Department of Business Administration

School of Economics and Management

Lund University

MSc in International Marketing and Brand Management – Spring 2010

Degree Project

Transformative Consumption and Acculturation of Ukrainian Female Consumers in Sweden

Author:

Tetyana Kolyaka

Supervisor:

Sofia Ulver-Sneistrup

Table of Content

Abstract

The consumption structure, and generally lifestyles in Post-Soviet countries are undergoing drastic changes over the last 20 years of liberalization. The scarcity of consumer goods over the Soviet period, followed by the wide availability of goods and freedom to choose, resulted in the consumption model in countries of Post-communistic Bloc that is significantly different from that in countries with longer history of democracy and market economy, such as Sweden. This study is built upon the stories of four women who were born and raised in Ukraine before *Perestroika* of 1980's and moved to Sweden after the collapse of USSR. The author aims to observe how dreams, aspirations and everyday life of Ukrainian female consumers brought up within the planned economy with the scarcity or limited availability of basic consumer goods changed after moving to Sweden. The focus is particularly drawn upon the consumption transformation of immigrants who are fully integrated in the Scandinavian mentality milieu, and shows how the Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden go through the acculturation phases, that were defined by Oberg (1960) in his study of the migrants' cultural shock and adaptation to the host environment. The findings indicate that the consumer acculturation process deviations of the adult Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden are considerable, and that they are stably dependent of the effect of education and culture capital gained before the immigration, occupational class position in Sweden compared to the status before moving, and the extent of the contact with dominant culture.

Key Words: *Consumer Transition, Acculturation Phases, Cultural Globalization, Post-Soviet Female Immigration*

Introduction

Since the middle of 1980's civilized world turned its attention to the Globalization matters, drawing the consumer culture researchers' focus to studying thoroughly the phenomena of consumer assimilation, acculturation and transformative consumption (Rao et al. 2008; Penaloza 1989, 1994, 1999; Askegaard et al. 2005; O'Sullivan, 2003).

The term "assimilation" is often applied to a situation when large amount of migrants is being absorbed by another cultural group. According to Brown and Bean (2006), assimilation is the process by which the characteristics of members of immigrant groups and host societies come to resemble one another. Penaloza (1994) suggests the term "consumer acculturation" as more appropriate in consumer culture research, as it aims to see beyond the degree to which immigrants shape the recipient culture, into the deeper inner transition the immigrant is undergoing, by looking at how all the socio-cultural and economic elements of the new environment are being consumed.

The consumer acculturation research is rooted in anthropology, which defines acculturation as "cultural change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems" (Social Science Research Council 1954, cited by Penaloza, 1989). In the interest of consumer culture researcher is to see how all the learning and translation processes work in the person who ought to be consumer in another, often drastically different cultural environment, to see different adaptation strategies and their outcomes (Penaloza and Gilly, 1999). Thus, in a way it perceives the study object the customer acculturation is a more multi-dimensional and individualistically centred term than an ethnical assimilation.

The middle of 1980's was the time of Soviet Union Bloc transition from the totalitarian communist hegemony to the separate new democracies within the Commonwealth of Independent States, presently Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine (CIS Executive Committee, 2007). In my study, I look at the female consumer who was brought up in the Eastern European consumer culture, and later in life moved to live in a Western society, and the focus of this paper will be drawn around the four interviews with Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden, and their consumption transformation first when Ukraine turned from planned economy to a free-market during the

Perestroika[1] of 1980's, and second – when the decision to move from Ukraine to Sweden, to live in a family of Scandinavian spouse, was made.

The interest of my study lies within the analysis of the consumer identity transformation of women who left their relatives, friends and careers in the home country and moved abroad to live surrounded by the hegemonic host-culture mentality, and the purpose of the study is to understand the consumer acculturation process of women who moved from Post-Soviet Ukraine to Sweden, from the transformative economy to the Western consumer culture. The problem arises from the drastic differences in lifestyles between Ukraine on the stage of economy transition from planned to free market in 1980's-90's and Sweden, with long history of democracy, liberal economy and social orientation of the state. In this study I analyse the consumer identity transformation of women from Post-Soviet state acculturating in the Swedish consumer culture, with all the specifics of the process of their integration conditioned by the intermarriage[2] as the main purpose of moving.

How does complete integration into social milieu with Scandinavian mentality influence the acculturation process and consumption patterns of an adult Ukrainian woman who was brought up in completely different socio-cultural, economical and political environment? How do women with high education and previously successful career perceive meanings their social and economical status in a new country? How the everyday life practices of the dominant culture social environment are accepted and revealed in everyday lives of Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden? These are the questions motivating the current research.

The complex analysis is based upon the previous works within the consumer acculturation (Penaloza, 1989, 1994; Askegaard et al., 2005; Üstüner and Holt, 2007), and the data collected in this study aim to extend the previous research by depicting the

[1] **Perestroika** - is the Russian term (now used in English) for the political and economic reforms introduced in June 1987 by the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Its literal meaning is "restructuring", referring to the restructuration of the Soviet political and economic system (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perestroika)

[2] **Intermarriage** (exogamy) – marriage between people of different races, castes, or religions (The Oxford Pocket Dictionary of Current English, 1999)

socio-cultural and consumption transformation of the high culture capital[3] females moving from Post-Soviet Ukraine to Sweden in an adult age. The target group of the current research shows certain deviations from the acculturation models existing in CCT, due to the specific niche characteristics of the study objects. The interviewees for this research are neither cosmopolitan expats (Nijman, 1999; Thompson and Tambyah, 1999), nor political, socio-economic and ecological refugees, living in their own diasporas and preserving their ethnicity on a new place (Lindridge et al., 2004), not low-income low-culture migrants, seeking comfort living in more successful socio-economical environment (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Penaloza, 1989), but they are highly educated previously professionally successful women who moved to Sweden due to the personal life situation that could not be solved otherwise, and this phenomenon has not been previously studied extensively. Covering this gap will contribute to the robustness of the knowledge about multi-dimensionality of the acculturation patterns within existing theories.

The study is organized into five parts. To begin, I briefly review the historical and socio-cultural background that formed the consumption model in modern Ukraine, highlighting its difference from the Scandinavian, and especially Swedish consumer culture. Next, I analyse relevant literature concentrating on the contemporary aspects of cultural globalization, and on the consumer acculturation studies existing in CCT. Third, I outline the methodology of my study, explaining besides the criteria on which the respondents were selected, and highlighting the principles upon which the interviews were conducted. Next, I give a thorough introduction of the objects of my study, depicting the commonalities and specifics of the respondents, followed by the analysis of the most outspoken responses and stories, in order to suggest the model of acculturation of Post-Soviet female immigrants in Sweden. Finally, I discuss the findings and theoretical implications of the research, and point out the limitations.

[3] **Cultural capital** – refers to non-financial social assets, for example educational or intellectual, which might promote social mobility beyond economic means (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977)

1. Contextual Background

The well-known features of planned economies are the isolation from world market, and a focus on heavy industrial production rather than consumer goods. Commodities produced are often of poor or indifferent quality, and the primary driver of production is the need to fulfil quantitative quotas set by the state. The prices tend to be stable, and the state guarantees sales of certain product categories, such as agriculture and military (Baillie, 2008). The approaches to market liberalization chosen in Post-Soviet Bloc – privatization and opening of borders for import in the minimum time – revealed all the gaps in political, economical and social spheres of the new independent states.

The 1986 explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, located in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialistic Republic 100 km North of Kiev, close to the Belorussian border, and the Soviet Government's initial efforts to conceal the extent of the catastrophe from its own people and the world, was a watershed for many Ukrainians in exposing the severe problems of the Soviet system. Five years on *Perestroika*, Ukraine became an independent state (August 24, 1991) and began a transition into a market economy (U.S. Department of State, 2009). Leading economy in USSR, Ukraine by the year 2007 still didn't reach the GDP level it used to have before 1991 (International Monetary Fund online database, 2007), as an aftermath of cumulative reforms of 1985-2000's. This could not remain traceless in consumers' everyday lives, and the transition years of 1980's-90's are generally characterised by growing impoverishment of the population of the Post-Soviet states (Cornia, 1994).

As of the beginning of 1990's, roughly third of the population of Ukraine was classified as *poor,* with the income constituting 35-50% of an average wage, and another third – as *ultra-poor*, with the income below the subsistence minimum, or 25-35% of an average wage (Cornia, 1994; cf. Russian Goskomstat). The society was generally in condition of constant depression and anxiety, which moved creating the culture of consuming, social responsibility questions, and even personal health care issues out of the priority list (Hinote et al., 2009).

In Sweden, with its long history of democracy, free market and social orientation of the state, the needs of society has already moved far along the *Maslow's pyramid*[4], performing the socialistic values of personal responsibility for the world and consuming sensibly (Christer, 2002).

Jagers and Matti (2010) suggest that the best working political tool to increase social responsibility of citizens is to implement the law which would keep the cost of non-cooperative, in our case – non-environmentally friendly – behaviour unreasonably high. This mechanism can be seen working in Scandinavia, and generally – in the EU, and this is not yet visible in transforming societies of CIS. However, the same source further points out that this directive from top down model only considers the external motivation and thus makes the environmental prospective of consumerism highly volatile in a long run. Thus it is of equal importance to consider inner meanings that consumers make of choosing the "green" living, and therefore the mentality specifics should not be left out of attention.

In the late 1980's-early 1990's several municipalities in Sweden started to invest actively in sustainable development of cities and rural areas. Numerous governmental programmes in Sweden are targeted nowadays at stimulating alternative lifestyles and reducing negative impact of households on habitation. Main debates have dealt with "eco-living", the necessity to build "eco-houses", the importance of recycling and sorting out the domestic waste. Haraldsson et al. (2001) in their article bring an example of Toarp in Southern Sweden as an "ecological" village that came as the result of such discourse, and the contemporary Swedish way of living is tightly connected with environmental consciousness of inhabitants.

Now speaking of the female immigration in Sweden, there is a paradox, as noted by Olofsson and Malmberg (2010), the level of international migrants from neighbouring countries[5] in Sweden is relatively low. The study based on data of the Swedish migration database ASTRID in 1986-2003 reveals over-representation of females among immigrants from Post-Soviet countries and high level of intermarriages among

[4] **Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs** (Maslow, A. "Motivation and Personality", 1954), represented as a pyramid with the more basic (largest and lowest) needs at the bottom.

[5] The authors (Olofsson and Malmberg, 2010) refer to Post-Soviet territories as "neighbouring", as these are the closest to Sweden countries with significant macro-economic and socio-cultural differences.

female migrants (ibid.). This can perhaps be partially explained by weaker position of migrants from outside of EU on the Swedish labour market, so for many the marriage to a Swedish citizen appears to be the only reason to apply for permanent residence in Sweden.

Being currently in an economic, political and social transition, yet in the attempt to build their very own model of capitalism, CIS countries can't avoid the discourse in relation to western economies and consumption models, due to increasingly globalized world processes (Williams and Round, 2008). The discrepancy in lifestyles of the Western and Post-Soviet countries revealed by the free information flows, along with the abrupt wide availability of commodities on Post-Soviet territories caused much confusion for consumers in new market economies, forcing them to transform in the distorted pace. In my study I analyse four interviews conducted with the female consumers who migrated to Sweden from the Post-Soviet Ukraine, to gain an understanding of how their consumption practices and lifestyles changed under the influence of a new environment. Considering the multi-dimensionality of changes individuals go through in the move from one culture to another, I focus my research on the stories of immigrants who integrate fast, and are more likely to adopt practices of the host country, because their social milieu is limited to people of Scandinavian mentality (i.e. spouses and their families). The specific acculturation pattern is particularly visible in the way how the Ukrainian female immigrants of the researched group are performing new meanings in their everyday lives, while moving along the acculturation stages (Oberg, 1960).

2. Theoretical Foundations

2.1. Acculturation in Globalization Era

Homogenizing cultures across the Globe

According to Nijman (1999), cultural globalization can be described as the way exchange of cultural symbols among people around the world results in changes in the local cultures and identities. Globalization proceeds in the context where relationships are developed through symbols, and the exchange of the symbols is realised through different communication technologies. This exchange has accelerated rapidly due to the economy growth and availability of various communication tools and media that affects regional cultures. It has resulted in not only consumption of products and material goods, but also consumption of ideas and values, and nowadays it has become a legitimate statement that people express their identities through consumption (ibid.).

Similarly, Howes (1996) talks about the global homogenization and the power of globalization. People buy mass-produced goods that have been imported to their countries, but they do not only buy the goods, they buy the additional values that come with, such as cultural and political views, messages and manifestations, and by purchasing the goods consumer adapts these values to his/her lifestyle. Howes particularly talks about Western products, that have been imported to Eastern countries and brought all the different values attached to them, just the way as Pepsi Cola, blue jeans and rock'n'roll music are said to be triggers to the Cold War ending and Soviet Union hegemony collapse (*How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin* on BBC, 2009).

Further, Sheth et al. (1991) discuss why consumers make choices they do, and an important aspect they accentuate upon is the consumption values of consumer goods, such as functional, conditional, epistemic, emotional and social. For the research within the consumer culture theory, it is important to realise limitations for considering these values as an ultimate choice drivers, or in other words – the CCT researcher has to keep in mind that the consumer will always improvise within a certain set of rules (Bourdieu, 1990). Thus the practical aim of this research is not to create a manual on the certain immigrants' group consumption practices, but to observe the horizons of conceivable actions and choices of these consumers, as well as to trace how they make sense of the

new environment consumption culture, in order to make an assumption about certain their reactions that would be more probable than others.

In Nijman's (1999) study on cultural globalization in Amsterdam, one of the results of the effects of cultural globalization is the commoditization of city's identity as a tolerant place. People travel or move to live there to enjoy the comfort of being themselves, because of the societal tolerance and sharing the common lifestyles. It is the city that has an identity adopted by tourists, newcomers and temporary inhabitants, and thus it is easy to blend in this environment. Nijman also mentions that Amsterdam is not that diverse as people might think of it: people living in the city are mostly the same young age, have no children and are Dutch, and for example, the inner city is not very tolerant and friendly to families with children. It is the mass tourism and globalization of information flows that had together formed Amsterdam's identity. Today one could say that there are two cities in one: the old Amsterdam with its historical background, and the new Amsterdam that is a result of mass tourism and globalization (ibid.).

Adapting the Nijman's cultural globalization theory, if the immigrants coming to Sweden have an image of the country as a wealthy and socially ethical place before moving here, and they are ready to share such values, then they easily integrate and acquire the host society's lifestyles. This paper provides an analysis of the acculturation process and the transformation in lifestyles and consumption of Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden, which happens in the condition of high exposure of the researched group to the dominant culture mentality and consumption practices and very limited, if any, possibility to perform their native cultural meanings.

Acculturating markets and consumers

In the second half of twentieth century rapidly gaining strength system of globalized mass media geared up to tell the world what is available on the consumer markets, and that the consumerism is what happy and satisfying life is all about (Leslie Sklair, 2002, published in Globalization Reader, 2008). Consumerism ideology in the new era of globalization through mass media becomes the platform to sell products, ideas, values and identity messages worldwide, and in light of escalating migration flows it has created a completely novel direction in consumer culture research – studying of

consumer acculturation and marketers' adaptation to the new, mixed cultural environment (Penaloza and Gilly, 1999).

Acculturation is studied by various researchers within consumer culture theory, among those I chose to concentrate upon the cultural studies by Penaloza (1989; 1994), Askegaard et al. (2005), Lindridge et al. (2004) and Üstüner and Holt (2007). All the researchers focus their interest upon the identity transformation of consumers that had to adapt to a new socio-cultural environment. Penaloza (1994) and Askegaard et al. (2005) note the importance of media and societal ideology revealed in everyday life norms communicated by locals in the immigrants' acculturation process, and all of the studies mentioned above are aiming to analyse the different social context of the acculturation. Üstüner and Holt (2007) advance the existing theories by creating sort of a matrix model that considers different social and cultural structures to trace the different patterns of consumer acculturation, rather than exploring the possible variations of a given universal theory, as it was previously done by Askegaard et al. (2005) and Lindridge et al. (2004).

In their research of marketers' acculturation (1999), Penaloza and Gilly point out two major drivers of cultural change (citing Barber, 1996): internalization of business and global trade integration, and ethnic differentiation as a result of extensive migration and persistence of national interests. Authors are primarily interested in marketers' process of adaptation and intercultural learning on a contemporary multi-national marketplace. I seek to extend the existing theories of acculturation on the dominant market by attending to the meaningful aspects of the consumption of Ukrainian female immigrants with high culture capital that come to Sweden to live in a family of Scandinavian spouse. This will enrich the grasp of multi-dimensional aspects of the transformative consumption and acculturation within previous consumer culture theory research.

Discovering "Swedish" lifestyle

As all the respondents talk a lot about Swedish sustainability awareness and environmental discipline as a part of Scandinavian lifestyle, which is tightly connected to the acculturation process and consumption transformation of immigrants in Sweden, I find it necessary to introduce the issue in my theoretical foundations review, through

the concepts of “transformative learning” and Foucauldian “green aesthetics” (Foucault, 1986).

O'Sullivan (2003) in one of his articles talks about transformative learning and globalized consumption. According to O'Sullivan “transformative learning” focuses on the planet and its needs, instead of needs and priorities of the global competitive marketplace. “Transformative learning” seeks to educate the consumer to make the choice for a sustainable planet, but this is challenging due to the economic globalization. The theory suggests that feelings, inner consumption meanings, and then actions of people need to be changed, and consumers have to understand themselves their relationships with other people and the planet.

The ecological awareness on a global scale was first officially marked as the one of the crucial importance on the Earth Summit in Rio, in 1992. The fast-globalizing world has massively turned the attention to sustainability. Shiva (2000) argues that the global sustainability discourse is purely political play, and the global ecological policy is accountable to international corporations and global economic bodies, rather than to states and societies, as it has to be. Shiva further points out that for the ecological balance and reaching the sustainable living it is important to approach these issues from the social point of view, which the contemporary CCT is also paying attention to.

Within the phenomena of nowadays consumer culture seen through the Foucault (1986) paradigm, a customer is viewed as an individual in a panopticon, having a sense of constantly being observed (Wagler, 2009). Hence the consumer behaviour is formed and dictated by the societal expectations. Advertising is seen as one of the many “technologies” to generate a culture of consumption, as it promises positive benefits for those who over-consume (ibid.).

Analysing the consumption by world regions, it can be seen that the gap between those who have and those who don’t is overwhelming. While industrialized and post-industrialized countries are continuing to consume in an alarming pace, less developed countries, nevertheless representing much bigger population shares, are looking up to the developed world, striving to reach similar economies of scale, and this all is a steady way to the environmental degradation, in words of Wagler (2009). The key to resistance lies within disciplinary power, according to Foucault (1986). Citing Darier (1999):

> "I believe an environmental ethics a la Foucault implies constant 'self-reflection, self-knowledge, self-examination' of the existing limits of what constitutes the 'environment' and the individual's conduct vis-a`-vis the environment and vis-a`-vis oneself. Therefore, the objective of Foucauldian Green aesthetics of existence might not be to 'save the planet' per se — although it could well be one of the 'happy' consequences. It is the perpetual process of 'self-reflection, selfknowledge, self-examination', of transforming one's life into an aesthetic of existence, of 'self-overcoming' one's self."

The problem with sustainability is that it can only be conceptually understood, whereas the society is not able to measure the exact level of "sustainability" which would ensure the resources sufficiency for the future generations (Dolan, 2002). Therefore the whole contemporary sustainability discourse is built around discussing the proper needs of society. In my study I will show how the environmental ethics is perceived and performed by the consumer in transition – Ukrainian female immigrant acculturating in a Swedish socio-cultural milieu.

2.2. The Phases of Acculturation

Acculturation is a complex, multidimensional and bidirectional process that involves the adopting of the behavioural practices and meaningful attitudes, as well as abandoning some of those, by both the host and original cultures (Alba and Nee, 1997; Berry, 1980; Schiller et al., 1995). Previous studies that explore how migrants acculturate to host societies are based upon the theoretical underpinnings of acculturation developed by Alba and Nee (1997), Berry (1980), and Schiller, Basch, and Blanc (1995). Berry (1980) views acculturation as a three-phase process that includes initial contact, conflict, and adaptation. In her study of cultural shock, Rachel Irwin (2007) expands Berry's definition and mentions four phases of cultural transition (earlier defined by Oberg, 1960), splitting the "adaptation" stage into "tolerance", as the phase of the conflict smoothening, and "integration", when the immigrant feels confidence in his/her ability (and is objectively able) to adequately function in a new environment. Irwin however points out that these Oberg's (1960) phases are not discrete, but overlapping.

The contact phase begins when an individual is initially exposed to a different culture, i.e. when he/she has recently migrated to a different country. The next stage, conflict, arises when immigrants and residents of host culture attempt to accept or reject each other and the final phases of acculturation occur when immigrants realise and accept

the difference in lifestyles and ideologies, and either positively or negatively adapt to the host culture. Positive adaptation occurs when immigrants and residents of the host culture mutually accept one another, and immigrants become integrated and assimilated to the culture of the host country, while negative adaptation implies rejection and alienation of the immigrants by the residents of the host culture or vice versa (Ea, 2007).

Alba and Nee (1997) also view acculturation as a process that immigrants must undergo before they assimilate to the host culture. These authors view an assimilated immigrant as someone who has assumed the traits, behaviours, and attitudes of the host culture to be a norm. On the other hand, Schiller et al. (1995) suggest that some immigrants do not fully assimilate to their host cultures but become what they call "transmigrants." Transmigrants are those immigrants who settle and live productive lives in their host countries of residence, but continue to keep and maintain practices of their original cultures. This form of cultural adaptation among transmigrants is possible because they have learned how to successfully navigate some of the cultural differences between their original and host cultures and have adopted some of the essential traits, attitudes, and behaviours of the host culture, such as proficiency in language and communication skills. As a result, transmigrants are able to successfully maintain dual cultural identities and achieve and maintain a sense of balance and harmony between their original and host cultures (Ea, 2007).

The different viewpoints by Alba and Nee (2002), Berry (1980), Schiller et al. (1995) and Penaloza (1989) regarding the concept of acculturation illustrate the complexity of the process of how immigrants become integrated into a new culture. These viewpoints also suggest that the process of acculturation is made up of several dynamic and interrelated phases that could be fluid and non-linear in nature. Building on the previous work within the consumer acculturation that touches upon the adaptation stages, I will further present the important phases of the immigrants' integration. They are the initial cultural contact, the intense conflict, and cultural tolerance and integration (which I have decided to combine, because they are tightly overlapping).

<u>The initial cultural contact</u>

Irwin (2007) calls this phase a “honeymoon”, or non-existent adaptation, the time when the person is fascinated by the new cultural environment, the people, the climate, and the different way of living, showing roller-coaster of emotions, which can be explained by novelty and yet superficial contact with reality (i.e., low involvement, if any, with deeper meanings according to which the host society lives).

During this phase, immigrants have to learn to navigate the complexities associated with living in an unfamiliar environment and performing social routines. Most notably, migrants identify difficulty in communicating as one of the major challenges during this phase. They struggle to understand and learn the idioms, jargon, and accents of native speakers (Ea, 2007). Migrants also quickly realise that in order to communicate efficiently, they need to understand the culture, values, and the people who speak the language of the host country. The literature has suggested that the discrepancy between expectations and actual experiences of newly-immigrated could lead to dissatisfaction and frustrations (Daniel et al., 2001), which is a pre-condition for the next acculturation stage.

The intense conflict

Next comes “rejection” or the intense conflict stage, when the person realises that his/her behaviour is not appropriate in the new environment, the new culture seems hostile and alien, and the person seeks contact with the ones of the same origin. Those immigrants who chose to adopt some of the behaviours and attitudes of their host cultures but find it difficult to fully integrate at this time may become what Schiller et al (1995) describe as transmigrants.

Generally on this stage immigrants become acutely aware of the differences between their personal beliefs and the values of their host society, and struggle to reconcile those (Ea, 2007). Because of these cultural differences, some immigrants may report perceived alienation and discrimination, as well as feelings of ambivalence, anxiety, and indifference, and describe this phase as “like living in two different dimensions and being in two places at the same time” (DiCicco-Bloom, 2004). Eventually immigrants realise that they have to navigate these differences in order to successfully function in the mainstream society, and this is usually the phase when migrants make an important

life-changing decision: either to adopt and learn the behavioural practices, attitudes and specific social skills of their host culture or retreat and withdraw (Ea, 2007).

Immigrants who have achieved a sense of stability in their work and social routines move into the phases of cultural tolerance and integration (Berry, 1980).

Cultural tolerance and integration

The cultural adjustment comes when the conflict is losing intensity and the person accepts the need to acquire some cultural norms and knowledge that are innate to this particular society. Immigrants who have successfully navigated and reconciled the differences between their original and host cultures move into the cultural tolerance phase.

According to Berry (1980), the positive adaptation phase is revealed in immigrants' embracing their adopted culture and considering themselves as part of the new social communities. Ea (2007) points out that most notably during these two phases (tolerance and adaptation), immigrants undergo transformations in their personalities, consumption practices, and attitudes similar to the changes described by Alba and Nee (1987), when immigrants have fully assimilated to their host cultures.

2.3. Explaining the Contribution

As review of the literature has shown, the process by which immigrants acculturate to host cultures is difficult, complex and multidimensional. Later in the analysis part of this paper I intend to show how the stressful acculturation process is followed stage-by-stage by the female immigrants from the Post-Soviet transforming society. The general profile of the researched group (non-refugee non-cosmopolitan non-low culture/low income migrants), migration purpose (intermarriage) and the respondents' specific socio-cultural background (brought up in the transforming society, and being undergoing the personal identity transformation, due to acculturation) altogether form the research niche that has not been given due attention previously.

First I would like to turn to the acculturation research done by Lisa Penaloza, and specifically to her articles describing studying the Hispanic immigrants in the United States (Penaloza, 1989; Penaloza, 1994; Penaloza and Gilly, 1999). Penaloza looks onto the "melting pot" model by which the whole culture of the contemporary USA is formed.

It goes as a red thread through all the three papers that Hispanic immigrants of the United States are the nation's "other" – people who are outside of the imagined community of a "nation people", foreigners speaking another language (Penaloza, 1994). Yet the Hispanic population that is an object of Penaloza's research are mainly people of not the first generation of migrants, who consider English to be their [second] native language and who share the aspirations towards "American way" of living (ibid.), which makes this study suggestively close to the postassimilation models. My study looks onto the consumption transformation of the first generation migrants, moreover – people who left their original and common habitat of meanings in an adult age, being highly educated and self-sufficient, and came to the alien habitat of meanings alone, needing to either accept the lower social status in a dominant socio-cultural milieu, or to start building their habitual self practically from scratch.

The due attention in the current study is given to the Penaloza's research of the acculturation phases of recent Mexican immigrants in the U.S. (Penaloza, 1989). Penaloza talks about the acculturation agents affecting on the immigrant's way of passing the adaptation stages – "honeymoon", "rejection", "tolerance" and "integration". The influencing agents are the immigrant's family, peers, mass media and institutional sources of consumer information (ibid.). For the Penaloza's researched group, the family was normally immigrating together with the respondent, and the family and friends who usually came out of similar immigrants' families have become the peer group – the agent influencing the acculturation and socialization process. Thus, two of the influential groups in Penaloza's study are closely aligned with the immigrant's culture of origin, whereas the current research is focused on the setting where all the influencing agents of consumer acculturation are aligned with the dominant culture of the host environment.

Looking into research of the immigrants' acculturation process conducted by Askergaard et al. (2005), I find the idea of the "transnational consumer culture" interesting and applicable to my study. Authors question the robustness of conclusions of the previous research in dominant consumer acculturation, such as Penaloza's (1994) and Oswald's (1999) studies conducted in the settings of the U.S. "melting pot". Askegaard et al. (2005) argue that these ground models of immigrants' acculturation are stiff in the North America context, and thus omit global cultural factors challenging

the personal position of the immigrants, as well as the identity transformation of natives in the host culture. The respondents of my study speak about their interactions with immigrants from other countries, about Swedish mentality-formed practices of the immigrants' integration into the society, and about their personal practices affecting the social habitat around them. Such an impact is performed through the studied Ukrainian females' involvement into the activities of voluntary organisations, or self-initiated social projects: for example, Katherina told about her initiative to translate Ukrainian classic literature into Swedish language and publish these translations, in the limited volumes, using her husband's business connections, or Helena introduced her postmodern-styled installation of domestic waste products, put up in the garden to attract the attention of neighbours and those who are interested in the contemporary art to the ecology problems.

Lindridge et al. (2004) in their cross-cultural study of Asian female immigrants in Britain look into the identity-building and communicating of the self by the young Asian women of second or third generation of immigrants in Great Britain. Here the researched group consists of host culture-born women, who experience conflicting identities, since they are living surrounded by first-generation immigrants (their families) and host culture representatives (their British friends, neighbours, classmates etc). Acceptance or rejection of the host environment practices and meanings may result in a weakened or heightened sense of ethnic identity respectively, and the social interactions of such women are resulting in dualistic identities. It is not shown how the acculturation proceeds in cases when women are exposed to direct influence of the host culture representatives, while their friends and families are left in the native country, and thus can't be actively involved into the immigrants' acculturation process.

Üstüner and Holt (2007) concentrate on studying the poor migrant women in the cosmopolitan areas of Turkey. The authors show the difficulties of the acculturation for their target group, and these difficulties are conditioned by the hegemonic nature of the host environment (big cities in Turkey) and its low tolerance to the migrants' native environment (Turkish rural areas). The basic setting of my study is similar to that – Swedish culture is hegemonic to Ukrainian women who moved to live here, and the assumption that the host society is not tolerant to immigrants' culture is confirmed by the interviews conducted in the Ukrainian Community in Malmö, for the purpose of this

study. However, the conclusions made by Üstüner and Holt (2007) for their researched women, who are low-educated, have low economic capital and social status, and have migrated together with their families, can't be directly applied to my research. I want to explore how the consumer acculturation is affected when the migrants' decision to participate in the host consumption culture is formed within very limited, if any, contact with their native culture representatives. Acculturation tends to become especially controversial, as migrants in the research group weren't seeking to move to Sweden, and had successful careers and comfortable living in their former countries of residence.

The current study extends the previous research in acculturation by revealing the new migrants' group, which is the main contribution to the previous transformative consumption research within the consumer culture theory.

3. Methodology

3.1. Methodological Approach

Arnould and Thompson (2005) suggest the term "consumer culture theory" as the cumulative research paradigm that covers gaps of other research traditions (i.e., relativist, post-positivist, interpretivist, humanistic, naturalistic, postmodern etc), that are either too theoretical, or make an emphasis on the increasingly irrelevant matters. At the same time, the consumer culture theory should not be perceived as a mix of different theories, but a conceptually new approach that is concerned with how the particular manifestations of consumer culture are shaped, sustained, transformed and communicated by particular individuals in a certain socio-cultural setting (ibid.).

As my study aims at looking into deeper inner meanings that drive the consumer to be acculturated in a particular way, I concentrate the analysis within consumer culture research and choose the in-depth qualitative methods, and particularly hermeneutic analysis. As described by Almquist and Lupton (2010), hermeneutics as one of the humanistic methods and sensibilities is organized around the historical specificity of cultures, as well as the distinctiveness of individual responses to the world. The main contribution of the hermeneutics as a method to the CCT is thus to understand the meaning of objects and consumption practices in particular moments of time, for particular groups and interests.

Hermeneutics, on the other hand, as described by Bryman and Bell (2003:421) refers to an approach to the interpretation or understanding of the text, and is the method deriving from theology. The interviews analysis can be hermeneutic, when it is sensitive to the context within which the texts (or the stories told) were produced. By the modern supporters of hermeneutics as an analysis method it is seen as a strategy that has consideration to both texts as documents and to social actions, historical context and other non-documentary phenomena (ibid.).

As the empirical material for this study is the words spoken by interviewer and interviewees, the mere consideration is given to limitations, such as respondent's personal position in story-telling. Citing Moisander et al. (2009), "Interview data of narrated experience do not merely reflect people's subjective experience or cognitive

representations of objects, events, and categories pre-existing in the social and natural world. They are rather 'social texts', complex cultural, social and psychological products, which construct a particular version of those experiences." I will further explain the position of the interviewer and depict the possible bias in the chapter 3.3 below.

To sum up, the current research is crafted to follow the two main criteria: first – the respondent's perspective, attitudes and aspirations as revealed in the process of interviewing are of a primary importance, rather than actual events or facts about the interviewee's life; and secondly – the analysis of the text is seeking to bring out the meanings of the text from the perspective of its author, with the researcher's consideration to the social and historical context in which the text was produced.

3.2. Objects Selection and Data Collecting

The current study is based on the empirical material gathered at the Ukrainian community in Malmö, Sweden, during the interviews conducted at the respondents' homes in April 2010. I analyse stories of 4 women who were born and brought up in the Soviet Ukraine in 1960's-70's and moved to Sweden after the collapse of USSR, in 1980's-90's. Specifically the age of the women, alone with the condition of them moving to Sweden alone, leaving Ukrainian friends, families and careers in the past, were the main criteria for choosing these respondents. I started up by contacting the head of the Ukrainian community in Malmö, telling her about my research and asking for help in finding the respondents that would match my main search criteria stated above. For me, the Ukrainian person studying abroad, being interested in topics of cultural adaptation and consumer acculturation in different countries, it wasn't difficult to find an initial contact in the Malmö community – I got an email address of the community head officer from my Ukrainian friend, who lives in Malmö and studies sociology in Lund University.

After I collected the primary data about all the Ukrainian women in Malmö who could potentially help me, I noticed that four of them have certain commonalities in personal profiles, something definitive and interesting – they were all highly educated, previously successful in careers, stating that they weren't specifically looking for an opportunity to leave Ukraine or to move to Sweden, and they indicated that the reason for them to change their permanent residence from Ukraine to Sweden is the personal life situation that could not be solved otherwise. Simply, their spouses are Danish or Swedish men,

and moving to Malmö was the compromise, or sometimes even sacrifice, these women made in order to be with a person they loved.

The level of culture capital itself was not one of my selection criteria in the beginning. However, while conducting and analysing the interviews, I have learnt that this is a common characteristic for the objects of my study, and I find it to be an important component of the acculturation process in this particular context, as it specifies the researched group by defining the respondent's attitude towards material culture and consumerism, their critical appreciation abilities and the strength of ideals. I define the level of cultural capital of the researched group as high, and I further support this statement by the analysis of the culture capital characteristics distinguished by Bourdieu (as cited in Holt, 1998).

Now, looking into previous research done in the consumer acculturation within the CCT, I have realised that the analysis of acculturation process of such migrants' group could provide interesting and new information, contributing to the further studies within CCT and to the existing knowledge about the immigrants' acculturation to a dominant consumer culture (as further explained in the chapter 2.3 above).

Four in-depth interviews were conducted in homes of respondents in Malmö in April 2010. Prior to beginning, the interviewees were told about the character and purpose of the study, and about the interview's procedure, i.e. that there are no formal questions or clear structure of the conversation and that the direction of the talk is expected to be set to a large extent by the respondent. Also it was pointed out that the conversation will possibly take about two hours, and that it is going to be audio taped.

The interviewees were offered a choice of the language of discussion, and all the four women have suggested Russian or Ukrainian as their native languages. I believe it is worth mentioning, that the generation of Ukrainians I targeted in my research is in fact native in both languages, or even sometimes (mainly in Eastern and Southern Ukraine) in Russian only. During the period from late 1932 until the middle of 1980's (the Soviet's policy of Russian language hegemony) the significant amount of ethnic Ukrainians were "Russified" (Liber, 1992). Only one of four interviewed women comes from fully Ukrainian-speaking family, and this woman grew up in Western Ukraine, the region with prevailing native Ukrainians in population.

The interviews were conducted in Russian, recorded, transcribed and translated into English by the author of this paper. The hermeneutic interpretation is used in the later chapters of this paper to analyse the transformation of consumption and acculturation patterns of Ukrainian women in Sweden, and the analysis is conducted with the consideration of reliability factors, pointed out by Thompson et al. (1989): the emic approach, the text autonomy, and bracketing. To reflect the lived experiences of the respondents, rather than the researcher's interpretation of those, the responses are presented as bracketed quotes, and all the definitions of everyday life phenomena are left as they were given by the interviewees. The researcher's interest is concentrated upon the respondents' reflections and meanings of past and current events, and aspirations of the future (Thompson et al., 1989). The analysis chapter also aims to avoid describing the respondents' thoughts and actions in psychological and other abstract terms, unless the behaviour is explained by psychoanalytic mechanisms by the interviewee herself, and the statement can be supported by a bracketed quote. To further support the text autonomy statement I present the "researcher's subjectivity" subsection next.

3.3. Researcher's Subjectivity: getting rid of "cultural blindness"

> "Scholars working in another culture have a great advantage over those who work in their own. Virtually everything before them is, to some degree, mysterious. Those who work in their own culture do not have this critical distance from what they study. They carry with them a large number of assumptions that can create a treacherous sense of familiarity"
>
> G. McCracken (1988) "The Long Interview"

Prior to the stories analysis, I will to explain my personal place in the discussions I held. I am ethnical Russian, born and raised in Southern Ukraine in 1980's-90's. From the one hand, I have lived in Ukraine in the transformation period that is of an interest of this study, and this helps me greatly in making sense out of the stories connected with lifestyles of my respondents at that time. On the other hand, the young age I was during the *Perestroika* times and thus personal experiences rather different from those lived by my respondents, belonging to another generation, allowed me to gather and analyse the stories in an independent and non-suggestive manner.

I left Ukraine as a country of permanent residence in 2002, to study and work abroad, and ever since I haven't been staying in my country for long enough to be preoccupied with the consumption practices and lifestyles specifics of the contemporary Ukrainian society. As I believe, my own position between being the citizen of Ukraine and the person living abroad for a rather long time helped me to easily establish a rapport with my respondents, without being biased toward the information I received.

As it pointed out by McCracken in his *long interviews* instructions (1988), most people feel good when they get a chance to explain things to others, so I let my respondents to be experts, not me. I directed the interview process to a large extent by asking women to reflect upon their lifestyles in Ukraine comparing to that in Sweden, and upon how their understanding of everyday life matters and their consumption practices have shifted, keeping as the primary objective of the interview to allow each participant to articulate the network of meanings that constitutes her personalized understanding of lifestyle transformation and consumer acculturation. The open ended structure of the interviews allowed respondents to introduce their own subject of major importance in their consumption transformation process.

4. Analysis

I would like to start this chapter by introducing thoroughly the objects of my study. Further I will elaborate on the specific common component of my respondents' personal profiles, explaining my conclusions and supporting the statements by the direct quotes. This will be followed by the analysis of acculturation phases of the Ukrainian women in Sweden, which are affected by the common for all the stories prerequisites – living in a social milieu of Scandinavian mentality, women's constructing and maintaining of the self in a new socio-cultural environment, and the consumption transformation as affected by new surroundings.

4.1. The Study Objects

Helen (39 years) – sociologist, art critic and business woman living in Sweden since 2007, married to a Danish man. Originally Helen is from urbanized and well-developed Kiev region in Ukraine. She has a degree in Sociology and Media from Kiev Institute of Culture, and she is currently studying in Malmö University to be a supervisor of arts. The family income is average.

Katherina (46 years) – freelance translator, living in Sweden since 1992, married to a Swedish man. Katherina is an ethnical Ukrainian, originally from the rural area in Frankivsk region, Western Ukraine. Sweden is not the first abroad country for her – she married a Czech man in 1987 and moved out of Ukraine to live in Prague, being 23-years old. The current family income is above average.

Viktoria (45 years) – housewife, living in Sweden since 2006, married to a Danish man. Viktoria comes from the urban area in Kherson region, Southern Ukraine. She left Ukraine in 1992 and moved to Poland, where she stayed for 10 years, working as an English teacher. She moved from Poland to Denmark in 2002, and lived there 4 years, before coming to Sweden. Viktoria has a degree in English Language and Literature from Odessa National University and currently studies in Malmö University to become a social worker. The current family income is above average.

Liliya (36 years) – housewife, living in Sweden since 2002, married to a Swedish man. Liliya is originally from the semi-rural area in Dnepropetrovsk region, Eastern Ukraine. She has a diploma of engineer-chemist from Dnepropetrovsk Technical University and

currently studies at the medical faculty of Malmö University. The current family income is average.

All the four women I gathered the stories from have moved to Sweden to create a family with local men. Husbands of two of the respondents are citizens of Denmark and work in Copenhagen; the other two are married to ethnical Swedes. All the respondents have high education diploma obtained in Ukraine, three of the women are currently pursuing a degree in Swedish university, and none is currently employed in Sweden.

For the condensed informants description please see Table 1 in Annex.

4.2. The Common Aspects of the Stories

In compliance with the purpose of this study, I will further analyse three aspects: how are the responding women acculturate in the environment with dominant Scandinavian mentality; how do they perceive their material and social status now towards status in the past; and finally the acceptance of everyday life practices of Swedish society in lives of Ukrainian female immigrants.

Firstly, the common for all four women preposition to moving to Sweden is the personal life situation that could not be solved otherwise. Four interviews indicate that there was no conscious choice or intention to move to Sweden for other reasons than desire to build a family with a particular person. The ecologist Liliya says:

> "I was actually looking for a boyfriend from abroad, not necessarily from Sweden, but I knew I don't want to live where I lived. [...]
>
> My personal life [in Ukraine] didn't work out quite well. Professionally yes, I think I achieved much more than the level I am now at here in Sweden. But I was always thinking that my city is much polluted, I wasn't even thinking about having children there, for example."

Next, Katherina talks about her life in Czech Republic, where she had a satisfying career, but escalating family problems with her Czech husband. She points out that the only scenario she ever considered was divorcing the first husband and living in Prague on her own, continuing to build her so far successful career of a department store administrator. Short time on divorce, Katherina meets a Swedish man and decides to

make building a family with him her first priority. Moving to Sweden, however, seems undesirable to her at that time:

> "I didn't want to move to Sweden. When I came the first time, it was cold, dark and wet, it was autumn. We travelled to Copenhagen as well, and I liked it, but it was too dark and cold for me. I was shocked besides by how little light people have at their homes. They usually have these low-voltage economic lamps and a lot of candles. I remember I thought that my future husband is stingy, that he is saving electricity."

The clash of Post-Soviet and Swedish consumer practices on the everyday level becomes the first and the most vivid cultural shock all the respondents experience after moving.

Once the decision to move to Sweden was made, the problems of coping with the new life standard and maintaining the new social status in a novel environment acutely arose for all the respondents. Interview materials showed two slightly different reactions on self-maintaining practices in a new habitat of meanings, connected mainly with previous social status and material wealth of the interviewed women. Two of the respondents, who moved out of Ukraine in early age and didn't get a chance to build a career in Ukraine or gain financial independence, generally perceive their current material status in Sweden as more satisfying. Here Viktoria talks about her close ones who live in Ukraine and about her attitude to second-hand products, as an indicator of material wealth and consumer power:

> "...My parents live well, thanks to money me and my sister [who lives abroad too] send them. Many of my friends left abroad as well. Those, who stayed live very modest life.
>
> Q: What do you think of second-hand goods – clothes, furniture, electronics?
>
> A: I have never bought anything like this. In Ukraine there wasn't any second-hand, at times I lived there, and in Poland I had quite good income. Here if I mentioned second-hand to my husband I think he would be shocked and angry, maybe. I think that consuming second-hand goods is connected to material status only."

The other two respondents, who moved to Sweden more recently and had succeeded on a working place previously in Ukraine, confess that they felt more financially free, and could afford consuming goods more spontaneously in Ukraine, which in the words of respondents indicates more financial freedom:

> "In Ukraine I was shopping more chaotically, as the need appears. Here it is more organised. Of course we buy something in between big scheduled shopping – like bread, milk... – but still it is much organised. [...]
>
> He [husband] has two favourite stores. My husband chose those two, a bit farther from home, because of prices and selection. I am not so rational person, I don't care, I could shop in the closest ICA. Other things we buy as the need appears. [...]...it is very difficult for me here. Good things I can't afford financially and cheap things are very bad." (Helen)

Generally responses to the questions about consumption in Sweden comparing to that in Ukraine indicate the change towards more planning, rational choice, economical wisdom and health awareness. Viktoria talks about the change in consumption of utilities, showing her first impression of the consumption cultures contradictions in Post-Soviet and Scandinavian societies:

> "There were a lot of misunderstandings connected with saving water, energy and heat. Maybe it is just my husband, but he demanded that I consume these things wisely from the very beginning. He was showing me bills, and I was very offended that he asks me to spend less. In Ukraine, in my parents' family, we had water running nearly all the time, light was on everywhere and all the time, heating was on even when we were away etc. The costs were very low, and the same was later in Poland, so I got used not to think about it."

Moving alone to live in Scandinavian family appears to be among the crucial factors that shaped the consumer acculturation process of the interviewed Ukrainian women. The interviewees agree that the family of the spouse, as well as Swedish media and Scandinavian hegemonic mentality, not tolerant to the practices brought in by immigrants, were factors of the primary influence in the change of their own attitudes and consumption practices.

> "Already when I came to Sweden, I tried to buy only products labelled with *Nyckelhål*, the "key whole". When I came, my husband was teaching me that these products are good for health and environment. In 1993 there was also *Svan Märkt* already here, label for eco-friendly products, like detergents etc. [...]
>
> I haven't seen it even in Czech Republic. It was Western country, but still it was the time of Soviet collapse and Berlin wall fall, 1989-s. Maybe now when we come there you can see something, but that time it was only here in Sweden." (Katherina)

The problem of sustainable living and personal environmental responsibility arises as the one driving the consumption practices in the contemporary society of Scandinavian

countries, and Sweden in particular. This reveals another large clash of consumer cultures the Ukrainian female immigrants of the researched group faced. In the depressed, transforming and generally anxious Ukrainian society of 1980's-90's such issues were never brought up to the consumer's attention.

The following example helps to illustrate the consumerists position of Ukrainian society at *post-perestroika* times, when my respondents left the country – Viktoria talks about her first experience of visiting the country abroad, Poland in the beginning of 1990's:

> "Q: What did you think of Poland in terms of lifestyle and everyday life?
>
> A: It was visibly different from recently Post-Soviet Ukraine of first half of 90's, where money disappeared and we went back to the commodity exchange as a way of trade. Poland had pretty much everything available.
>
> Q: Was it shocking?
>
> A: It wasn't. But it was shocking to come back to Ukraine, to visit my son and parents. Shelves in stores were absolutely empty, you couldn't buy anything except for vinegar and matches! I was always bringing a lot of stuff from Poland, to provide my family for the next half a year I am away. So I was shocked not by profusion in Poland, but by misery in Ukraine."

However, rather than difference in everyday life standards, the change of social status is perceived by all the respondents as the major breaking point in general transformation after moving to Sweden:

> "I had certain status back home. I was working at the biggest enterprise in the region, on the good position, I was earning money, I got used to perceive myself as a person of certain status. When I came here people of course perceived me completely differently – I was young girl from Ukraine, not speaking Swedish, trying to get in to university... This change in a social status caused major discomfort to me." (Liliya)

Ambitious, previously successful in their careers Ukrainian women of high culture capital prioritize the questions of their social acceptance on a new place over the new everyday life comfort level. Hence the keenness in getting a diploma from Swedish institution of higher education, gaining independence from the husband and his family (e.g. through intensive language learning, getting Swedish driving licence etc) and active engagement in social activities:

> "...we found this Ukrainian community in Malmö and became members of it.[...]...many things are getting thrown away here in Sweden – clothes, food etc. So we together with Ukrainian community started to gather clothes and other good stuff that gets thrown away, and we were sending it to Ukraine, to my mother and sister." (Katherina)

> "I have friends, Swedish people, they work in an NGO in Lund, called Indian-Bangladesh Section "Swallow". I am trying to be engaged with all their activities..." (Liliya)

> "Trying to adapt my education in Sweden. I don't work, but sometimes I organise exhibitions of local artists, like a freelance art supervisor." (Helen)

Another valuable example that distinguishes the culture capital is the consumption of leisure activities:

> "I like gardening. We used to have our own summer cottage 7 years, and we grew our own fruits and vegetables. Everything ecologically clean – potatoes, carrots, salad, strawberry, raspberry... fruits – apples, pears. We almost didn't buy anything of it. It was time when we tried to grow crops without any chemistry and enhancing. It is difficult, because the crop can't be kept long, when it is grown this way, and plants are affected by different diseases. But we managed that, for 7 years, almost." (Katherina)

> "...sometimes I organise exhibitions of local artists, like a freelance art supervisor. Some time ago I was writing articles for Ukrainian magazines about arts, but stopped because of crisis and loss of interest. Also I write lyrics and prose." (Helen)

High culture capital accentuates on the self-actualizing practices, and for the current research it is remarkable that even though all the four women had to abandon their professional career in favour of new family values, they put tremendous emphasize on self-development and home aesthetics. I came to Helen's home for the interview half an hour earlier, the woman was still busy with house work, and the classical instrumental music was playing in stereo-system. When I asked her about her first experience abroad, she told me about the amazing cultural Copenhagen:

> "I liked cultural life of Copenhagen. There was much more exhibitions, shows, events available than in Kiev that time, which is very important for me as a person interested in art and culture. Ukraine seemed so limited in this sense, so closed. I mean, there was no any contemporary art museum at that time. I even thought of starting up some project where I would bring Ukrainian contemporary art to exhibit in Denmark, and vice versa."

Three of the respondents have higher education diploma from leading universities in Ukraine, and they are continuing the education in Sweden. Each woman is fluent in four

languages – Russian, Ukrainian, Swedish and English – and Katherina and Viktoria can communicate in not less than six.

Interviewees do not show much interest in questions about their consumption of material goods. Here is how Helen describes her shopping habits:

> "Q: Could you please tell me about your shopping? What, where, how often?
>
> A: We do grocery-shopping once a week. I write a list, and usually my husband goes, by car. 1 of 5 times I go with him. He has two favourite stores. My husband chose those two, a bit farther from home, because of prices and selection. I am not so rational person, I don't care, I could shop in the closest ICA. Other things we buy as the need appears. We buy everything in Malmö – like furniture, gardening things... With clothes it is very difficult for me here. [...] I generally shop for clothes very seldom.
>
> Q: What motivates you to choose certain store, or to prefer one to another?
>
> A: The price and variety of goods. [...] for me it is not very important what to eat and how much does it cost. But I hide it, pretend that I share my husband's opinion on this, that for example in this particular store it is cheaper and better."

The tendencies to aesthetic consumption as a contrary to materialistic orientation are revealed in the stories of my respondents.

When I asked Viktoria about economically wise consumption of household utilities, she noticed that even though the notion of necessity of saving came to her only while living in Scandinavian countries (first Denmark, then Sweden), this should not be *a priori* related to a Swedish mentality:

> "Here, and especially in Denmark, clean water is scarce and very expensive to get, so mass media also increase awareness that we have to save, because it is just not enough to consume conspicuously. But I see the material reason as decisive. For example my friends, even Swedes, who live in rented flats and have everything included in the price of their rental contract don't think about saving at all, they say "we have paid for it". They don't understand that the more they consume the more the price increases eventually for everybody."

Thus it can be concluded that the practice of saving was created as a result of reflection and conscious choice, rather than "this is how they do it here" attitude.

Liliya, while talking about recycling of domestic waste, confesses that even though she understands the necessity to recycle and sort out the wastes and honestly does it on everyday basis (as professional ecologist, she has her own rationale in it), she still cannot advocate these practices, as they are novel and not innate to her:

> "Q: Do you accept it [recycling] just as part of Swedish way of living, or is it important for you personally?
>
> A: I would say I believe in it, but I am still not an advocate, in a way that I can't make somebody do this sorting out, perhaps because I am not brought up with this and I don't have this inner belief that this is the only right way to do. I am making myself do it every time, but I wouldn't be able to persuade another person.
>
> Q: Would you say there is some scepticism, and why?
>
> A: I don't think it is scepticism, but it just never was in my focus, so I am not concentrating on this. [...] it is not like in my blood, this understanding."

The stories indicate the high level of spiritual development and idealistic orientation of the respondents long before moving to Sweden. Here Helen talks about keeping her building in Kiev clean, when nobody else cared:

> "In Kiev, I was picking up trash – like bags, bottles... – in my building every day on the way to work, and throwing it out into containers outside."

The story of Katherina is a great example of dedication to a native country and close people. She tells about the family of her parents living very modestly in the rural area in Western part of Soviet Ukraine, and the first gas pipeline construction project joint with Western countries, which was launched in the region when Katherina was a teenager:

> "...there were a lot of foreigners, and our town was developing very fast. These workers developed the entire infrastructure in town, and also they were first foreign people we have ever seen, first people who brought Coca-Cola, orange juice, chewing gum, jeans, fashion shoes etc. They have basically opened the Western world for us. We have realised the first time how big is the difference between us and environment there, abroad."

Later Katherina married a Czech man she met in Ukraine, and even seeing the drastic difference of the living standards between Czech Republic and Ukraine, she didn't want to give up the Ukrainian citizenship and break the connection with her country:

> "I didn't get Czech citizenship, I didn't ask for it. Actually, I didn't even have in mind moving out of my country. We just decided to try living there with my husband and his family."

The stories support the earlier suggested definitive socio-cultural position of the interviewed women – female immigrants of high economical and culture capital who move in an adult age from the country of Post-Soviet consumption, mentality and lifestyle to the environment of Western consumer culture and Scandinavian ethics, due to intermarriage. The definition makes an emphasis on the uniqueness of the objects of this study, as the consumer group that was not given thorough attention previously in the consumer acculturation research.

4.3. Acculturation stage-by-stage

In this section I will analyse the process of acculturation of Ukrainian women in Sweden using the model of acculturation phases described in previous consumer acculturation research (Oberg, 1960; Berry, 1980; Penaloza, 1989).

All of the four interview-responses indicate that representatives of my researched group have passed the stage of the initial cultural contact, however it is remarkable that the length and intensity of "honeymoon" appears to be dependent on the level of women's satisfaction with their own life before coming to Sweden.

Helen, who is the one living in Sweden the shortest time among the respondents, shows the least signs of fascination by living in Sweden, and she believes that she would enjoy living in Kiev more, if only her [Danish] husband was willing to move to Ukraine or was able to integrate in the Ukrainian society:

> "...we moved here because he couldn't live in Ukraine! Frankly speaking, I was very satisfied with my life in Kiev, and I never had intentions to move abroad. I had business, car, apartments in Kiev, no financial or social problems... but personal problems. My future husband tried to live with me in Ukraine, several months, but he didn't manage. That is why eventually we moved."

Moreover, of all the respondents, only Helen shows clear signs of current rejection of the socio-cultural practices of the dominant host environment:

> "I moved here only because I want to live with this man. Swedish houses, lifestyle, living conditions etc don't impress me too much. Sometimes it is even annoying.

Q: Could you please explain what is annoying?

A: Things like... shops are open till 7 pm maximum. In Kiev, I could buy food and alcohol in the middle of the night – for example if guests came spontaneously – in the grocery 10 meters from my house. I could smoke everywhere any time I want. Here all this is impossible, and it is boring. Eventually you get used to it, of course, and take it as a norm, but in the beginning – very annoying.

Besides, in the beginning you don't know language, don't know where to get some specific women's services – hairdressers, doctors... I have a lot of negative experience connected to namely Swedish service – cosmetologists, hairdressers... I think they do everything wrong. Even now, when I speak decent Swedish, I only use local professional services if it is absolutely necessary."

However, there is noticeable general frustration in the way my respondents feel they are being treated in Sweden. The respondents find it important to obtain a degree in Swedish institution of higher education, in order to find an employment in Sweden. Viktoria characterises Sweden as "latently discriminating" country:

"Q: Have you noticed that you are treated differently here, as an immigrant?

A: Yes, I have noticed that. That is why I am getting now second high education, in Swedish university, to prove that I am capable of more than just changing dippers and cleaning, as they assume. Here the status of foreigners can be different – Western Europe, then South Europe, then Eastern Europe, then Arabs etc... Here discrimination is very latent. They say that you as an immigrant have the same rights as Swedes, but in reality it is not so. [...] Discrimination is very visible in employment relationships."

Even though it was the only direct response identifying discrimination on the working place, the problem of being not equally treated in Swedish society is raised by other respondents:

"Of course my Swedish friends are very special people, very warm and open-minded. But some other Swedes I meet somewhere, or maybe colleagues of my husband, they are a bit arrogant towards me. I can see that some particular topics they are not even discussing with me, thinking perhaps that I am not educated enough or something... For example politics etc. I am alien to these people, with all this differences in lives we lived... My friends are just closer to me, but generally I think Swedes are cold to me." (Liliya)

"...I think they [Swedish people] don't imagine Ukraine to be civilized developed European state. [...] My contacts are rather limited and special. We live in middle-class neighbourhood, these people prefer to stay away from foreigners. On our street we are the

only not Swedish. Maybe even in the whole block. Of course we can stop for social chat, when meet on the street, but that is it." (Helen)

For the Ukrainian women of the researched group, the tolerance towards the Swedish cultural milieu is mainly revealed in accepting the need to strictly obey the common law, and in generally more rational approach to everyday life. Here is how Liliya described her cultural adjustment in Sweden:

"Q: Was there anything that you considered to be shocking, something that took long time to understand and accept?

A: I would say planning. In Ukraine there is always some bustle, high tempo of life, seems like people are doing more. But here people are planning their lives, and they are generally more rational and less chaotic. They are not that influenced by some spontaneous ideas. It was actually difficult for me, I had to alter my habits. It is actually what took the biggest part of my adaptation period and efforts – to become more rational, more planning, calmer... I think if you want to happily exist in this system you have to adapt."

According to Berry (1980), the full acceptance of a new way of life comes when the person gains confidence in his/her abilities to function adequately in a new environment. Viktoria notices that living around people with a Scandinavian mentality has transformed the character of her reaction to everyday life communication:

"...even if it is necessary to be straight-forward and express their point of view they [Swedish people] don't do it. You can never know what they are thinking about. I don't know why it is so, but I would say this is common for all the Scandinavians.

Q: Did you, or do you now, feel discomfort because of it?

A: Not anymore, but before yes, I felt. Now I changed already, became colder, maybe, more calm. Before I was very open in expressing emotions, I had a lot of friends. But here it doesn't work this way. Even friends are coming here strictly in an appointed time agreed two months in advance. I would say that eventually I have become the same way."

The respondents generally note the influence of Scandinavian mentality (through husband, husband's family, Swedish friends, colleagues and media) on their consumption in regards to eco-awareness and sustainability messages. Viktoria talks about cleaning the house she and her husband are renting out to families in Malmö:

> "When old tenants are moving out, we are usually cleaning everything and throwing out a lot of stuff. There my husband controls very eagerly that I would collect metals together, plastics together etc. I never asked him why does he think or do this way, I guess it is just part of Scandinavian mentality and he doesn't over think it, just acts this way."

And the following quote shows her vision of the way the Ukrainian mentality is different, in this sense:

> "Because nobody ever told us how to do it. We are used to have just common dumps for everything. Trash is not even a question to discuss now in Ukraine, because there are so many much more urgent social problems. Our people still think according to the principle "I don't care what happens after I die". The higher is wealth in society the more people can devote and think about climate, ecology and sustainable living, but Ukrainians are still concerned with earning for food. Only rich Western countries are raising questions about ecological consequences. I think it is quite logical and natural that poor countries have other concerns."

The response reveals the importance of mass media and general attention of a state to the problems of ecology. However, respondents indicate the poor condition of Ukrainian economy as a primary reason that forms the overall mentality difference:

> "Q: Why do you think Ukraine is so different from Sweden, it regards to eco-concerns?
>
> A: I think it is all about money. It is expensive to keep the country clean. So it is on the state level – you can see that the more poor the country is the more dirty streets are, and so on and so forth. Ukrainian cities are clean now, in city-centres and in touristic attractions, but "behind the fence" it is still very dirty, because of lack of financing." (Katherina)

Looking back at the question of the acculturation process specifics shown by the Ukrainian female immigrants of the researched group in Sweden and the analysis of the empirical data gathered during the interviews, the following contradicting conclusion arise:

- from the one hand – the women are forced by the surrounding to acculturate in a dominant way to the host environment, in a distortedly fast pace. This is conditioned by both the external setting, where all the acculturation agents (Penaloza, 1989) affecting the Ukrainian women are aligned to the host culture, and the internal setting, where the women realise that in the not tolerant to the immigrants' culture host country (Sweden) they need to integrate as fast and as

completely as possible, to be able to maintain the social status they are used to having before immigrating to Sweden;

- from the other hand – the previous rich professional and personal experiences and the high level of cultural capital of the Ukrainian women in the researched group expels the emulation model of adjusting to the dominant environment, and the respondents indicate that they had to transform in a deliberate pace, making decisions about adapting or rejecting of the new meanings and attitudes sensibly, letting the dominant judgements and practices go through their own prism of meanings.

I will further expand on these conclusions in the *Discussions and Implications* chapter below.

5. Discussion and Implications

5.1. Express-acculturation

The data analysed in this study supports the previous research in consumer acculturation to the dominant social and market ideology, demonstrating the multi-dimensionality of the change in a consumer in transition. The current study adds on to the Thompson and Tambyah's (1999) argument that immigrant consumers always use products and consumption practices to negotiate differences between cultures while forging contingent identities derived from the differences. Rather, the data collected from Ukrainian female consumers with high culture capital (Holt, 1998), who moved to Sweden to live in the family of their Scandinavian husbands, highlight the way in which the immigrants are developing a kind of ethnic identity with a host culture, due to intensive exposure to its components in a family and social milieu with prevailing representatives of a host culture.

It can be generally concluded that the researched group tends to adapt the Swedish practices while abandoning some of the Ukrainian practices that is pure consumer assimilation with a dominant culture, in definition of Penaloza (1994). Further, it can be argued that the high culture capital as the characteristic of the interviewed group that distinguishes this research from the acculturation studies previously done in CCT, helps forming the rational and tolerant attitude of the Ukrainian female immigrants towards the new socio-cultural environment of the host country. There are certain factors that explain the tendencies in the researched group of women to accept the acculturation to a dominant environment, such as the need to promptly integrate in a Scandinavian family and the high involvement with Swedish social institutions (like, language courses, university, driving school etc).

The general acculturation of the interviewed women by stages is following the 3-phases model described by Berry (1980) and Alba and Nee (1997), and can be characterized through the following three common implications:

- Firstly, the researched group has a short and non-distinctive "honeymoon" stage, i.e. the period of fascination with a new cultural and social environment is particularly poor in emotional content and rather rationally justified by the

interviewed women. This can be accounted for a certain set of expectations long time prior to moving, as the immigration in this case is following the previous exposure to Scandinavian culture and mentality (through the [future] husbands).

- Secondly, the women of the researched group show sharp rejection of the Swedish societal communication practices, due to the discrepancy in their social status in Sweden comparing to that in Ukraine. When moving to Sweden to marry a local person, the interviewed women chose to abandon their previously successful careers and financial independence, and the new socio-cultural and economic environment forces them to work hard in order to gain the social status they are used to having. Women express general frustration and point out the discrimination in professional and social life.

- Lastly, the two stages of cultural tolerance and integration are overlapping to a large extent, and it is suggested to merge the last two phases for the current model. The conclusion can be drawn that the Ukrainian female immigrants of high economic and cultural capital moving to Sweden in an adult age due to intermarriage tend to integrate fast and consciously accept the need to adopt the Scandinavian meanings and practices of everyday life, while rejecting some of the practices innate to their home society – the conscious choice of the researched group of women, led by the acquired in the past ability to critically appreciate the surrounding and make the rational independent judgements (cf. Holt, 1998).

The aspect of critical appreciation of the host socio-cultural environment requires complex analysis, as it may bring twofold implications to the light of the current study. The status of the newcomer in a new culture suggests that for the successful adaptation process the person would need to accept the elements and norms of the host environment, while abandoning the own practices to some extent (Üstüner and Holt, 2007). From the other hand, the representatives of high culture capital groups tend to consume, make judgements and construct own identities in an independent authentic way, with all the innate rationalization, criticism and a certain extent of disregard to a mainstream opinion (Holt, 1998).

The suggested implication of the current research supports the Nijman's cultural globalization theory (Nijman, 1999): the shared inner values of the immigrant with the general ideologies of the host country make the process of consumer acculturation corresponding to a dominant (host) environment and generally organic. It is indicated in empirical material gathered during the interviews that the questions of wise (or sustainable) consumption, as well as environmental and general consumerist's ethics were innate to respondents prior to immigration, and while those were not supported by the state ideology and societal practices of Ukraine, the previous expectations and aspiration of a more ethical society were met in Sweden.

5.2. Implications for Future Research

The interviews revealed that this type of acculturation of Ukrainian female immigrants in Sweden brought to their attention earlier unknown ecological problems and sustainable living discourses. Respondents indicate that environmental care is still latent as a course of the state policy, and thus not existing in everyday lives of the majority of citizens. It may be interesting to investigate the deviations revealed in consumption patterns and everyday lives of consumers who were born, brought up and still live in Post-Soviet countries. In other words – how does one build and communicate the identity of an environmentally responsible citizen and sustainability conscious consumer when the state does not create any of the necessary conditions for these principles to be implemented in societal everyday life practices, and the majority of people are those who live a "I don't care what happens after I die" philosophy (in words of Viktoria, the woman interviewed for the current study). Thus this domain can be suggested for future research, as a study extending this paper.

Similarly, on the basis of the current research it could be interesting to study acculturation of Scandinavian mentality representatives in the Eastern European transformative societies. In the story of Helena, there was an interesting thread going through the interview, that woman was successful, self-sufficient and happy with her professional life, while living in Ukraine, however her personal life was almost ruined by the attempt of her [Danish] husband to live in Kiev. The other stories also indicate that it is a significant cultural adjustment and high extent of tolerance what takes their spouses to adapt to the Ukrainian habitat of meanings, every once in a while they visit

relatives and friends there. The empirical material of the current study provides the starting point for such research, directing the researcher to the study of meanings and sense-making of the experiences lived by the people of Scandinavian mentality (expats, spouses, students, researchers etc) moving to the Post-Soviet consumer culture and social milieu.

5.3. Limitations

It should not be left without the reader's consideration that this paper is written as a student degree project, and thus there were certain time, budget and target group access constraints. The current research aims to evoke interest to the problem and stimulate the further investigation.

The due consideration should be also given to the initial territorial, historical, cultural and economical remoteness of the two countries – Ukraine and Sweden. If the researcher were to question whether Ukrainian female immigrants tend to sustain their "Ukrainian" consumption practices after moving to Sweden or not, the natural limitation that is the fact that many of the popular products, brands, market facilities common for Ukraine are not available in Sweden, and vice versa. So certain changes in the consumer's kitchen, or house after moving to Sweden might as well be partially explained by these plainly economical reasons, rather than concluding on the needs and practices transformation. This limitation however doesn't apply to the research attending to the inner meanings and perception of surrounding and self on a new place.

6. Annex

Table 1

Name	Age	Marital Status	Family Income	Education		Arrival to Sweden	Occupation	
				In Ukraine	In Sweden		In Ukraine	In Sweden
Helen	39	Married to Dane	Average	High, Kiev Institute of Culture - completed	High, Malmö University - ongoing	2007	Entrepreneur, own business (publishing company)	Self-employed art critic
Katharina	46	Married to Swede	Above average	High, Vinnitsa Transport College	None	1992	Manager; Head of department in shopping mall	Self-employed translator; head of Malmö Ukrainian Community
Viktoria	45	Married to Dane	Above average	High, Odessa State University - completed	High, Malmö University - ongoing	2006	School teacher of English language and literature	Housewife
Liliya	36	Married to Swede	Average	High, Dnepropetrovsk Technical University - completed	High, Malmö University - ongoing	2002	Ecological Inspector in Krivoj Rog Steel Plant	Housewife

Literature

Articles

1. Alba, R., Nee, V. (1997) Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *The International Migration Review,* 31, 4, pp. 826-874.
2. Almquist, J., Lupton, J. (2010) Affording Meaning: Design-Oriented Research from the Humanities and Social Sciences. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Design Issues,* Vol. 26, Number 1 (Winter), pp. 3-14.
3. Arnould, J. E., Thompson, J. C. (2005) Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 31, March 2005, pp. 868-882.
4. Askegaard, S., Arnould, J. E., Kjeldgaard, D. (2005) Postassimilationist Ethnic Consumer Research: Qualifications and Extensions*. Journal of Consumer Research,* Vol. 32 (June), pp. 160-170.
5. Baillie, K. (2008) Health Implications of Transition from a Planned to a Free-market Economy – an Overview. *The International Association for the Study of Obesity*, *Obesity reviews*, 9 (Suppl. 1), pp. 146–150.
6. Berry, J. W. (1980) Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theories, models, and some new findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview.
7. Berry, J. W. (1997) Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, Vol. 46 (1), pp**.** 5-68.
8. Boyce, C., Neale, P. (2006) Conducting In-Depth Interviews: A Guide for Designing and Conducting In-Depth Interviews for Evaluation Input. *Pathfinder International Tool Series*, USA, May 2006, pp. 1-16.
9. Christer, S. (2002) Willing Consumers – or Locked-in? Policies for a Sustainable Consumption. *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 42, Issues 1-2 (August), pp. 273-287.
10. Cornia, A. G. (1994) Poverty, Food Consumption, and Nutrition during the Transition to the Market Economy in Eastern Europe. *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 84, No. 2, Papers and Proceedings of the Hundred and Sixth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association (May), pp. 297-302.
11. Daniel, P., Chamberlain, A., Gordon, F. (2001) Expectations and Experiences of Newly Recruited Filipino Nurses. *British Journal of Nursing,* 10 (4), pp. 256-

265.DiCicco-Bloom, B. (2004) The Racial and Gendered Experiences of Immigrant Nurses from Kerala, India. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing,* 15 (1), pp. 26-33.

12. Dolan, P. (2002) The Sustainability of "Sustainable Consumption". *Journal of Macromarketing,* Vol. 22, No. 2 (December), pp. 170-181.
13. Foucault, M., Miskowiec, J. (1986) Of Other Spaces. *Diacritics*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring), pp. 22-27.
14. Haraldsson, V. H., Ranhagen, U., Sverdrup, H. (2001) Is Eco-living more Sustainable than Conventional Living? Comparing Sustainability Performances between Two Townships in Southern Sweden. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, Vol. 44 (5), pp. 663-679.
15. Hinote, B. P., Cockerham, W. C, Abbott, P. (2009) Post-Communism and Female Tobacco Consumption in the Former Soviet States. *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 61 (9), pp. 1543-1555.
16. Hinote, B. P., Cockerham, W. C., Abbott, P. (2009) Psychological Distress and Dietary Patterns in Eight Post-Soviet Republics. *Appetite Academic Press*, Vol. 53, No. 1, pp. 24-33.
17. Holt, B. D. (1998) Does Cultural Capital Structure American Consumption? *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (June), pp. 1-25.
18. Irwin, R. (2007) Culture Shock: Negotiating Feelings in the Field. *Anthropology Matters Journal*, Vol. 9 (1), pp. 1-11.
19. Jagers, C. S., Matti, S. (2010) Ecological Citizens: Identifying Values and Beliefs that Support Individual Environmental Responsibility among Swedes. *Sustainability Journal*, Vol. 2, pp. 1055-1079.
20. Lindridge, M. A., Hogg, K. M., Shah, M. (2004) Imagined Multiple Worlds: How South Asian Women in Britain Use Family and Friends to Navigate the "Border Crossings" Between Household and Societal Contexts. *Consumption, Markets and Culture,* Vol. 7, No. 3, (September), pp. 211–238.
21. Moisander, J., Valtonen, A., Hirsto, H. (2009) Personal Interviews in Cultural Consumer Research – Poststructuralist Challenges. *Consumption, Markets & Culture*, Vol. 12 (4), pp. 329-348.
22. Nijman, J. (1999) Cultural Globalization and the Identity of Place: The Reconstruction of Amsterdam. *Ecumene*, Vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 146-165.

23. Oberg, K. (1960) Culture Shock: Adjustment to New Cultural Environments. *Practical Anthropology* 7, pp. 177-182.
24. O'Sullivan, E. (2003) Bringing a Perspective of Transformative Learning to Globalized Consumption. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4, pp. 326-330.
25. Oswald, L. (1999) Culture Swapping: Consumption and the Ethnogenesis of Middle-Class Haitian Immigrants. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 25 (March), pp. 303–318.
26. Penaloza, N. L. (1989) Immigrant Consumer Acculturation. *Advances in Consumer Research*, Vol. 16, pp. 110-117.
27. Penaloza, N. L. (1994) Atravesando Fronteras/Border Crossings: A Critical Ethnographic Exploration of the Consumer Acculturation of Mexican Immigrants. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (June), pp. 32-54.
28. Penaloza, N. L., Gilly, C. M. (1999) Marketer Acculturation: The Changer and the Changed. *Journal of Marketing,* Vol. 63 (July), pp. 84-104.
29. Rao, A. S., Desphande, O. M., Carrington, M. R. (2008) Elderly Indo-Caribbean Hindus and End-of-Life Care: A Community-Based Exploratory Study. *Ethnogeriatrics and Special Populations: Journal Compilation,* Vol. 56, No. 6 (June), pp. 1129-1133.
30. Sheth, J. I., Newman, B. I., Gross, B. L. (1991) Why We Buy What We Buy: A Theory of Consumption Values. *Journal of Business Research*, Vol. 22, pp. 159-170.
31. Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., Blanc, C (1995) From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly, 68* (1), pp. 188-234.
32. Shiva, V. (2000) Ecological Balance in an Era of Globalization. *Published in:* The Globalization Reader, third edition (2008), Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 465-473.
33. Thompson, J. C., Locander, B. W., Pollio, R. H. (1989) Putting Consumer Experience Back into Consumer Research: The Philosophy and Method of Existential-Phenomenology. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (September), pp. 133-146.
34. Thompson, J. C., Tambyah, S. K. (1999) Trying to be Cosmopolitan. *The Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (December), pp. 214-241.

35. Üstüner, T., Holt, B. D. (2007) Dominated Consumer Acculturation: The Social Construction of Poor Migrant Women's Consumer Identity Projects in a Turkish Squatter. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 34 (June), pp. 41-56.
36. Wagler, R. (2009) Foucault, the Consumer Culture and Environmental Degradation, *Ethics, Place & Environment*, 12: 3, pp. 331-336.
37. Williams, C., Round, J. (2008) The Illusion of Capitalism in Post-Soviet Ukraine. *Debatte*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (December), pp. 331-345.

Books

1. Bourdieu, P. (1990) In Other Words: Essays toward a Reflexive Sociology. // Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990.
2. Bourdieu, P., Passeron, J-C. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture. // SAGE Studies in Social and Educational Change: SAGE Publications, Inc., 1977.
3. Bryman, A., Bell, E. (2003) Business Research Methods. // Oxford University Press, 2003.
4. Howes, D. (1996) Cross-cultural Consumption: Global markets, global realities. // London: Routledge, 1996.
5. Liber, O. G. (1992) Soviet Nationality Policy, Urban Growth, and Identity Change in the Ukrainian SSR 1923-1934. // Cambridge University Press, 1992.
6. McCracken, D. G. (1988) The Long Interview. *Qualitative research methods series, 13* // Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1988.
7. Szporluk, R. (2000) Russia, Ukraine, and the Breakup of the Soviet Union. // Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University, 2000.
8. The Globalization Reader. *Third edition by Lechner, J. F., Boli, J.* // Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2008.
9. The Oxford Pocket Dictionary of Current English. *Edited by Abate, R. F. (chief)* // Oxford University Press, Inc., 1999.

Online

1. Arnould, J. E. Getting a Manuscript to Publication Standard. *Association for Consumer Research.* ACR News: www.acrweb.org

2. Brown, K. S, Bean, D. F. (2006) Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process http://www.migrationinformation.org/feature/display.cfm?id=442 [accessed online, 21.04.2010]
3. Ea, E. (2007). "Facilitating Acculturation of Foreign-Educated Nurses" *OJIN: Online Journal of Issues in Nursing*. Vol. 13 (November), No. 1. http://www.nursingworld.org/ [accessed online, 14.05.2010]
4. IMF: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2006/01/data/dbcselm.cfm?G=2001 [accessed online, 04.05.2010]
5. Olofsson, J., Malmberg, G. (2010) When Will the Russians Come? On Post-Soviet Immigration and Integration in Sweden. Published Online**:** 22 Jan 2010, Journal compilation © 2010 International Organization for Migration [accessed online, 06.05.2010]
6. U.S. Department of State: http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3211.htm [accessed online, 04.05.2010]
7. Wikipedia – The Free Encyclopaedia: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perestroika [accessed online, 02.07.2010]

Video

1. Leslie Woodhead (2009). How the Beatles Rocked the Kremlin. *Storyville: BBC4 Monday* http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00ml582 [accessed online, 05.05.2010]