

# Consumer Acculturation as a Dialogical Process: Case Studies from Rural-to-Urban Migrants in Turkey

Ozlem Sandikci, Bilkent University  
Ahmet Ekici, Bilkent University  
Berna Tari, Bilkent University

Consumer acculturation has received considerable research attention (e.g. Gentry et al 1995; Metha and Belk 1991; Oswald 1999; Penaloza 1989, 1994). Drawing mainly from literatures on acculturation, socialization and learning, these studies develop models that explain how consumers acquire and use consumption skills and practices while interacting with a new culture. Most of these studies concentrate on immigrants coming from less developed countries to the developed countries such as the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, and investigate their adaptation to Western consumer cultural environment. Prominent in this literature is the model of acculturation strategies proposed by Berry (1980), which perceives acculturation as a linear process with four possible outcomes of assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. However, a few studies challenge the assimilationist view of acculturation and demonstrate that consumers can move between different social worlds without necessarily conforming to one culture (Askegaard, Arnould, and Kjølgaard 2005; Ger and Ostegaard 1998; Oswald 1999; Penaloza 1994). This perspective, which Askegaard et al (2005) refer to as 'postassimilationist acculturation research', regards consumer acculturation as a dynamic and multidimensional process that includes ongoing cultural negotiation or "culture swapping."

We aim to contribute to the existing literature by studying acculturation as a "dialogical process that involves a constant moving back and forth between incompatible cultural positions" (Bhatia 2002); we focus on rural-to-urban migrants' experiences in a less developed country, Turkey. We seek to understand how these migrants negotiate and articulate their cultural identities through consumption practices related to the body and physical appearance. Two premises underlie our research. First, we need to acknowledge that people from developing countries not only immigrate to the "West" in pursuit of a better life; many leave their villages and immigrate to the economically more promising cities in their own countries. Newly modernized cities in developing countries act as magnets that draw migrants from all over the country, promising them a relatively secure and recognizable glimpse of global modernity. These spaces, where Western consumption imaginations and experiences mingle in novel ways with traditional values and practices, make the acculturation process multidimensional and hybrid (Ma 2001).

Second, we direct our attention to consumption practices related to physical appearance and the body because they are significant components of self-identity (Schouten 1991). Previous studies demonstrate that acculturation incorporates cultural identity, language usage, religion, and social activities. Our premise is that one's cultural identity is linked to one's self, which is always embodied. Body and physical appearance can be altered through consumption so that individuals can achieve the desired set of meanings in new contexts. The few studies that discuss consumption of clothing and beauty products in relation to acculturation do not offer a detailed analysis of how people's understanding of their body and physical appearance are transformed as a result of migration and how people use consumption practices related to appearance to negotiate their cultural identities (Lindridge et al 2004; Oswald 1999; Penaloza 1994). We hope that our research both provides new insights into the concept of consumer acculturation and also generates new research questions as well.

## RETHINKING CONSUMER ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is mainly concerned with "phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovitz 1936, cited in Berry 1980, p.9). The term "consumer acculturation," a subset of acculturation process, is used to refer to "the general process of movement and adaptation to the consumer cultural environment in one country by persons from another country" (Penaloza 1994, p.33). Consumer acculturation involves both buying and consuming goods and services, and learning the meanings attached to them; therefore, it is an "eclectic process of learning and selectively displaying culturally defined consumption skills, knowledge, and behaviors" (Penaloza 1989, p.110).

Consumer behavior scholars use the concept of acculturation to study the consumption experiences and practices of immigrants and ethnic minorities (e.g., D'Astous and Daghfous 1991; Gentry, Jun, and Tansuhaj 1995; Herche and Blasubramaian 1994; Khairullah 1996; Lee and Tse 1994; Metha and Belk 1994; Penaloza 1994). Drawing from Berry's (1980) framework, which conceptualizes acculturation as a process with four possible outcomes—assimilation, integration, marginality and separation—most of these studies seek to categorize the immigrants in terms of their acculturation levels and map out factors that have an impact on acculturation. Many studies also make a distinction between attitudinal and behavioral components of consumer acculturation. Their findings indicate that one can own mainstream consumer objects without relinquishing one's cultural identity (e.g. Gentry, Jun, and Tansuhaj 1995); on the other hand, consumer acculturation can also result in more and deeper ties with the homeland (e.g. Metha and Belk 1994; Lee and Tse 1994).

Some exceptions notwithstanding, the consumer acculturation research tradition makes certain assumptions that need rethinking. First, there is a tendency to regard acculturation as a linear and stable process in which one goes from one mode to the other. However, Penaloza's (1994) findings suggest that there are times when immigrants' consumption patterns might suggest assimilation; yet at other times, the way products are used suggest ties with the original culture. Similarly, the concept of "culture swapping" introduced by Oswald implies that rather than conforming to one ethnic category, people constantly negotiate cultural identities and choose "when and where to wear their ethnicity" (1999, p.315). Although these studies indicate that people can and do assume multiple and even contradictory subject positions, they do not offer much insight into why people use a combination of adaptation strategies. Second, many studies assume a homogenous host culture to which the immigrant aspires. As Penaloza (1994) argues, underlying the assimilation framework is a modernist view of the nation, which assumes a socially integrated and culturally homogenous entity. However, this is neither an accurate nor sustainable argument, especially in the contemporary world where difference and fragmentation are even more pronounced.

Recognizing the limitations of the traditional approaches to acculturation, researchers, both within marketing and outside, made calls for alternative ways of thinking about the relationship between immigration, identity, and acculturation (e.g. Hermans and Kempen 1994; Ger and Ostegaard 1998; Bhatia 2002; Askegaard

et al 2005). Hermens and Kempen (1994), for example, argue that in a period of increasing globalization, with its rapid creation of multinational citizens, massive flows of transmigration and border crossing, acculturation becomes increasingly complicated. Rather than thinking of immigrants as moving linearly from one culture to another, they suggest that we should think of acculturation and identity issues and “mixing and moving” (Hermens and Kempen 1994, p.1117). Ger and Ostegaard (1998) also suggest that identities can be formed through a moving junction of multiple and diverse cultural and subcultural forces. Similarly, Bhatia suggests that acculturation should be conceptualized as a “dialogical process that involves a constant moving back and forth between incompatible cultural positions” and entails “feeling simultaneously assimilated, separated and marginalized” (2002, p.57). Drawing from a dialogical model of acculturation, this study focuses on rural-to-urban migrant women in Turkey, and investigates how these women negotiate their cultural identities through the consumption of products related to the body and physical appearance. We limit our study only to women as the relation between the self and the body is historically more pronounced and problematic in the case of female identity (Bordo 1993). Next, we briefly discuss the relationship between the body and self-identity, and then rural-to-urban migration in Turkey.

### BODY AND SELF-CONCEPT

The self is embodied; the perception and evaluation of one’s own body and physical appearance contribute significantly to one’s self-concept (Schouten 1991; Thompson and Hirschman 1995). The body communicates physically and culturally salient meanings about an individual. Emphasis on the body as the source of meaning suggests that the body should not be considered only as an object but also as the subject of culture. The symbolism of the body as the embodiment of culture implies that “a complex cultural ideology of body underlies consumers’ satisfaction with their appearance, their sense of ideal or more desirable body, and the consumption activities that these self-perceptions motivate” (Thompson and Hirschman 1995, p.151). Contemporary consumer culture plays an important role in the proliferation of stylized images of the body (Featherstone 1982). Advertising and popular media make individuals more conscious of their physical appearance and they constantly compare themselves to the idealized images of youth, fitness, and beauty. The fluidity and indeterminacy of body—the possibility of altering one’s body or body image through various consumption practices—cast the body as an on-going process, an unfinished entity that needs to be worked on in order to achieve the desired set of meanings. Emphasizing the unfinishedness of the body, Schilling observes that “in the affluent West, there is a tendency for the body to be seen as an entity which is in the process of becoming; a *project* which should be worked at and accomplished as part of an *individual’s* self identity” (1993, p.5)

The notion of the body as project is of central importance in Giddens’s theorization of the relationship between agency and social structure. Giddens (1991) perceives the body as intrinsic to the reflexive project of self-identity. He suggests that, in conditions of high modernity, the body “becomes a site of interaction, appropriation and reappropriation,” that is, it becomes a project increasingly subject to intervention and constant revision (1991, p.218). In late-modern societies, the body becomes a central component of constructing, negotiating, and altering self-identities. Within the logic of consumer culture, the body turns into a site of endless choice and possibility. Furthermore, the growing preoccupation with the body and physical appearance in present Western cultures disseminates to the rest of the world through global flows of

consumer products, advertising images, and popular media. However, if the relation between identity and the body is one in which both are increasingly open to choice, then it becomes important to ask what choice really means in relation to one’s body in contexts where freedom is restricted by differential access to material resources, asymmetrical power relations, and the disciplinary power of traditions and localized modernities.

### RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION IN TURKEY

The newly modernized cities of the developing world offer a hybridized and domesticated version of Western modernity. These cities, which Ma (2001) refers to as sites of “satellite modernities” draw, like a magnet, rows of migrants seeking better living conditions, from rural and less-developed regions of the country. Several factors underlie rural-to-urban migration in developing countries like Turkey (Hemmasi and Prorok 2002). Limited availability of agricultural land and non-agricultural work, increasing mechanization of farming, political turmoil, natural disasters such as earthquakes and floods push rural people to the cities. On the other hand, shifting expectations due to social modernization and exposure to globalization as well as easier access to health, education and cultural amenities make city living attractive for rural people. Given the insufficiency of public housing and high levels of unemployment, rural migrants typically settle in squatter houses located at the periphery of the city and find employment in the informal sector of the economy. Eventually some move into the formal sector and generate enough financial resources to purchase or build a squatter house of their own. However, as Hemmasi and Prorok observe “new migrants to urban squatter settlements often experience significant levels of deprivation and adversity” (2002, p.400).

A recent survey (Uzuncarsili and Ersun 2004) reports that squatter houses comprise 35% of all dwellings in Turkey, and around 60% of those in Ankara, the country’s capital where the present study was conducted. Squatter settlements in Turkey date back to the late 1940s; at that time they were perceived as a temporary solution to the housing shortage experienced in big cities due to rapid urbanization. By the end of the 1960s, squatter settlements had not only expanded but become permanent features of all the major cities. Beginning in the mid 1980s, Turkey embarked of a massive economic and cultural liberalization and globalization program. As a result, big cities quickly turned into showcases of the global consumer culture, catering to a small segment of wealthy entrepreneurs and professionals who were eager consumers of imported products and services. However, the 1990s also witnessed the increasing income gap between the haves and have nots. Economic polarization fostered cultural polarization. The squatter settlements were stigmatized as ghettos and the residents came to be perceived as the ‘threatening Other,’ attacking the city’s values, its social order and the very core of its secular ideology of consensus and unity (Erman 2001).

The first migrants to cities were young men seeking jobs; later, the most migrants started moving to the city as family groups (Ozbay 1985), predominantly nuclear families (Kandiyoti 1982). The proportion of migrant women who are formally employed is low, although many work informally as cleaning ladies in the homes of the better-off urbanites (Kandiyoti 1982). This can partly be explained by patriarchy, which is much stronger in rural areas than urban contexts where more egalitarian gender roles are present (Moghadam 1993). Despite popular stereotypes, migrant women are very diverse in their backgrounds and levels of adaptation to the urban life (Erman 1998; Kadioglu 1994). While some do not experience much change in their lifestyle and role within the family,

others try very hard to break out of the traditional, patriarchal mold by demanding greater freedom in their lives (Erman 1998).

### METHODOLOGY

As we noted earlier, our study aims to question a number of assumptions in consumer acculturation research, and thus, provide useful insights into the development of a more comprehensive theory of consumer acculturation. Given this motivation, we adopted a case study method. The scientific benefit of the case study method lies in its ability to open the way for discoveries (Shaughnessy and Zechmeister 1990). Like other qualitative research methods, an important virtue of case study research is that it lends itself to theoretical generation and generalization. Theoretical generalization involves suggesting new interpretations and concepts or reexamining earlier concepts and interpretations in major and innovative ways (Yin 1984). Since the case study seeks to capture people as they experience their natural, everyday circumstances, it can provide empirical and theoretical gains in understanding larger social complexes of actors, actions, and motives that affect acculturation. In other words, it permits us to examine not only the complex of life in which immigrants to urban Turkey are implicated but also the impact of the complex web of social interaction on beliefs and decisions.

The research design used in this study is an adoptive and emergent one. The design unfolds as fieldwork unfolds, and the emergent nature of the design affects decisions regarding sampling, data collection and analysis. An initial, exploratory analysis of earlier interviews with several immigrants, and an intense engagement with the chosen squatter area through participant observation for one year was followed by more focused and directional in-depth interviews with cases selected on the basis of differences in notions of physical appearance and differences in consumption practices.

Our data collection took place in a squatter area called Atapark in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey. The area is located in the northern part of the city and is approximately thirty minutes drive from the city center. The dwellings are one-storey, freestanding houses with electricity and running water. The primary data collection method for the case study was in-depth interviews. Focus groups were used to solicit the informants for the case study, and observations and pictures were utilized for methodological triangulation (Wallendorf and Belk 1989; Feagin, Orum, and Sjoberg 1991). Initial interviews were conducted during April and May 2004, and focused interviews were conducted during February 2005. Prior research noted intergenerational differences in immigrants' cultural adaptations (e.g. Penaloza 1994). In order to see if such variations exist, we sampled both first and second-generation immigrants.

Data analysis was a process of gradual induction. Analysis of textual data proceeded through two distinct stages of iteration: intra-text and inter-text (Arnold and Fischer 1994; Thompson 1997). The aim of the intra-text analysis was to identify the codes and categories of the findings. Once codes and categories were identified, we used inter-textual analysis to look for patterns of relationships (e.g. similarities and differences) across three cases (Thompson 1997). Due to page limitations, below we present only an abbreviated version of our case study data.

### CONSUMER CASES

#### Ayşe

Ayşe is a 52 year old widow with one child. She is a first-generation migrant, who moved to Ankara 27 years ago. She lives together with her son, daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren. Her

family used to live in a village in Corum, a city 150 miles northeast of Ankara. Her father was a carpenter and her mother was a housewife; both of her parents were illiterate. Ayşe attended to school only for three years, and then quit, which is the usual practice in her village where girls are not typically permitted to further their education. Her husband was a blue-collar worker in a bread factory. Ayşe is originally from a very religious and conservative village where all women are covered. She states that men in her village do not even interact with women who are not covered, believing that such women are sinful. She is also covered, and believes that one's physical appearance is granted by God and no one should change his/her appearance, as this would mean rejecting God's will. She admits that city culture is very different from the culture she experienced in her village. She does not approve of urban women who wear revealing clothes and show their bodies, and thinks that there is too much emphasis on the physical appearance. Although she is aware that she is overweight, she is not concerned with how her body looks and not interested in changing her body shape. Ayşe never wears make-up and does not use any skin or hair care products. However, she believes that it is necessary to wear a clean and more appealing dress during special days like religious holidays and weddings. She states that the only change in her physical appearance since her migration concerns the way she covers herself. While in the village, she used to wear a traditional headscarf with wide shirts and loose trousers; she now covers her head with a wide turban and wears a long, loose overcoat when she goes out.

#### Suna

Suna is a 24 year old housewife, married with one child. She is a second-generation immigrant and has a high school degree. Her parents are from a village in Bolu, a city 120 miles northwest of Ankara, where she visits from time to time. Her father is a cook and her mother is a housewife. Her husband works as a driver for a private bank. Although both her mother and mother-in-law are covered, she is not; however, she strongly believes in Islamic rules. She thinks that women should not cover themselves but should not appear very "inviting" either. For example, they should wear make-up, but use pastel colors. She believes that physical appearance is much more important in the city and feels the urge to adapt her appearance to fit the urban culture. According to Suna, while beauty is associated with cleanliness in the village, it is associated with bodily adornments, such as make-up, clothes, and hair in the city. Suna is highly involved in cosmetics and other beauty products, and uses advertisements and the sales personnel of cosmetics stores that she visits occasionally as information sources. She puts on make-up whenever the situation demands, such as dinners and family get-togethers. She mentions that some of the beauty products, such as powder and mascara, are indispensable, and she would not be able to live without them. Suna is not very happy with how her body looks. She thinks that after giving birth to her son her hips have become larger and she tries to reshape her body. While she dreams of having a treadmill, she cannot afford one due to financial constraints. Instead, she tries to exercise by walking with her husband around the squatter area or playing volleyball with children. Suna is also interested in fragrances and like to use them. However, as with her consumption of cosmetic products, she cannot afford the originals. Instead, she purchases fake versions of well-known Western perfume brands.

#### Cennet

Cennet is a 24 year old, single, second-generation migrant from a village in Cankiri, a city 80 miles north of Ankara. She is a high school graduate and is currently looking for employment. Her

father is also a high school graduate and works as a fireman. Her mother finished primary school and has never worked outside the home. Her family is religious and her mother is covered. While she is with her family, Cennet covers herself, does not wear any make up and tries not to look attractive, as her parents do not approve of women who draw attention to their physical appearance. When she is socializing in the neighborhood, she is generally covered; but when she visits the city she does not cover herself. When she meets her boyfriend, who is not a squatter neighborhood resident, she pays extra attention to her appearance. She does not cover herself, wears more fashionable clothes, and puts on make-up. She believes that, unlike the rural environment, city life demands that one change her physical appearance to fit into different contexts. For example, when she goes to a movie theater or a café, she cannot wear the clothes that she wears in the neighborhood; she needs to do her hair and apply make-up. Cennet mentions that she and her friends try hard to look like the city girls. However, such attempts may lead to highly dramatic results sometimes, especially when the girl does not have enough financial and cultural resources and skills. Examples include applying hydrogen peroxide on hair to highlight it, but ending up with terribly burned hair; or using watercolor paint as make up. Cennet is highly concerned about her physical appearance and constantly compares herself with others. She finds herself fat and unattractive, and believes that she needs to work hard to reach the ideal. She says she always observes how women look when she goes to the city center and pays attention to women featured on television. She tries to find out what is fashionable and how she can look beautiful without paying too much. Overall, she is highly alert to social cues indicating how she should dress and quite skillful in modifying her appearance to achieve what is expected from her.

### ANALYSIS

Across our three immigrant cases, we note the existence of different notions and practices of beauty, physical appearance, and body exist. For Ayse, physical appearance is a God-given attribute that should not be questioned. Guided by this strong religious position, there was only a limited transformation in how she relates to her body following the move from the village to the city. Suna's family is also religious and she is herself a strong believer. However, unlike Ayse, she is highly involved with her physical appearance. She makes a distinction between looking attractive but not being too revealing. While beauty means cleanliness in her village, it connotes adorned, made-up, and well-dressed bodies in the city. Similar to the other two, Cennet comes from a religious family. Yet, she is the one who is most concerned and dissatisfied with her appearance. She believes that, unlike village life, urban culture demands that one pay attention to her body and adjust her physical appearance to fit different contexts. Similar to Penaloza's (1994) observation about Mexican immigrants in the United States, our findings suggest that immigrants are not necessarily homogeneous groups who draw from a uniform set of cultural meanings and practices. On the contrary, three cases indicate that the meanings the informants attach to their bodies and physical appearances are highly diverse and even conflicting, as in the case of Ayse and Suna.

We observe that, although it was not evident in the earlier research, religion is an important determinant of the acculturation process and resulting identities. More specifically, we see both a liberating and restrictive role of religion in the cultural adaptation of immigrants. Religious beliefs and practices may restrict an immigrant's adaptation to urban life as in the case of Cennet who feels obliged to cover her head when she is with her parents. At the same time, religion may have a liberating effect on the cultural adaptation of the immigrant. Among the three cases studied, Ayse is the most religious-looking respondent. From the traditional

acculturation standpoint, which assumes a fixed host culture, Ayse can be classified as a "separated" immigrant because she basically rejects the seemingly dominant urban secular notion of body and physical appearance, which favors the uncovered, Western-style dress code. However, from a dialogical acculturation point of view, which abolishes the distinction between dominant and dominated cultures, Ayse has successfully adapted one of the dress codes of the city-culture. In Turkey, there is a difference between rural and urban covering styles. While women in the villages cover themselves using the "traditional" headscarf, women in the cities use the "turban" (Sandikci and Ger 2001). Thus, it is possible to argue that Ayse has been assimilated into the city culture in terms of her physical appearance. While she used to wear a headscarf in the village, now she embraces city life by wearing a turban.

Patriarchy is another factor that affects the cultural adaptation of our immigrant respondents. Cennet is an interesting case showing that, even though patriarchic pressures are very difficult to overcome, there are strategies that one can creatively employ to negotiate the cultural borders. When she is with her family, she is always covered and never applies make-up. While she is socializing with other people in the squatter neighborhood, she still feels the patriarchic pressure and continues to cover herself. However, when she goes to the city center, or meets her boyfriend, she is open, wears more fashionable clothes, and applies make up. From the traditional acculturation stand point, it would be challenging to categorize Cennet in terms of her cultural adaptation. She would paradoxically demonstrate the characteristics of both assimilation and separation. However, from a dialogical acculturation point of view, the cultural adaptation of Cennet does not represent a paradox. The multiple and incompatible subject positions she assumes indicate the constant negotiations she undertakes while she tries to break out of the patriarchal mold and construct herself as a free individual.

### DISCUSSION

In this study, we aimed to contribute to the existing literature by studying consumer acculturation as a dialogical process. We sought to understand rural to urban migrants' negotiation and articulation of their cultural identities through consumption practices related to body and the physical appearance. As Giddens (1991) suggests, in late-modern societies, body and physical appearance become a central component of constructing, negotiating, and altering self-identities.

Bhatia (2002) argues that the term *culture* used by the traditional acculturation theorists both implicitly and explicitly assume a single India, or China, or Japan, and so on 'out there' in a fixed geographical space. This assumption misleadingly suggests that all immigrants, irrespective of the differences in their backgrounds and subjectivities will adopt an integration strategy to successfully fit into the 'mainstream' society. Our findings, however, indicate that not only are the informants' notions of beauty, physical appearance, and body different, but their self-concepts and cultural adaptation strategies also vary. A closer look at our informant's stories suggests the complexities of the consumer acculturation process and the multifaceted nature of cultural adaptation. Each of our respondents assumes multiple subject positions in terms of their relationship to the urban culture. Our data highlight that conflicting voices and cultural positions can and do exist simultaneously, and this does not necessarily mean being caught in a cultural conflict (Ballard and Ballard 1991). As Oswald's study illustrates "in order to negotiate the day-to-day border crossings between home and host culture, immigrants switch cultural codes constantly, adapting to the expectations of both home culture and host culture as the situation demands" (1999, p. 307). Although previous studies noted that cultural adaptation of first and second-generation immigrants

differ, we did not observe such an intergenerational effect. Instead, our findings indicate that a number of factors, such as religion and patriarchy account for this moving back and forth between different cultural identities.

Our study also suggests that rural-to-urban immigrants could negotiate their identities through the use of a combination of adaptation strategies not only because there is no one immigrant culture (home culture) out there, but also because there is no one fixed host culture to which one tries to adapt. As Appadurai argues, global consumer culture is a “complex, overlapping, disjunctive order” that deconstructs the dominant-dominated dialectic (1990, p.226). It is the fragmented and polysemic characteristics of modern consumer cultures that facilitate the dialogical process of consumer acculturation. Consumption cultures of non-Western countries like Turkey present an interesting context to observe the intricacies of acculturation. In such places, characterized by different modes of modernities, traditions and Western imaginations mingle in novel ways (Giddens 1990), rendering conventional categories of consumer acculturation problematic. Contemporary urban culture in Turkey demonstrates a hybrid and fragmented characteristic where secular and religious consumption orientations and practices co-exist (Sandikci and Ger 2001). For example, although secular (Western) and religious dress codes appear conflicting, they have become equally acceptable modern urban forms. This makes Ayse emerge as an immigrant who has integrated into one fragment of the city culture and simultaneously separated from the other. However, while hybridity and fragmentation foster a dialogical acculturation process, this does not necessarily mean that individuals are free from all the structural constraints and power dynamics, and experience “culture swapping” without any cost. As much as our informants struggle to adapt to the city culture, they are still stigmatized as the “threatening Other” by the urban elite.

Our study contributes to the acculturation literature both by extending the notion to within-country immigration and by looking at how cultural identities are negotiated through body-related consumption meanings and practices. However, given its exploratory nature, it suffers from some limitations. First, future studies should draw from a broader set of informants and engage in more ethnographically oriented investigations of rural-to-urban immigrant culture. Second, similar studies could be conducted in other developing countries to find out if similar experiences are observed in different contexts.

## REFERENCES

- Appadurai, Arjun (1990), “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Global Culture*, ed. Mike Featherstone, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 295-310.
- Arnold, Stephen and Eileen Fischer (1994), “Hermeneutics and Consumer Research,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (June), 55-70.
- Askegaard, Søren, Eric J. Arnould, and Dannie Kjelgaard (2005), “Postassimilationist Ethnic Consumer Research: Qualifications and Extensions,” *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32, 160-170.
- Ballard, R, and C. Ballard (1991), “The Sikhs: The Development of South Asian Settlements in Britain,” in *Between 2 Cultures—Migrants and Minorities in Britain*, ed. J. Watson, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Berry, John W. J (1980), “Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation”, in *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings*, ed. Amado M. Padilla, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 9-46.
- Bhatia, Sunil (2002), “Acculturation, Dialogical Voices and the Construction of the Diasporic Self”, *Theory and Psychology*, 12 (1), 55-77.
- Bordo, Susan (1993), *Unbearable Weight*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- D’Astous, Alain and Naoufel Daghfous (1991) “The Effects of Acculturation and Length of Residency on Consumption-Related Behaviors and Orientations of Arab-Muslim Immigrants”, in *Proceedings of ASAC Conference*, Niagara Falls, Ontario, 91-101.
- Erman, Tahire (1998) “Becoming ‘Urban’ or Remaining ‘Rural’: The Views of Turkish Rural to Urban Migrants on the ‘Integration’ Question”, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 30 (4), 541-561.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2001), “Rural Migrants and Patriarchy in Turkish Cities”, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 25 (1), 118-133.
- Feagin, Joe R., Anthony M. Orum, and Gideon Sjoberg (1991), *A Case for the Case Study*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press
- Featherstone, Mike (1982), “The Body in Consumer Culture”, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 1 (2), 18-33.
- Gentry, James W., Sunkyu Jun, and PAtriyia Tansuhaj (1995), “Consumer Acculturation Processes and Cultural Conflict: How Generalizeable is a North American Model for Marketing Globally?”, *Journal of Business Research*, 32, 129-139.
- Ger, Guliz and Per Ostegaard (1998), “Constructing Immigrant Identities in Consumption: Appearance among the Turko-Danes”, *Advances in Consumer Research*, 25, 48-52.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Cambridge: Polity.
- Hemmasi, Mohammad and Carolyn V. Prorok (2002) “Women’s Migration and Quality of Life in Turkey,” *Geoforum*, 33 (2002), 399-411.
- Herche, Joel and Siva K. Balasubramanian (1994) “Ethnicity and Shopping Behavior,” *Journal of Shopping Centre Research*, 1 (1), 65-80.
- Hermans, Hubert J. M., and Harry J. G. Kempen (1998) “Moving Cultures: The Prelous Problems of Cultural Dichotomies in a Globalizing Society”, *American Psychologist*, 47, 23-33.
- Kadioglu, Ayse (1994) “The Impact of Migration on Gender Roles: Findings of Field Research in Turkey”, *International Migration*, 32 (4), 533-560.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz (1982), “Urban Change and Women’s Roles in Turkey: An Overview and Evaluation”, in *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*, ed. Cigdem Kagitcibasi, Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies 3, 101-120.
- Khairullah, Durriya Z. (1996) “Acculturation and Immigrant Consumers’ Perceptions of Advertisements: A Study Involving Asia-Indians”, *International Journal of Commerce and Management*, 6, 81-104.
- Lee, Wei-Na and David K. Tse (1994) “Changing Media Consumption in a New Home: Acculturation Patterns Among Hong Kong Immigrants to Canada”, *Journal of Advertising*, 23 (1), 57-70.
- Lindridge, Andrew, Margaret Hogg, and Mita Shah (2004), “Imagined Multiple Worlds: How South Asian Women in Britain Use Family and Friends to Navigate the “Border Crossings” between Household and Societal Contexts”, *Markets and Culture*, 7 (3), 211-239.

- Ma, Eric Kit-wai (2001) "Consuming Satellite Modernities", *Cultural Studies*, 15 (3/4), 444-463.
- Metha, Raj and Russell W. Belk (1991) "Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States", *Journal of Consumer Research*, 17 (March), 398-411.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. (1993), *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East.*, Lynne Rienner: Boulder Co.
- Oswald, Laura R. (1999) "Culture Swapping: Consumption and the Ethnogenesis of Middle-Class Haitian Immigrants", *Journal of Consumer Research*, 25 (March), 303-318.
- Ozbay, Ferhunde (1985), "Transformation of the Socio-Economic Structure and Changing Family Functions in Rural Turkey", in *Family in Turkish Society*, ed. Turkoz Erder, Ankara: Turkish Social Science Association, 43-77.
- Penaloza, Lisa N. (1989) "Immigrant Consumer Acculturation", *Advances in Consumer Research*, 16, 110-118.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1994), "Atravesando Fronteras/Border Crossings: A Critical Ethnographic Exploration of the Consumer Acculturation of Mexican Immigrants", *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (June), 32-54.
- Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton, and Melville J. Herskovitz (1936) "Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation", *American Anthropologist*, 38 (2), 149-152.
- Sandikci, Ozlem and Guliz Ger (2001), "Fundamental Fashions: The Cultural Politics of the Turban and the Levi's," in Mary C. Gilly and Joan Meyers-Levy eds., *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 28, Salt Lake City, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 146-150.
- Schouten, John W. (1991), "Selves in Transition: Symbolic Consumption in Personal Rites of Passage and Identity Reconstruction", *Journal of Consumer Research*, 17 (March), 412-425.
- Schilling, Chris (1993), *The Body and Social Theory*, London: Sage.
- Shaughnessy, John J., and E.B. Zechmeister (1990), *Research Methods in Psychology*, New York: McGraw Hill.
- Thompson, Craig J. (1997), "Interpreting Consumers: A Hermeneutical Framework for Deriving Marketing Insights from the Texts of Consumers' Consumption Stories," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 34 (November), 438-455.
- Thompson, Craig J. and Elizabeth C. Hirschman (1995) "Understanding the Socialized Body: A Poststructuralist Analysis of Consumers' Self-Conceptions, Body Images, and Self-Care Practices", *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (September), 139-153.
- Uzuncarsili, Ulku and Oguz Ersun (2004), *Istanbul'da Gecekondu Bolgelerinin Ekonomik ve Sosyo-Kulturel Durumu*, Istanbul: Istanbul Ticaret Odasi.
- Wallendorf, Melanie and Russell Belk (1989), "Assessing Trustworthiness in Naturalistic Consumer Research," in *Interpretive Consumer Research*, E. Hirschman ed., Provo, UT: Association for Consumer Research, 69-84.
- Yin, R.K. (1984), *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.