

Branded Products as a Passport to Global Citizenship: Perspectives from Developed and Developing Countries

This article focuses on belief in brands as a passport to global citizenship, defined as a person's perception that global brands create an imagined global identity. The authors assess the effects of this belief on the importance consumers assign to branded products and also examine the antecedent effects of cultural openness and consumer ethnocentrism. Their work focuses on the global youth market in the developing countries of Romania, Ukraine, and Russia and the developed U.S. market. The findings contribute to a broadened understanding of branding in a global marketplace by examining the associations between beliefs about global brands and the importance consumers attach to branded products in their daily lives.

Globalization processes have given rise to the notion of global brands as attractive assets to corporations and their managers. The global brand appeal has been linked to their ability to provide economies of scales and scope in manufacturing, research and development, and marketing (Kapferer 2001; Roth 1992; Yip 1995) and to endorse higher levels of brand equity (Kapferer 1997; Shocker, Srivastava, and Ruekert 1994). The allure of the global brand becomes even more promising as developments in telecommunications and technologies bring the world together and break down traditional national borders as signals of cultural identification. Global mediascapes and the Internet shape marketing segmentation strategies, such that international consumer segments can be identified and marketed to in a similar way worldwide (Steenkamp and Hofstede 2002). Since 2000, *BusinessWeek* has identified the top 100 global brands annually, and indeed, Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra (1999) find that approximately 22% of advertisements across seven developed and developing countries employed a global culture positioning strategy.

Some researchers have argued that managers should not be too enthusiastic about global brands because consumers do not really have any intrinsic motives for preferring global brands (De Mooij 1998). For example, Friesen (2003, p. 22) maintains that though the globalization of information and knowledge is a reality, the globalization of trade is "mostly a state of mind." Furthermore, Martin (2006) explains that frequently negative attitudes toward globalization and global brands stem from the fear of eradication of local cultures and imposition of pro-Western values by capitalistic multinational corporations. However, recent research has indicated that global brands can reinvigorate local cultures. For example, Anholt (2003) suggests that branding techniques developed by global corporations can be useful empowerment tools for poorer

ABSTRACT

Keywords: global branding, involvement, ethnocentrism, cultural openness, Eastern Europe

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nations because they can (1) build up their own successful brands (e.g., Lenovo) and (2) successfully rebrand their own nations (e.g., the image of Brazil and the global success of the Reef Brazil beachwear brand) by taking the best from global brand examples.

At the consumer level, global brands may create a belief in a person's association with and participation in this global village. Appadurai (1990, p. 299) argues that the potential for global brands to engender preference and transform meaning and practice in relationship to brands may depend on whether consumers believe global brands will enable them to "act out imagined or real participation in the more cosmopolitan global consumer culture communicated by the media" (see also Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999; Askegaard 2006). Holt, Quelch, and Taylor (2004, p. 71) posit that "global brands create an imagined global identity that [the consumer] shares with like-minded people." To embrace this belief is to view global brands as a vehicle for participation and citizenship in a global world (Holt, Quelch, and Taylor 2004), as a pathway for belonging, or as the opportunity to acquire and demonstrate participation in an aspired-to global consumer culture (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999; Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003). Holt, Quelch, and Taylor (2004) suggest that approximately 12% of consumers in 12 countries prefer global brands as a path to global citizenship, but Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden (2003) find that among U.S. and Korean household shoppers, the belongingness pathway does not explain much variance in global brand preference.

The primary goal of the current study is to explicate the construct of consumer belief in branded products as a passport to global citizenship (hereinafter referred to as belief in global citizenship) and to assess its effects on the importance consumers assign to branded products in developing and developed cultures. Although consumers in the developed markets have been using brands as consumption cues for more than a century (Holt 2002), consumers in developing markets only recently have been exposed to branding and may rely on a greater array of cues beyond branding in their consumption (Coulter, Price, and Feick 2003; Marinov et al. 2001). The developing marketplace is complicated further by an abundance of counterfeit brands, unbranded products, and a generally more volatile environment (EUBusiness 2006; U.S. Commercial Service 2004, 2006). As such, consumers in these markets may see value in brands as consumption cues but not necessarily exhibit brand loyalty or high levels of ownership of such branded products.

Research suggests that several factors, such as brand quality, brand prestige, and consumer ethnocentrism (CET) (Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003), can influence effects of belief in branded products as a passport to global citizenship. With our focus on the importance of branded products and not specific brands, we consider two individual difference variables—cultural openness and CET—that are important in shaping consumers' responses to products as well as in determining preferences for foreign and local brands (Crane 2002; Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995; Shimp and Sharma 1987; Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003). In this research, we consider the global youth market, which is more likely to endorse global belongingness, assign similar brand meanings, and be subject to

fewer extraneous biases (e.g., income) than older population segments. This youth segment numbers in the hundreds of millions (Hamm 2007) and therefore is of particular interest to managers of multinational firms.

In the following section, we draw on multiparadigmatic research to consider the relationships among consumers' belief in global citizenship, the importance of branded products, cultural openness, and CET. We take an adapted etic approach (Burgess and Steenkamp 2006; Douglas and Craig 2006), drawing on research on branded products, globalization, and consumer culture as it relates to developed and emerging markets, as well as the depth interviews reported herein. Some constructs in our research (e.g., ethnocentrism) have been studied extensively across multiple cultures, samples, and methodologies, whereas others (e.g., belief in global citizenship) have been restricted to just a few contexts and methods. Thus, we develop general hypotheses related to our variables of interest and explicit cross-cultural comparisons when sufficient theoretical and empirical work warrant. We test our expectations using surveys of global youths in one developed economy (the United States) and three developing economies (Romania, Russia, and Ukraine), where young, typically urban consumers drive brand growth and expansion (*The Financial Times* 2007). Importantly, our work directly contributes to a broadened understanding of branding in a global marketplace by examining associations between attitudes or beliefs about global brands and the importance consumers attach to branded products in their daily lives.

Brands and the branding discourse are among the most significant ideoscapes of globalization (Askegaard 2006), and belief in global citizenship and the importance of branded products are two concepts critical to the branding discourse. The notion of belief in global citizenship—that is, the belief that global brands create an imagined global identity that a person shares with like-minded people—is evident in several streams of research. Theory and ethnographic research posit that global brands have essentialized brand language as a dominant communicative form (Wenger 2000; Wilk 1995). More specifically, global brands and their meaning universes initiate new value systems that promote brands as a hegemonic vehicle of diversity. Brands become a widely accepted and intelligible way of communicating a potentially infinite number of corporate, product, and consumer identities (Askegaard 2006; Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998; Kjeldgaard and Ostberg 2007; Thompson and Arsel 2004; Wilk 1995). Global brands, with their powerful image-generating mediascapes, profoundly transform economic and social activities such that they become the ideological basis for new meaning systems, practices, and identity forms (Appadurai 1990; Miller 1998). Accordingly, global brands do not necessarily create homogenization, as some have argued (Ritzer 1993, 1998), but rather may create transnational communities bonded through their common reference to global brands (Beck 2000).

In developed markets such as the United States, branding has been popularized and strategically integrated in marketing campaigns for decades, and the importance of branded products is well documented (Fournier 1998; Holt 2002). Recent work also has acknowl-

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Belief in Global Citizenship and Branded Product Importance

edged the importance of branded products in both developing and developed markets, documenting that consumers exhibit complex patterns of consumption often using brands and other signals, such as country of origin (Batra et al. 2000; Verlegh and Steenkamp 1999; Verlegh, Steenkamp, and Meulenberg 2005), price (Rojsek 2001), warranties, product/ingredient information (Coulter, Price, and Feick 2003; Feick, Coulter, and Price 1995), extent of advertising, word of mouth, and retail location (Marinov et al. 2001), as consumption cues. In developing markets, proliferation of various counterfeits, replicas, and unbranded products further complicates consumption and presents a contrast to the branded product discourse (EUBusiness 2006; U.S. Commercial Service 2004, 2006). In these markets, global brands are the main sources of consumption-related identity meanings (Askegaard 2006; Elliott and Wattanasuwan 1998). In concrete terms, the underlying theory and research is that exposure to global brands leads consumers to regard brands as an important, hegemonic communicative form for creating and conveying meaning and identity (Askegaard 2006; Coulter, Price, and Feick 2003). Thus, we argue that young consumers who have a stronger belief in global citizenship will place a greater emphasis on and be more involved with branded products in their consumption practices. We hypothesize the following:

H₁: The belief in global citizenship has a positive effect on consumer importance of branded products in both developed and developing countries.

CET, Cultural Openness, and Belief in Global Citizenship

Previous research has documented the importance of two individual difference variables, CET and cultural openness, as vital concepts related to consumption patterns of foreign and domestic branded products. Consumer ethnocentrism “represents consumer beliefs about the appropriateness, indeed morality, of purchasing foreign-made products” (Shimp and Sharma 1987, p. 280). Thus, the more ethnocentric consumers are less interested in the purchase of foreign goods and services, believing that purchasing nondomestically produced goods and services is morally wrong and detrimental to the domestic economy. Cultural openness is defined more broadly as a person’s interest in and experience with foreign people, values, and cultures; it is not specifically related to consumption of foreign versus domestic goods and services (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995; Shimp and Sharma 1987). Research in the United States on these conceptually related yet distinct constructs has indicated that CET is negatively related to cultural openness (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995), and Baughn and Yaprak (1996) find that economic nationalism (which is closely associated with CET) is negatively related to cultural openness. Moreover, CET is negatively related to attitudes toward global brands in an older sample of South Korean housewives (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 2006).

However, recent research in developing countries has indicated that relationships between ethnocentrism and cultural openness do not necessarily mirror U.S. findings. For example, Suh and Kwon (2002) compare effects of global openness and CET on consumer reluctance to purchase foreign goods in samples of young American and Korean consumers. Although global openness has a significant negative effect on ethnocentrism in the U.S. sample,

this relationship is nonsignificant in the Korean sample. Other research has documented similar findings (i.e., a nonsignificant relationship between constructs similar to cultural openness and ethnocentrism) in Central Europe (Vida, Dmitrovic, and Obadia 2008; Vida and Reardon 2008) and in Turkey and the Czech Republic (Balabanis et al. 2001). Collectively, these studies reinforce the ideas that CET and cultural openness are distinct constructs in these emerging markets and that consumers in these markets can be simultaneously patriotic toward their locally made products and open to and curious about foreign cultures. Thus, we expect the following:

H₂: Consumer ethnocentrism and cultural openness are negatively correlated in developed countries.

Research has examined cultural openness as an antecedent to CET in its effects on foreign versus local brand preferences, finding that cultural openness does not exhibit any direct effects on brand preferences (Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995; Shimp and Sharma 1987). In addition, Suh and Kwon (2002) indicate no significant effects of global openness on either product judgment or reluctance to buy foreign products in both the United States and Korea. Openness, as one of the big five personality traits (i.e., openness to experience), has been linked to hedonic, affective, and more symbolic values of brands (Matzler, Bidmon, and Grabner-Krauter 2006; Olver and Mooradian 2003).

Examination of sociological studies on globalization shows that acceptance of foreign cultures and traditions, which is frequently referred to as consumer cosmopolitanism, internationalism, or geonationalism (Beck and Sznajder 2006; De Sousa Santos 2006; Roudometof 2005), is at the heart of globalization processes. However, as Suh and Kwon (2002, p. 666) stress, current research is in need of a valid instrument that would measure “a global mind-set cultivated by globalization” and assessment of its effects on branding. As we consider the relationship between cultural openness and belief in global citizenship, it is important to underscore that the belief in the global citizenship construct is about a global mind-set but is not a measure of global brand choices or ownership. With regard to cultural openness and belief in global citizenship, we argue that people who are open to learning about foreign cultures and their value systems are more likely to believe that global brands provide a discourse for participating in and understanding the global marketplace across developed and developing countries. Thus, we expect the following:

H₃: Cultural openness has a positive effect on belief in global citizenship in both developed and developing countries.

The literature has extensively studied CET in the context of foreign versus local brand preferences across many developed and developing countries (for a review, see Shankarmahesh 2004). Some researchers have linked CET to domestic/local brand preferences (Balabanis and Diamantopoulos 2004; Olsen, Granzin, and Biswas 1993; Supphellen and Rittenburg 2001; Vida, Dmitrovic, and Obadia 2008); others have shown its negative effects on foreign brand

choices (Klein, Ettenson, and Morris 1998; Kwak, Jaju, and Larsen 2006; Nijssen and Douglas 2004; Sharma, Shimp, and Shin 1995; Suh and Kwon 2002). Recent research, especially on young consumer segments, has shown that average levels of CET are low (e.g., Nijssen and Douglas 2004; O’Cass and Lim 2002; Suh and Kwon 2002) and its effects on brand preferences may become negligible if consumer evaluations of brand meanings (i.e., quality and status) are considered (e.g., Wang and Chen 2004). In addition, O’Cass and Lim (2002) do not find any effects of ethnocentrism on preferences for brands from different origins among Singaporean youths. However, Kinra (2006) finds that Indian consumers exhibit high levels of ethnocentrism and favoritism for local brands but that their evaluations and preferences for foreign brands are equally positive and strong. The latter finding may be indicative of developing “glocal” identities of modern consumers who are ethnocentric but equally likely to show their global affinity through global brand possessions and preferences (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006).

For young consumers, learning the language of brands may be considered a way to compete and be successful in a global world (Diversi 2006), and global brands frequently mean assurance in the future and a passport to global citizenship (Troiano 1997). Thus, we expect a positive relationship between CET and belief in global citizenship. Nonetheless, we suggest that the rationale for our expectation differs between developing and developed countries. In developing countries, research indicates that young consumers seeking to better their economic position and that of their country are likely to embrace brands as a discourse of power and to believe that buying global brands enables them to participate in that global arena by empowering their own local companies and nations (Anholt 2003). For example, Fong (2004, p. 631) documents that Chinese youths paradoxically combine fierce nationalism with global identities and a desire for “the American dream,” and in a national study of Brazilian youths, Troiano (1997) observes that the so-called Brazilian personality and love for Brazil are not disappearing but are being combined in intricate ways with a new global dimension in their attitudes, preferences, and values, including embracing global brands as a discourse of power. Furthermore, ethnocentric Indian consumers nonetheless greatly value global foreign brands (Kinra 2006). Thus, recent evidence suggests that consumers in emerging markets can advocate for economic nationalism while embracing global brands as an avenue to citizenship, thereby bolstering their glocal identities.

With regard to consumers in developed countries, research suggests that their salience of global brands derives, in part, because global brands originate in developed countries (*BusinessWeek* 2007). Ethnocentric consumers in developed markets with a large number of global brands may believe that global belongingness is driven by their own domestic brands and may view global belongingness as belonging to their own country, lifestyle, and values. In other words, more ethnocentric consumers in developed markets with a large number of global brands may have a stronger belief in global citizenship because of their belief in the power and strength of their own domestic brands. Thus, not only are global brands a vehicle for global citizenship and an expression of a glocal con-

sumer identity, but in developed countries, they may also be an expression of economic nationalism. Because belief in global citizenship is an expression of both a glocal identity and nationalism in the developed countries, we expect that the effect of ethnocentrism on belief in global citizenship is stronger in developed countries than in developing countries. On the basis of this discussion, we posit the following:

- H₄: Consumer ethnocentrism has a stronger positive effect on the belief in global citizenship in developed countries than in developing countries.

We adopted an adapted etic approach in our cross-cultural research (Douglas and Craig 2006), involving the United States, Ukraine, Romania, and Russia. With our primary focus on branded products as symbols of global consumer culture, we reasoned that the global youth segment would be an appropriate cohort to investigate because prior research has indicated that global youths drive dissemination and creation of the belief in global citizenship and global consumer culture (Fong 2004; Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006; Zhou, Su, and Bao 2002). In addition, we expected the global youth “culti-unit” (Douglas and Craig 2006) to have a high degree of homogeneity among its members, share common interests, and identify similarly with brands because of their high exposure to global telecommunications and technologies and to have minimal extraneous biases, such as age or income, across cultures (Burgess and Steenkamp 2006; Coulter, Price, and Feick 2003). Moreover, young consumers (compared with their older counterparts) are more likely to be familiar with the concept of branded products in their local context in the developing markets (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard 2006). Indeed, recent market growth in Eastern Europe is largely attributed to increasing consumption patterns by young educated urban dwellers who respond well to global brands and their image appeals and seem to share more in common with their peers in London or New York than with their parents (*The Financial Times* 2007). We first discuss our measurement development and then provide details on our cross-national survey administration.

We engaged in qualitative work to investigate the concept of belief in global citizenship cross-nationally and to develop measures for belief in global citizenship and importance of global branded products. In particular, we used the qualitative data to identify words and phrases to develop equivalent measures across the countries of interest (Steenkamp and Hofstede 2002). Four researchers (two from the United States and one each from Ukraine and Romania) developed the protocol, such that the translation of the questions and prompts were consistent across the English, Russian (the language of Russia and Eastern Ukraine), and Romanian languages. The protocol began with a warm-up, in which informants talked about their favorite brands in seven different product categories (i.e., soft drinks, beer, clothing, electronic products, cosmetics/personal care products, chocolate, and automobiles). The warm-up questions enabled various meanings to emerge unprompted and also served to help informants, particularly in the developing countries, to distinguish between the terms “product” and “brand.” Next, we provided an opportunity for the informants to

OVERVIEW OF METHOD

MEASUREMENT DEVELOPMENT

discuss brand meanings and to consider global versus domestic brands. We conducted exploratory interviews with four male and four female informants, aged 20–29 years, from the United States, Ukraine, and Romania. Interviews were conducted in the informant’s home and lasted between 45 and 70 minutes; then, they were audiotaped, translated, and transcribed.

Our interviews provided insights into our constructs of interest: belief in global citizenship and importance of branded products. With regard to belief in global citizenship, drawing on these interviews and the work of Holt, Quelch, and Taylor (2004) and others (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999; Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003; Troiano 1997), we developed three items: (1) “Buying global brands makes me feel like a citizen of the world,” (2) “Purchasing global brands makes me feel part of something bigger,” and (3) “Buying global brands gives me a sense of belonging to the global marketplace.”

With regard to the importance of branded products, our interviews revealed that Romanian and Ukrainian informants reflected on the growing importance of branded products in their daily lives but had difficulty understanding the idea of being “involved” with brands. As a consequence, we determined that a measure that specifically asked about importance of brand names across a range of product categories would reflect a more valid and reliable measure of a respondent’s interest in and involvement with branded products. (We provide additional details in the “Measurement and Preliminary Analysis” section.)

CROSS-NATIONAL SURVEY

Our questionnaire included measures of CET, cultural openness, belief in global citizenship, importance of branded products, and demographic variables. Initially, we developed our questionnaire in English and translated it into Russian and Romanian; then, other native speakers of Russian and Romanian back-translated it. Items from scales of different concepts were randomly mixed to avoid any order effects; the questionnaire format was identical across countries. In all countries, participants were presented with an information sheet that described the study goals and assured their anonymity. We also provided product and brand examples to ensure that participants, particularly in the developing countries, differentiated between the two terms. The first example, consistent across the four countries, related to a high-end product (cars) and a foreign brand (Volkswagen); the second example referred to a less expensive product (chocolate) and provided examples of domestic brands from each of the four countries. By providing examples of both high- and low-end products and both foreign and domestic brands, we primed participants’ memory references to a variety of product categories and brands.

A convenience sample of 1261 college students (aged 18 to 29 years) from the northeastern and midwestern United States ($n = 218$; $M_{\text{age}} = 21.02$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.74$); Timisoara, Romania ($n = 287$; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.93$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.25$); Kharkiv, Ukraine ($n = 464$; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.56$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.10$); and Vladivostok, Russia ($n = 292$; $M_{\text{age}} = 19.64$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.62$) participated in the survey. In the United States, students completed an online questionnaire. However, in Romania, Ukraine, and Russia,

because the majority of students have limited Internet resources and rely on pay-per-use Internet cafés for online access, we collected pencil-and-paper questionnaires. Recent research has documented that the use of online versus pencil-and-paper questionnaires does not cause differences in response styles (De Jong et al. 2008).

Importance of Branded Products. To measure importance of branded products, we created an index related to the importance of brands in ten product categories (i.e., mineral water, soda, beer, coffee, cigarettes, chocolates, personal care/cosmetics, clothing, automobiles, and televisions). The categories were identified to (1) cover a range of durable and nondurable product categories; (2) have a variety of branded products, both global and local, in each of the categories across all countries, which may be an issue in the developing countries where there are several product categories primarily composed of unbranded products; and (3) select product categories that are relevant to the global youth market. For each of the first six product categories, we first asked whether the participant used the product (e.g., “Do you drink mineral water?”). Next, if the answer was yes, the participant was asked, “How important is the product’s brand name when you are purchasing [product category]?” With regard to the personal care/cosmetics and clothing categories, participants were asked, “How important is the product’s brand name when you are purchasing [product category]?” Finally, because of the potential price sensitivity with regard to automobiles and televisions, especially for the youth segment in the developing markets, participants were asked, “How important is the product’s brand name if you are purchasing a [product category]?” The seven-point response categories for these items were anchored with “not at all important” (1) and “very important” (7). For each participant, we computed an index of importance of branded products (i.e., the average of the importance scores for the products used). Thus, a participant whose summed importance ratings for eight product categories totaled 24 would have an index of 3.0.

After participants reported importance of a product’s brand name, they listed their favorite brand for each category. We reasoned that globalness or localness of a favorite brand name would be indicative of the importance of global versus local brands. We defined brands as global if the product was marketed and distributed under the same brand name in several countries outside the participant’s home country and as local if the product was marketed under this brand name only in the participant’s home (or immediate neighboring) country. For example, in the mineral water product category, we coded the Perrier brand as a global brand because it is marketed and distributed under this name worldwide, and we coded Poland Spring (United States), Borsec (Romania), and Mirgorodskaya (Ukraine and Russia) as local brands because they are not marketed and widely distributed under these brand names outside the respective countries. In developing countries, the global/local distinction was frequently associated with the use of foreign versus local words and the use of Latin versus Cyrillic alphabet in Ukraine and Russia. We coded global brands as 2, local brands as 1, and no answer/don’t know as 0. Next, we calculated a participant’s average preference for local versus global brands by

Measurement and Preliminary Analyses

summing the coded responses and dividing by the number of favorite local and global brands mentioned, thereby excluding no answer/don't know responses. Our range was 1 ("all favorite brands are local") to 2 ("all favorite brands are global"). Thus, a participant who is equally likely to favor local and global brands across answered categories would have a favorite brand average of 1.5. The majority of study participants across the four countries ($n = 1082$ of 1261; 85.8%) mentioned global brands as their favorite in more than half their responses (i.e., had an average score greater than 1.5), whereas only 75 participants (5.9%; 3 from Romania, 40 from Ukraine, 23 from Russia, and 9 from the United States) favored local brands (i.e., had a score less than 1.5), and 83 participants (6.6%; 4 from Romania, 56 from Ukraine, 11 from Russia, and 12 from the United States) were equally likely to favor local and global brands (i.e., had an average score of 1.5). Only 1.7% of all participants (1 from Romania, 7 from Ukraine, and 13 from Russia) did not provide any brand names across all product categories.

Belief in Global Citizenship, CET, and Cultural Openness. We used seven-point (1 = "strongly disagree," and 7 = "strongly agree") scale items to measure belief in the global citizenship, CET, and cultural openness. In Table 1, we report the measure's Cronbach's alpha for each country, as well as for the pooled developing country (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia) data, and the pancountry (pooled four-country) data. Table 2 shows the results of exploratory factor analyses for items related to each construct.

As noted previously, our three-item measure of belief in global citizenship was derived from our depth interviews and previous research (Alden, Steenkamp, and Batra 1999; Holt, Quelch, and Taylor 2004; Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003; Troiano 1997). Unrotated principal components analysis yielded a unidimensional model in a pancountry model (explaining 71% of the variance and showing loadings of .82 or higher). Intracountry results were similar (factor loadings ranged between .75 and .89), and the variance explained ranged between 68% (Russia) and 78% (United States). Reliabilities ranged from .77 (Russia) to .85 (United States). To measure CET, we adopted the six-item short form of the CETSCALE developed by Shimp and Sharma (1987). Unrotated principal components analysis yielded a unidimensional resolution in a pancountry sample, explaining 50% of the variance and showing loadings of .60 or higher. Intracountry analyses also resulted in unidimensional models that explained between 46% (Ukraine) and 63% (United States) of the variance and had loadings of .50 or higher. Reliabilities ranged from .76 (Ukraine) to .88 (United States). Finally, to measure cultural openness, we used four items developed by Sharma, Shimp, and Shin (1995). Unrotated principal components analysis yielded a unidimensional resolution that explained 64% of the variance in a pancountry sample and between 59% (Russia) and 78% (United States) of the variance. Loadings were .74 or higher across samples. Reliabilities ranged from .76 (Russia) to .90 (United States).

We assessed the convergent and discriminant validity of these measures. First, we followed two recommended procedures to assess the convergent validity of these three measures (see Table 3).

Constructs and Scale Items	Standardized Factor Loadings					Test of Invariance		
	Developed United States	Romania	Ukraine	Russia	Developing (Romania, Ukraine, Russia)	Pooled (Four-Country)	Metric	Scalar
Belief in Global Citizenship							Full	Partial
Buying global brands makes me feel like a citizen of the world.	.78	.82	.68	.61	.69	.71	Invariant	
Purchasing global brands makes me feel part of something bigger.	.81	.74	.73	.80	.75	.76	Marker	Invariant
Buying global brands gives me a sense of belonging to the global marketplace.	.85	.76	.80	.78	.78	.79	Invariant	Invariant
Cronbach's alpha	.85	.82	.78	.77	.79	.80		
Cultural Openness							Full	Partial
I engage in opportunities to meet people from other countries.	.75	.62	.71	.63	.68	.57	Marker	Invariant
I like to learn more about other countries.	.84	.79	.68	.69	.70	.54	Invariant	
I enjoy meeting and interacting with people from foreign countries.	.89	.74	.74	.73	.74	.69	Invariant	Invariant
I like to learn about foreign cultures and customs.	.87	.76	.62	.63	.65	.47	Invariant	Invariant
Cronbach's alpha	.90	.81	.78	.76	.78	.81		

Table 1. Constructs, Scale Items, and Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Measurement Model

Table 1.
Continued

Constructs and Scale Items	Standardized Factor Loadings					Test of Invariance		
	Developed United States	Romania	Ukraine	Russia	Developing (Romania, Ukraine, Russia)	Pooled (Four-Country)	Metric	Scalar
Consumer Ethnocentrism							Full	Partial
American products, first, last, and foremost.	.67	.46	.53	.47	.52	.53	Invariant	Invariant
Purchasing foreign-made products is un-American.	.82	.55	.71	.60	.66	.68	Marker	Invariant
It is not right to purchase foreign products, because it puts Americans out of jobs.	.79	.67	.69	.72	.71	.72	Invariant	
We should purchase products manufactured in America instead of letting other countries get rich off us.	.83	.74	.66	.68	.68	.70	Invariant	Invariant
We should buy from foreign countries only those products that we cannot obtain within our own country.	.57	.64	.43	.50	.52	.53	Invariant	
American consumers who purchase products made in other countries are responsible for putting their fellow Americans out of work.	.81	.70	.61	.66	.66	.68	Invariant	Invariant
Cronbach's alpha	.88	.79	.76	.77	.78	.79		

Notes: "American" was replaced with "Romanian," "Ukrainian," and "Russian" in respective countries.

Variance Explained (%)	Belief in Global Citizenship ^a	Cultural Ethnocentrism ^a	Openness ^a
Developed (United States)	78	63	78
Developing (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia)	70	49	61
Romania	73	49	64
Ukraine	69	46	60
Russia	68	47	59
Four-country pool	71	50	64

^aItems used to measure this construct are included in Table 1.

Notes: Unrotated exploratory factor analyses yielded one-factor resolutions for all measures across all countries and in a pooled sample.

Table 2.
Exploratory Factor Analyses for Constructs in the Model

We estimated the composite reliability coefficients for all measures; composite reliability of .70 or higher is recommended (Bagozzi 1981; Fornell and Larcker 1981). The minimal composite reliability of our measures is .74; thus, our measures exhibit sufficient convergent validity across countries. Second, we examined the average variance extracted for all measures. Fornell and Larcker (1981) suggest that a conservative estimate of average variance extracted is at least .50. Our results meet this criterion for all three measures (ethnocentrism, openness, and belief in global citizenship) in the United States. In the developing countries, belief in global citizenship and cultural openness meet this criterion; however, CET is below the criterion at .40. To assess discriminant validity, we evaluated patterns of within-construct and between-construct correlations. All between-construct correlations were below unity (largest $r = -.52$), and all within-construct correlations were greater than between-construct correlations. Thus, our data demonstrate discriminant validity across countries because the average variance extracted for each construct exceeds the square of the correlation between this construct and the other two constructs in our study (Fornell and Larcker 1981; see Table 3).

We used structural equation modeling (Amos 7.0) to test our measurement and structural models. One challenge in cross-cultural research is to ensure applicability and generalizability of measures across multiple countries. A way to do this is by using multigroup confirmatory factor analysis and assessing measurement invariance (Singh 1995; Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998). Three types of measurement invariance are pertinent to the current study: configural, metric, and scalar. Configural invariance implies that the pattern of factor loadings is similar across the developed and developing countries and is established when factor loadings are significantly different from zero and the constructs exhibit discriminant validity in an acceptably fit measurement model. Metric invariance ensures equality of metrics, or scale intervals, and is established by setting constraints on factor loadings for each of the items and comparing obtained model fits with the base model. Any significant fluctuations in chi-square, comparative fit index (CFI), or other model fit indexes signal a lack of metric invariance. Finally, scalar invariance is necessary for mean comparisons and is established by setting equality constraints on intercepts for all met-

MODEL ASSESSMENT

Measurement Model Assessment

Table 3.
Assessment of Convergent and
Discriminant Validity:
Composite Reliability, Average
Variance Extracted, and
Pearson r Correlations
(Squared Pearson r
Correlations)

Country	Constructs	Composite Reliability	Average Variance	Pearson r ² Cultural Openness	Pearson r ² Ethnocentrism
United States	Belief in global citizenship	.86	.66	.46 (.21)	.07 (.01)
	Openness	.91	.71		
	Ethnocentrism	.89	.57		
Developing (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia)	Belief in global citizenship	.79	.55	.17 (.03)	.28 (.08)
	Openness	.79	.50		
	Ethnocentrism	.79	.40		
Romania	Belief in global citizenship	.78	.55	.10 (.01)	.16 (.03)
	Openness	.82	.53		
	Ethnocentrism	.74	.39		
Ukraine	Belief in global citizenship	.79	.55	.10 (.01)	.34 (.12)
	Openness	.78	.47		
	Ethnocentrism	.79	.40		
Russia	Belief in global citizenship	.80	.57	.31 (.10)	.36 (.13)
	Openness	.77	.46		
	Ethnocentrism	.78	.39		
Pooled (four countries)	Belief in global citizenship	.82	.60	.08 (.01)	.16 (.03)
	Openness	.82	.53		
	Ethnocentrism	.80	.40		

rically invariant items and by doing model fit comparisons similar to those for the metric invariance. Full metric and scalar invariance is rare in cross-cultural studies, but partial invariance is desirable when a marker variable and at least one other item measuring a latent construct exhibit invariance.

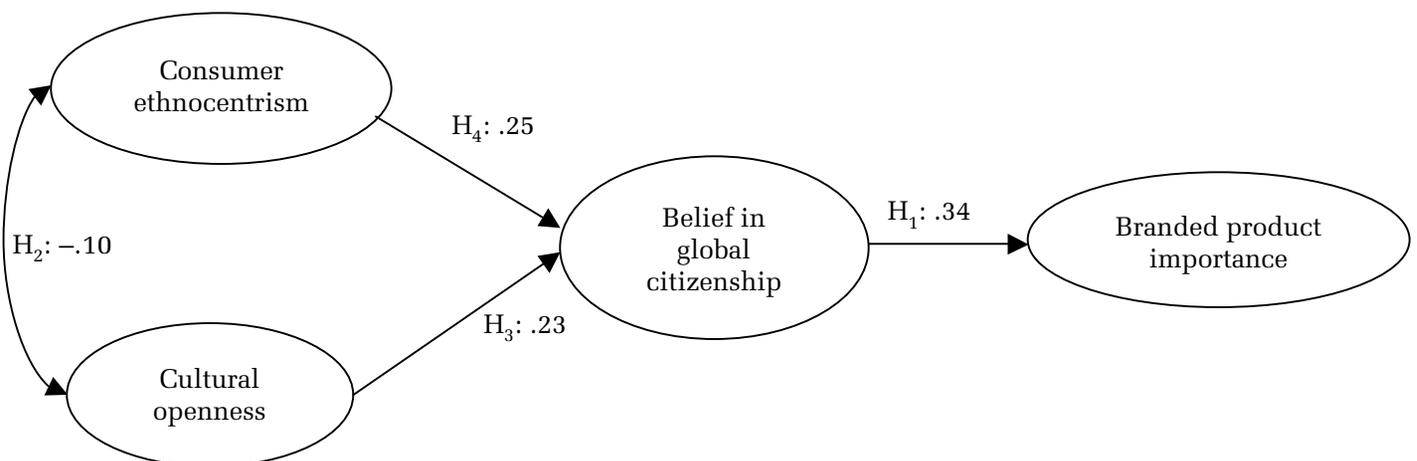
The multigroup confirmatory factor analysis of the measurement model, including all items for the three latent constructs and an observed index of importance of branded products, yielded an acceptable fit ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 2.51$, CFI = .95, Tucker–Lewis index [TLI] = .94, root mean square error of approximation [RMSEA] < .03, and Hoelter index = 1134). Because of a large sample size in our study, the chi-square value is likely to be inflated. Therefore, Kline (1998) recommends a chi-square ratio of 3.00 or less and a Hoelter index of 300 or more for good-fitting large-sample models. Factor loadings for all items were statistically significant across all countries, showing support for configural invariance. In large-sample models, a chi-square difference test of metric and scalar invariance is also usually biased. Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998) recommend assessment of any changes (deterioration or improvement) in other fit parameters (CFI, TLI, RMSEA, $\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio}$, and Hoelter index). A comparison of indexes between the base and the metrically invariant model indicates that they are virtually identical to those for the configural model ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio difference} = -.05$; Hoelter index difference = 17; and CFI, TLI, and RMSEA remained the same). We achieved full metric invariance for all measures. We achieved partial scalar invariance for all measures, and nine items were scalarly invariant. Deterioration of the fit parameters for the model with partial scalar invariance from the configural base model was not substantial ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio difference} = .43$, Hoelter index difference = -173 , CFI difference = .02, and TLI and RMSEA remained the same). We also achieved a good-fitting model ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 2.65$, CFI = .96, TLI = .95, RMSEA < .03, and Hoelter index = 929) for a sample comprised of the pooled data from the three developing countries (Romania, Ukraine, and Russia) and the developed country (United States). The results of metric and scalar invariance were similar to those reported for the four-country sample (see detailed results in Table 1).

We analyzed structural relationships between variables at three levels of aggregation: pancountry (data pooled across the four countries, with the participant as the unit of analysis), intracountry (including four individual countries), and intracountry comparison of developed (United States) and developing (Romania, Russia, and Ukraine) countries. Because the results were similar for the three developing countries, we present our analyses for intracountry data at the level of developed and developing countries, not at the individual country level. We first report on the pancountry analysis model fit and then focus on intracountry (developed versus developing countries) data with attention to testing our hypotheses (i.e., a comparison of path strengths between the developed and the developing countries).

Our pancountry analysis involved applying structural equation modeling (Amos 7.0) to a pooled sample of 1261 participants (see Figure 1). The model yielded an acceptable fit ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 3.99$,

Structural Model Assessment

Figure 1.
Structural Equation Model for
the Pancountry Data



CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA < .05, and Hoelter index = 496).¹ All relationships were statistically significant ($p < .05$): belief in global citizenship and importance of branded products (standardized coefficient = .34), CET and cultural openness (standardized coefficient = $-.10$), cultural openness and belief in global citizenship (standardized coefficient = .23), and CET and belief in global citizenship (standardized coefficient = .25).

To examine our hypothesized relationships, we used a multigroup structural equation modeling at the level of developed (United States) and developing (Romania, Russia, and Ukraine) countries. These intracountry analyses yielded a good-fitting model ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 3.04$, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA < .05, and Hoelter index = 528). To test differences in the magnitude of effects between the developed and the developing countries, we conducted a series of comparisons between the unconstrained base model and models in which one structural path at a time was constrained to be equal between countries. Kline (1998) suggests that nonsignificant chi-square difference tests show a lack of significant deterioration in the fit of the constrained model and invariance of structural effects. With regard to H_1 , belief in global citizenship had a significant positive effect on consumer importance of branded products in both the developed (standardized coefficient = .24, $p < .01$) and the developing (standardized coefficient = .36, $p < .001$) countries, and there was no significant difference (χ^2 difference (1) = 2.43, $p > .05$) in the strength of this relationship between the developing countries and the United States. As H_2 predicted, the intracountry analysis documented a moderate negative correlation between CET and cultural openness in the United States (standardized coefficient = $-.52$, $p < .001$) but no significant relationship between the constructs in the developing countries (standardized coefficient = $-.01$, $p > .05$). As H_3 predicted, cultural openness had a positive effect on belief in global citizenship in the developed (standardized coefficient = .68, $p < .001$) and developing (standardized coefficient = .18, $p < .001$) countries, but this effect was significantly stronger in the United States (χ^2 difference (1) = 26.29, $p < .001$). Finally, consistent with H_4 , CET had a significant positive effect on belief in global citizenship in the developed (standardized coefficient = .43, $p < .001$) and developing (standardized coefficient = .27, $p < .001$) countries, with the relationship being significantly stronger in the United States (χ^2 difference (1) = 4.92, $p < .05$).

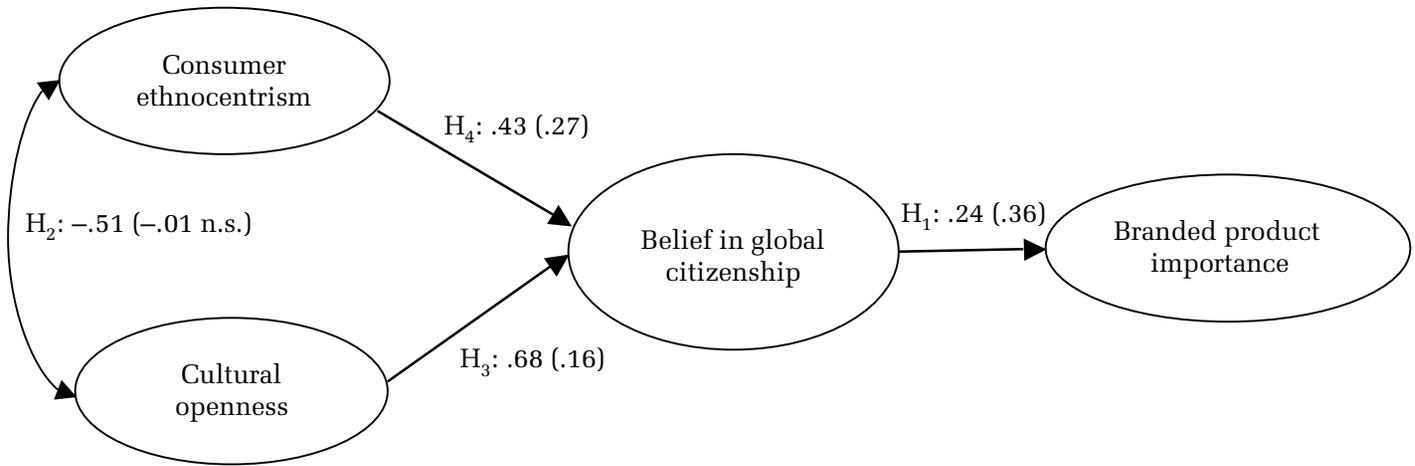
As a follow-up analysis, we assessed the potential mediating effect of belief in global citizenship on the relationships between CET and cultural openness on importance of branded products in the developing and developed markets. Following recommended procedures (Baron and Kenny 1986; Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger 1998; MacKinnon, Fairchild, and Fritz 2007), we first examined an intracountry model that included the direct effects of cultural openness and CET on importance of branded products (the model fit was $\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 5.70$, CFI = .89, TLI = .87, RMSEA < .07, and Hoelter index = 278). Next, we compared the model that included belief in global citizenship as a mediator in this model, and the model fit showed an improvement ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 4.66$, CFI = .90, TLI = .88, RMSEA < .06, and Hoelter index = 325). For the devel-

oped country (United States), our analyses indicated that both cultural openness (standardized coefficient = .16, $p < .05$) and CET (standardized coefficient = .22, $p < .05$) had significant positive effects on importance of branded products. When belief in global citizenship was included as a mediator, the effects of cultural openness (standardized coefficient = .01, $p > .05$) and CET (standardized coefficient = .12, $p > .05$) became nonsignificant. Thus, belief in global citizenship fully mediates the relationships between cultural openness and importance of branded products and between CET and importance of branded products among American youths. In the developing countries, cultural openness (standardized coefficient = .17, $p < .001$) also had a significant positive effect on importance of branded products, but the effect of ethnocentrism (standardized coefficient = $-.01$, $p > .05$) was nonsignificant. When we added belief in global citizenship as a mediator, the effect of cultural openness on importance of branded products decreased but remained significant (standardized coefficient = .12, $p < .01$). Belief in global citizenship seemed to be a suppressor of the effect of ethnocentrism (standardized coefficient = $-.10$, $p < .01$) on importance of branded products. Thus, in the developing countries, belief in global citizenship partially mediates the effect of cultural openness on branded products and also suppresses the negative relationship between CET and importance of branded products among youths.

Finally, we compared the model fit indexes for the two intracountry models: our hypothesized model (Figure 2) and the model that includes belief in global citizenship and the direct effects of ethnocentrism and openness on importance of branded products (Figure 3). This comparison indicates that our hypothesized model yielded the better-fitting model (χ^2 difference (4) = 23.24, $p < .001$) and that belief in global citizenship fully mediates the relationships between both ethnocentrism and cultural openness and importance of branded products.

Comparison of Means for Developed Versus Developing Countries

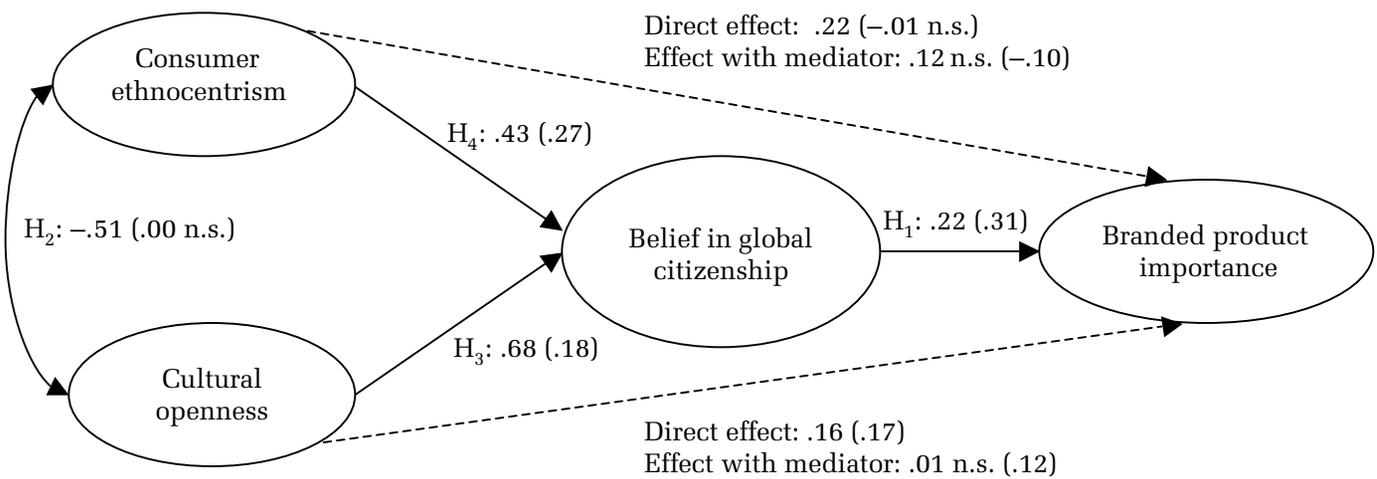
Because our measures satisfied partial scalar invariance, we were able to make latent mean comparisons. To do so, we assessed values of latent means by setting factor loadings to be equal for all metrically invariant items and fixing intercepts of marker variables at zero (Arbuckle 2006). Next, we proceeded to compare the means using procedures recommended by Arbuckle (2006) and Kline (1998). Specifically, we set all intercepts for scalarly invariant items to be equal and all factor loadings for all metrically invariant items to be equal; factor means were fixed at zero for one country, and z-tests indicated whether latent factor means in the other sample were significantly different from zero (i.e., the factor mean for a fixed sample) at $p < .05$. The results indicate that belief in global citizenship was significantly higher among U.S. than developing country participants ($M = 3.47$ versus 3.09). In contrast, study participants from the developing countries were significantly more ethnocentric ($M = 3.54$ versus 3.33) and more culturally open ($M = 4.56$ versus 4.27) than those from the United States. It is noteworthy that across countries, CET was consistently lower than cultural openness ($M = 3.51$ versus 4.51). Finally, there was no significant difference between the developing and the developed countries in their importance of branded products ($M = 4.82$ versus 4.79).



Notes: Standardized coefficients are reported for developed (developing) countries; all coefficients are significant at $p < .05$; nonsignificant coefficients are designated by n.s. Model fit indexes are $\chi^2/d.f.$ ratio = 3.04, CFI = .95, TLI = .94, RMSEA < .05, and Hoelter index = 528.

Figure 2.
Structural Equation Models for
the Intracountry Data

Figure 3.
Mediation Analyses: Structural
Equation Models for the
Intracountry Data



Notes: Standardized coefficients are reported for developed (developing) countries; all coefficients are significant at $p < .05$; nonsignificant coefficients are designated by n.s. Model fit indexes are $\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 4.66$, CFI = .90, TLI = .88, RMSEA < .06, and Hoelter index = 325.

Some brand experts contend that consumers have no intrinsic preference for global brands (De Mooij 1998, p. 39); yet many scholars posit that global brands enjoy an equity advantage over nonglobal brands (Kapferer 1997; Shocker, Srivastava, and Ruekert 1994; Steenkamp, Batra, and Alden 2003). Moreover, the appearance of global brands in local markets seems to structure local branding strategy and management discourse (Applbaum 2000; Schuh 2005). A main goal of our research was to examine the extent to which consumers' belief in global citizenship has an impact on branded products as an important consumption discourse in developed and developing countries. We focused on the global youth market because we expected it to have fewer extraneous biases and to be more likely to be subject to global communications than random national samples. Our results showed that a majority (85.8%) of our young college-educated sample in developed and developing countries expressed strong preferences for global brands; approximately 6% of participants expressed strong preferences for local brands. The results indicate that young U.S. (compared with developing country) consumers have a stronger belief in global citizenship. One explanation is that U.S. consumers are likely to have greater exposure to global media, the Internet, and trade. For those who embrace this belief, branded products are vital consumption cues, and the branding discourse is an important part of their consumption scripts. In addition, our sample exhibited a relatively low level of CET but a higher level of cultural openness.

A second goal was to evaluate effects of two potential antecedents—cultural openness and CET—on belief in global citizenship. Respondents in both developed and developing countries who are culturally open and those who are patriotic about their locally made products are likely to believe in global citizenship, and these effects are stronger in the United States. A positive relationship between CET and importance of branded products provides support to the notion of a developing glocal identity of young consumers worldwide but especially in the developing countries, where national patriotism frequently coexists with global influences and global brands signal a path for national empowerment and value sharing. Young consumers in the developing countries are also both more ethnocentric and more culturally open than their peers in the United States. These findings are consistent with Askegaard (2006, p. 100), who theorizes that global brands' potential to transform meaning and practice may be most visible in "marketizing economies with embryonic consumer cultures," and other researchers who argue that today's youths, more so than their parents, share in the common currency of brand language and mediascapes (Hebdige 1979; Valentine, Skelton, and Chambers 1998).

Consistent with prior research (e.g., Suh and Kwon 2002; Vida, Dmitrovic, and Obadia 2008; Vida and Reardon 2008), we observed differences in the relationships between CET and cultural openness across developed and emerging markets. In the United States, there was a moderate negative relationship between the two constructs, whereas in the developing countries, there was no significant correlation. Culture and consumer culture may present more distant constructs to these youths, who may not necessarily think of brands in the context of foreign cultures.

Prior strategic research on globalization and branding has incorporated various forms of localized approaches in firms' marketing campaigns (Aaker and Joachimsthaler 1999; Friesen 2003). Kapferer (2001) suggests that brand equity frequently benefits from a combination of global and local brands in a firm's portfolio because of cultural variations in consumer responses to unified brand messages. Any clash in values that brands project may lead to consumer resistance (Martin 2006), and "glocalized" managerial practices minimize the potential for such clashes. The current research speaks to the value of glocalized strategies in appealing to young consumers of the global world.

First, our research shows that belongingness to the global world is not just a theory in strategists' minds but rather a belief that young consumers share in varying degrees across developed and developing countries. Global brands are a key aspect of young consumers' global citizenship, and they are a favored choice across product categories. Research indicates that consumers in developing countries cocreate meaning to develop their own bicultural identities; that is, they coexist as citizens of their own country and citizens of the world (Arnett 2002). Our work further suggests that branded products are an important currency in this context. Thus, firms of various levels and scope would benefit from applying lessons of global brand leaders and successful branding strategies in their own practices (Aaker and Joachimsthaler 1999). A more in-depth understanding of consumer bicultural or multicultural processes of meaning creation would help ensure successes at both multinational and local levels in the future.

Second, we also find support for globalization processes that affect identities of young consumers in emerging markets. Although previous research has concluded that ethnocentric consumers typically express stronger preferences for locally made products, our findings indicate that ethnocentric youths welcome global belongingness and the global brand discourse as a potential road of success for their cultures and companies. As a consequence, companies targeting youth segments need to understand these consumers' glocal identities and the roles of local and global brands and branding discourse, as well as local customs and values related to these identities. To be successful in these markets, companies should explore multifaceted interactive effects of ethnocentrism and globalization and improve their understanding of managerial, cultural, and possibly political factors that determine how ethnocentric consumers resist and embrace specific brands and companies.

Finally, our qualitative work revealed that the relative novelty of brands and branding in the developing markets reinforces the need for firms to engage in emic and adapted etic approaches to understanding constructs and their relationships in unfamiliar markets. In emerging countries, brands are important choice cues but may not be immediately associated with personal identities, even among the most market-savvy young consumers. Multinational corporations and local firms investing in emerging markets need to be aware of consumers' limited understanding of branding and to determine appropriate local mechanisms to develop consumer culture. Practices such as cobranding and joint ventures may be necessary to

facilitate a greater prominence of brands in people's lives and, ultimately, to build stronger loyalty and equity in these markets.

Our work focused on the concepts of belief in global citizenship among global youths in the United States, Romania, Ukraine, and Russia and has contributed to understanding the concept of belief in global citizenship and its relationship to CET, cultural openness, and importance of branded products. We noted that the global youth segment is an important and focal market for many multinational firms and that this cohort has a global lens and a strong preference for global versus local brands. As such, this segment was an appropriate focus for our initial work on belief in global citizenship. However, some research (e.g., Coulter, Price, and Feick 2003) has documented that older versus younger cohorts in developing markets differentially react to branded products. Thus, it would be desirable for researchers to sample across age cohorts within countries and across a wider range of developed and developing markets to further evaluate the strength of the associations between our concepts of interest. Over time, globalization processes and discourses may decrease levels of ethnocentrism across population segments or lead to more complex, possibly curvilinear relationships between ethnocentrism and belief in global citizenship.

Other opportunities are evident to build on our research. First, researchers might consider extending the nomological network we have offered by considering inclusion of identity-related and quality-related cues associated with branded product meanings (Strizhakova, Coulter, and Price 2008). Moreover, as developing markets evolve, researchers could consider individual difference variables, such as variety seeking and brand loyalty. Second, researchers might consider belief in global citizenship in the context of building individual global brand strategies (e.g., Roth 1992, 1995) and assessing the effects of global media, the Internet, worldwide events, celebrities, and marketing campaigns on belief in global citizenship. Third, our qualitative work drew attention to the challenges of measuring consumer brand loyalty and involvement with branded products in emerging markets, and further research in emerging markets needs to be sensitive to the use of established measures and the possible need for the adaptation of Western-based inventories (Douglas and Craig 2006). Finally, future work could focus on consumers who prefer local brands, who are perhaps more ethnocentric, and who reject global belongingness. As global brands and the dominant cultures associated with those brands have given rise to the global brand citizenship, the antibrand and antiglobalist movements have been empowered. Antiglobalists question fair-trade practices, multinational corporations, and international financial institutions and support stronger national sovereignty, particularly in poorer markets. Recent research has described an emerging antibrand movement in the developed countries as a response to an oversaturated world of marketed meanings and a search of consumer "genuine" identities (Holt 2002; Klein 2002; Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006). Fueling the power discourse of global citizenship through global brands eventually may contribute to a backlash of consumer resistance. Thus, we encourage future work to try to understand the paradoxical nature of brands in the global

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RESEARCH

marketplace and to track the changing nature of branding and global belongingness.

NOTE

1. We also conducted pan- and intracountry analyses on the subsample of the youths who favored global brands ($n = 1082$). The fit of the models was acceptable for the pancountry ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 3.24$, CFI = .96, TLI = .95, RMSEA < .05, and Hoelter index = 400) and intracountry ($\chi^2/\text{d.f. ratio} = 2.34$, CFI = .96, TLI = .95, RMSEA < .04, and Hoelter index = 555) data, and all effect sizes were consistent and not significantly different from effects reported herein for the total sample. The size of the subsample of the youths who favored local brands ($n = 75$) was too small for separate model testing and cross-cultural comparisons.

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