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'They don't want us to become them': brand local integration and consumer ethnocentrism

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'They don't want us to become them': brand local integration and consumer ethnocentrism

Abstract

This paper investigates whether positioning strategies of foreign brands that integrate both foreign and 'localised' dimensions of country-of-origin (COO) appeals shape perceptions and attitudes of domestically-biased consumers. Ethnocentric consumers hold strong favourable attitudes toward local-perceived brands. At the same time, brand positioning strategies of local brands acquired by multinational corporations and of foreign brands entering the local market often integrate foreign COO appeals with locally-relevant manufacturing and/or symbolic appeals. The results indicate that foreign brand identities that integrate 'localised' appeals communicating respect of local traditions (through the use of local images, symbols and recipes) and contribution to the local society's well-being (through local manufacture, employment, use of local ingredients) lead to more favourable consumer perceptions. In distinguishing between 'purely foreign' and 'locally integrated foreign brands', consumers perceive the latter to be more acceptable for consumption. The paper concludes by considering the implications of the findings and outlining directions for further research.

Keywords: brand local integration; consumer ethnocentrism; country-of-origin brand evaluation; qualitative research

Introduction

In a globalising world of constantly changing company ownership through mergers/acquisitions, the question of what meaning consumers assign to foreign/domestic brands and what makes a brand 'foreign' becomes crucial. Consumer goods' country-of-origin (COO) has been shown to significantly shape consumers' brand attitudes and behaviour (Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2008; Erickson, Johansson, & Chao, 1984; Nebenzahl & Jaffe, 1996; Papadopoulos & Heslop, 2002; Thakor & Kohli, 1996; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). Perceived brand 'localness' or 'non-localness' affects consumer judgements of products' functionality, social acceptability and desirability by evoking quality, imagery and affective connotations (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). Of the consumer behaviour theories based on COO evaluations, consumer ethnocentrism remains one of the most researched since the seminal work of Shimp and Sharma (1987), who described it as the belief held by consumers about the appropriateness and morality of purchasing foreign-made products. This literature has become an established area of marketing research over the last 30 years, with the majority of earlier work focusing on consumers' emotional favouritism of domestic brands based on their 'localness' (Batra, Ramaswamy, Alden, Steenkamp & Ramachander, 2000; Hsieh & Lindridge, 2005).

A body of COO research identifies that hybrid brands, i.e. those integrating COO cues to more than one country into their image, have a significant influence on evaluations of brands' functional attributes (quality, reliability) when a brand is perceived to be manufactured or designed in foreign countries with a less reputable image than that of its country-of-origin (Chao, 1998; Essoussi & Merunka, 2007; Hui & Zhou, 2003; Toncar, 2008). However, research appears to ignore the emotional effect of local appeals integrated into brand image of foreign brands on pro-ethnocentric consumers. Extant branding literature postulates that those multinational brands integrating in their image globally-universal and

locally-specific appeals maximise turnover and secure competitive advantage in local markets, since they are perceived by consumers as being more relevant to the specific local context (Hsieh & Lindridge, 2005; Zhou & Belk, 2004). For example, in Russia Starbucks present their brand name in Cyrillic; Citroen's 'berlingo(ski)' campaign in Poland and the Honda Civic and CR-V models' advertising in the UK emphasise they are 'local' as they are assembled in local factories. These strategies are viewed as a response to the process of glocalisation in terms of the behaviour of some consumer segments (Alden, Steenkamp & Batra, 2006; Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006). What remains unclear however is how and what elements of glocalised branding and advertising strategies affect consumer perceptions of brands' origin. Do consumers distinguish between 'purely foreign/global' brands and 'glocal' brands? Does the 'local' element of a foreign (or global) brand appeal to domestic country bias?

Since several non-local brands increasingly emphasise their affiliation with the local marketplace, the objective of this paper is to investigate 1) what COO meanings are assigned to such brands by consumers; 2) whether local appeals in foreign brands' images and locally-based manufacturing evoke pro-ethnocentric brand perceptions, i.e. consumers favouring these brands over foreign brands with 'non-local-only' appeals, similar to favouritism of domestic products over foreign ones. At the same time, cross-cultural marketing research indicates significant differences in consumer behaviour in emerging markets (Keller & Moorthi, 2003). Recognising the limitations posed by a myopic view of simply transferring theories and frameworks developed in the West into consumer research in emerging markets, calls are made for the theories and models developed in Western cultural settings to be validated if not extended (Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002). With that in mind, this paper focuses on brand perceptions held by consumers in Kazakhstan, Poland and Ukraine. The paper offers a conceptualisation of Brand Local Integration (BLI), which is defined as consumer

perception of foreign brands' integration and commitment to local society derived through local manufacture and national/cultural appeals (language, symbols) integrated into a foreign brands' image. It develops a conceptual framework which identifies BLI as a possible moderator of COO-based brand evaluations by pro-ethnocentric consumers.

Theoretical Framework

Consumer ethnocentrism

The theory of consumer ethnocentrism focuses on consumers' favouritism of domestic produce over foreign (Wall & Heslop, 1986). The sociological concept of ethnocentrism refers to one's tendency to positively affiliate with one's own group and reject culturally dissimilar groups (Sumner, 1906). In consumption, ethnocentric tendencies result in a conscious preference for local produce based on emotional and moral considerations (Batra et al., 2000; Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Furthermore, research shows that ethnocentric consumers may favour products from their own country even if the quality is significantly lower than that of foreign products (Wall & Heslop, 1986). In their seminal paper, Shimp and Sharma (1987) conceptualise the strong positive in-group affiliation and belief in the morality of domestic consumption to support one's own economy and producers as two core dimensions of the consumer ethnocentrism construct. They posit that it "gives the individual a sense of identity, feeling of belongingness, and ... an understanding of what purchase behaviour is acceptable or unacceptable to the ingroup" (p.280). Subsequent studies adopt this conceptualisation, and the CETSCALE, a scale developed by Shimp and Sharma (1987) to measure consumer ethnocentrism within these two dimensions, remains one of the most widely accepted and validated consumer behaviour research instruments. The major advantage of the CETSCALE is that it captures how an individual's general consistent disposition of loyalty to their own national group and its members. Further, it relates

specifically to the marketing phenomena of that individual's tendency to avoid foreign products per se as an enactment of their loyalty (see Appendix 1 for a full list of the items included in CETSCALE). Studies of consumer ethnocentrism are closely intertwined with country-of-origin (COO) and domestic bias studies (Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2004; Batra et al., 2000). The next section provides a brief overview of COO literature and considers the implications of using COO cues in brand positioning of domestic and foreign brands.

Brand positioning using COO cues

Effective brand building entails an organisation achieving a match between two interrelated yet distinct dimensions: brand identity and brand image. Brand identity represents the strategic positioning efforts of an organisation that are designed to create particular desired perceptions of the brand by consumers (Keller, 2003; Nandan, 2005). Brand image refers to the "brand associations held in consumer memory" (Keller, 1993 p.3) that are derived from the brand positioning activities of a firm. Country-of-origin (COO) research posits that favourability of consumers' product evaluations and buying decisions are largely affected by beliefs held about the country/region the product is perceived to belong to (Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2008; Bilkey & Nes, 1982; Papadopoulos & Heslop, 2002). 'Belongingness' judgements are generated by COO cues such as brand name, visual imagery in advertising and 'made in' labelling (Alden, Steenkamp & Batra, 1999; Ettenson, 1993; Fournier, 1998; Leclerc, Schmitt & Dube, 1994; Mikhailitchenko, Javalgi, Mikhailitchenko & Laroche, 2009). These cues generate inferential cognitive, affective and normative attributes to brand image which are used by consumers as blueprints of product quality, self-actualisation, group affiliation and behavioural norms (Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999).

Favourable COO-based brand image perceptions stem from functional congruity and/or self-congruity. Functional congruity refers to the extent to which consumer perceptions of brands' performance characteristics (i.e. quality, taste etc) based on their origin match consumers' ideal expectations to these attributes within a product category (Sirgy & Johar, 1999; Sirgy et al., 1991). Self-congruity (also referred to as self-congruence) refers to the extent to which perceived brand image matches one's perception of the self-image and to which a brand enables consumers to act out their group affiliations (Appadurai, 1990). Individuals desire to maintain a positive self-image by identifying themselves with a group they would like to be associated with, and use group affiliations to delineate the meanings of 'who am I' and 'who am I not' and 'what is us' and 'what are others' (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Tajfel, 1974, 1978, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982; Hogg & Turner, 1985). Incongruence of COO cues integrated in brand identity with consumers' perceptions of self in terms of their country affiliations leads to negative brand image perception and brand aversion (Klein, 2002). Conversely, self-congruence with a brand's perceived COO can override rational evaluations of performance characteristics and create emotional brand attachment, thus positively affecting consumer response, such as brand loyalty, brand relationship quality and purchase motivation (Malar et al., 2011; Kressmann et al., 2006; Sirgy, 1985). Therefore, understanding the effect of the COO cues utilised in brand identity on functional and self-congruence elements of consumer brand image evaluations is one of the critical tasks organisations need to action in order to develop a successful branding strategy (Ghodeswar, 2008; Nandan, 2005; Alden et al., 1999).

The effects of consumer ethnocentrism

Extant research asserts that it is important for companies not to underestimate the effects of consumer ethnocentrism, since global integration of the marketplace is not co-

terminous with globalisation of consumption trends. Rather, marketplace globalisation leads to the emergence of diverse consumer segments that develop varying group affiliations and require differing branding approaches (Douglas & Craig, 2011; Craig & Douglas, 2006). Some aspire to identify themselves as members of the global village, thus being open to non-local (foreign and/or global) brands (Strizhakova et al., 2008; Steenkamp, 2003; Alden et al., 1999; Roth, 1995; Appadurai, 1990; Featherstone, 1990; Levitt, 1983). Others paradoxically react to a globalised homogenous marketplace in a 'backlash' manner and seek to differentiate their uniqueness by maintaining strong local identities. In seeking this differentiation, they harbour increasingly ethnocentric and nationalistic tendencies and selectively consuming local brands (Suh & Smith, 2008; Pecotich & Ward, 2007; Schuiling & Kapferer, 2004; Crane, 2002; Holt, 1997; Wilk, 1995). Eloquent in its simplicity is the "us versus everyone" definition of the consumer ethnocentrism phenomenon used by Klein (2002 p.346), which reflects the powerful effect of domestic country bias on consumption. That is, brands perceived as 'local' are preferred by consumers since they are regarded as 'our brands'. Conversely, brands perceived as foreign (non-local) are excluded from consumers' consideration sets since such brands are viewed as 'their brands', thus posing a threat to the domestic country's wellbeing (Supphellen & Gronhaug, 2003). Thus, the traditional view on the relationship between consumer ethnocentrism and COO-based branding approaches asserts that for organisations to successfully navigate diverse consumption trends in a given market the strategic choice between "using a global brand across markets" (Klein, 2002 p.345) or adopting 'local' branding strategy and respectively utilising 'local' COO cues becomes crucial (Amis & Silk, 2010; Javalgi et al., 2005; Balabanis & Diamantopoulos, 2004; Sharma et al., 1995). However, several recent studies note that marketplace environment drives complex changes to the very notion of the country-of-origin concept and necessitates multiple dimensions of COO cues to be integrated in brand identities (Insh &

McBride, 2004; Thakor & Lavack, 2003; Chao, 2001, 1993; Ulgado & Lee, 1993). These complexities are considered in detail below, with specific focus on the effects of companies diverting from 'purely local' or 'purely non-local' positioning approaches and integrating local COO cues with non-local COO cues on brand image perceptions of ethnocentric consumers.

The changing notion of the COO construct

In a state-of-the-art review, Pharr (2005) notes that drastic structural changes of international market operations and import regulations drives proliferation of hybrid brands that communicate multiple country affiliations. According to Douglas and Craig (2011), companies expand their manufacturing operations, acquire subsidiaries and/or engage in other forms of partnerships "on a global scale" (p.82). As a result of these complex corporate operations, many products are "designed in one country, manufactured in another and assembled in yet a third" (Lim & O'Cass, 2001 p.121), or are manufactured under the same brand name in a number of countries (Liefeld, 2004; Samiee, 1994). To reflect these changes and to differentiate between multiple elements of a products' origin, a construct of 'decomposed' COO has been introduced by researchers. These comprise several dimensions, namely: country-of-manufacture, COM; country-of-assembly, COA; country-of-parts, COP; country-of-design, COD; and country-of-brand-origin, COBO (Insch & McBride, 2004; Jaffe & Nebenzahl, 2006; Johansson, Douglas & Nonaka, 1985; Lim & O'Cass, 2001; Martin & Eroglu, 1993; Thakor & Kohli, 1996). For example, Balabanis and Diamantopoulos (2008) define brand origin as "the country in which headquarters of the company marketing the brand is located, regardless of where the brand in question is produced" (p.41). Their definition clearly distinguishes the COBO component, indicating that a brand's historic and corporate affiliation may differ from those of manufacture, assembly etc. Thus, the

conceptual view of the COO paradigm changed from COO as country-of-manufacture (Lee & Schaninger, 1996; Papadopoulos, 1993) to a more holistic view of COO effect as an ‘umbrella’ concept that integrates multiple facets of COO cues (i.e. COM, COA, COD, COP, COBO) that can be communicated by a brand to consumers. The later reference to the COO in this paper entails COO as a holistic term that refers to the origin element of consumer brand evaluations, with the particular dimensions being specified.

The complexity of the COO construct

Several studies have established that use of multiple COO cues affects functional congruence, i.e. consumer perceptions of product quality and credibility (Chao, 1998; Tse & Gorn, 1993). That is, when COBO and COM/COD are not congruent, favourability of the quality evaluations are strongly dependent on the overall perception of the manufacturing country image, as well as on the perceived expertise of the country that manufactures/designs other products in the particular category (Essoussi & Merunka, 2007; Hui & Zhou, 2003). Differing combinations of the COO dimensions that have been examined can be grouped into two categories:

- 1) studies that include multiple foreign COBO/COM/COD cues in their research design, i.e. consumers have been exposed to foreign cues only when evaluating brands (Toncar, 2008; Essoussi & Merunka, 2007; Hui & Zhou, 2003; Tse & Gorn, 1993; Tse & Lee, 1993); and
- 2) studies that include domestic and foreign COBO/COM/COD cues, i.e. consumers have been exposed to domestic and foreign cues when evaluating brands (Srinivasan, Jain, & Sikand, 2004; Inch & McBride, 2004; Chao, 2001, 1998, 1993; Lee & Bae, 1999; Lee & Ganesh, 1999). This paper focuses on the latter group.

Table 1 presents a brief summary of the studies that integrate varying combinations of foreign and domestic COO cues in their research design, detailing the dimensions of COO

cues used in each study and the dimensions of product/brand evaluations that were tested. It indicates that these studies test the effect of multiple COO cues either on overall product attitudes and/or purchase intention, or focus on functional dimensions of product evaluations such as reliability, quality, workmanship etc. Most importantly, apart from the study by Srinivasan et al. (2004), the studies listed in Table 1 do not include the variable of consumer ethnocentrism to account for domestic country bias effects (for clarity, these studies also do not include other domestic country bias constructs such as consumer nationalism or consumer patriotism). Functional congruity may indeed have prevailing influences on the favourability of brand image perceptions when consumers evaluate brands of foreign origin manufactured in a (different) foreign country. However, this may not necessarily be the case when consumers evaluate brands that include both foreign *and* domestic cues. If consumers evaluating a given brand harbour domestic country bias beliefs, favourability of their brand image perceptions may also be explained by the greater self-brand image congruence element achieved by domestic cues integrated into brand identity, since domestic cues evoke normative and affective connotations and appeal to the consumers' sense of local national identity (Supphellen & Rittenburg, 2001; Verlegh & Steenkamp, 1999). The self-congruence element of COO associations plays a central role in brand image evaluations of pro-ethnocentric consumers who favour brands communicating domestic affiliations even if evaluating their functional attributes, such as quality, as not significantly inferior and at times even inferior than that of foreign brands (Elliott & Cameron, 1994; Shimp & Sharma, 1987). The study by Srinivasan et al. (2004) established the positive effect of consumer ethnocentrism on brand origin perception, COM perception and product-specific image perception, although the significance of consumer ethnocentrism's impact on COM perceptions was only partially supported by the findings. Nevertheless, in light of these initial findings further investigations into the effects of consumer ethnocentrism on evaluations of

foreign brands integrating foreign COBO cues with domestic COM/COD/COA/COP cues may provide valuable insights for international branding research and practice.

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Global brands, local meanings

Further, the studies reviewed in Table 1 predominantly focus on the analysis of the COM/COD effects on brand evaluations. However, more recent studies indicate that brand positioning strategies used by foreign companies may also integrate cultural local appeals into a brand's identity (Alden et al., 1999, 2006). For example, language in labelling and advertising appeals (Fang, Jianyao, & Murphy, 2008; Verlegh, Steenkamp, & Meulenberg, 2005; Zhou & Belk, 2004); brand name (Zhang & Schmitt, 2001) and imagery (Mikhailitchenko et al., 2009), are all used to make a brand's image more relevant to the local cultural and consumption contexts and thus leverage brand equity. Such a blended approach to brand positioning has evolved in response to the recently emerged notion of a glocal consumer segment. One of the characteristics of glocal consumers is that they integrate goals of maintaining their unique local identities and of acquiring membership of the global community by interpreting the global consumption meanings into locally-unique meanings relevant to their given country (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; Kjeldgaard & Ostberg, 2007). From a brand building perspective, developing brand identities that communicate "a universal appeal while highlighting specific emphases for local markets" (Hsieh & Lindridge, 2005 p. 24) can be seen as a solution to creating brands that have consistent identities across several markets. Such an approach will allow for enhancing a company's multinational profile, and at the same time creating brands that appeal to consumers harbouring local affiliations.

However, one may question whether local affiliations of foreign brands may be blurring the boundaries between consumer readings of 'foreign' and 'domestic' elements of

brand identity, and thus leading to ambiguous brand ‘belongingness’ perceptions (Beverland & Lindgreen, 2002; Javalgi, Khare, Gross & Scherer, 2005; Kaynak & Kara, 2000). According to Zhou and Hui (2003), ‘domestication’ dilutes the meaning of ‘foreignness’ and diminishes the symbolic value assigned to global and other non-local brands by consumers in emerging markets. Yet ‘domestication’ of a foreign brand image may be providing non-local brands with a competitive advantage within the pro-ethnocentric consumer segment, since these consumers consider aversion of foreign produce as an act of loyalty to and support of their country. Thus, it is pertinent to advance our understanding of the manner in which dual foreign and domestic brand identity affiliations affect brand origin evaluations and brand image perceptions of pro-ethnocentric consumers. The relationships between the dimensions of domestic affiliations of foreign brands and consumer ethnocentrism are considered in the conceptual model of Brand Local Integration presented in the next section.

Conceptual Model of Brand Local Integration

All non-local brands introduced to a given market are evaluated by local consumers at the point of self-reference. However, different approaches to non-local brand positioning, i.e. whether the brand encompasses a ‘purely foreign’ identity or a ‘locally integrated’ identity (i.e. integrating foreign and domestic COO cues), may result in different readings of brand image by ethnocentric consumers. ‘Locally integrated’ brand positioning is not to be confused with ‘local’ brand positioning: as illustrated in the introduction, ‘locally integrated’ foreign brands do not re-brand completely. Rather, their positioning strategies incorporate a message of their connectedness with the local marketplace and culture. ‘Locally integrated’ brands are brands that are positioned as global or associated with a specific foreign country, while also integrating local affiliation into their image. When evaluating a foreign-perceived brand that appeals to one’s sense of national identity and supports local manufacture,

ethnocentric beliefs held by consumers may be in conflict. Given that local manufacture implies local jobs and contributions to the economy, the perception of the morality for such products' consumption may be viewed differently. Similarly, with the integration of symbolic local cues, foreign brand image may tap into the emotional affiliation of consumers with their own national in-group.

Therefore, it is conceptualised that favourability of foreign brands' image perceptions by ethnocentric consumers will be shaped by the perceived degree of brand integration with the local marketplace. Further, it is conceptualised that different dimensions 'localised' in the foreign brand image may influence ethnocentric consumers' perceptions differently. The conceptual model of brand local integration (BLI) in Figure 1 presents the proposed linkages between the two dimensions of consumer ethnocentrism, i.e. positive in-group affiliation and belief in the morality of domestic consumption, and dimensions of local COO appeals in the non-local brand image that may lead to positive brand attitudes, namely local elements of the manufacturing process (whether design, manufacture, assembly or parts) and local national/cultural affiliation communicated by foreign brands.

INSERT FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

Figure 1 illustrates that a foreign brand positioned as being strongly affiliated with a local marketplace through a locally-based manufacturing process and reference to national/cultural symbols in its brand positioning may transform consumer evaluations of its 'belongingness' from 'purely foreign' to 'locally integrated'. Two dimensions of local integration, local manufacture (in its broad sense, i.e. design, manufacture, assembly or parts) and national/cultural affiliation may influence consumers' brand evaluations. They hence have an impact on brand attitudes held by ethnocentric consumers, by providing emotional 'anchors' of the brand's integration with the local market and signalling commitment to this market's wellbeing. Therefore, the objectives of the empirical study are 1) to clarify what

COO meanings are assigned to non-local brands by consumers; and 2) to identify whether BLI (local appeals in foreign brands' images and locally-based manufacturing) positively influences the favourability of brand attitudes held by pro-ethnocentric consumers toward foreign-perceived brands.

Research design

Research context

In the view of the major study objectives a qualitative approach was adopted. Complex meanings and their thematic dimensions are best captured through a reflective dialogue rather than quantitative reporting of facts. Qualitative input is particularly vital in establishing adequacy of the key described variables and relationships when relevant extant research on the matter in question is scarce (Laurent, 2000). It can also provide researchers with data offering “an authentic insight into people's experiences” (Silverman, 1993). Data was collected across three Eastern European countries: Kazakhstan, Poland and Ukraine. The rationale to focus on these emerging markets is three-fold. First, consumers in developing markets have been shown to base their evaluations of non-local (or foreign) brands both on functional value (perceived quality) and the affective value of these brands as symbols of social status and modernity (Batra et al., 2000). Second, elements of these countries' local cultures (i.e. symbols, traditions, language, and writing systems) are distinctly different from the elements of Western cultural contexts. Given that established foreign brands that operate in several international markets are of Western origin, consumers are easily able to differentiate foreign and local appeals in brand images and advertising. Third, the body of knowledge on COO-based consumption behaviours is largely derived from studies conducted in a variety of Western countries, such as the USA, Canada and Western European countries.

Indeed, scholarly knowledge of consumer behaviour in the emerging markets is scarce, and although a handful of studies identify some significant differences (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006), several recent calls have been made for further investigations to provide a wider perspective (Broderick, Greenley, & Mueller, 2007; Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002). For example, Burgess and Steenkamp (2006) note that constructs that were not observed in the West, such as a construct of ubuntu (i.e. a spirit of kinship and consensus-based decision-making), may provide a greater explanatory power for both consumer and organisational decision-making. Dong and Tian (2009) also note that Chinese consumers' views of Western brands range from 'partners' to 'oppressors', and that these differences lead to different contexts of Western brands being used in asserting Chinese national identity. In particular, inadequate understanding of the differences in consumer behaviour in Eastern European markets poses challenges to successful branding strategies in these markets (Ettenson, 1993; Keller & Moorthi, 2003; Reardon et al., 2005; Supphellen & Gronhaug, 2003). However, many markets in Eastern Europe are becoming increasingly attractive for foreign businesses, especially given the fact that many Eastern European countries have seen encouraging signs of recovery from the global recession and growth of the GDP across the board (Buckley, 2010). Burgess and Steenkamp (2006) assert that in the context of emerging markets "data collection tasks using respondents' own vocabulary" (p.353) are particularly useful. Thus, in seeking to achieve the study's objective of investigating the in-depth meanings and perceptions held by consumers, Poland, Kazakhstan and Ukraine were selected as ideal countries for the study. Full comprehension of consumers' realities needs to incorporate their social contexts, existing independently from their experiences captured by the data and ontologically preceding the actions of the researcher and the respondents (Crouch and McKenzie, 2006). Four members of the research team are native speakers of the languages commonly spoken in the countries of study. Specifically, one researcher is a native Russian

speaker (Russian is the language spoken in Kazakhstan); two researchers are native Polish speakers and one researcher is a native Ukrainian speaker. This ensured maximum contextualisation of the data collection in each market and understanding of the emerged meanings. Each of the researchers' personal knowledge as a member of the particular society, and sensitivity to issues relevant to the project, were used as important research resources (Phillips, 1971).

Research approach

The study design followed Berry's (1979) derived etic approach, which recommends that for cross-cultural data to be comparable and transferrable studies must be structured at two levels. First, a single culture (emic) study should seek to collect data from independent cross-cultural samples, and second, a transcultural (etic) study should compare and integrate the results into a valid framework. A programme of focus groups and in-depth interviews established consumption attitudes, perceptions and relationships of consumers with various brands of beer (in Poland) and chocolate (in Kazakhstan and Ukraine). Food and food consumption is an integrative component of culture and cultural rituals (Brownlie, Hower, & Horne, 2005; Khare & Inman, 2006; Marshall, 2005), acts as "a carrier of cultural symbols" (Kniazeva and Venkatesh 2007, p.421) and enables de-construction of identity (Fonseca, 2008; Laroche, Kim, & Tomiuk, 1998; Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991). The selection of the product categories was based on symbolism of the products as elements of local material culture. Chocolate is regarded by consumers in Kazakhstan and Ukraine as an important element of cultural traditions such as celebrations, family occasions and gift-giving (*Kazakhstan Social Overview*, 2008; Serajiyeva, 2004). Alcohol remains an important element of Polish identity both within the country and abroad (Kubacki & Skinner, 2006), and beer has over the last twenty years come to be the most popular type of alcohol

consumed, especially among the younger generation (Siemieniako *et al.*, 2011). Therefore, exploration of consumer perceptions of beer and chocolate brands are sought to elicit consumer interpretations of the meanings 'foreign' and 'local' in relation to brands. Further, the research investigates whether the cultural meanings communicated by foreign brands that integrate local appeals are perceived by pro-ethnocentric consumers as more congruent with their national identity and therefore regarded more favourably.

Participants

Although a convenience sample was used, the research aims to demonstrate the richness of propositions rather than verify them. Therefore, sampling initially focused on respondents who were available to the researchers and were able to provide early information (Goulding, 2005). According to Strauss and Corbin (1998), convenience sampling offers certain advantages. Research involving three Eastern European countries is rare, and when it aims to indicate rather than conclude, convenience sampling gives a unique opportunity to explore the theories and models developed in Western cultural settings in emerging markets (Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002). In order to reach saturation level that is satisfactory for a cross-cultural project, focus groups in Kazakhstan and Poland met on two occasions, while in Ukraine a sufficient number of interviews was conducted to reach the point where no relevant new data could be collected (*ibid.*). The data collection was not driven by the need to identify differences between representative samples from each country, but to identify similarities among respondents. All Polish data was collected on a university campus in Poland from a sample of 10 university students. Two focus groups were established, one consisting of four males and one consisting of six females (all aged between 22 and 23). Each group met on two occasions, three weeks apart. In Kazakhstan the data was collected from a sample of university lecturers and students. A workshop discussion was conducted, whereby the sample

consisted of 16 participants (seven males and nine females, all aged between 15 and 65). The group met on two occasions, two weeks apart. In Ukraine, in-depth interviews were carried out with nine participants (aged between 18 and 70). As convenience samples were used, the age ranges of participants were relatively diverse. Research design protocols for cross-cultural research emphasise the importance of measurement equivalence across samples (Belk, 2006; Malhotra, 1996). The decision to adopt differing data collection methods (focus groups and in-depth interviews) is explained by the Ukrainian participants' unfamiliarity with and unwillingness to participate in group discussions. Since the objectives of the research were to obtain initial insights into the phenomenon it was decided that on an emic level it is important to ensure respondents participate in the discussion in accordance with their cultural beliefs. To minimise the effects of measurement non-equivalence across samples, the in-depth interviews followed the same protocol as the focus group (e.g., guideline questions, probing), which gave the researchers the opportunity to adapt the dialogue with respondents to their individual answers (Patton 1990), and the same data analysis method was used for uncovering themes.

Research procedure

Both data collection methods aimed to elicit major themes rather than generalisable data. In accordance with the research objectives, what was sought was not a typical person's experience, but rather variants of a particular phenomena and meanings, feelings and attitudes emerging from it. Therefore, we argue, our respondents were instances of states which were of interest to the researchers, not representatives of certain general properties. In earlier research attempting to compare the use of in-depth interviews and focus groups to explore the same market research problems, Stokes and Bergin (2006) observed significant similarities of results between the two methods, even across two different product categories and different

respondents. However, it is accepted that some responses may be affected by differing data collection methods: the responses obtained in focus groups may be subject to social desirability issues.

Participants were asked to discuss brands within the selected product category (chocolate or beer) and identify preferred brands, and were asked to categorise them into 'foreign' and 'local' groups and offer their reasons for categorisation and favourable perceptions. Since the study aimed to investigate whether perceptions of 'locally integrated' foreign brands differ from brands with a 'purely foreign' identity, and whether these differences are linked to one's tendency to enact support of one's own nation and economy through consumption, some probing questions based on CETSCALE statements were incorporated into the discussion. The discussion then evolved around the topics of ethnocentrism and participants' COO-based brand perceptions and preferences. The interviews and discussions lasted between 60 and 90 minutes and were transcribed verbatim. The analysis followed grounded theory protocols put forward in their original, flexible mode by Glaser and Strauss (1967). It aimed to explore themes of 'foreign' and 'local' meanings assigned by consumers to brands and influence of BLI on brand favourability attitudes.

Data analysis

Consistent with the research approach, the findings for the different countries were first analysed separately, marking relevant passages in each transcript and reducing the data to transcripts which contained only information relevant to the research questions (Krueger and Casey 2000). Subsequently, the reduced transcripts were combined to contrast the findings across countries and ensure the results' comparability. The analysis followed a combination of meaning categorisation and meaning condensation approaches (Kvale, 1996). Meaning categorisation entails coding data into categories, while meaning condensation

encompasses the reduction of large volumes of textual data into briefer statements. The coding was completed in several steps, based on the methods outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967) for qualitative research analysis, and focusing rather on “what things 'exist' than determin[ing] how many such things there are” (Walker, 1985). Consistent with the research approach, some structure was set based on prior assumptions to explore perceptions of brands within conceptualised BLI dimensions, but evolving themes were free to emerge. Relevant literature was consulted throughout the data collection, following the iterative process emphasised by Goulding (2005).

Findings and discussion

The following sections present and discuss the themes emerging from our data. The purpose of the analysis was to investigate the underlying evaluations of ‘locally integrated’ brand identities and to provide insights into what ‘locally integrated’ dimensions of foreign brands’ identities may influence positive brand image readings by pro-ethnocentric consumers. Table 2 presents a summary of the major themes that emerged from our analysis and some illustrations; the findings for each theme are also discussed in the sections below. The first section focuses on the issues related to attitudes toward foreign ownership; the second explores the dimension of local elements of the manufacturing process; the third completes our analysis by considering findings on consumer perceptions of foreign brand integration with local cultures through local cultural appeals integrated into brand identity. We conclude with a brief general discussion of consumer views on ‘foreignness-localness’ balance in foreign brands’ identities.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Foreign Ownership

Traditionally, consumer ethnocentrism focuses on one's belief in the morality of consuming domestic brands to support local producers (Shimp & Sharma, 1987). Interestingly, although Kazakhstan, Poland and Ukraine differ significantly in terms of their cultural and economic backgrounds, foreign ownership was considered irrelevant for favourable/unfavourable brand evaluations by all our respondents in all three countries. Respondents unanimously agreed that in the majority of situations local companies would collapse without foreign investment, causing severe economic consequences and potential social problems such as rising unemployment. Typical were opinions like the one expressed by a Polish respondent:

I don't mind Polish companies being taken over by foreign [ones], it doesn't mean we are the victims here because somebody else has the right to make decisions about the company or because we lose chunks of the profits, I think this is rather a consequence of a poor condition of that company. I think it means that if a company is struggling it either disappears or it's taken over by a foreign investor.

The key aspect for respondents was rather the contribution that foreign owners were making to local brands, communities and society as a whole. Some of the most frequently discussed forms of contribution were financial investment into local companies, modernised technology, improved and updated visual presentation of old brands and increased levels of competition in the market leading to higher quality of local products, with the foreign-owned brands being viewed as acting as benchmarks for locally-owned brands. Most of the respondents seemed fairly clear that they would rather see the benefits of foreign ownership and better products than "locals get[ting] rich [...] just on the grounds of being local". In particular, respondents in Kazakhstan and Ukraine also argued that foreign companies offered

local manufacturers, who often take their customers for granted, valuable lessons in competing in a free market economy, and in customer service. Their foreign owners often made people feel proud again about their old brands:

It is good to have foreign companies in Ukraine because they bring money and knowledge – know-how, do you understand? Before all our goods were packaged so that sometimes it was not pleasant to buy them but now I am proud of the fact that our companies can present themselves equally nice (P1, Ukraine).

It is good to have competition – it keeps ours [companies] on their toes. Look at Konfety Karagandy [local chocolate manufacturer in Kazakhstan]: until the foreigners bought it they were almost dying but look at them now – a lot of people are back at work, salaries are paid, everyone benefits. As long as local people are respected and treated well it does not matter to me who owns the place (P1, Kazakhstan).

Economic Integration

Respondents balanced their positive views toward foreign ownership with the importance of foreign brands' support of the local economy through provision of new employment opportunities for local people, regularly paid salaries, and support of local manufacturing expertise through the use of local ingredients (such as water) and recipes. In particular, the use of local ingredients and recipes appeared to be important to respondents both as a sign of brands' efforts to improve their quality to match the local expectations and also as a sign of respect for the uniqueness and understanding of local traditions:

[A brand] must be made by a Polish brewery, with Polish water, from [a] Polish recipe (P3, Poland).

A foreign brand's effort to support local manufacture and maintain local traditions has been viewed as a crucial element that transformed the perception of the brand from 'theirs' to 'ours'. For example, when considering the well-known beer brand Carlsberg, Polish consumers have projected positive ethnocentric tendencies toward it, as "it is different in Poland, more made like ours, more Polish" (P2, Poland). Similarly, consumers in Kazakhstan projected positive ethnocentric tendencies toward foreign chocolate brands that "are becoming part of our country: they understand our tastes and who we are; they don't expect us to become them" (P3, Kazakhstan). In seeking to understand the underlying drivers of the shift in respondents' evaluations of these foreign brands to 'more like ours' it was useful to explore the aspect of foreign brands' integration with local culture in-depth.

Cultural Integration

It became clear that respondents' evaluations were dominated by considerations of whether the foreign brand identity embraces the values of the domestic culture and tradition. They wanted to see the brand embracing local elements in its character and physicality (i.e. use of locally-significant images, symbols and textual appeals) as a symbol of respect for local heritage:

...it's about image. The image of Żywiec is based on our mountain, our mineral water, it's even in the adverts. Warka for example means the place [town] where it is produced, doesn't it? (P1, Poland).

I like that they [foreign owners of Konfety Karagandy] kept the [brand] name. It shows... you know... respect (P2, Kazakhstan).

In essence, it appeared that while respondents view the development of the local economy and preservation of local cultural traditions as being fundamental for their country and personal wellbeing, their attitudes to foreign brands were dependent on the brands' appreciation of this notion rather than on the brands' origin. Put simply, foreign brands are no longer being judged either negatively or positively on the basis of their 'foreignness' only. After the collapse of the Iron Curtain, Western brands that entered Central and Eastern European markets immediately became popular with local consumers (Cunliffe, 1995; de Abreu Filho, Calicchio, & Lunardini, 2003). However, nearly twenty years later local tastes have changed: a completely new generation of consumers grew up with foreign brands as an integral element of their commercial landscape. Respondents seemed to argue that their relationship with and judgement of foreign brands evolved and matured over time, moving from a straightforward categorisation of 'foreign brand equals alien brand' or 'foreign brand equals quality and status' to more sophisticated evaluations based on expectations as to how a foreign brand approaches its relationship with a consumers' country.

When foreign goods only [just] started to appear they were [a] novelty, it was cool to have something different from what we were used to. But now 'foreign' does not equal 'better'. We tried things, compared things and realised that our recipes and tastes are good too (P3, Kazakhstan).

As consumers evolve, learning from the market and changing their consumption habits, those brands that follow them are kept in high esteem. Respondents tend to believe that they have

already learned about higher product standards, and foreign companies need to adjust to their local tastes to win them over.

Ukrainian cuisine is very special. I think that our products suit us better just for health reasons. So I always pay attention to whether the goods are produced to our traditional recipes. But in a way I think foreign companies keep up with our recipes better than local [ones] – they just have systems in place that make sure about it. They are not silly, if they want to sell their goods here, they will adapt to our tastes (P2, Ukraine).

Based on these new expectations, the foreign brands that attracted the most positive comments from respondents were those that managed, whilst keeping their identity, to successfully incorporate the crucial elements of a local brand's identity into their brand management tools. These elements often symbolise the connection between consumers and their national culture, region, or even personal life:

I like Nestle because it shows that it understands how we like our chocolate and when we have it. They use the names [of sub-brands] that are close to me, for example Rodnye Prostory [Home Space] (P4, Kazakhstan).

Like with Żubr [brand of beer], they took that ordinary bison, put some slogans, it really shows our region, [its] marketing is more visible, at first glance at least (P5, Poland).

In sum, the comments made by our respondents indicated that brand identity readings of foreign-perceived brands (whether local brands taken over by foreign owners or purely-

foreign brands) by consumers that are strongly attached to their local culture are dependent on the perceived level of foreign brands' appreciation of and commitment to consumers' sense of national and regional identity, pride and concern for national/regional wellbeing.

The following statement captures very well our respondents' expectations towards foreign brands.

What is important to me is what the brand wants to seem like. Like a person should be well read and broadly educated, the brand needs to be the same: if it is local it should show that it is learning from [the] outside world; if it is foreign it should show that it is learning from being here. We have a good saying: 'you do not come to another monastery with your own set of rules'. You know what I mean? (P2, Ukraine).

This result can be referred to another COO-based local brand favouritism construct – consumer patriotism. Consumer patriotism is informed by an individual's strong emotional attachment to their own country (Druckman, 1994; Feshbach, 1990; Han, 1988), unlike consumer ethnocentrism (Shimp & Sharma, 1987) whereby positive affiliation with the in-group is combined with derogation of out-groups. However, both ethnocentrism and patriotism result in one's favouritism of local-perceived brands. Our findings demonstrate that local national/cultural affiliation communicated by foreign-perceived brands may also appeal to consumers strongly affiliated with the in-group. This may have particularly important strategic implications in countries with a strong sense of national identity, such as emerging markets of Eastern Europe and BRIC economies (Kapferer, 2004).

The presented findings confirm that product emotional favouritism based on brands' COO remains. However, it appears that the evolving global economic environment and

operational structures shape the meaning of ‘local’ and ‘foreign’ assigned by individuals to consumer goods. Thus, although projecting pro-ethnocentric tendencies, some consumers may also project similar ‘favourable’ attitudes to foreign-perceived brands that demonstrate their commitment to a particular locale, i.e. brand local integration. Respondents favoured foreign brands that are known to contribute to the local economy and societal wellbeing. This knowledge informed perceptions of respect and acceptance of consumers’ cultural heritage and consumption traditions through preservation or careful following of local recipes, use of local ingredients and integration of local symbols in communication appeals (brand/sub-brand name, images). While these elements may be categorised under the conceptually derived dimensions of brand local integration (local manufacture and national/cultural affiliation), thus supporting conceptualisation of BLI influencing COO-based bias, they represent a broader range of distinct evaluation criteria. Therefore, further research is needed to clarify the dimensionality of the BLI construct.

Conclusions and implications

This paper contributes to extant knowledge by presenting some initial insights into the evolving nature of COO-based product bias, and proposes conceptual linkages between consumer ethnocentrism and favourable perceptions of foreign brands integrating local image appeals, particularly in emerging markets. The paper proposes the construct of Brand Local Integration (BLI), defined as economic and cultural integration communicated through local manufacturing and symbolic cultural appeals in foreign brands’ identity and advertising. The construct informs COO research by accounting for the effects of domestic country bias in evaluation of hybrid brands that integrate foreign (or global) and local appeals into their image. The developed conceptual framework proposes the moderating affect of BLI on COO-based product evaluations of pro-ethnocentric consumers.

The findings suggest that, similarly to domestic brands, consumers in Kazakhstan, Poland and Ukraine tend to favour foreign brands that are perceived to be integrating with their societies either through local manufacturing, nurturing local recipes and traditions and/or incorporating national cues into their image. The findings indicate that globalisation not only leads to wider internationalisation of markets. Also, it results in consumers developing favourable COO-based attitudes toward foreign brands which, although maintaining their identity of a foreign or global origin, emphasise the value of their ‘local connection’ with domestic culture, traditions and concern for the domestic society’s well-being. The paper draws on two streams of research, multiple COO cues effects (Chao, 1998; Han & Terpstra, 1988; Tse & Gorn, 1993) and glocalisation (Alden et al., 2006; Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006; Kjeldgaard & Ostberg, 2007). It explains how multiple foreign (or global) and local cues can be operationalised in brand positioning to elicit favourable consumer perceptions of brands’ meanings. Simply put, while glocalisation literature focuses on *what* strategies need to be developed, this paper offers a distinct contribution to the debate on *how* these strategies can be developed effectively. In other words, brand local integration brings a new perspective to consumers’ understandings of ‘localness’ or ‘foreignness’ of brands. The importance of developing a fuller understanding of ‘brand belongingness’ discourse is reflected in recent research, as perceptions of branded products can both fuel confrontation between groups within and across nations and resolve these differences (Cayla & Arnould, 2008; Cherrier, 2009; Strizhakova, Coulter, & Price, 2008). From a managerial perspective, developing a detailed understanding of what elements of local appeals in foreign brands’ image have the most significant impact on BLI may assist in the development of positioning strategies that will 1) maintain the brand image consistency of an international brand; 2) evoke affective domestic bias favouritism in consumers; and 3) provide a competitive advantage in markets where ethnocentric tendencies are strong.

This research is limited by the samples used and the cultural contexts of our enquiry. More research is needed to uncover potential influences on favourable consumer perceptions of foreign brands. For example, a study by Balabanis and Diamantopoulos (2004) conducted across eight product categories concludes that the link between consumer ethnocentrism and consumer product preferences is inconsistent, and suggests that consumer ethnocentrism cannot always be a reliable predictor of consumer negative perceptions of foreign goods. While Balabanis and Diamantopoulos (2004) do not specify types of COO appeals of the brands included in their enquiry, BLI can be one potential explanation for the inconsistency of the favourable/unfavourable perceptions of foreign brands uncovered in their study. Therefore, it would be of interest to empirically test the relationships between BLI and consumer ethnocentrism and to explore the BLI effect across several product categories. Also, the presented findings are derived from conceptualisations that apply theories and research instruments developed in Western markets (Burgess & Steenkamp, 2006; Steenkamp & Burgess, 2002). Further research is needed to investigate consumer COO-based product bias in emerging economies and to explore whether Western consumer brand attitudes and ethnocentric tendencies are moderated by BLI. Indeed, the opinions of our respondents may well be explained by the fact that industries in all these countries have gone through very tough economic times after the demise of the centrally controlled Eastern bloc economy. However, the global economic crisis caused many brands and manufacturers in developed countries to undergo a series of takeovers, where new owners have significantly changed brand identity. For example, UK banks such as Alliance & Leicester and Abbey National have recently been taken over by Spanish company Santander, which has re-branded the whole bank 'Santander'. Therefore, further research will shed light on whether brand attitudes of Western consumers change with changing ownership structures and possible re-branding.

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Table 1. Summary analysis of studies that integrate multiple (foreign and domestic) dimensions of COO cues

Study	COO dimensions included in study design	Country/countries of the study	Dimensions of product evaluations tested	Ethnocentrism effect tested?
Chao (1993)	COBO cues (through brand name & origin presented): Taiwan Manipulated COA cues: Taiwan, Thailand, Mexico Manipulated COD cues: USA, Japan	USA (Midwest)	Workmanship; Reliability; Durability; Quality	-
Ulgado and Lee (1993)	COBO cues (through brand names presented to study participants): USA, Japan* COM: UK, Mexico, Germany, Taiwan	USA (not clearly indicated)	Brand name (favourable vs unfavourable) / COM (favourable vs unfavourable)	-
Chao (1998)	COBO cues (through brand name presented to study participants): USA* Manipulated COA: USA, Mexico Manipulated: COD: USA, Mexico Manipulated COP: USA, Mexico	USA	Workmanship; Reliability; Durability; Quality	-
Lee and Bae (1999)	COBO cues (through brand names presented to study participants): USA, Japan, South Korea, China** Manipulated COM: USA, Japan, South Korea, China	USA (Southwest)	Reliability; Workmanship; Longevity; Style; Performance (same dimensions used to test Brand Image & COM Product Image evaluations);	-

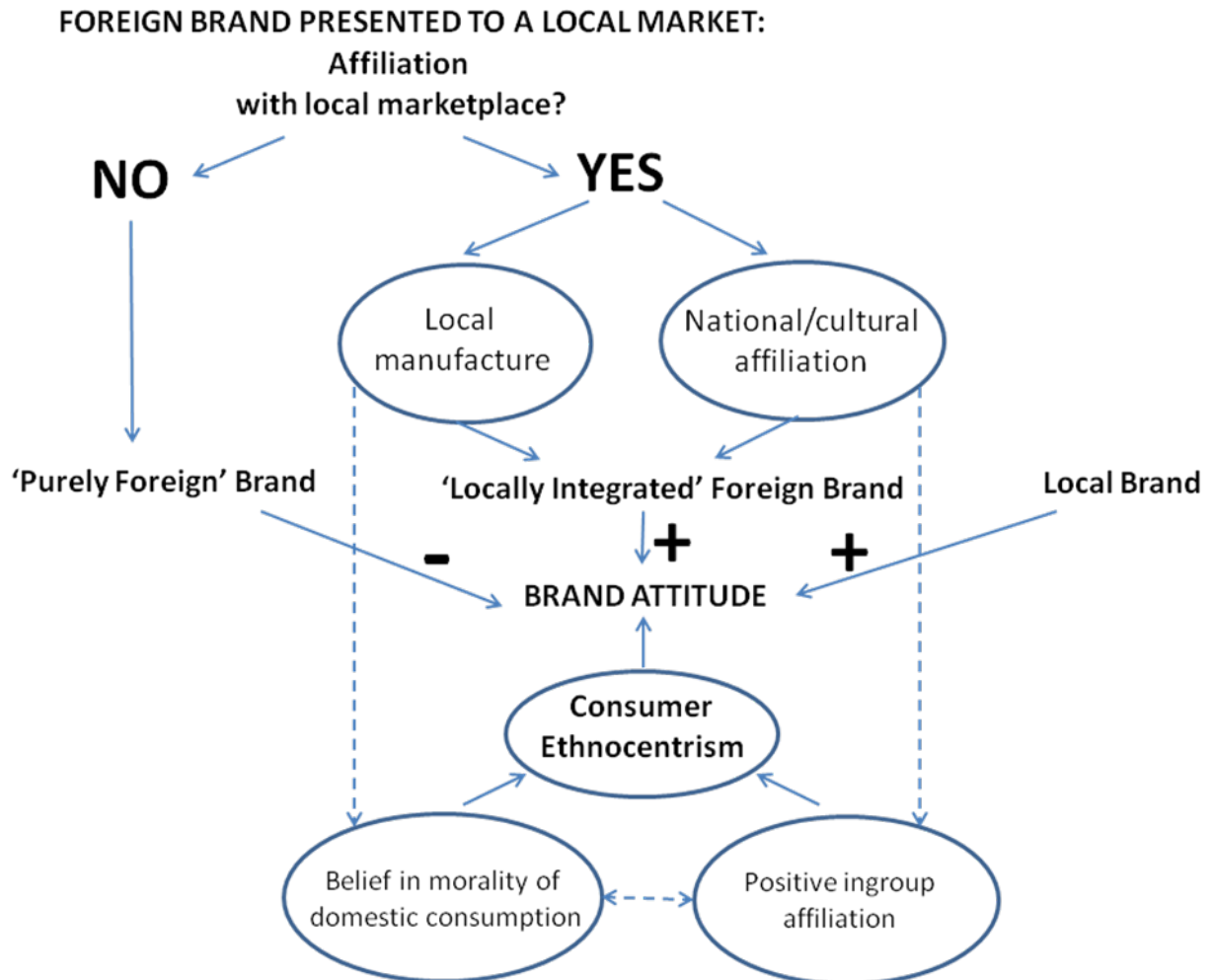
Lee and Ganesh (1999)	COBO (through brand names presented to study participants): USA, Japan** Manipulated COM: Canada, Mexico	USA	Country-of-manufacture image perception; Attitude to product made in the manipulated COM; Attitude to specific brand; Evaluation of bi-national brand	-
Chao (2001)	COBO cues (through brand name presented to study participants): USA* Manipulated COA: USA, Mexico Manipulated: COD: USA, Mexico Manipulated COP: USA, Mexico	USA	Attitude to product; Purchase Intension	
Insch and McBride (2004)	Manipulated COD: USA, Mexico, Japan Manipulated COA: USA, Mexico, Japan Manipulated COP: USA, Mexico, Japan (Fictitious brands used in study design, COBO purposefully excluded)	USA, Mexico	Design quality; Manufacturing quality; Other quality (e.g., consumer's past experiences for example); Overall product quality	-
Srinivasan, Jain, & Sikand, (2004)	Manipulated COBO (Branding country): US, Japan Manipulated COM (Manufacturing country): US, Japan, Mexico, Malaysia	USA	Technology; Prestige; Service; Workmanship; Economy; Overall rating; Purchase likelihood	X

Table 2. Summary of the perceptions of COO-based dimensions in ‘locally integrated’ foreign brands’ identities

Summary Category	Subcategories	Illustrations		
		Ukraine	Poland	Kazakhstan
Foreign ownership	- Investment	<i>“Foreign companies... bring money and knowledge – know-how”; “[foreign investment] shows that we are now in the market economy” [P1; P2]</i>	<i>“[foreign investors]...invest that capital on the Polish market, improve our companies”; “Foreign companies invest a lot of money in Polish breweries, modernise technology” [P1, P3]</i>	<i>“almost does not matter who owns”; “does not matter to me who owns the place” [P1; P2]</i>
	- Positive influence on local competition (acting as benchmarks)	<i>“...I am proud of the fact that our companies can present themselves equally nice” [P1]</i>		<i>“Good to have competition”; “After foreign products appeared in our shops our companies started improving” [P1, P2]</i>
Economic integration	- Employment of local people		<i>“employ more people” [P3];</i>	<i>“...a lot of people are back to work, salaries are paid, ...local people are respected and treated well” [P1]</i>
	- Elements of local manufacturing (local manufacturing, i.e. ‘made in’; use of local ingredients and recipes)	<i>“foreign companies keep up with our recipes...I always pay attention to whether the goods are produced to our traditional recipes” [P2]</i>	<i>“[brands made in Poland but with a foreign name] are equally Polish...they are made in Poland according to some kind of recipe”; “more made like ours, more Polish”; “It’s</i>	<i>“we...realised that our recipes...are good too” [P3]</i>

			<i>all about the recipe... made in Poland and using Polish recipe, Polish ingredients” [P2, P3, P8]</i>	
Cultural integration	- Use of local symbols and images and appeals	<i>“...remind me of my best memories of my country” [P3]</i>	<i>“they took that ordinary bison...it really shows our region”; “it’s about image. The image of Żywiec is based on our mountain, our mineral water, it’s even in adverts...” [P5; P1]</i>	<i>“They use the names (of sub-brands) that are close to me”; “...it is important for brands to show that they are becoming part of our country”; [P4; P3]</i>
	- Understanding and championship of local traditions and tastes		<i>“...the most important thing is...respect our products, those that we like” [P4]</i>	<i>“...it is important for brands to show that they are becoming part of our country”; “...understand our tastes and what we are; they don’t expect us to become them” “...understands how we like our chocolate and when we have it” [P3; P4]</i>

Figure 1. Relationship between Brand Local Integration and Consumer Ethnocentrism



List of CETSCALE items (Shimp and Sharma, 1987 p.281)

CETSCALE Item
American people should always buy American products instead of imports.
Only those products that are unavailable in the USA should be imported.
Buy American-made products. Keep America working.
American products, first, last and foremost.
Purchasing foreign-made products is un-American.
It is not right to purchase foreign products.
A real American should always buy American-made products.
We should purchase products manufactured in America instead of letting other countries get rich off us.
It is always best to purchase American products.
There should be very little trading or purchasing of goods from other countries unless out of necessity.
Americans should not buy foreign products, because this hurts American business and causes unemployment.
Curbs should be put on all imports.
It may cost me in the long run but I prefer to support American products.
Foreigners should not be allowed to put their products on our markets.
Foreign products should be taxed heavily to reduce their entry into the USA.
We should buy from foreign countries only those products that we cannot obtain within our own country.
American consumers who purchase products made in other countries are responsible for putting their fellow Americans out of work.