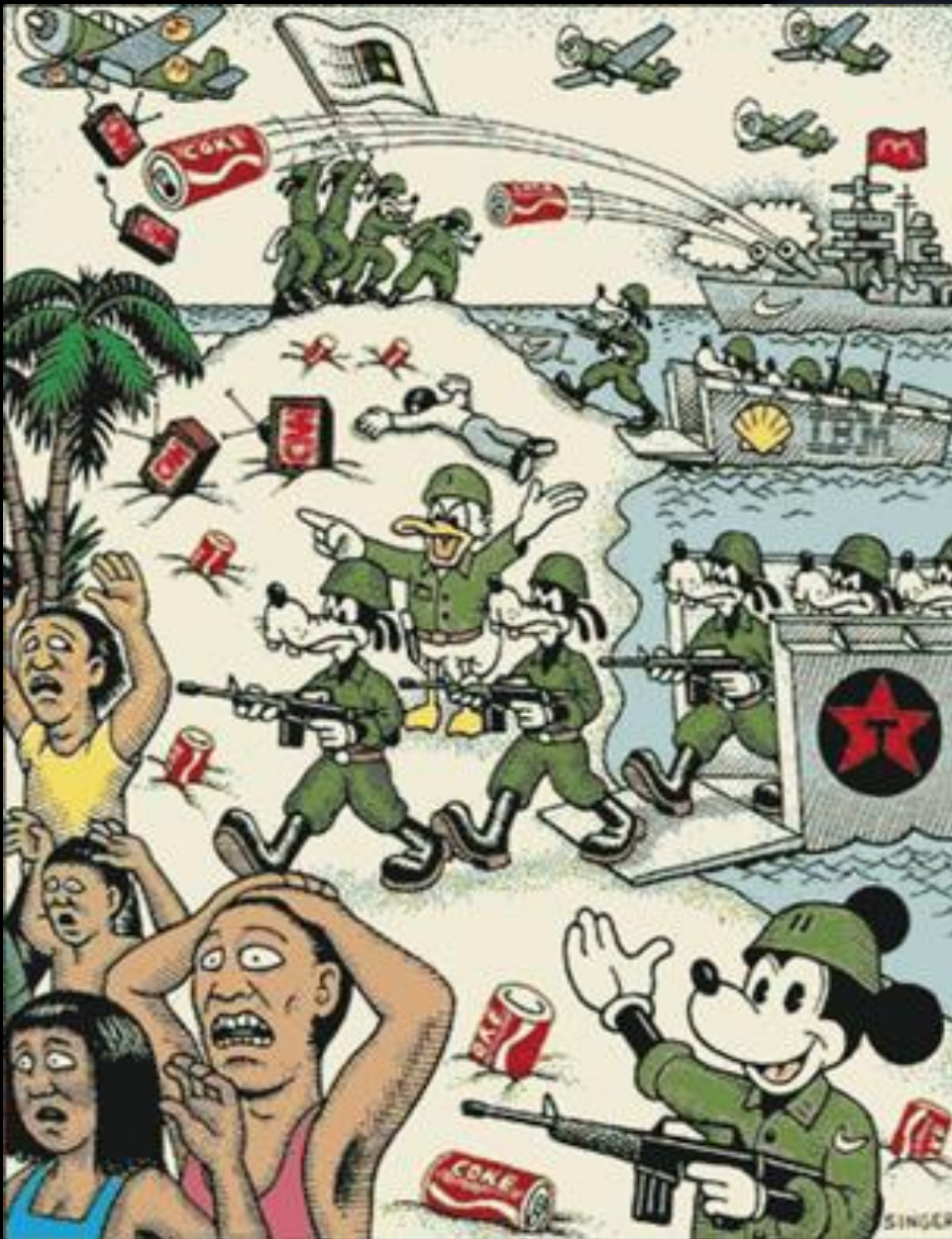


GLOBALIZATION & CULTURE

1. Globalization exerts a powerful influence on (all) cultures worldwide (unevenly, over time)
 - Including motivation to resist
2. Globalization simultaneously promotes homogeneity & heterogeneity
 - Within & across nation-states
3. Globalization creates polycentric identities
4. There are several (iterations of) global consumer cultures (GCC), & numerous GCC subcultures
 - GCC: cultural entity transcending nations

Consequently: successful global branding requires appropriate mixture of global themes & indigenous elements.

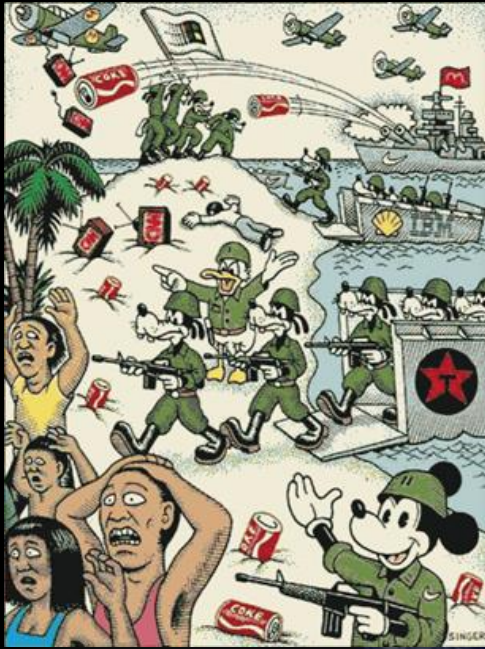
Global Consumer Culture (GCC)



“We can easily conceive of a time when there will be only one culture and one civilization on the entire surface of the Earth...”

● Claude Lévi-Strauss
(1978, p. 20)

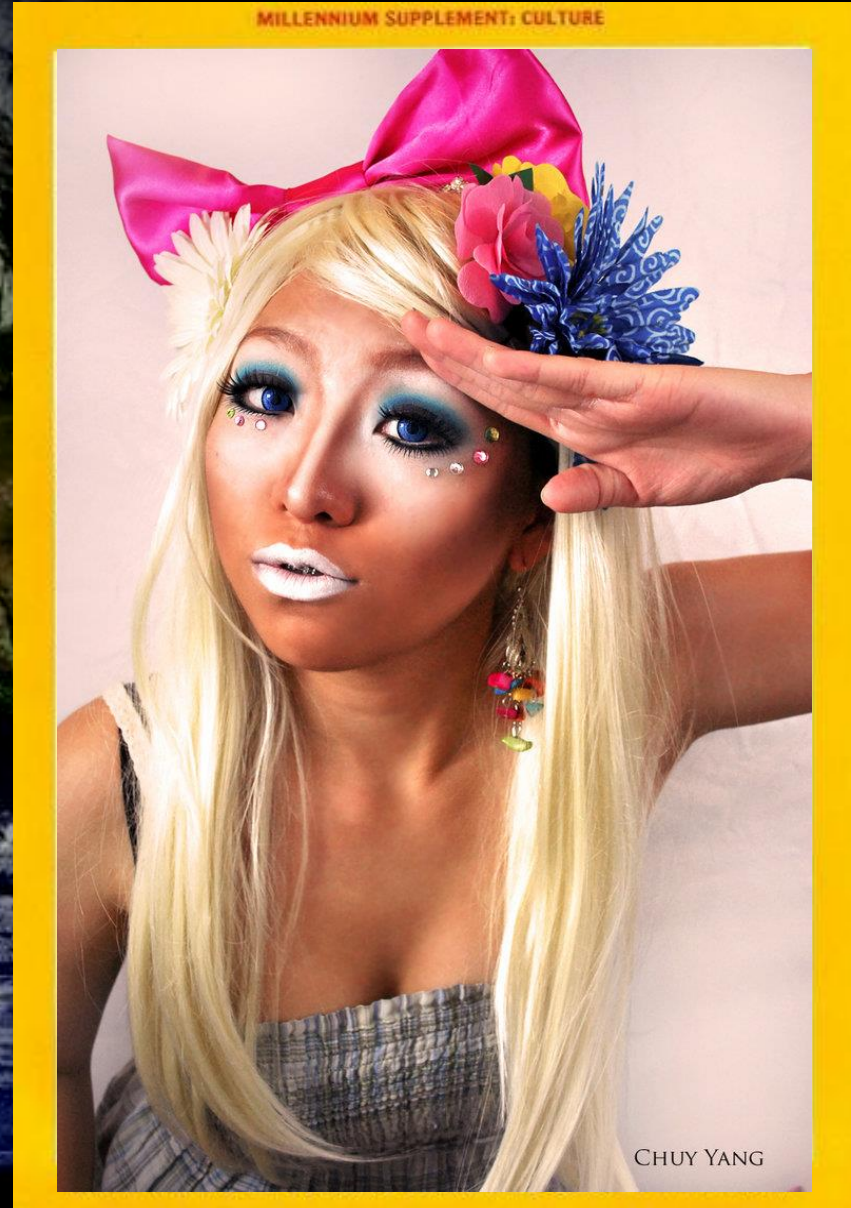
Global Consumer Culture (GCC)



“We can easily conceive of a time when there will be only one culture and one civilization on the entire surface of the Earth...”

“...i don’t believe that this [convergence] will happen, because there are contradictory tendencies always at work—on the one hand, towards homogenization and on the other towards new distinctions.”

• Claude Lévi-Strauss (1978, p. 20)

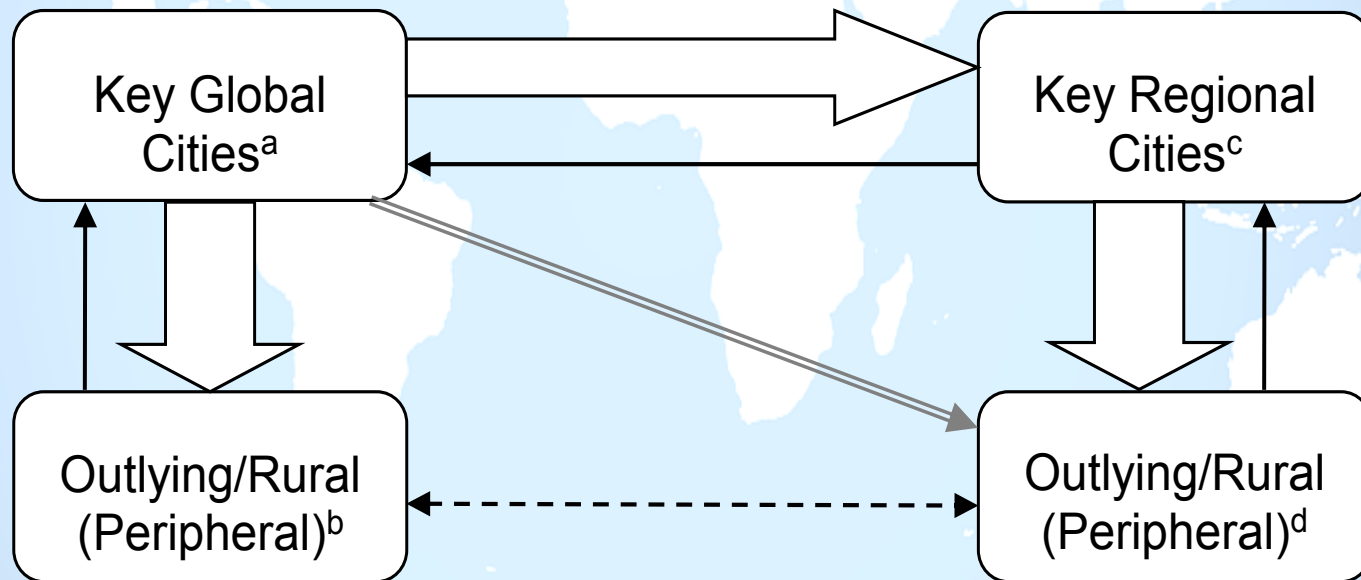


ASYMMETRIC CULTURAL FLOWS: CENTERS VS. PERIPHERIES



The Center

The Periphery



*Magnitude of flow as indicated by relative width of arrows.

For Example: ^aNew York, Los Angeles, London, Paris; ^bNebraska, Kansas, Northumberland, Brittany; ^cSantiago, Laos. Tehran. Hyderabad: ^dChilean. Nigerian. Iranian. and Indian country-sides. respectively.

“Intensity” of Economic Activity



GCC & Connectivity: “Virtual Mobility”



facebook

October 2014

MASS MOBILITY:

Physical movements

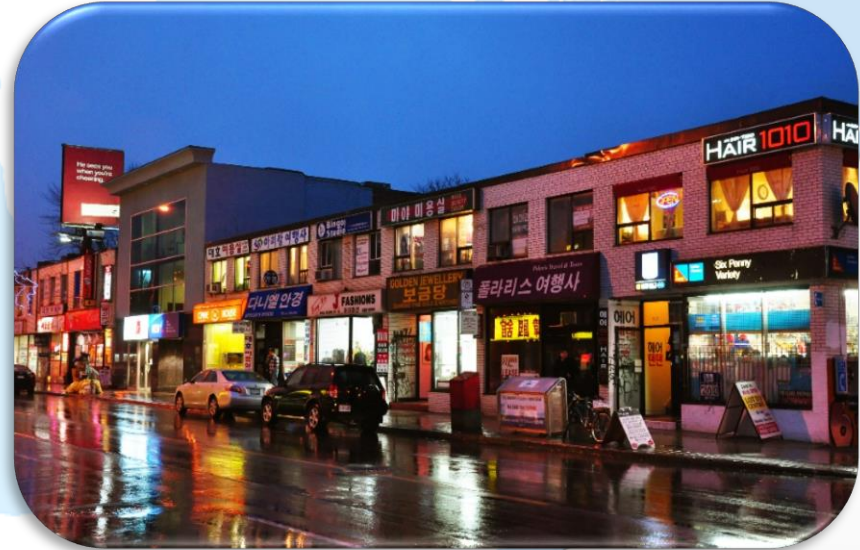
- Slackening restrictions
- Inexpensive, & swift transport.
- As people move about they take with them languages & cultural values, *hastening intercultural diffusion.*
 - **244 Million** int'l migrants (2014)
 - 3% of global pop., up 41% from 2000.
 - # Chinese outside China > # French in France.
 - 20+ cities worldwide w. **≥1 million** foreign-born inhabitants
 - **1.13 Billion** int'l tourists (2014), +4.3% over 2013.
- Mass migration: *producing a little bit of everywhere, increasingly anywhere.*
 - Technology: enables diasporas to maintain contact with counterparts living in far-flung places, & encourage the flow of ideas/innovations across frontiers.



GCC IS BASICALLY AMERICAN & EUROPEAN?



SO GCC IS BASICALLY AMERICAN & EUROPEAN?

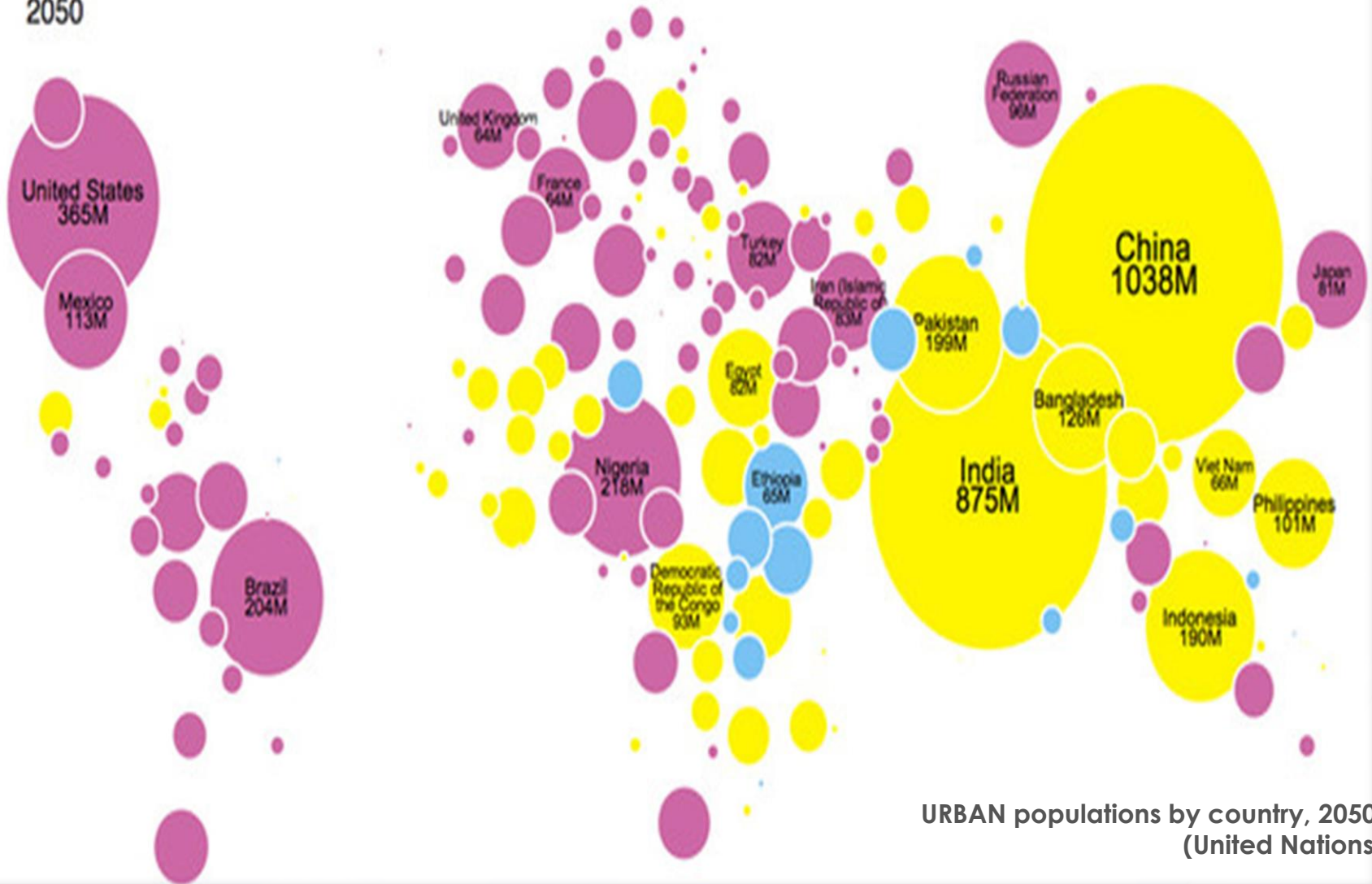


“SHIFTING SANDS” OF GCC THE GLOBE ACCORDING TO POPULATION



“SHIFTING SANDS” OF GCC

2050



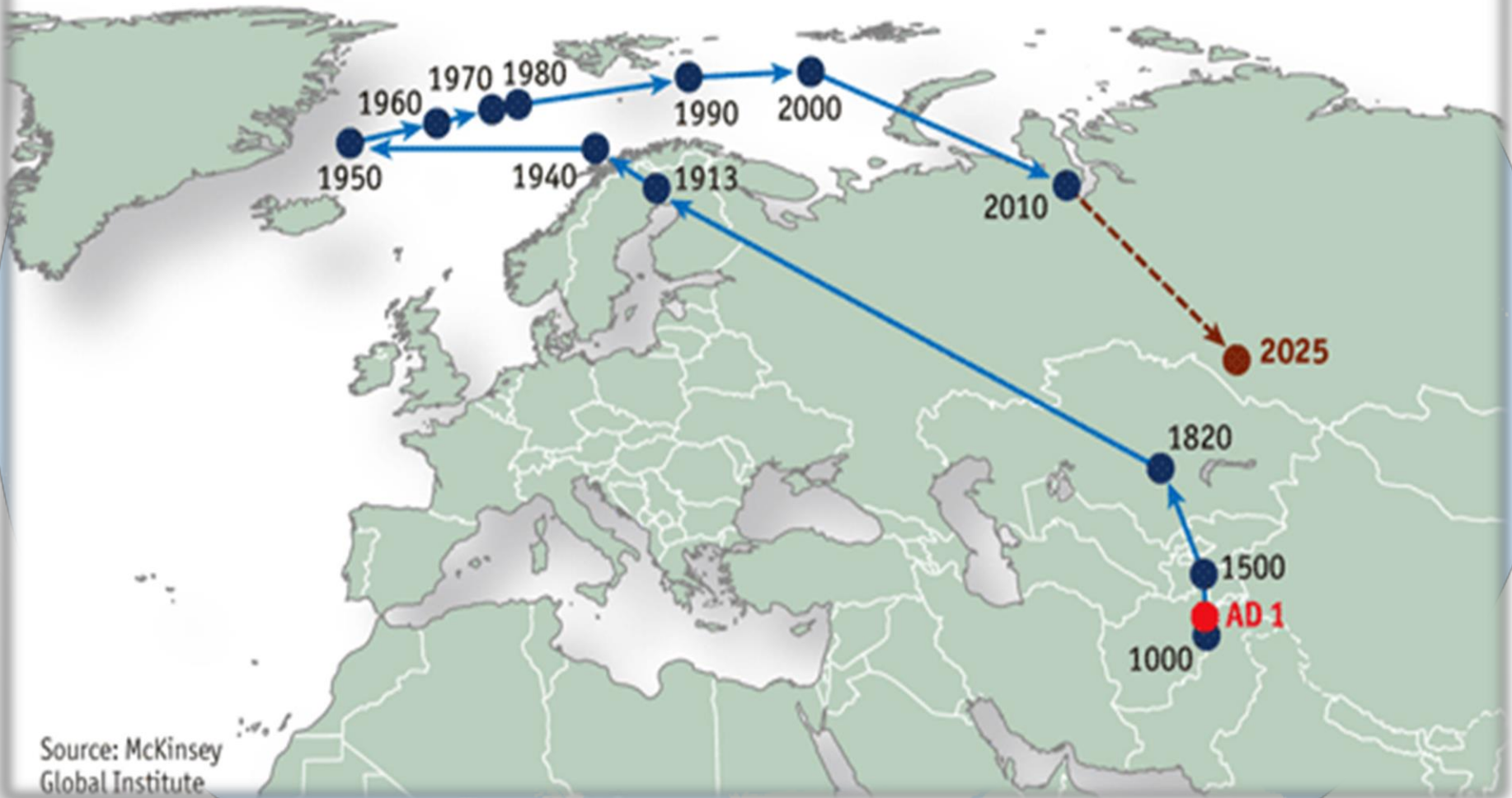
URBAN populations by country, 2050.
(United Nations)

1987



“SHIFTING SANDS” OF GCC

Evolution of the earth's economic centre of gravity
AD 1 to 2025



THE GLOBAL “CENTER”



LOUIS VUITTON

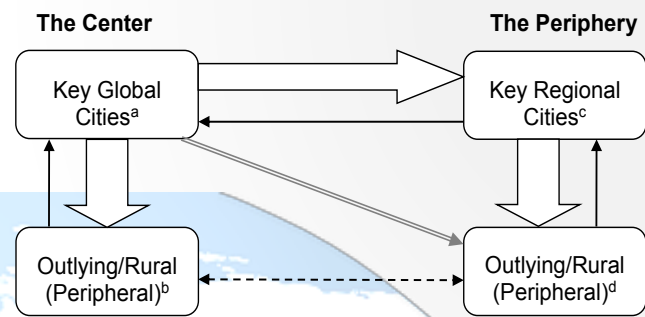


HYUNDAI

Lenovo

FROM THIS

TO/AND THIS



“EAST GCC” EVIDENCE? **POKÉMON**-GO!



RESEARCHING/APPLYING CULTURAL IDENTITY & CHANGE

- **Differences *within* Nation-States**
 - **Religion, minorities (ethnic, linguistic), regions, rural vs. urban**
- **Differences *within* Ethnic Minorities/Majorities**
 - **Religion, generation, intermarriage, neighborhood, age, education, occupation**
- **Similarities *across* Nation States**
 - Global consumer culture, cosmopolitanism
 - Urban youth, global “jet set”, ethnic diasporas
- **Explanatory Power?**
 - Situational, context-dependent influence of culture (and related dispositions)?







RESEARCHING/APPLYING CULTURAL IDENTITY & CHANGE

- Overwhelming focus on minority groups. Now occurring within majorities (globalization & GCC)
 - *Under-researched*
- Unprecedented volume of inter-cultural exchanges
Globalization & loosening of cultural bonds? (Bouchet, 1995)
 1. *Resistance: accentuating localized values/behaviors?*
 2. *Substituting local with foreign/global?*
 3. *Supplementing traditional cultural narrative with ecumenical/world-minded?*
 - *Emergence of Creolized/hybridized cultures?*
- Individuals possessing bicultural identities, combining (N)EID with one linked to GCC



CULTURE CHANGE

Berry's (1980, 1997) Acculturation Strategies:

		Issue 1: Is it considered to be of value to maintain one's traditional identity and characteristics?	
Issue 2: Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with larger society?		Yes	No
	Yes	Integration 	Assimilation 
	No	Separation/ Segregation 	Marginalization 

CULTURAL TRANSMUTATION

(Mendoza & Martinez, 1981):

- Unique sub-cultural entity created from alternation (creolization)



NATIONAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY (N[EID])

- *a “self-constructed understanding of oneself in terms of one’s group membership that changes in response to developmental and contextual factors”* (Phinney 2005)
- **Psychological locus of cultural effects** (Markus & Kitayama, 1991)
- **Incorporation of ethnicity into person’s self-concept**
 - **Subtly & systematically shaping thoughts/behaviors of members.**
- **Subjective, Multifaceted:**
 - **Identification with & desire to maintain culture & traditions, Ethnic pride, Participation in cultural events, Interpersonal relationships with fellow ethnic group members, Communications in ethnic language, ethnic media usage & exposure**
- **Salience of ethnic identity partly context-dependent**
 - **Situational Ethnicity**

Mendoza, 1989; Phinney, 1990; Costa & Bamossy, 1995; Cleveland et al., 2009; 2011

Oswald, 1999; Stayman & Deshpande, 1989; Askegaard et al., 2005

ACCULTURATION TO GCC

Cleveland & Laroche
(2007), J.Bus. Res.

AGCC: "...a subset of acculturation, focusing on how individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and behaviors that are characteristic of a nascent and de-territorialized GLOBAL CONSUMER CULTURE."

Cosmopolitanism (people who provide points of entry into other territorial cultures)

International Travel
(experiences & attitudes towards)

Exposure to Marketing Activities of MNC's
(multinational corporations)

Global/Foreign Mass Media (use/exposure to)

The English Language
(use/exposure to)

Openness to & desire to emulate GCC
(appropriating ideas from global "forum/bazaar", e.g., global teens, "jet set")

Self-Identification with GCC (re: Social identity theory)

Resistance:

CONSUMER ETHNOCENTRISM

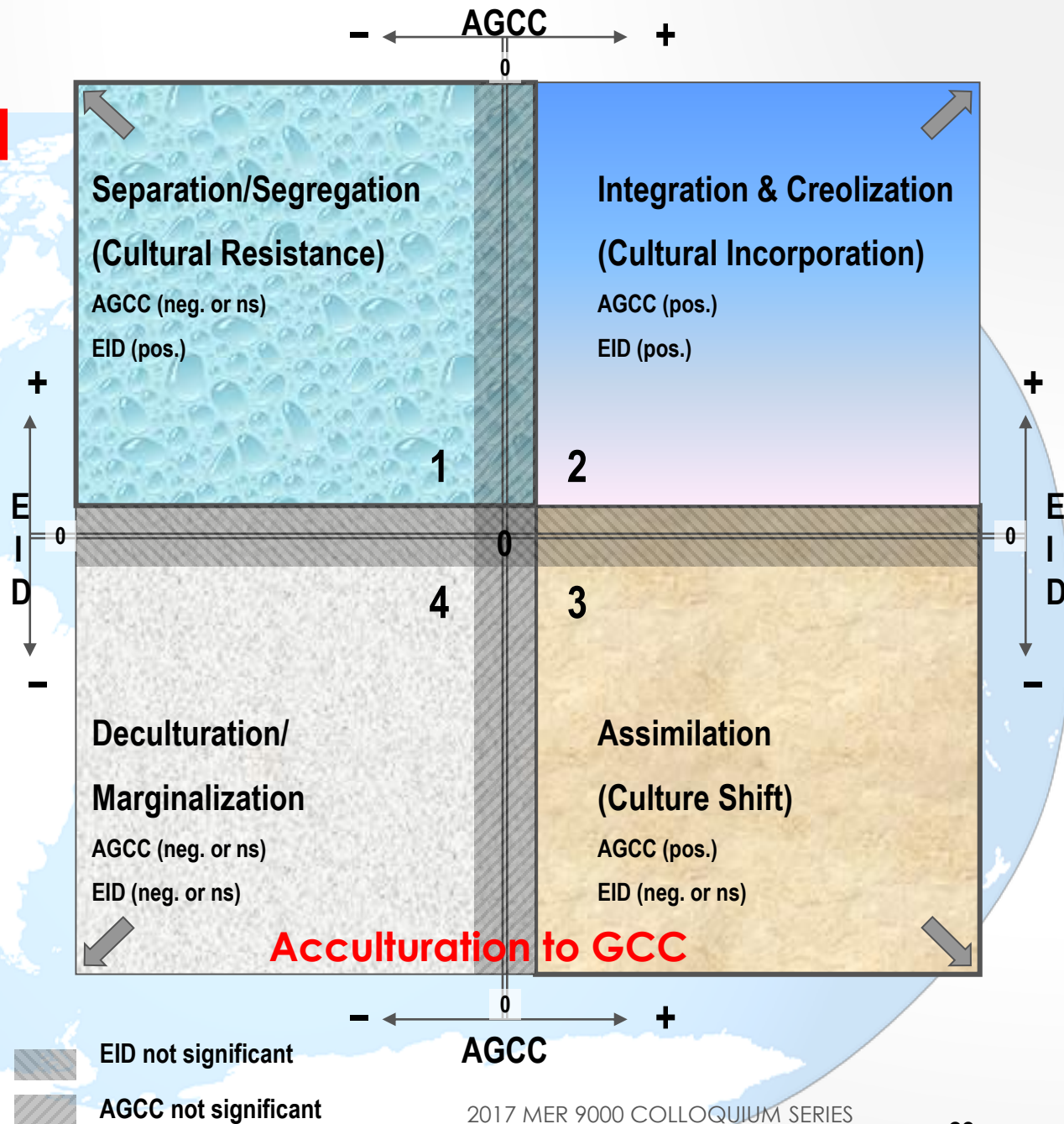
TYOLOGY OF ACCULTURATION PATTERNS

ACCORDING TO GLOBAL & LOCAL CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON BEHAVIORS

Quantitative operationalization:

- Significance,
- Direction (+/-), &
- Magnitude, of path coefficients

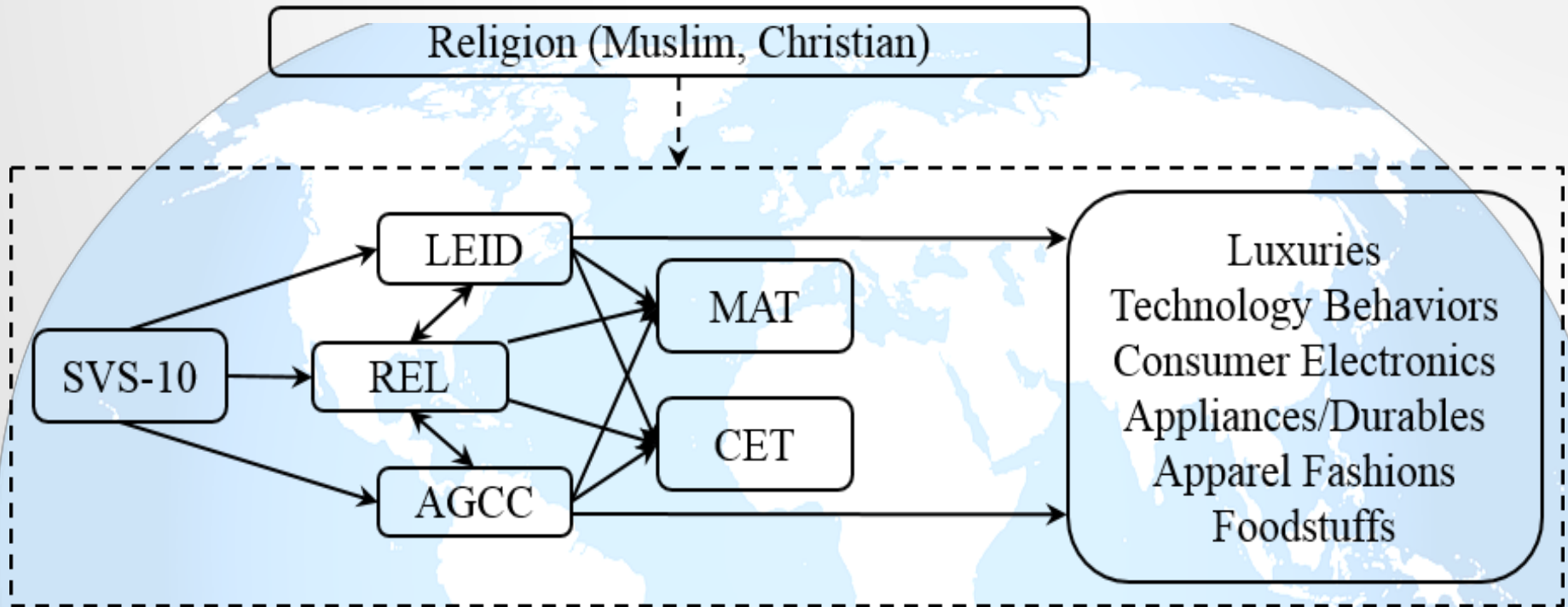
National/Ethnic Identity



Source: Cleveland (2007)

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EXAMPLE: CLEVELAND, LAROCHE & HALLAB, 2013, J. BUS. RES.



**SVS-10=Schwartz Value Survey (10 dimensions),
LEID=Lebanese Ethnic Identity,
REL=Religiosity,
AGCC=Acculturation to Global Consumer Culture,
MAT=Materialism,
CET=Consumer Ethnocentrism.**

EXAMPLE: CLEVELAND, LAROCHE & HALLAB, 2013, J. BUS. RES.

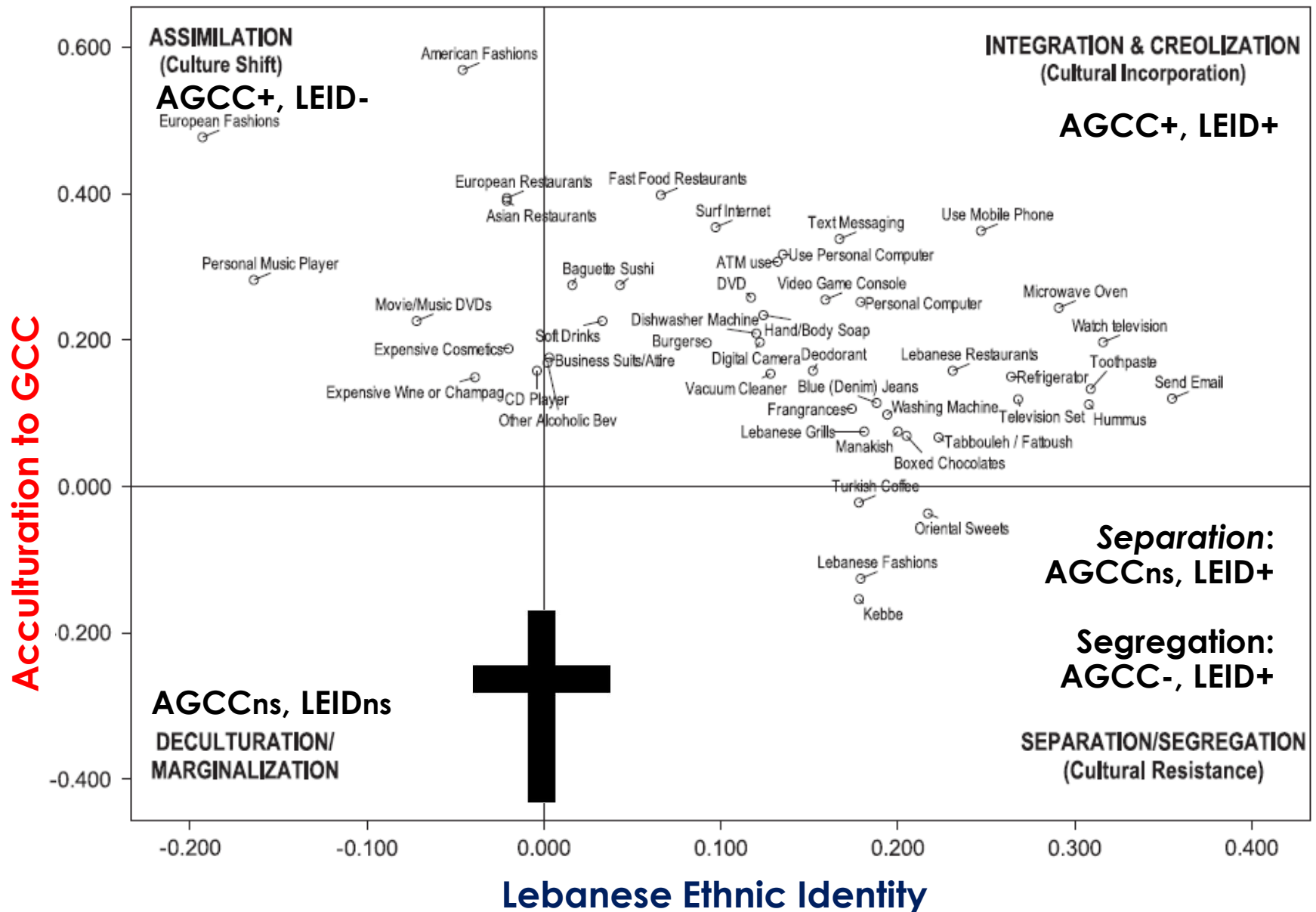


Fig. 3. Lebanese-Christian consumption patterns.

EXAMPLE: CLEVELAND, LAROCHE & HALLAB, 2013, J. BUS. RES.

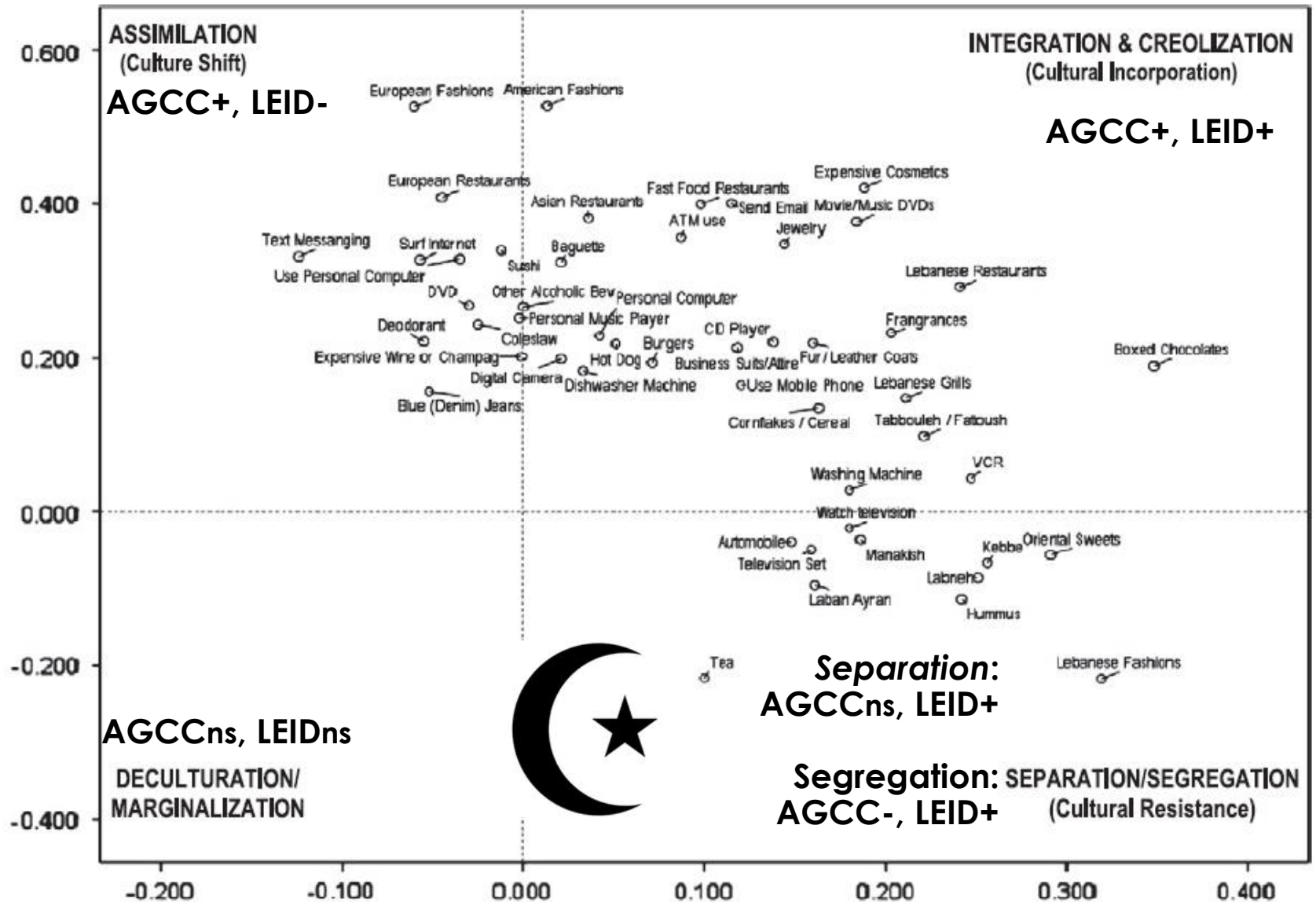


Fig. 2. Lebanese-Muslim consumption patterns.

EXAMPLE: CLEVELAND, LAROCHE & HALLAB, 2013, J. BUS. RES.

ASSIMILATION (AGCC +, LEID -/n.s.)		INTEGRATION/CREOLIZATION (AGCC +, LEID +)	
<i>Muslims (26)</i>	<i>Christians (18)</i>	<i>Muslims (10)</i>	<i>Christians (19)</i>
(14) Sushi, burgers, baguette, alcoholic beverages, Asian restaurants, European restaurants, fast-food restaurants, American fashion, European fashion, business attire, personal music player, DVD player, surf Internet, champagne		(1) Lebanese restaurants	
(12) coleslaw, hotdog, blue jeans, deodorant, dishwasher, digital camera, computer, mobile phone, use computer, send email, text messaging, ATM usage	(4) Soft drinks, CD player, DVD purchases, cosmetics	(9) cereal, Lebanese grills, CD player, DVD purchases, cosmetics, fragrances, boxed chocolates, fur/leather coats jewelry	(18) Hummus, blue jeans, deodorant, toothpaste, soap, refrigerator, microwave, dishwasher, vacuum, videogame console, digital camera, computer, mobile phone, text messaging, ATM usage, watch TV, use computer, send email
DECULTURATION (LEID -, AGCC n.s.) or MARGINALIZATION (AGCC n.s., LEID n.s.)*		SEPARATION (AGCC n.s., LEID +) OR SEGREGATION (AGCC -, LEID +)*	
<i>Muslims (16)</i>	<i>Christians (18)</i>	<i>Muslims (14)</i>	<i>Christians (11)</i>
(8) pizza, croissants, arak, shawarma, hair shampoo, athletic shoes, bicycle, antique furniture		(6) TV set, washing machine, manakish, oriental sweets, taboulleh/fattoush, Lebanese fashion*	
(8) Turkish coffee, soft drinks, toothpaste, soap, videogame console, refrigerator, microwave, vacuum	(10) Labneh, cereal, tea, laban ayran, coleslaw, hotdog, VCR, auto, jewelry, fur/leather coats	(8) auto, VCR, watch TV, labneh, laban ayran, kebbe, hummus*, tea*	(5) Turkish coffee, Lebanese grills, boxed chocolates, fragrances, kebbe*

MULTIFACETED ACCULTURATION IN MULTI-ETHNIC SETTINGS (Cleveland & Xu, working paper)

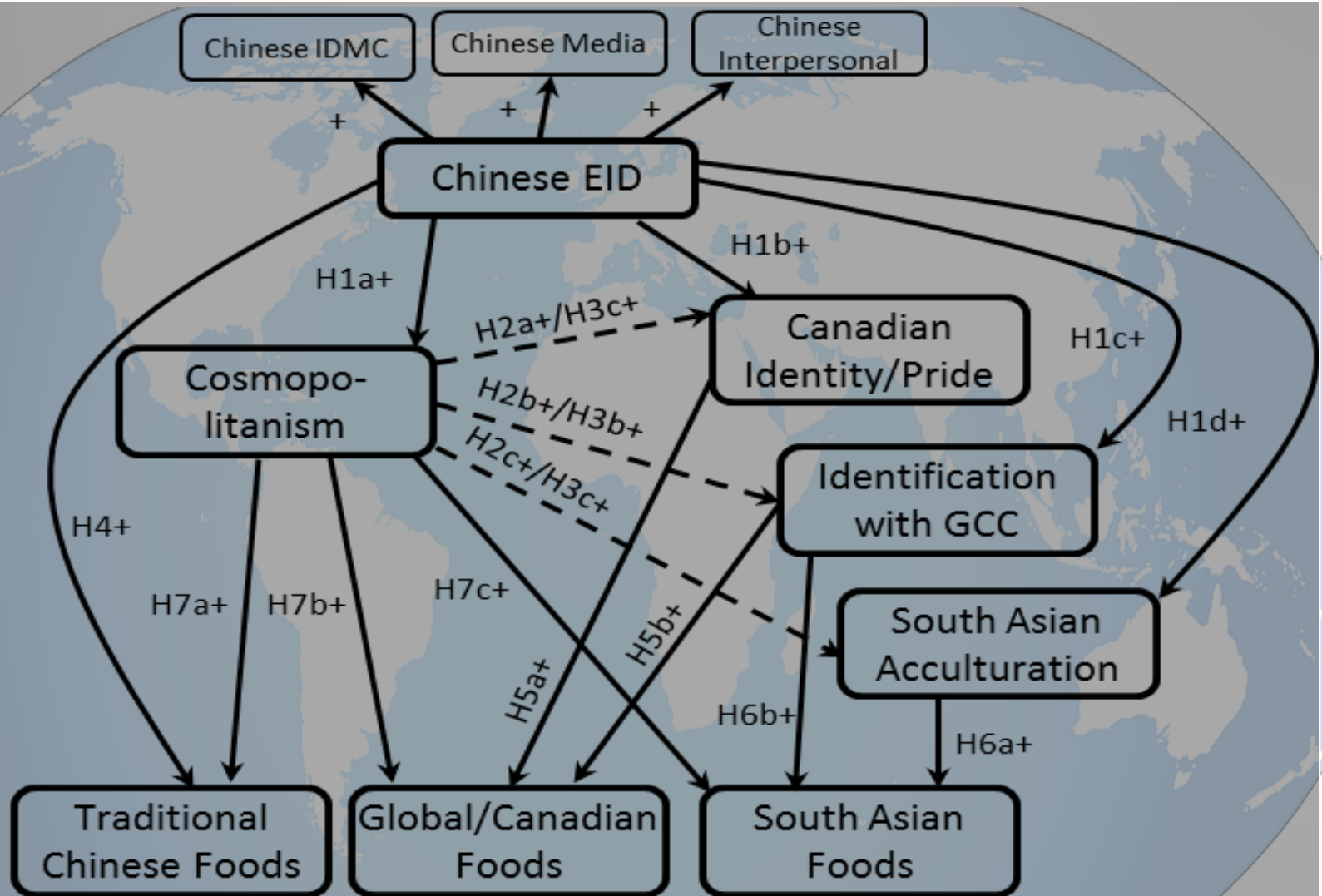
- **Immigration rapidly changing face of many Western societies.**
 - Ethnic minority research: overlooks nature of acculturation occurring beyond majority-minority dichotomy.
- **Pluralistic social environments:**
 - Minorities acculturate not only to predominant group, but also to GCC, and potentially, coexisting different ethnic minority populations.
- **Canada: 21% foreign-born.**
- **Toronto: 46% foreign-born.**
- **Largest sources (Canada): China, India, Philippines**



MULTIFACETED ACCULTURATION IN MULTIETHNIC SETTINGS (CLEVELAND & XU)

- Cultures “...tend to overlap and mingle... [and] the boundaries that we draw around them are frequently rather arbitrary” (Hannerz, 1990, p. 239).
- Shed light on immigrants’ cultural adaptation to a host society that is diverse/pluralistic:
 - How members of Chinese-Canadian community maintain their ethnic identity while acculturating to both mainstream Canadian culture & GCC, and,
 - Extent to which these Chinese minority members acculturate to largest minority group living in close urban proximity to Chinese community: South-Asian (SA) culture
 - Mediating role of cosmopolitanism
 - Application to food consumption
 - global/Canadian, Chinese, and SA cultures

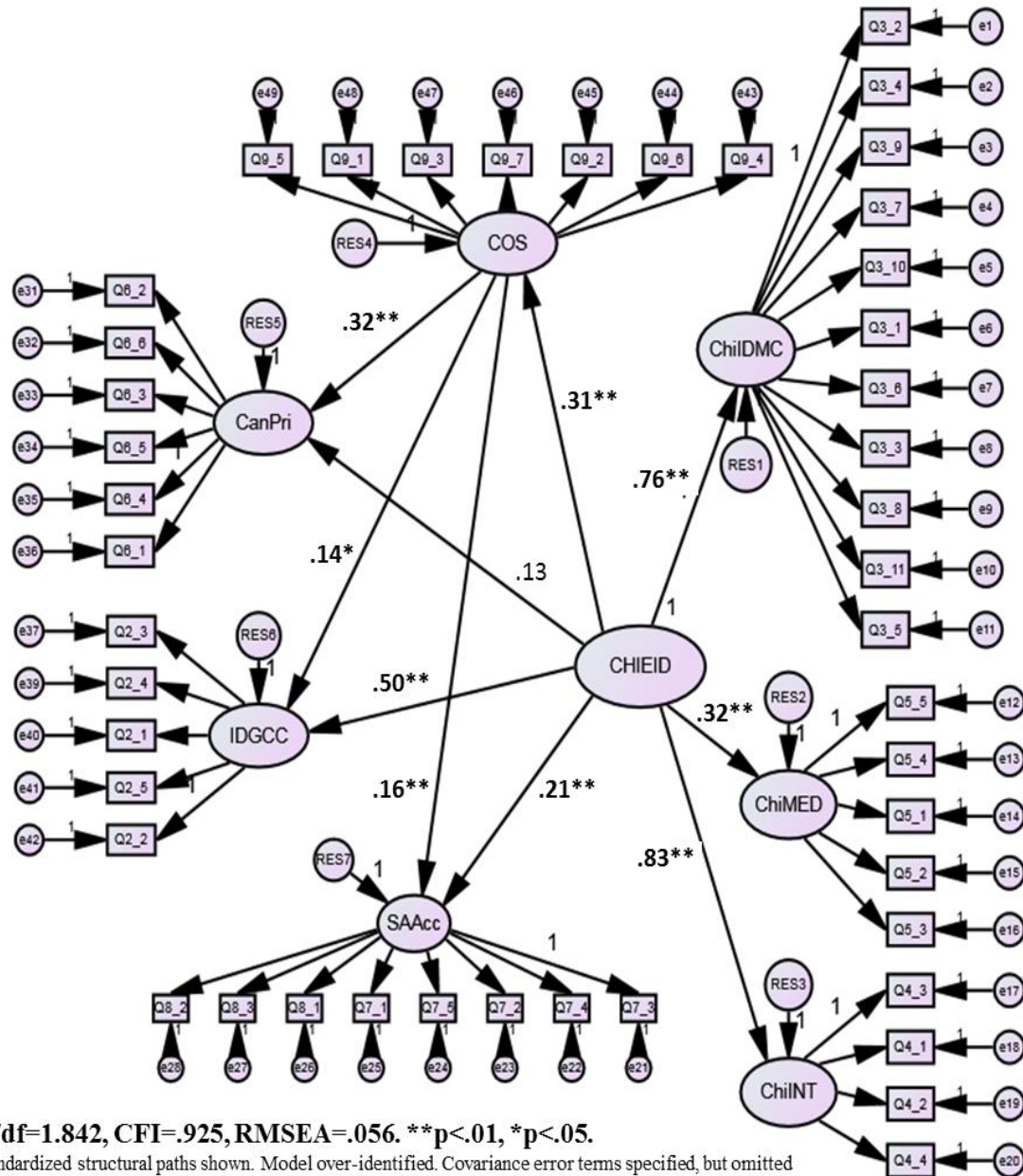
MULTIFACETED ACCULTURATION IN MULTIETHNIC SETTINGS (CLEVELAND & XU, WORKING PAPER)



Direct hypothesized path: solid line; direct & indirect hypothesized paths: dashed line

RESULTS

- Incorporation of COS as partial mediator between Chinese EID & acculturation constructs (Mainstream, South Asian, IDGCC) yielded significant improvement in model fit
- $\Delta\chi^2_{(3)} = 30.27, p < .001$
- Bootstrapped confidence intervals for estimating direct/indirect paths
- 2000 bootstrapped resamples



$\chi^2/df=1.842$, CFI=.925, RMSEA=.056. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Standardized structural paths shown. Model over-identified. Covariance error terms specified, but omitted from above diagram: e1-e6, e3-e5, e4-e8, e8-e11; e13-e14; e17-e20; e25-e23, e26-e27, e26-e28, e27-e28; e31-e35, e33-e35; e45-e48.

CULTURAL ANTECEDENTS OF FOOD CONSUMPTION

- **H1a ✓** [Chinese EID→Cosmopolitanism+]
- **H1b ✗** [Chinese EID→Can-Pride (mediated by COS) not sig.]
 - Indirect relationship was sig. **H3a ✓**
- **H2a ✓, H2b ✓, H2c ✓** [absorption of all 3 external cultural forces assisted by COS]
- **H1c ✓** [Chinese EID→IDGCC +], **H1d ✓** [Chinese EID→SA-Acc +]
- These relationships *intensified* with incorporation of COS as partial mediator: **H3b ✓, H3c ✓**

CULTURAL ANTECEDENTS OF FOOD CONSUMPTION

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- **H4 ✓ [Chinese EID→Chinese foods +]**
 - Waning of Ch-EID associated with increase of mainstream + SA foods
- **H5a ✓ [Can-Pride→ Mainstream foods +]**
- **H5b ✓ [IDGCC→mainstream foods +], [IDGCC→Chinese foods +]**
- **H6a ✓ [SA-Acc→SA foods +], H6b ✓ [IDGCC→SA foods +]**
- **H7a ✗ [COS→Chinese foods, not sig.]**
- **H7b ✓ [COS→Mainstream foods +]**
- **H7c ✗ [COS→SA-foods, not sig.]**



- **Builds upon slender literature on ethnic minorities within culturally pluralistic environments.**
 - Degree to which each set of multiple social/cultural identities activated depends in part on symbolism within consumption context (possibly, elicited by brands)
 - **Differential salience of ethnicity/identity affects type of info consumers attend to**
 - **Joint positive influence of presumably conflicting bases on consumption, positive correlations**
 - **Thus, reinforcing, and enhanced by cosmopolitanism**
 - **Young, affluent and urban Chinese consumers “are shifting from collective values to greater individualism, and have aspirations of modernizing, but on their own terms” (Douglas & Craig, 2010)**
 - **IDGCC → Chinese foods (integration)**
 - **IDGCC → Mainstream & South-Asian foods (assimilation)**

CLEVELAND & LAROCHE, 2012

Chapter 3: “Becoming and Being a Cosmopolitan Consumer”

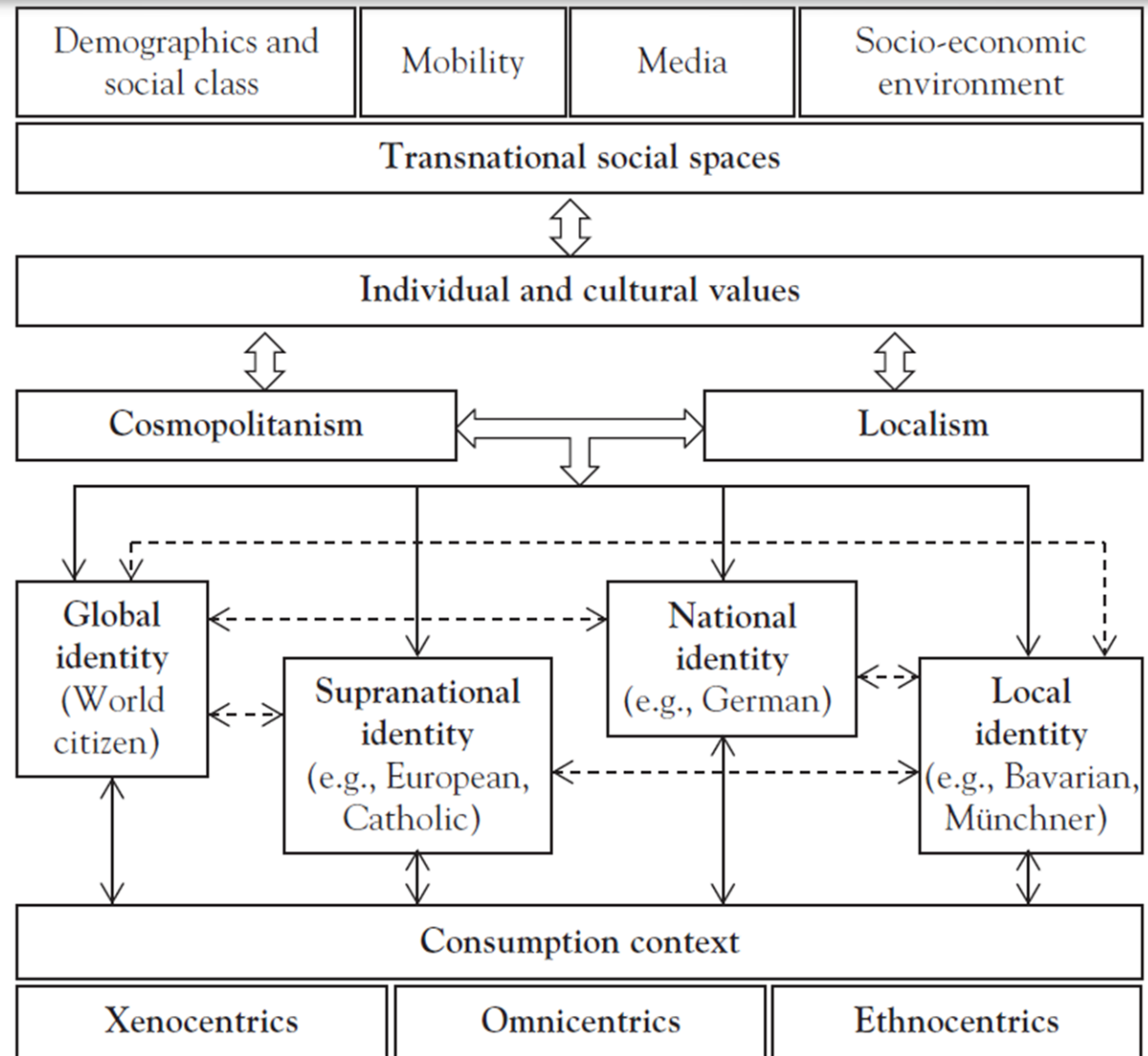


Figure 3.1. Cosmopolitanism–localism and consumption framework.

GLOBALIZATION CREATES POLYCENTRIC IDENTITIES

Polycentrism: Multiple bases of identity

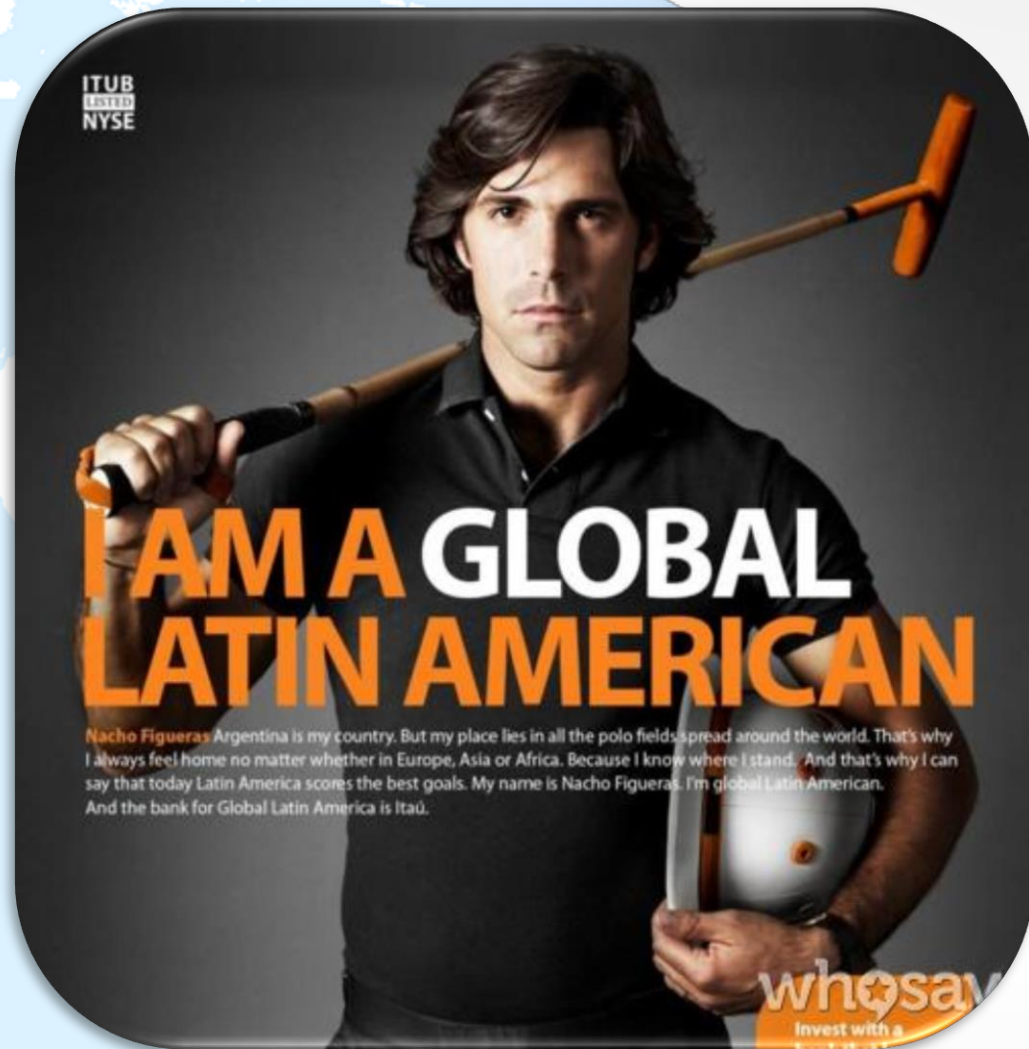
- **‘HERE’ IDENTITIES** (national, ethnic, religious, etc.) & associated dispositions (consumer ethnocentrism, animosity, patriotism, etc.)
- **‘THERE’ IDENTITIES** (xenocentrism, “anglophilia”, etc.)
- **‘EVERYWHERE’ IDENTITIES** (global, cosmopolitanism, etc.), & associated dispositions (e.g., global consumption orientation)



GLOBALIZATION CREATES POLYCENTRIC IDENTITIES

Nacho Figueras.

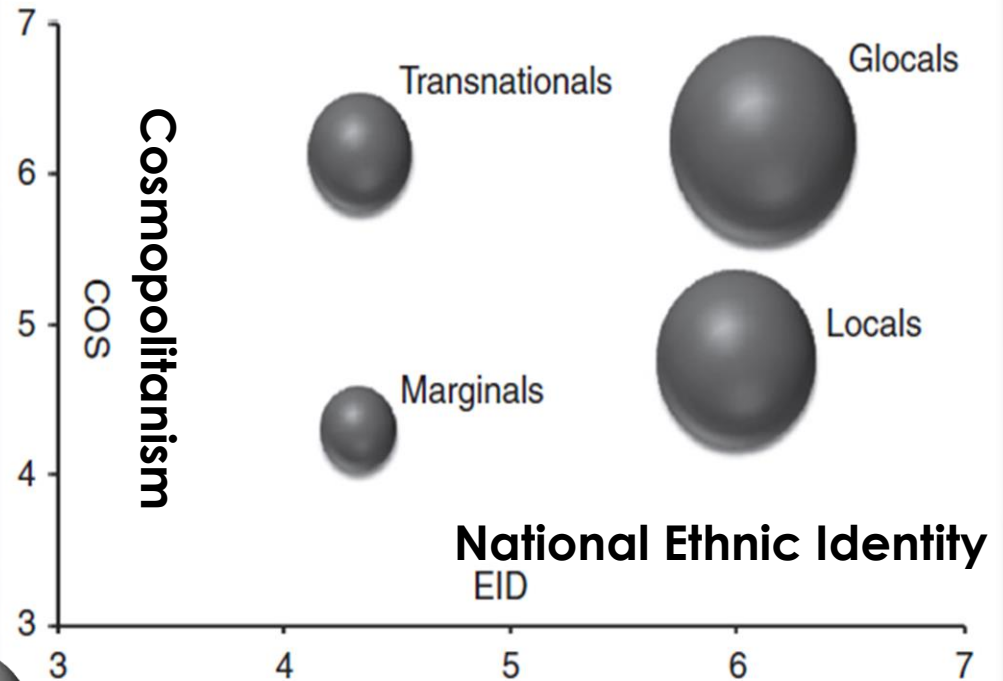
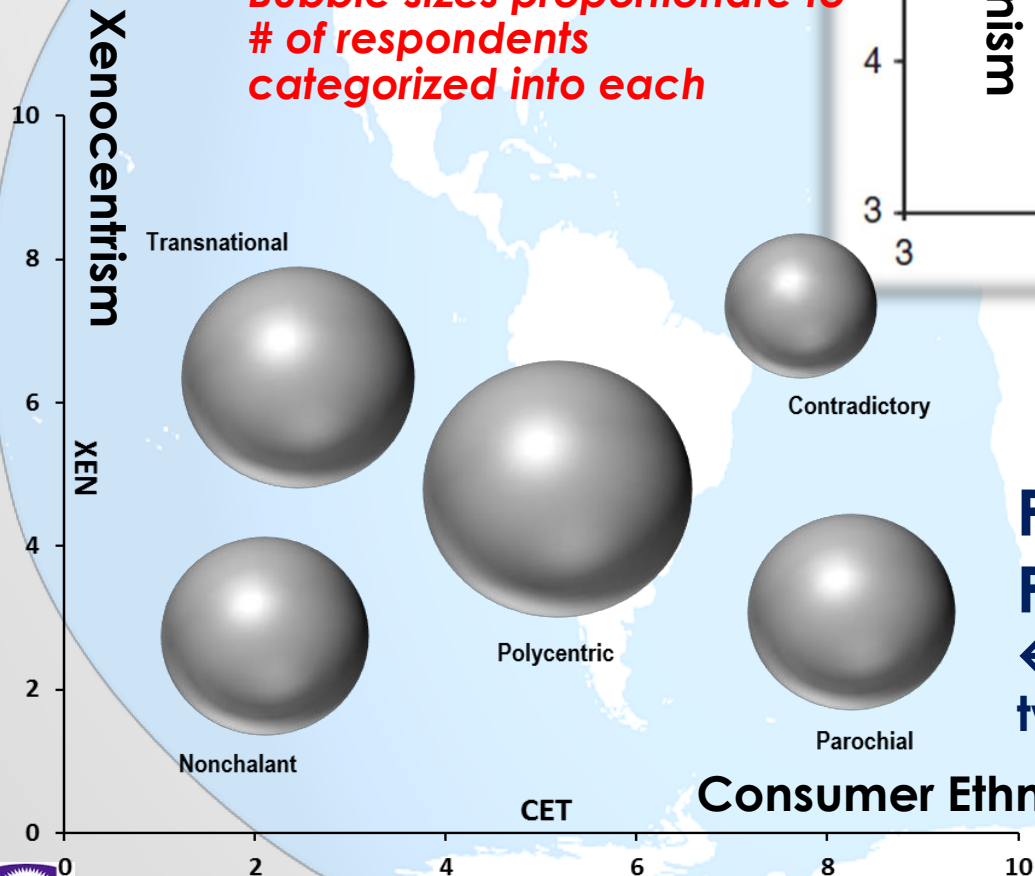
“Argentina is my country. But my place lies in all the polo fields spread around the world. That’s why I always feel at home no matter whether in Europe, Asia, or Africa. Because I know where I stand. And that’s why I can say today Latin America scores the best goals. My name is Nacho Figueras. I’m global Latin American. And the bank for Global Latin America is Itaú.”



Cleveland, Papadopoulos & Laroche 2011

(*International Marketing Review*),
eight countries (N>2000)→

*Bubble sizes proportionate to
of respondents
categorized into each*



Prince, Davies, Cleveland & Palihawadana, 2016

←(*International Marketing Review*),
two countries (USA/UK)

NATIONAL ETHNIC IDENTITY, GCC & MATERIALISM

With The Most Toys Wins



Cleveland, Laroche & Papadopoulos, working paper.

- **Does globalization promote diffusion of a materialistic GCC?**
 - *Cultural imperialism* hypothesis (Tomlinson, 1991), *Coca-Cola-nization* (Hannerz, 1992), *McWorld* (Barber, 1996)
 - Are national/ethnic cultures revitalizing?
 - If so, evidence that nationalistic & parochially-inclined consumers are resisting materialistic tendencies?
- More specifically, how & to what degree do facets of GCC & national/ethnic affiliation drive materialism?
- Uniformity of relationships across countries/cultures?

GLOBALIZATION & SOCIETY

- **Globalization → Affects societies & individuals**
- **Materialism:**
 - Presumed to be a core characteristic of global consumer culture (GCC)
 - Consumption-related values pertinent for understanding establishment, maintenance, & expression of cultural identity.
 - Advertisers employ materialistic themes:
 - **luxury, success, accumulation, happiness, glamour, exclusivity**
 - Reinforces status, social class, desirability of upward social mobility
- **X-cultural studies on drivers of materialism: scarce**



MATERIALISM

- **MATERIALISM:** ownership/acquisition of material goods, to achieve life goals or desired states (Richins, 2004)
 1. Centrality of possessions
 2. Acquiring possessions yields happiness & fulfillment
 3. Belongings to infer success of oneself/others (Richins & Dawson, 1992)
- Possessiveness, envy, non-generosity (Belk, 1985)
- **Conspicuous Consumption:** Identity/hierarchy signaling within groups (Veblen, 1899, Weber, 1904)
- **Consumer Culture:** Individual pursuits/desires to detriment of communal, tribal, religious values.
 - Easy access to foreign goods & media parallel with rapidly rising consumer expectations
 - Spread by mass media, tourism, multinational marketing?
 - Universal, latent? Higher under social change (Ger & Belk, 1990)
 - Contrary to religious teachings, postmaterialism.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

- **Innateness of Materialism?**
- **Independence of MAT & genetics** (Giddens et al., 2009)
 - **MAT & environmental causes**

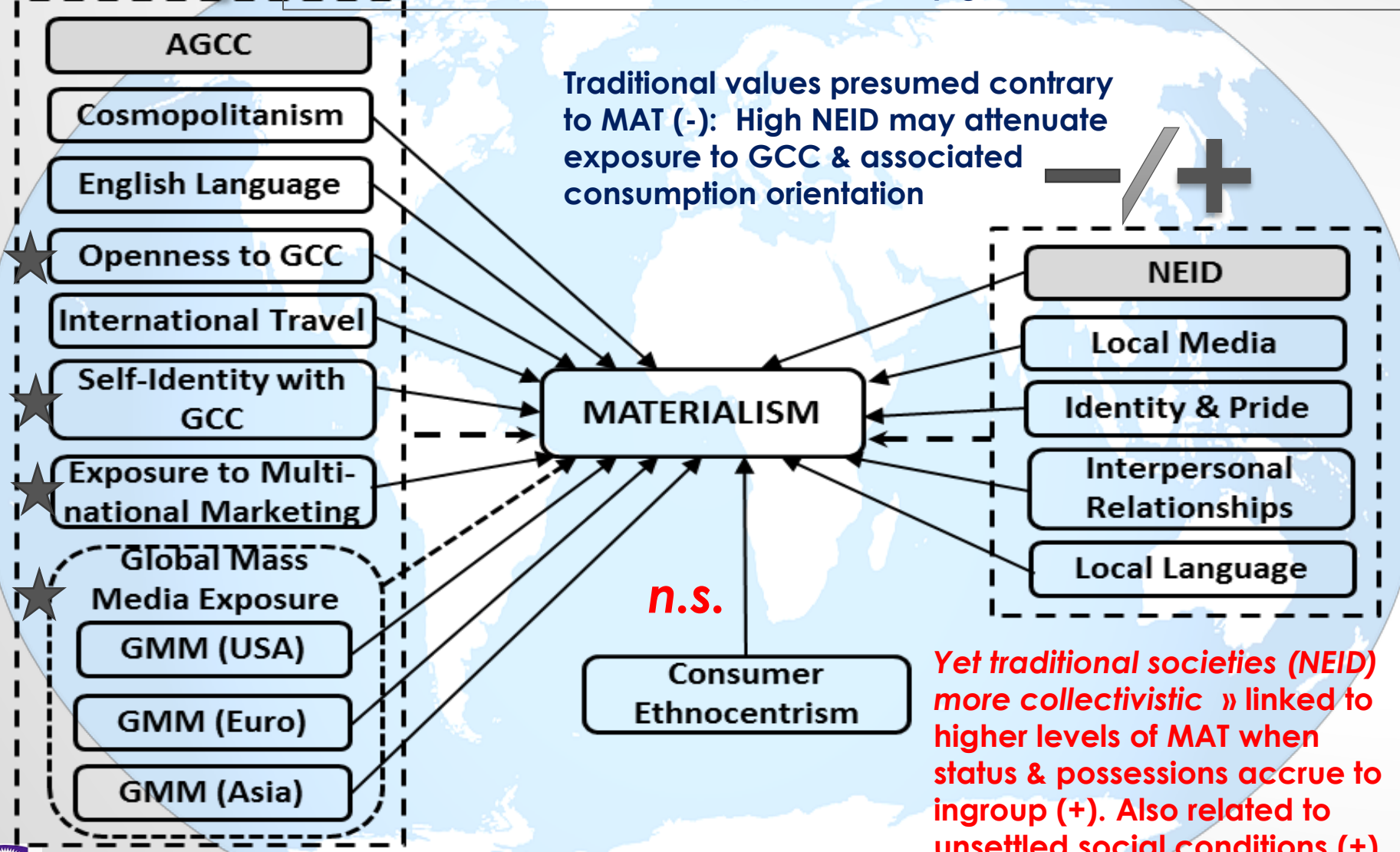


- **Extant literature on MAT:**
 - ***Focus to date:*** Attributing individual differences (e.g., personality) & social forces
 - **Extent to which social forces uniformly affect consumers' MAT levels across cultures/countries indefinite** (Cleveland et al., 2009)
 - **Certain societies may be prone to embrace or resist materialistic, consumption-based orientation characterizing GCC**

HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS



←Variable due to different inroads made by globalization across cultures



Yet traditional societies (NEID) more collectivistic » linked to higher levels of MAT when status & possessions accrue to ingroup (+). Also related to unsettled social conditions (+).

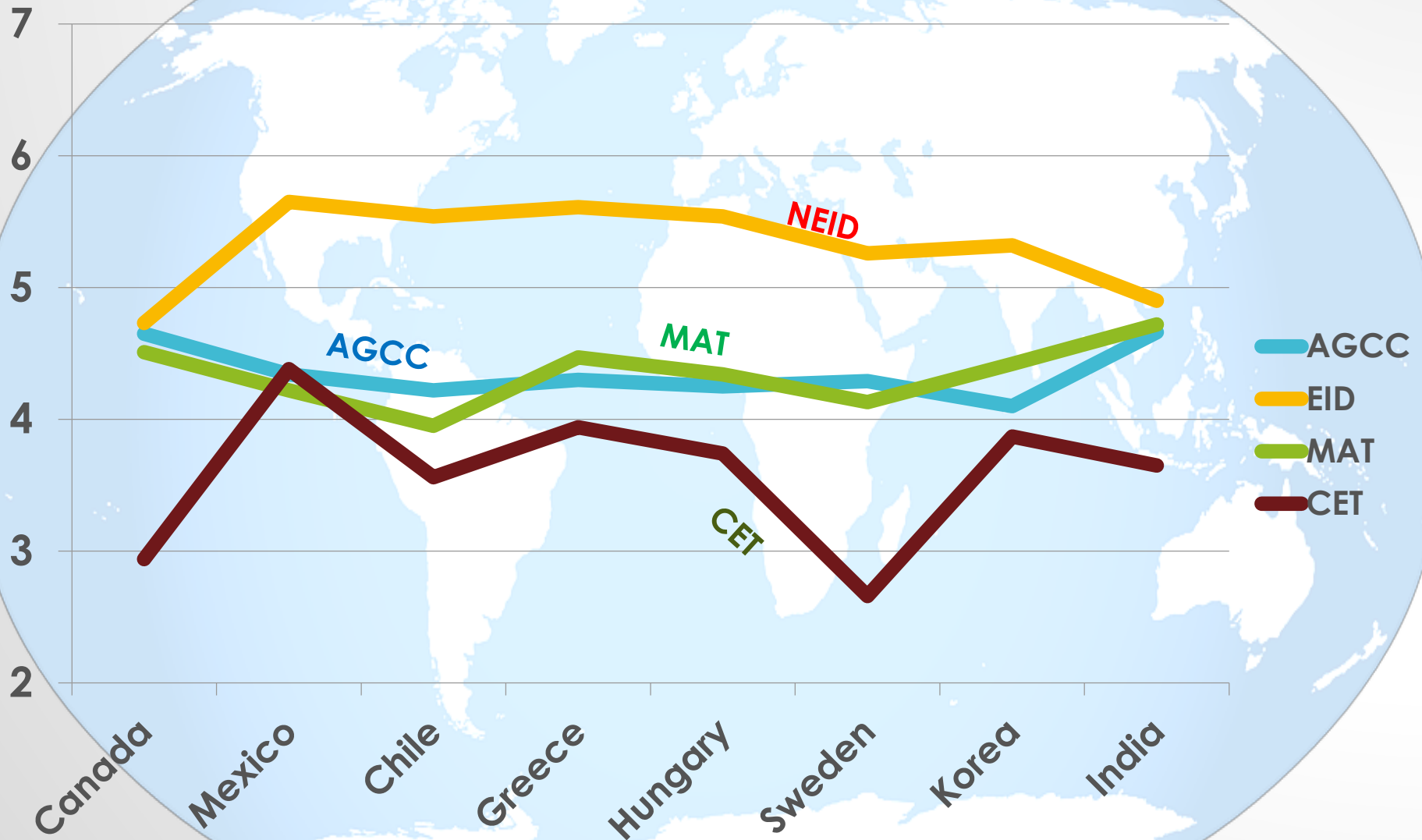
METHODOLOGY: SAMPLING



- **Snowball sampling**
 - Grad/undergrad students, Quota (3-5): eligible coworkers/associates, friends/neighbors, etc.
- **One urban area per country**
 - **Montreal, Puebla, Talca, Budapest, Gothenburg, Thessaloniki, Daejeon, Mumbai**
- **~2800 dist., 2307 ret., 2015 usable (female %):**
 - **Americas: Canada=241 (50%), Mexico=231 (53%), Chile=192 (60%)**
 - **Europe: Hungary=332 (59%), Sweden=329 (56%), Greece=317 (54%)**
 - **Asia: Korea=137 (33%), India=236 (41%)**
 - **Sig. differences for age, sex, household income, family size, education**
 - **Held constant (i.e., covariates) for all mean comparisons & correlation analyses**

ADJUSTED MEANS

Covariates: Age, sex, household-income (PPP adjusted), family-size, education



LATENT FACTOR STRUCTURAL PATHS TO MAT

	Americas ^b			Europe ^b			Asia ^b		Overall ^a	Summary ^c
	Canada	Mexico	Chile	Greece	Hungary	Sweden	Korea	India		
CET	-.115	.074	.300***	.126*	.009	.082	-.174	.086	.077***	2+
LOCMED	.106	.095	.141	.150*	.056	-.114	.126	-.015	.050*	1+
IDMC	-.243**	-.096	.034	-.028	-.112*	.183***	.159	.028	.033	1+, 2-
INTPER	.178*	.292**	.262***	.182*	-.045	.135*	-.125	.163	.146***	5+ ★
LOCLAN	-.113	-.271***	.025	.003	.044	-.086	.189	-.085	-.188***	1-
COS	-.120	.031	-.008	-.012	.033	-.206***	.239	-.149	-.105***	1-
ENGL	.115*	.023	-.114	-.108*	.007	-.093	-.365***	-.134*	.019	1+, 3-
OGCC	-.057	.228***	-.082	.092	-.002	.071	.122	.132*	.040*	2+
TRAV	.007	-.083	.008	-.002	-.090	.185**	-.050	.160	.023	1+
IDGCC	.507***	.518***	.576***	.536***	.556***	.585***	.528***	.533***	.561***	8+ ★
GMM-ASIA	.064	.176**	.131	-.103	-.052	-.018	.044	-.004	.167***	1+
GMM-USA	.423***	.234**	.326***	.265***	.462***	.404***	.624***	-.086	.304***	7+ ★
GMM-EUR	.057	.048	.015	-.045	.141*	.106	-.392***	.019	-.058*	1+, 1-
EXM	.075	.061	.000	.136*	-.046	.043	-.039	.423***	.120***	2+
#Drivers	4+, 1-	5+, 1-	4+	6+, 1-	3+, 1-	5+, 1-	2+, 2-	3+, 1-	8+, 3-	32+, 8-

CONTRIBUTIONS

- **Little known about similarity of psychographic drivers of MAT across countries/cultures.**
 - Variable role of specific cultural values associated with traditional identities explanation for equivocal findings.
 - Multi-group CFA/SEM: validating measures/constructs developed in West to different cultures
- **MAT/CET: largely independent**
- **MAT/NEID: pos. more often than neg.**
 - Compatibility of parochial feelings & materialism.
 - Value of materialistic themes in product ads/positioning for local & foreign/global goods, although for latter should avoid drawing attention to (or disguise) foreign-ownership/production.





CONTRIBUTIONS

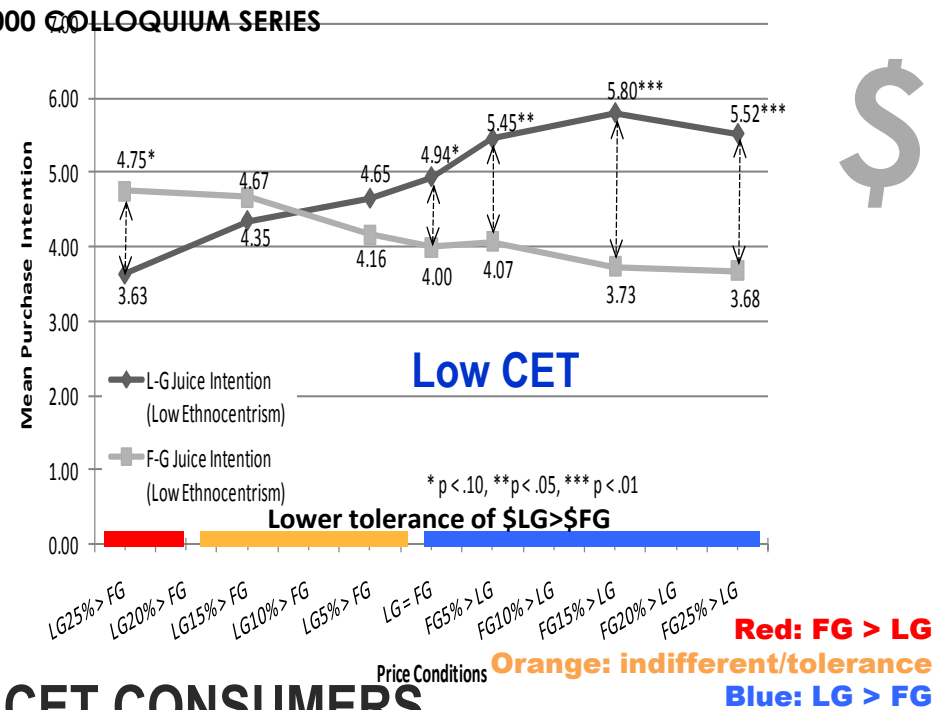
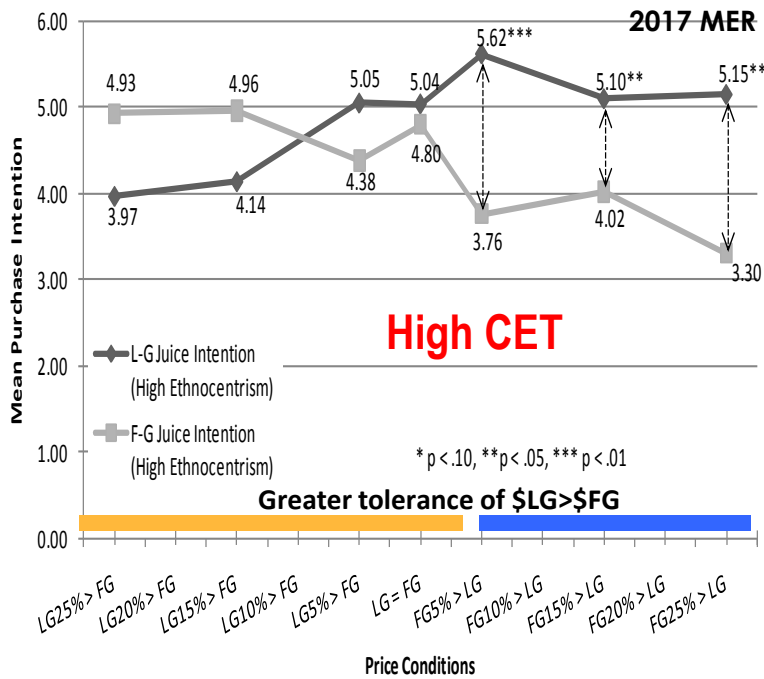
- **Contention of rising (falling) MAT in emerging (postindustrial) economies:**
 - Respondents from emerging markets exhibited both the highest and lowest mean MAT scores (India vs. Chile), and no consistent pattern emerged amongst advanced economy respondents (e.g., Canadians vs. Swedes).
 - COS: not a post-materialistic disposition (*ns links*)
- **AGCC drives MAT: robust support.**
 - Media, marketing messages, First-hand cultural encounters (TRAV), But not English (except Québécois)
 - Individuals bicultural (**EID/AGCC: $r = -0.003$, $p = .91$**)
 - **Notion of competing cultures not supported**
 - Possessions & luxury are important to global consumer, who is indifferent as to whether these goods are produced locally or abroad (**AGCC-CET $r = -.14$, $p < .001$**)

RESEARCHING GCC & ASSOCIATED DISPOSITIONS

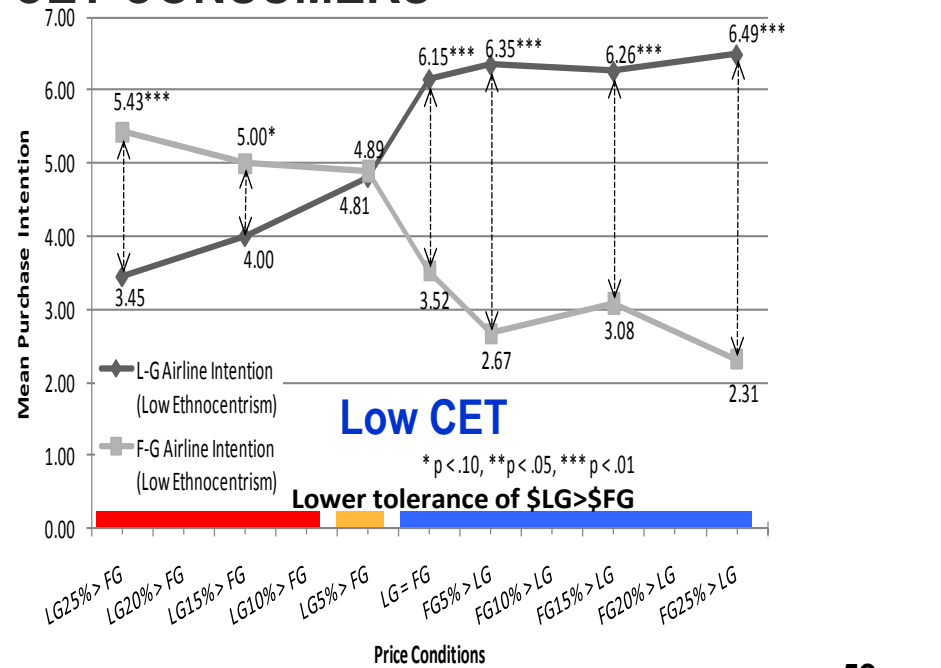
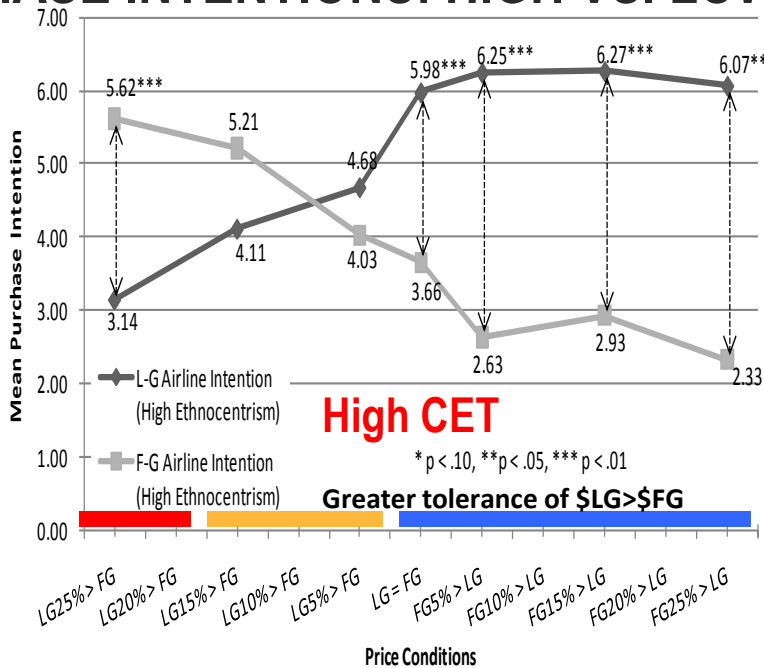
- **Dominated by Survey-based approaches**
- **Experimental research mainly focused on:**
 - Country of origin effects, country image, global vs. local brand positioning strategies, etc.
- **Little research on other marketing mix elements/combinations, for example:**
 - Pricing, in conjunction with brand/positioning, e.g.:
 - *To what extent are consumer biases/traits (consumer ethnocentrism, cosmopolitanism, etc.) sensitive to price differences?*



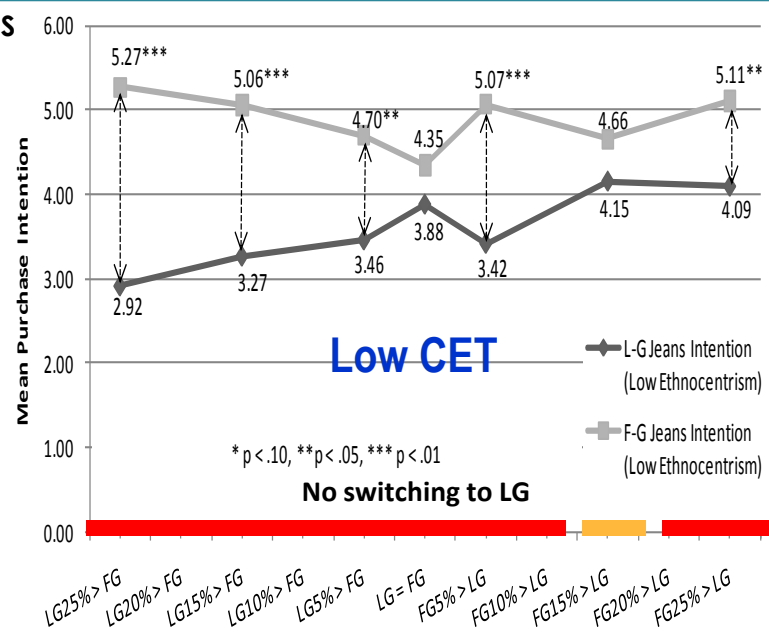
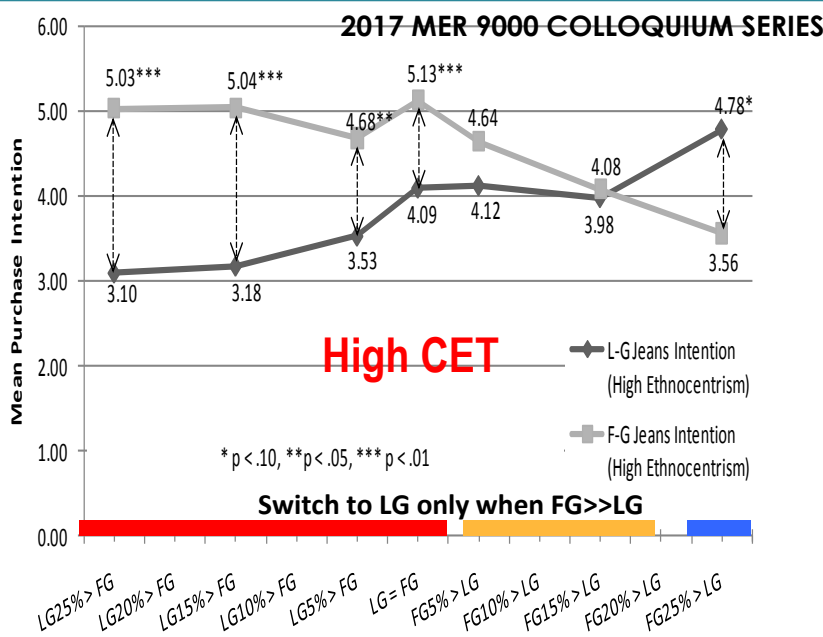
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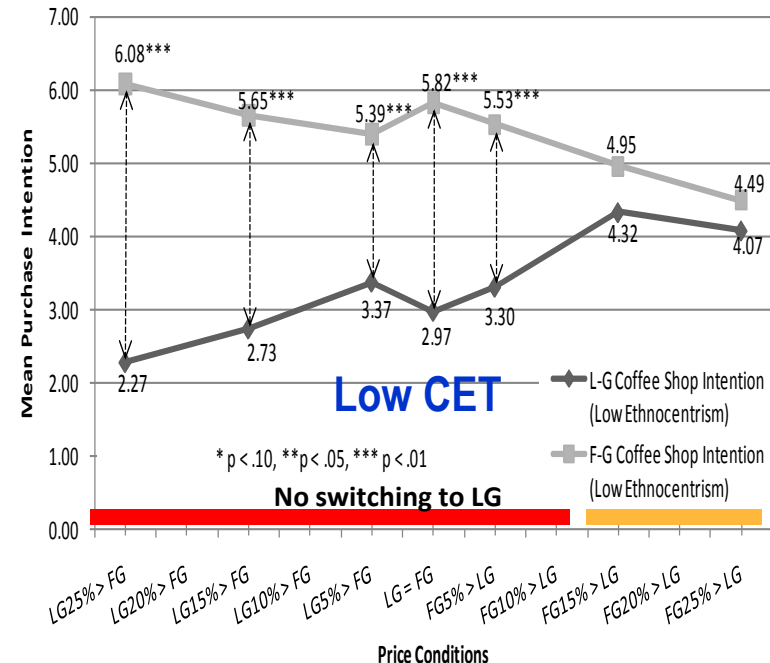
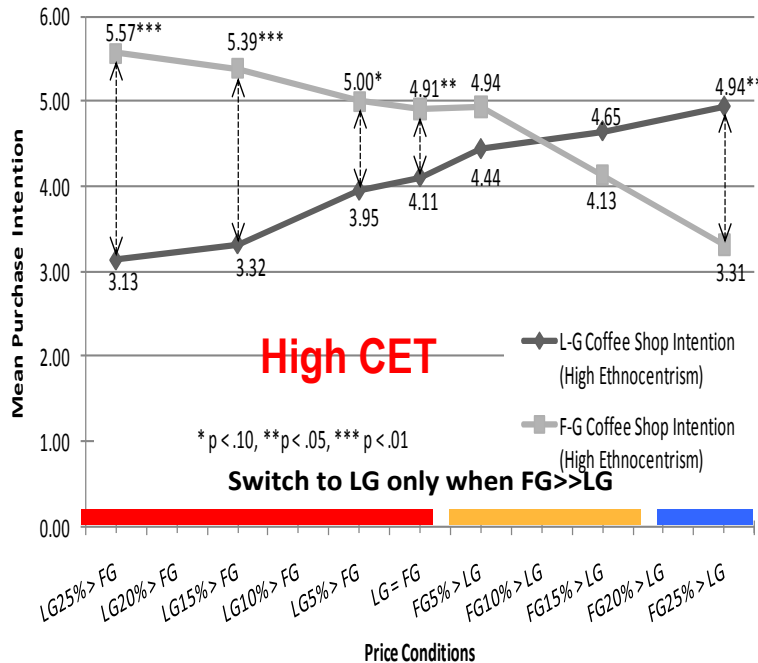
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PURCHASE INTENTIONS: HIGH VS. LOW CET CONSUMERS

Red: FG > LG
Orange: indifferent/tolerance
Blue: LG > FG

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ETHNIC MINORITY CONSUMERS AS BRAND AMBASSADORS

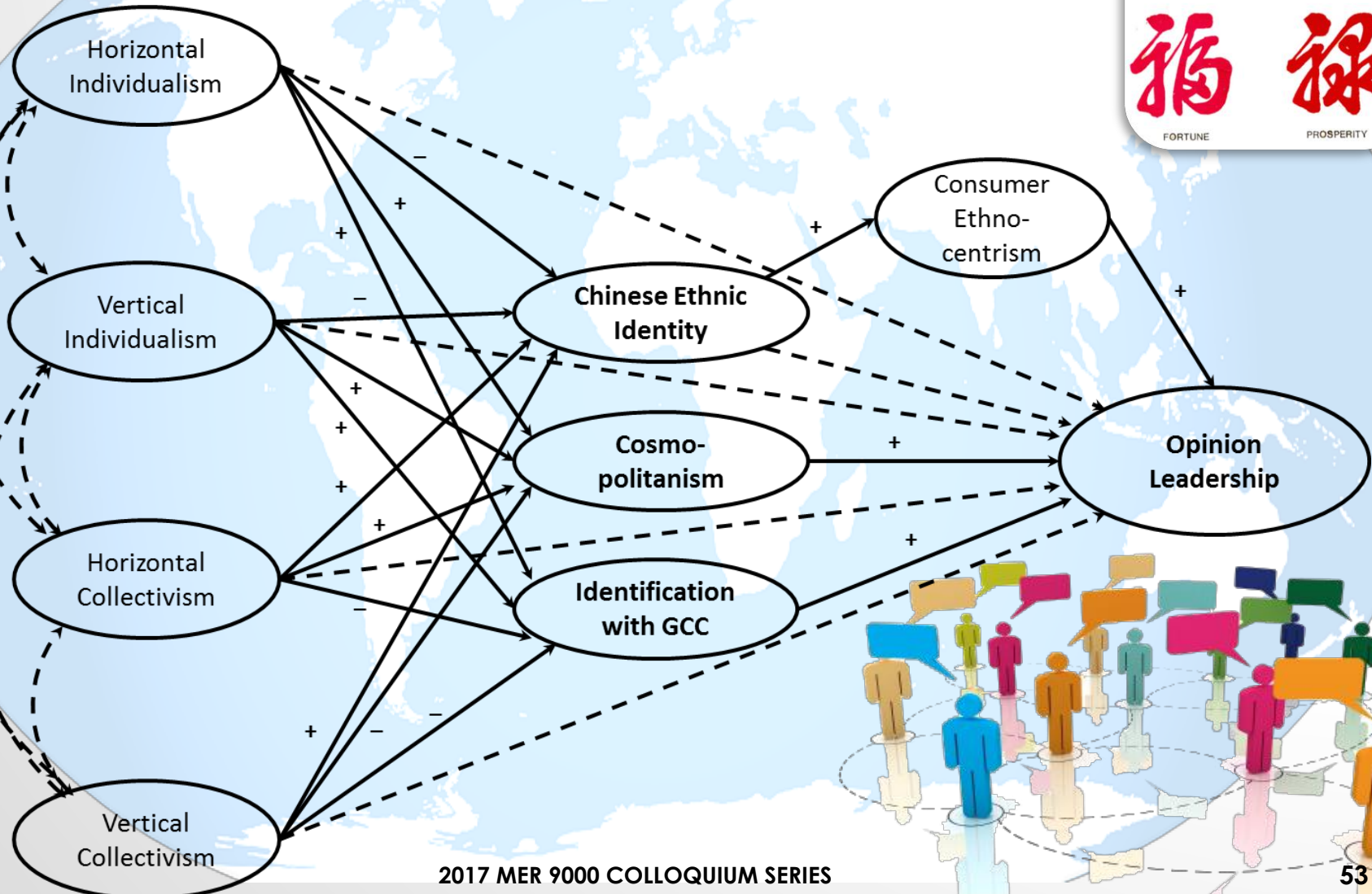
(Bartikowski & Cleveland, working Paper)



2017 MER 9000 COLLOQUIUM SERIES

CULTURAL ANTECEDENTS OF OPINION LEADERSHIP: COMPARING CHINESE AT HOME & ABROAD

(CLEVELAND & BARTIKOWSKI, WORKING PAPER)



GCC: SOME CONCLUSIONS

- **Globalization → Acculturation**
- **Worldwide phenomenon**
- **There are no “pure” cultural groups**
- **Not a zero-sum game (culture Δ \neq Assimilation)**
- **Two-way flow (minorities “talk back”)**
- **Global consumer culturesu (forms of, evolving)**
- **Cultures adapt & thrive, or stagnate & wither**
- **Widespread effect on dispositions & behaviors**
 - **Highly context dependent, probably due to:**
 - **Salience of identity-related dispositions/values, and local/indigenized product/category meanings**