

Traditionsapes in emerging markets

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How local tradition appropriation fosters cultural identity

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Abstract

Purpose – This research aims to develop and test the traditionsapes framework in which consumers appropriate local traditions as a resource to foster cultural identity in emerging markets.

Design/methodology/approach – A multi-level research approach with qualitative ($n = 38$) and quantitative data ($n = 600$) was employed in the context of gaucho traditions in the southern part of Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul state).

Findings – The findings indicate that traditionsapes operate in a fluid process that engenders local culture attachment into tradition value through the consumer identification process. Traditionsapes build a sense of local cultural attachment that functions as a source of social, cultural, and local identification. Findings also support our three-stage traditionsapes framework, emphasizing the identification process that depends on consumers' global culture resistance.

Originality/value – This research provides a novel viewpoint to the well-established relationship between tradition and globalization in consumption studies. We contribute to this debate by shifting the discussion to the fluid process of traditionsapes in which tradition value is engendered through consumer appropriation and identification with local traditions, even in a globalized context. Although recent research suggests that global culture can disrupt local traditions, traditionsapes operate as an extended perspective that coexists with other global cultural flows.

Keywords Traditionsapes, Tradition value, Local culture attachment, Identification process, Global culture resistance, Gaucho traditions

Paper type Research paper

1. Introduction

Consumption and global cultural influences have been largely described as one of the most powerful mechanisms to construct, maintain, and express global identities in replacement of local ones (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 2000; Kumar and Paul, 2018). In the light of globalization and transnationalism (Bose, 2008), individuals find in consumption, a form to access global products and brands, influenced by disjunctive global cultural flows (Appadurai, 1990, 1996; Ger and Belk, 1996; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015). Dynamic forces such as capitalism, media communications, and transnational companies dissolve the boundaries across local and regional cultures, shaping a homogeneous global consumer culture around the world (Cleveland and Laroche,



2007; Paul and Sánchez-Morcillo, 2019). Global consumer culture replaces and modifies the local culture as the main cultural source for individual identification in substitution of de-territorialized cultural elements (Beck, 2000; Hall, 2014; He and Wang, 2015).

However, a recent body of studies has identified the role of local tradition in counterbalancing the effects of globalization on consumers' cultural identification (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015). Consumers find in traditions a mechanism to establish a link between the past and the present in reaction to the cultural fragmentation of globalization (Varman and Belk, 2009). Previous research suggests that, even in globalized and emerging markets, tradition has a strong influence on consumers' decision-making (Lien *et al.*, 2017; Kumar and Paul, 2018; Paul, 2019) and can be a mechanism of resistance against global brands (Ulver-Sneistrup *et al.*, 2011; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012).

Drawing on this line of investigation, this research aims to develop and test the *traditionsapes* framework in which consumers' appropriation of local traditions as a resource to foster cultural identity in emerging markets. We shift the debate involving the conflict between tradition versus globalization to explore the notion of *traditionsapes*. We draw on the work of Appadurai (1990) to develop the notion of *traditionsapes* to convey the nature of global cultural flows resulting from distinct *scapes* (e.g. ethnosapes, technosapes, among others). In line with recent research (Dalmoro *et al.*, 2018), the concept of *traditionsapes* is described as a fluid process engendering a coherent unit around traditions for consumer appropriation to build their identity in emerging markets.

Through the adoption of a multi-level approach, our research involves qualitative and quantitative data collection in emerging markets, in the context of gaucho traditions in the southern region of Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul). This region is especially relevant considering the manifestation of the gaucho culture, as the primary identity source (Oliven, 1999), tradition preservation in consumption habits (Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015) and popular manifestations (Oliven, 2006). Considering this context, we explore how traditionsapes provide a local sense of stability into consumer identity (Hall, 2014), counterbalancing the destabilization effect of globalization.

Our discussion elaborates theoretical contributions and implications of the traditionsapes framework for researchers and managers. By conceptualizing this process, our traditionsapes framework explores how consumers in emerging markets deal with global consumer culture in delineating their identity. Through traditionsapes consumers want to preserve traditional value in their identity projects not necessarily in opposition to global culture. That is because, traditionsapes form a coherent unit – *scape* – establishing a connection between local culture attachment and tradition value when consumers foster identity in emerging markets. Conversely to the tension between tradition and globalization acknowledged in the literature (Appadurai, 1996), the traditionsapes framework extends previous research (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983), offering a sense of continuum attachment with local culture in the fluid process of cultural identification. In addition, we demonstrate the moderation role of global cultural resistance on tradition value. While global culture resistance increases social identification effects on tradition value, it reduces the effects on tradition value for local and cultural identification. By doing so, we provide novel insights into the global and local cultural dynamic understanding in describing a fluid process of traditionsapes. Finally, given our examination of the gaucho cultural context, we also extend previous studies largely concentrated in a Eurocentric context by focusing on emerging markets.

2. Traditionsapes framework: from tradition to traditionsapes

2.1 Definition of tradition

Tradition is a set of orientation values and cultural manifestations recognized as consecrated from the past, establishing a sense of continuity for a social group (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Tradition combines customs, habits, practices, moral, and emotional content able to

embed individuals in a social context (Giddens, 1991; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Tradition relates to durability and consistency over time. Tradition should not be negotiated, altered or questioned, providing the individual a more stable view and understanding of the world, beliefs, and attitudes (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983).

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2.2 Gaucho traditions and cultural roots

The context of gaucho traditions is based in the southern region of Brazil (Rio Grande do Sul). The cultural manifestation of the Gaucho culture is the main identity source for the inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul state. These inhabitants preserve traditions through consumption habits (e.g. food, drinks, clothes – Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015) and popular manifestations (e.g. dance, rodeos, music – Oliven, 2006). Gaucho tradition roots are the livestock farms and colonial history of the Pampa Region – geographic area involving the southern region of Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina (Jacob and Jaksic, 2011). Traditional elements reproduce daily farm-life practices and aesthetic elements, the image and material representation of the gaucho – a countryman reputed to be brave and unruly (Rahmeier, 2012). Gaucho tradition has no ethnic origin, but the cultural miscegenation that took form in the region during the colonization period reproduced in the legends, folklore, and literature (Jacob and Jaksic, 2011). In the 20th century, the gaucho tradition underwent a great revival with the creation of an organized movement of “Gaucho Traditionalism” with the specific proposal to recreate and preserve gaucho traditions among Rio Grande do Sul inhabitants.

However, despite the efforts to preserve the Gaucho culture and traditions, globalization and hyperreality can induce the reverse effect on individuals, a sense of loss of tradition: detraditionalization (Heelas *et al.*, 1996). Detraditionalization makes many individuals feel lost in modern life; therefore, tradition is gaining force as a form to restore the community and self-values (Ger and Csaba, 2000). Thus, the incorporation of traditional practices into contemporary social relations is notable – inclusive in those embedded in the production and consumption (Gvion, 2014).

2.3 Traditionscapes

The present research proposes the *traditionsapes framework*. Traditionscapes refer to the fluid process enabling a coherent unit around traditions that allow consumer appropriation to build their identity. The concept of *scapes* was introduced by Appadurai (1990) as a metaphor to describe the flow that connects social landscapes that are often embedded in peoples’ daily lives. We suggest that local culture attachment enhances consumers’ identification process (local, social, and cultural identification), having downstream effects on tradition value for consumers in emerging markets. In addition, considering the flows across national boundaries, global culture resistance represents an additional element in the traditionscapes, moderating the effects between the identification process and value tradition.

2.3.1 Local culture attachment and consumer identification process. Local culture attachment refers to the consumers’ use of common symbols, habits, and goods related to a specific place to give signification to their lives (Cuba and Hummon, 1993). Local culture adds meaning to people’s lives, orienting their own experience, especially through the consumption of products (Arnould and Thompson, 2005). Even though contemporary society has been permeated by cultural forces associated with globalization (Appadurai, 1996; Ritzer, 2007), local culture keeps being a strong reference in consumer meaning production, especially in terms of local bonded products like food and clothes (Sobol *et al.*, 2018). Local culture increases the value of local symbols, habits, and products (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010), resulting in local culture attachment (Hummon, 1992; Varman and Belk, 2009).

Local culture attachment can be understood as people’s desire to find symbolic elements able to assist the contemporary dealing with cultural disintegration and global acculturation

(Hall, 2014). In this process, tradition assumes a special relevance, since it supplies a stable cultural base for attachment (Tonkinson, 2013). Recently, Sobol *et al.* (2018) identified that consumers found an identity bound to local culture in traditional products. Sinha and Sheth (2017) observed that the incorporation of local traditions in emerging markets can reduce the negative impact of globalization helping to build, maintain, and express consumers' identities.

2.3.1.1 Local identification. Local culture attachment emerges as an important aspect of the consumer identification process, as it represents an orientation that emphasizes a sense of belongingness and provides common meanings that global culture cannot supply (Westjohn *et al.*, 2012). Local culture supports a sense of continuum (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) generally stable at the time, useful to support identification facing the fluid character of globalized cultures (Hall, 2014). In other words, local culture attachment becomes a mechanism to reintegrating a range of local meanings in the identification process that globalized times disintegrated. Local culture attachment keeps being an important resource in consumer identity formation, especially in emerging markets, as an important resource to deal with global cultural discontinuities (Oliven, 2006; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015).

2.3.1.2 Social identification. Local culture attachment is also an important predictor of social identification. Social identification refers to social categories such as ethnicity or nationality that is self-defining for an individual (Hogg *et al.*, 1995). Local culture offers these social categories (Varman and Belk, 2009; Peñaloza, 2018) working as resources able to activate or make people social identity salient (Forehand and Deshpande, 2001). Local culture is also especially relevant because it offers "unquestioned" local claims to be included in social identity repertoires. For example, some can evoke local culture to justify consumption practices (Sobol *et al.*, 2018) or express social belongings (Kjeldgaard and Askegaard, 2006). This aspect is especially relevant in emerging markets since the emergence of consumer identity in those markets does not necessarily depend on global brands as a resource to signal local belongings (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). Even in developing markets, regional particularities reflect an important predictor of consumer identity formation (Sinha and Seth, 2017).

2.3.1.3 Cultural identification. Local culture attachment is also related to cultural identification. Cultural identification consists of the form to which people recognize, identify, and distinguish a set of cultural elements from others to incorporate into their self-concept (Clark, 1990). Cultural identification is a form of collective identification around a common cultural element, generally involving historical and heritage aspects, as customs, practices, languages, values, and world views (He and Wang, 2015). The assimilation of cultural aspects like history and heritage into the individual's self-concept is one of the most salient factors in building an overall sense of identification (Sussman, 2000). Therefore, we argue that local culture offers a stable schema of historical and heritage aspects to constitute individuals' self-concept, becoming an important antecedent in shaping cultural identification. In recognizing these distinct aspects involving local cultural attachment on the consumer identification process, we propose the following hypotheses:

H1. Local culture attachment impacts the identification process.

H1A. Local culture attachment has a positive impact on local identification.

H1B. Local culture attachment has a positive impact on social identification.

H1C. Local culture attachment has a positive impact on cultural identification.

2.3.2 *Identification process and tradition value.* The literature on cultural attachment has emphasized the replacement of local tradition attachment by "modern values" as a consequence of economic and political forces driving cultural changes (Inglehart and Baker,

2000; McAlexander *et al.*, 2014; Sobol *et al.*, 2018). However, even considering that consumers converge around some set of modern values, these studies acknowledge that consumers keep recognizing the value of tradition. This perspective is aligned with Inglehart and Baker (2000), who recognize that tradition value is grounded in modern and material consumption theorization. For these authors, traditional value is closely aligned with consumer culture and can be observed in local tradition respect and commitment and acceptance of local customs. This perspective has been reinforced in terms of consumer culture (Sandikci and Ger, 2009), consumption orientation (Alden *et al.*, 2006), and consumer decision (Lien *et al.*, 2017).

The fact that modern consumer culture does not necessarily displace local tradition is important to reframe the role of the consumer identification process in tradition valuation (Sandikci and Ger, 2009; McAlexander *et al.*, 2014). According to Tonkinson (2013), tradition valuation results in the stability of, and even defense action, of people's identities. It is especially relevant in emerging countries like Brazil, wherein some regional identity manifestation has resulted in an exponential re-emergence of traditions as a central element in guiding consumption practices (Oliven, 2006; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015). Thus, we argue that the consumer identification process impacts on tradition valuation.

2.3.2.1 Local identification. Following Arnett (2002), local identity is a mental representation in which consumers have faith in and respect for local tradition. Local identification allows the recognition of the uniqueness of local tradition (Oliven, 2006) and stimulates consumer interests in substituting globally diffused consumer images, symbols, and preferences for that which is locally based (Zhou and Belk, 2004). Local identification also orients the desire of many consumers to value local tradition and reject influences perceived as global (Ger and Belk, 1996).

2.3.2.2 Social identification. Social identity involves a person's self-concept that serves to specify attitudes, emotions, and behaviors among a social group (Hogg, 2003). From this approach, tradition value is a consequence of a strongly personal self-conception of local belongings. A strong feeling of local belongings generates a strong feeling of tradition attachment as a form to make their geographic identification public (Inglis and Donnelly, 2011). Consequently, different social backgrounds will result in distinct levels of local tradition valuation (Brehm *et al.*, 2006). Therefore, we propose that social identification also affects tradition value.

2.3.2.3 Cultural identification. People with higher local culture identification tend to be more prone to consider traditional aspects of their product choices (Tu *et al.*, 2012). Previous studies indicate the constant interchange between global modern versus local tradition value in consumer cultural identification (Lien *et al.*, 2017; Cruz *et al.*, 2017; Sobol *et al.*, 2018; Sinha and Sheth, 2017). Recognizing that people direct their identities in relation to global or local orientation (Robertson, 1992) choosing local cultural identification, they value the products that are indigenously conceived distinctive of local tradition (Steenkamp and de Jong, 2010). In addition, cultural identification is a context-dependent phenomenon (Westjohn *et al.*, 2012) where consumers systematically and predictably evoke local cultural identification through tradition valuation (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). In line with these theoretical arguments, we propose that:

H2. Consumers' identification process affects local tradition value.

H2A. Local identification has a positive impact on tradition value.

H2B. Social identification has a positive impact on tradition value.

H2C. Cultural identification has a positive impact on tradition value.

2.3.3 *The moderating role of global culture resistance.* Global culture resistance consists of consumers' distinction between what belongs to the local culture and what does not belong,

looking for local products, and avoiding engaging in the global culture of consumption (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). This resistance is typically seen as a cultural movement by previous research (Varman and Belk, 2009). Global culture resistance is another key construct to understand traditionscapes. In this perspective, global consumerism can create social inequalities, destroy cultures, and gradually substitute traditional identities by global ones (Cherrier and Murray, 2007). Cherrier and Murray (2007) note two different types of consumer identity resistance: (1) the “hero identity” relates to discourses against exploitative marketization processes, investing in tradition preservation as an alternative to existing society; (2) the “project identity” draws on freeing oneself from oneself and tradition can enable consumers to reposition themselves in society, finding one’s place perceived as more authentic.

The connection between consumer identities and traditionscapes as a form of resistance has global brands as the main adversary (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). In resisting global brands, consumers are not necessarily promulgating anti-market ideologies, but exactly seek to moralize the marketplace following their identity project (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). The revival of local and past aspects assumes an important role in supplying a local attachment in modern global societies. Furthermore, resistance against globalization can represent consumers’ efforts in preserving local traditions in their distinct levels of identity. Thus, we predict that global culture resistance positively moderates the impact of local, social, and cultural identification on tradition value. More formally, we hypothesize that:

- H3.* Global culture resistance moderates the impact of identification process on tradition value.
- H3A.* Global culture resistance positively moderates the impact of local identification on tradition value.
- H3B.* Global culture resistance positively moderates the impact of social identification on tradition value.
- H3C.* Global culture resistance positively moderates the impact of cultural identification on tradition value.

3. Method

This study uses a multi-level research approach, in which we first conducted an exploratory pre-test to gain insights on how local culture attachment leads to a cultural identification process and tradition value. In the second phase, we conducted the main confirmatory study to test our integrative framework of traditionscapes to understand how local and global cultural identification impacts tradition value.

3.1 Exploratory phase

Our project began with qualitative interviews aiming to gain a detailed understanding of how tradition is used in consumer identity projects. We developed an exploratory cultural analysis in the context of gaucho traditions in the southern Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. Even with urbanization and modernization following global expansion in Latin America, in this period the interest in gaucho traditions resurged among inhabitants of Rio Grande do Sul reincorporating the gaucho tradition. The active participation of locals in cultivating the gaucho tradition pushed a popular movement called the Gaucho Tradition Movement (GTM), involving around two million people and claims to be the largest traditionalist movement in the world (Oliven, 2006). Local inhabitants consider themselves to be gauchos before being Brazilian (Oliven, 1999) and reproduce a nostalgic tradition representation in organized

spaces like rodeos – similar to the American rodeos as a cultural manifestation (Peñaloza, 2001), gaucho rodeos evoke the livestock farms where gauchos need to deal with their horses and cattle – consuming products – e.g. traditional clothes that represent the gaucho image or drinking yerba mate tea, considered the traditional gaucho beverage (Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015). These characteristics involving active tradition cultivation in an urban and globalized region reveals the southern region of Brazil as a good departure point to explore the traditionscapes framework.

To explore the context of the gaucho tradition in Rio Grande do Sul, we adopted the interview method considering it has been a key primary data source to understand cultural particularities on marketing studies (Arsel, 2017). We conducted a first interview with the leader of the Gaucho Traditionalist Movement. After that, we used the snowball sampling technique as a recruitment mechanism, asking each informant to indicate a person who could contribute to the research considering their capacity to talk about their identification with gaucho tradition. Indicated names were selected by the researchers considering the potential to contribute to the study and variation in the informants' profile and level of involvement with gaucho traditions. Combining the objectivity of the snowball sample with the research subjectivity of judgment selection we attained a hard-to-reach cultural group without losing the diversity of perspectives in the informants' group. All interviews were conducted by the first author, who had no previous experience in the research field or previous contact with the informants. To reduce participant and researcher bias on responses we opted to conduct the interviews at informant houses, ensuring they feel comfortable, security and with time to talk. All interviews were previously schedule and in this first contact, we explain that the research had academic propose and ensuring their data would be truly confidential. During the interviews, we started the interviews with general questions, moving to specific questions. We also keep the questions simple and avoid words that could introduce biases. The researcher also maintained a neutral position during the interview and did not give any details about previous results or hypotheses to avoid influencing the informant's perceptions. These cautions to reduce response biases follow previous orientations (Schostak, 2006) to get more accurate, truthful, and more representative answers.

We interviewed 38 informants in total, with diverse backgrounds in terms of gender (26 male and 12 female), age (from 20 to 65), schooling (from elementary school to PhD), professional occupation (private and public employees, entrepreneurs, and retirees), and marital status. The informants were urban residents, but most of them had a rural connection: around 50 percent lived in a rural area in the past, and the other group preserves bonds with the field by visiting farms or dealing with animals during rodeos. It is important to note that all the informants were born and live in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul, assume the cultivation of gaucho as a kind of patronymic, but live the gaucho tradition in three different way: (1) incorporating gaucho tradition in their personal and professional lives (e.g. musicians specialized in traditional gaucho music, gaucho traditional clothes store owners); (2) incorporating it in their personal lives as volunteering in events or in the traditionalist movement (e.g. competing in rodeos or occupying a leadership position in the movement); (3) incorporating it in their day-to-day lives (e.g. wearing traditional clothes).

All the interviews were conducted in person using a guide with 19 open questions as support. The questions were created following the five theoretical axes that support this research: cultural meanings (Cuba and Hummon, 1993; tradition recognition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015); identification with local culture (Hall, 2014); consumption practices (Sobol *et al.*, 2018); and global culture resistance (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). Each theoretical axis was organized in a matrix relating the key construct from these previous works and the research goals. In multiple rounds of interaction, the research team created the open questions. The final version was validated by two academics: one

specialized in gaucho culture and the other in consumer studies. The interviews lasted approximately one hour and recorded with permission for further transcription and analysis, totaling 275 pages of transcription. To analyze this amount of data, we classified data into the three dimensions following qualitative data analysis practices (Lofland and Lofland, 1995), including category formation and interpretation. We conducted the interviews in Portuguese, the native language of the informants and researchers. After the data analysis, the quotes were translated into English to compose this publication. To ensure the quality of the translation, in addition to the authors' team – Portuguese and English speakers – a language expert revised the translation, using the procedure of back-translation (Zikmund *et al.*, 2013). The interviews provide an exploratory data description and help to refine the quantitative questionnaire and validate survey findings.

3.1.1 Exploratory analysis. We identified three themes that mediate the interest of consumers appropriating certain traditions as a resource to build their identity. Our first theme involves the identification of a cultural drive that works as a consumer attachment to the local culture. We observed that informants recognize a set of meanings in local culture proudly appropriated as theirs, as the informant Marcia relates: “we seek to know our history, we are proud of our tradition and want to know more about it because it is our culture.” For this, they evoke a pool of local products to give a sense of attachment to the local culture. One of these products is local trousers: “when I wear bombacha (local trousers), I feel gaucho inside and outside” (Erival).

We identified three categories that mediate the interest of consumers appropriates local cultural elements as a resource to build their identity. First, local belongings emerged a category to explain consumer's recognition of the place where they are inserted. Joice, a preschool teacher, says:

Even though we live in a global society, people want to be different, people want to preserve a local bond. I want it, to preserve my roots, identify myself with people from this land, with my compatriots. I want to preserve a single bond with the place where I was born (Joice).

This local bond desire manifested by the interviewees demonstrated to be a kind of cue that attaches consumer identification with the local culture. The local identification process involves a sense of local belonging to the local culture that global culture cannot offer (Westjohn *et al.*, 2012).

Our second category describes the importance of “have a place” in social terms. We observed that interviewees' local attachment orients their social manifestation:

I like it, so I believe that I cannot let the local cultural tradition die. I cannot obligate people to preserve a local bond, but as I am very involved with my cultural tradition, I help to disseminate the pride to be gaucho among others (Jéferson).

Jéferson's quote allows us to understand that local culture attachment serves to specify his attitudes, emotions, and behaviors, among others. Local attachment is taken as a form of self-defining (in line with Hogg, 2003) and manifesting his social identity (in line with Forehand and Deshpande, 2001).

Our last category involves cultural meanings associated with local tradition. It emerges around a sense of cultural attachment that gives nexus in the cultural identity construction. Our informant Vinicius observed that local tradition supplies a sense of cultural reference because it enables finding a frame to guide the identity construction, completing:

In modern society these values are relative; there is too much individualism in our global society, so everybody looks for a place, a frame where they can belong. Maybe, this is the gaucho tradition contribution, to recover a frame of reference even if imaginary. Everybody has affection with their birthplace culture (Vinicius).

In this way, cultural identification involves peoples' recognition of common cultural elements (Clark, 1990; He and Wang, 2015) and local culture attachment can supply traditional aspects able to support cultural identification.

Finally, we identified that the whole identification process involves in some instances tradition recognition. Thus, tradition value was a major theme that emerged in comparing themselves with the cultural environment they are inserted. People identify in local culture an emerging feeling of proud and broadly share it. Ivete, a manager of the local company, reports that "gaucho tradition is very rich, people value it a lot, we value it a lot; nobody knows another example so big worshipped by the local culture as here." However, it is important to mention a mix of local bonds and global belongings, once interviews value local traditions without aiming to be isolated. As Joice says:

We are not an island! We cannot live isolated from the rest of the world. I believe that we need to know about the external influence and how it can affect us. We need to know to differentiate what is "us" and what is not. Without it, in a little while, we do not know what belongs to us and what is external (Joice).

Participants inferred the global culture resistance based on the ability to preserve local aspects recognized as traditional in their identity construction, without denies external influences. For example, Marcia explains to us that she loves to eat McDonald's and realizes she is not denying her traditions doing it. However, she also recognizes and tries to value local traditional dishes day in and day out. These findings are particularly relevant because they contrast previous studies that describe tradition value as resistance actions against globalization and global brands (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012).

Exploratory analyses reveal the three themes in the exploratory study previously described in our research model: (1) local cultural attachment, (2) identification process, and (3) tradition value. In this sense, even in a symbolic way, traditions allow consumers to build a sense of belonging recognized as unique and locally accept as a source of identity. It serves as an indexical cue useful to deal with globalization flows and to express local, social, and cultural identification with local tradition. Based on the three dimensions identified in the exploratory analysis, we employed a confirmatory study to test the proposed relationships.

3.2 Confirmatory phase

3.2.1 Participants and procedure. This phase consisted of a quantitative approach through a survey with six-hundred respondents from Porto Alegre – the capital city of Rio Grande do Sul state – participated in the confirmatory study. We used a quantitative phase because quantitative and deductive research design are the most common approach to confirmatory stages of mixed research designs (Tashakkori *et al.*, 1998).

Six-hundred respondents were approached in a random sampling procedure and participated on a voluntary basis to the questions during the major event of gaucho tradition cultivation namely "Farroupilha Celebrations." This event takes place annually during the month of September in a central park of Porto Alegre with gaucho tradition artifacts demonstration and artistic presentation in thousands of stands and involving around one million visitors interested in the gaucho tradition (Oliven, 2006).

Participants were randomly approached by trained researchers during the "Farroupilha Celebrations" in places of great circulation to voluntarily dedicate time to respond to the questionnaire and talk about their local tradition bond. The selection of this place was due to the fact that it congregates people from distinct social class and age in a leisure moment of tradition celebration. This diversity of respondents represent the Gaucho culture and was represented in our final sample demographics. In terms of gender, 55.0 percent were male, while 45.0 percent female. Regarding age distribution, 23.0 percent had less than 30 years old, 20.5 percent between 31–40 years old, 28.3 percent had 41–50 years old, and 27.8 percent had

over 50 years old. In terms of education, the findings are in line with Gaucho representation, divided between primary (38.3 percent), secondary (39.6 percent), and tertiary education (21.6 percent). Finally, 54 percent were married, 32 percent single, 10 percent divorced, and 4 percent widowed. [Table I](#) details the participants' demographic information.

Before to start the data collection, we run a pre-tested collection with ten respondents to confirm the readability, time, and convenience of the instrument. The data was collected in the venue with well-trained researchers using in-press questionnaires. The trained researchers' team approached people who walked around the park, informed respondents about the aims of the study and invited to answer the printed questionnaire. Response averaged time for each questionnaire was 4 min. Our sampling procedure adds to the current research on this topic, based only on online convenience samples and students as respondents.

Data collection was conducted in the same format during four different days and times during the event. The research team checked all the questionnaires to confirm the response consistency and accuracy before the tabulation.

3.2.2 Measures. The main study questionnaire consisted of scales concerning cultural drivers (Local culture attachment and Global culture resistance), identity levels (local, social, and cultural), and tradition value. The first part measured local culture attachment and global culture resistance, using five-point scales labeled from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Local culture attachment ($\alpha = 0.961$), for example, measured participants' emotional attachment to local culture (for example a pride of being local) but also with the desire to preserve local culture (for example conservation and dissemination of the local culture). Globalization resistance ($\alpha = 0.856$) included items such as how consumers distinguish between what belongs to the local culture and what does not belong, and how consumers try to avoid engaging in the global culture of consumption. In the second part, we measured three levels of the cultural identification process, related to the degree in which consumers have their local identification ($\alpha = 0.749$), social identification ($\alpha = 0.831$), and cultural identification ($\alpha = 0.918$). Finally, participants evaluated the tradition value ($\alpha = 0.804$). Tradition value was composed of items related to how consumers value aspects of the local tradition in their daily life and how it is important to avoid losing the local culture. The items in the confirmatory study represent items derived from the literature and adapted after our exploratory study. The items of each measurement scale and scale reliabilities are presented in the [Appendix](#).

3.2.3 Data analysis. Partial least square (PLS) method of Structural equation modeling (SEM) was employed using the SmartPLS 3.0 software ([Ringle et al., 2014](#)). The PLS-SEM method is the most appropriate one for using both the reflective and formative constructs in the same research model ([Hair et al., 2010](#)). SEM covers a family of methods and aims to analyze a set of relationships simultaneously ([Hair et al., 2010](#)). We used partial least

| Gender | Frequency | Percentage | Education level | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------|-----------|------------|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| Male | 330 | 55% | Primary education | 230 | 38.3% |
| Female | 270 | 45% | Secondary education | 238 | 39.6% |
| | | | Tertiary education | 130 | 21.6% |

| AGE | Frequency | Percentage | Marital status | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------|-----------|------------|----------------|-----------|------------|
| Less than 30 | 140 | 23.0% | Single | 191 | 32% |
| 31-40 | 123 | 20.5% | Married | 323 | 54% |
| 41-50 | 170 | 28.3% | Widowed | 24 | 4% |
| 51 or more | 167 | 27.8% | Divorced | 60 | 10% |

Table I.
Quantitative phase:
respondents Profile

squares–structural equation modeling (PLS–SEM) to test our proposed theoretical model. The structural model seeks to specify the relationships between the variables and describe the amount of explained variance (Steenkamp and Baumgartner, 2000). The study followed the procedure suggested by Henseler *et al.* (2015), which indicated that an assessment of the measurement model should be achieved for evaluation of the structural model. As a first step, the indicators of the outer model were assessed, and the latent variable scores were derived for assessment of the structural model in the second step. Finally, the study applied the bootstrap re-sampling procedure to evaluate the statistical significance of structural paths. The following sections present the findings for the PLS–SEM model.

3.2.4 Measurement model. To confirm the validity of the used model, reliability and validity measures were established from existing literature. As all the measurement model was developed based on reflective constructs, the researcher evaluated the model by internal consistency, indicator reliability, convergent validity, and discriminant validity (Henseler *et al.*, 2009).

First, the indicator reliability was measured using *t*-statistic results (obtained by bootstrapping with 5,000 iterations) and factor loadings. All indicator loadings were statically significant ($p < 0.01$). Henseler *et al.* (2009) illustrated that the factor loadings of each indicator should be higher than 0.70, while (Hair *et al.*, 2010) pointed out 0.5 as a minimum threshold. In this model, all factor loadings were above 0.70. As the values were above 0.70 acceptable thresholds (except LI3 = 0.687), variables remained in the model for examination with other measurement factors.

In order to achieve the complete results of internal consistency, composite reliability (CR) was also assessed with a minimum value of 0.80, in which all the variables are above the criteria determined by Henseler *et al.* (2009). Since the loadings were between acceptable threshold (above 0.50), statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) and the CR values were above the minimum threshold, along with the fact that there were no serious changes in the results by exclusion, all variables remained in the model.

Second, the convergent validity was evaluated by average variance extracted (AVE). It was assumed that the values of AVE should be more than 0.50 for explaining at least half of the variance of the original indicators (Henseler *et al.*, 2009; Götz *et al.*, 2010). All the AVE values were above the minimum threshold of 0.50. Table II shows the results of loadings, reliability, and validity of measures, suggesting internal consistency.

Finally, the discriminant validity was assessed by three different criteria: Fornell–Larcker criterion (Fornell and Larcker, 1981), cross-loadings (Hair *et al.*, 2010), and the heterotrait-monotrait ratio (Henseler *et al.*, 2015). The first measure of discriminant validity was presented in Table III by calculating the square root of AVE and ensuring that the estimated values are greater than the correlations between variables (Fornell and Larcker, 1981).

Another indicator was the cross-loading assessment, which specifies that all the loadings should be larger than its cross-loadings (Hair *et al.*, 2010). Moreover, Henseler *et al.* (2015) developed a new measure called heterotrait-monotrait ratio (HTMT) for discrimination of two factors of the model. The maximum threshold was defined as one, which is also proven in Table IV (Henseler *et al.*, 2015). Thus, the discriminant validity of the model was proved, based on the above-mentioned criteria from literature. Due to internal consistency and discriminant validity issues, and not finding any significant difference in the results, the proposed model was kept with all the measurement indicators.

3.2.5 Structural model. As all the reliability and validity measures were achieved positively, it was possible to begin the structural model analysis. In this part of the research, the model was examined with three different criteria: multicollinearity checking (VIF; Hair *et al.*, 2010), explained variation criteria (R^2 ; Chin, 1998), and significance of the path coefficients (*t*-statistics). The results indicated that there was no multicollinearity issue as the values were below 10, ranging between 1.320 and 4.501 (Hair *et al.*, 2010). Second, the R^2

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| Latent variables | Items | Loadings | Composite reliability (CR) | Average variance extracted (AVE) |
|---------------------------|-------|----------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Local culture attachment | LCA1 | 0.869 | 0.966 | 0.739 |
| | LCA2 | 0.838 | | |
| | LCA3 | 0.876 | | |
| | LCA4 | 0.896 | | |
| | LCA5 | 0.855 | | |
| | LCA6 | 0.848 | | |
| | LCA7 | 0.857 | | |
| | LCA8 | 0.831 | | |
| | LCA9 | 0.869 | | |
| | LCA10 | 0.857 | | |
| Cultural identification | CI1 | 0.865 | 0.939 | 0.754 |
| | CI2 | 0.879 | | |
| | CI3 | 0.871 | | |
| | CI4 | 0.873 | | |
| | CI5 | 0.853 | | |
| Social identification | SI1 | 0.754 | 0.888 | 0.664 |
| | SI2 | 0.861 | | |
| | SI3 | 0.862 | | |
| | SI4 | 0.777 | | |
| Local identification | LI1 | 0.898 | 0.852 | 0.660 |
| | LI2 | 0.837 | | |
| | LI3 | 0.687 | | |
| Global culture resistance | GCR1 | 0.839 | 0.903 | 0.698 |
| | GCR2 | 0.844 | | |
| | GCR3 | 0.814 | | |
| | GCR4 | 0.845 | | |
| Tradition value | VT1 | 0.802 | 0.884 | 0.717 |
| | VT2 | 0.877 | | |
| | VT3 | 0.860 | | |

Table II. Loadings, reliability, and validity of measures

| | Cultural identification | Global culture resistance | Local culture attachment | Local identification | Social identification | Tradition value |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Cultural Identification | 0.868 | | | | | |
| Global Culture Resistance | 0.386 | 0.836 | | | | |
| Local Culture attachment | 0.881 | 0.389 | 0.860 | | | |
| Local Identification | 0.571 | 0.288 | 0.548 | 0.812 | | |
| Social Identification | 0.685 | 0.403 | 0.670 | 0.521 | 0.815 | |
| Tradition Value | 0.647 | 0.376 | 0.653 | 0.653 | 0.632 | 0.847 |

Note(s): Diagonal values are the square root of the average variance extracted (AVE)

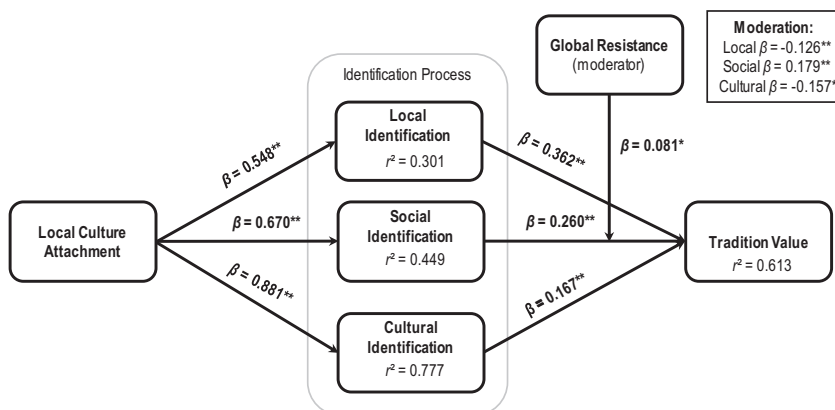
Table III. Fornell-Larcker criterium

| | Cultural identification | Global culture resistance | Local culture attachment | Local identification | Social identification | Tradition value |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Cultural Identification | 0.433 | | | | | |
| Global Culture Resistance | | | | | | |
| Local Culture attachment | 0.935 | 0.427 | | | | |
| Local Identification | 0.649 | 0.356 | 0.605 | | | |
| Social Identification | 0.776 | 0.477 | 0.742 | 0.625 | | |
| Tradition Value | 0.745 | 0.446 | 0.734 | 0.780 | 0.759 | |

Table IV.
Heterotrait-monotrait
ratio (HTMT)

values of dependent variables were also far above the minimum threshold (0.2) which was suggested by [Chin \(1998\)](#). Overall, the model explains 61.3 percent of the variation of tradition value. Finally, the bootstrapping tool (5,000 iterations) launched in order to achieve the degree of significance of path coefficients. [Figure 1](#) presents the research model and PLS-SEM results in the confirmatory study.

3.2.6 Local culture attachment and cultural identification (H1). Our first set of predictions analyzes the relationship between local culture attachment and cultural identification (local, social, and cultural). We expect that local culture attachment is more related to a cultural level of identity than to social or regional identity. Results show a positive effect of local culture attachment on identification process: local identification ($\beta = 0.548, p < 0.001$), social identification ($\beta = 0.670, p < 0.001$), and cultural identification ($\beta = 0.881, p < 0.001$). In line with previous studies that identified that traditional products enable local identification in a globalized context ([Sinha and Sheth, 2017](#); [Sobol et al., 2018](#)), we observe that not only products but also symbolic local culture attachment also provide a strong identification.



Note(s): β = Beta values for each model path. r^2 = r-squared for each model dimension
*Sig = 0.05 **Sig = 0.01

Figure 1.
Framework of
traditionsapes in
emerging markets–
confirmatory results

The local culture attachment consists of a sense of continuum that dialogue mainly with the fluid character of cultural identity (Sussman, 2000; Hall, 2014). Whiling confirming in quantitative terms this previous theoretical reflection, we also highlight that local and social identification are also connected with the local attachment. These results provide confirmatory evidence for the qualitative propositions that local culture attachment is a cultural identification process, supporting H1A, H1B, and H1C.

3.2.7 Cultural identification and tradition value (H2). The second set of hypotheses investigates the influence of cultural identification process (local, social, and cultural) on tradition value. We expect that the three levels of cultural identification will increase tradition value and that the local identification (more connected to the local traditional culture) will have a higher impact on tradition value. As expected, results show that the three levels of cultural identification positively influence tradition value. The local identification had the higher impact on tradition value ($\beta = 0.362, p < 0.001$), followed by the social identification ($\beta = 0.260, p < 0.001$), and by the cultural identification ($\beta = 0.167, p < 0.001$). These results suggest consumer identification process is not completely replaced by modern values mediated by the market (McAlexander *et al.*, 2014) and tradition values keep closely aligned with consumer local identity (Arnett, 2002), social identity (Hogg, 2003) and cultural identity (Tu *et al.*, 2012). In particular, we evidence that valuing the tradition is a cultural process that is positive and stronger when associated with the local identification, but it should also be combined with the social and the cultural levels of identification. Considering the context of this study in which the global versus local conflict is constantly operating on consumer identification (Oliven, 2006; Dalmoro *et al.*, 2015), results demonstrated that the strong identification with local culture impact positively in tradition value. In this sense, our results provide support for hypotheses 2: H2A, H2B, and H2C.

3.2.8 Moderation of global culture resistance (H3). The third set of hypotheses investigates the moderating role of global culture resistance on tradition value. First, we test the moderating role of global culture resistance on tradition value. We expect that global culture resistance will have a positive moderation on tradition value. As expected, results suggest that global culture resistance has a positive moderation effect on the relationship between the identification process and traditional value ($\beta = 0.081, p < 0.05$), supporting H3. This result support using quantitative terms previous cultural studies that identify the phenomenon of consumer resistance avoiding global products as a cultural movement (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; Varman and Belk, 2009).

Second, we test the moderating role of global culture resistance on cultural identification and tradition value. Based on our exploratory findings, we expect that globalization resistance will be more related to a social identification process than to a local or cultural level of identification. Results provide partial support to our hypotheses, showing that global culture resistance has a positive moderating power on the social identification process ($\beta = 0.179, p < 0.01$), as hypothesized. An explanation for this finding resides in the fact that some people tend to adopt a “hero identity” resisting the social fragmentation associated with globalization (Cherrier and Murray, 2007). However, results indicate that global culture resistance has a negating moderating impact of local identification ($\beta = -0.126, p < 0.01$) and the cultural identification ($\beta = -0.157, p < 0.05$) on tradition value. These findings better explain previous cultural studies on global resistance and tradition valuation (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012) demonstrating that global culture resistance increases social identification effects on tradition value, but it seems to reduce the effects on tradition value for local and cultural identification. Thus, the results provide partial support for the moderation role of global cultural resistance on tradition value; providing support for the H3B, but not to H3A and H3C. Table V summarizes the hypotheses tested in the study.

| Hypothesized relations | Estimates | T-values | p-values | Traditionsapes in emerging markets |
|--|-----------|----------|----------|--|
| H1A. Local culture attachment → Local identification | 0.548 | 14.267 | 0.000 | <hr/> <p style="text-align: right;">Table V. Results for hypotheses testing</p> |
| H1B. Local culture attachment → Social identification | 0.670 | 17.064 | 0.000 | |
| H1C. Local culture attachment → Cultural identification | 0.881 | 50.292 | 0.000 | |
| H2A. Local identification → Tradition value | 0.362 | 9.223 | 0.000 | |
| H2B. Social identification → Tradition value | 0.260 | 4.371 | 0.000 | |
| H2C. Cultural identification → Tradition value | 0.167 | 2.627 | 0.009 | |
| H3. Global culture resistance → Tradition value (overall moderation effect) | 0.081 | 2.404 | 0.016 | |
| H3A. Moderation of global culture resistance and local identification → Tradition value | -0.126 | 3.091 | 0.002 | |
| H3B. Moderation of global culture resistance and social identification → Tradition value | 0.179 | 3.297 | 0.001 | |
| H3C. Moderation of global culture resistance and cultural identification → Tradition value | -0.157 | 2.421 | 0.016 | |

4. Discussion

This research describes the traditionsapes framework in which consumers appropriate local traditions as a resource to foster cultural identity in emerging markets. Our multi-level research approach provides a new viewpoint to the well-described relation between tradition and globalization in consumption studies (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; McAlexander *et al.*, 2014). Particularly, our results demonstrated in the exploratory phases three themes – (1) local cultural attachment, (2) identification process, and (3) tradition value – forming in a fluid process (namely here as scapes) that stimulates local culture attachment into tradition value through the consumer identification process. Our quantitative approach confirms this processual model, detailing three levels of identification: social, cultural, and local identification as well as the limited moderation of global culture resistance. Distinct from our expectation, resistance has a positive moderation effect only on social identification with tradition value.

The limited effect of global culture resistance on our model, give more emphasis on our initial assumption that local culture valorization operates in dialogue with globalization. Our integrative framework describes tradition value as a result of identity fostering attached with local culture, not necessarily operating as a counterpoint to global culture as identified in previous studies (Heelas *et al.*, 1996; Ger and Csaba, 2000; among others). We demonstrated that consumers' appropriation of local traditions works as a resource to foster cultural identity in emerging markets. Tradition works as a coherent and continuous scape – that coexists with other global flows – establishing a specific connection between local culture attachment and tradition value when consumers foster identity in emerging markets. Next, we discuss theoretical and practical implications and present the limitations and suggestions for future research.

4.1 Theoretical and practical implications

This research offers three main contributions to the theory. First, our theoretical reflection provides a distinct perspective on globalization and its detraditionalization consequences in the identification process (Beck, 2000; Hall, 2014). Previous studies on consumer culture (Izberk-Bilgin, 2012; MacAlexander *et al.*, 2014) identified that consumers use market practices to access global consumer culture as well as promulgate, re-signify, and relive traditions. We observed that globalization and tradition preservation have both fluid characteristics and are not opposites *per se*. Evidence for that was found in our exploratory analysis when consumers describe valuating tradition attachment without necessarily

denying global brands and consumption forms. This exploratory evidence was further supported in our confirmatory model of traditionscapes.

Second, findings show that tradition – even though being a stable representation of the past gives a sense of continuity in a specific culture (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Oliven, 2006) – works as a unique resource to consumers to build their identities in emerging markets through a three-dimensional process: (1) local culture attachment, (2) identity fostering, (3) tradition valuation. Previous studies analyzed particular aspects, considering tradition valuation as an ideological resource (Varman and Belk, 2009), a desire to maintain identity (Lien *et al.*, 2017; Cruz *et al.*, 2017) or resist against global brands (Ulver-Sneistrup *et al.*, 2011; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012). Particularly, we identify that tradition valuation is a result of a fluid process involving distinct cultural drivers: global culture resistance and personal motivation to attach with tradition. Global culture resistance affects tradition value more strongly through social identity. Since global market activity can disrupt social tradition (Peñaloza, 2018), we understand that social moralities involved in consumers' practices – as ethnocentrism for example – can explain the mediation role of social identity between global culture resistance and tradition value. Tradition attachment effects are strongly related to cultural identity. We interpret this effect as a contemporary response to self-identity conflicts, as modern times make people anxious about losing their local cultural bonds (Giddens, 1991) and traditions offer a stable cultural base to build local identities. Additionally, regional identity is an important predictor of tradition value. We observe that in emerging contexts, like in southern-Brazil, traditions use the regional identity reinforcement despite the broader national identity. For example, the Gaucho traditions are a cultural manifestation in the south of Brazil and people say that they are Gauchos first before being Brazilian (for more details see Oliven, 2006). Thus, we highlight that to understand tradition valuation in contemporary emerging markets requires observing how consumers are connected to the local culture and how they incorporate it in the identity construction process.

Thus, we consider that consumers use tradition inserted in a cultural process involving consumers' attachment with a local while fostering their identity. It supports our concept of traditionscapes, which is, in line with Appadurai (1990) understanding that tradition and globalization are in constant interchanging in the cultural fluid process (Appadurai, 1990), traditionscapes engender a coherent unit around traditions for consumer's appropriation in the identity construction process. While the idea of "scapes" has been applied to describe the complexities of globalization, we propose that traditionscapes can contribute to previous studies in describing a sense of continuum attachment with local culture in the fluid process of cultural consumer identification.

Global consumer culture is a challenge for local tradition preservation (Varman and Belk, 2009; Izberk-Bilgin, 2012), consumers keep aiming to preserve a bond with the local and the past represented by traditions (Türe and Ger, 2016; Dogerlioglu-Demir *et al.*, 2017). Traditionscape emerge in identity construction projects as a form to inform others about this local bond, regardless of widespread globalization. Traditionscape are not operating in opposition to global consumer culture. It is an important concept to understand new forms of global culture resistance: valuing tradition without denying globalization and integrating participation in global consumption while valuing local traditions. Consumers recognize the importance of local traditions not only in resisting globalization but mainly by the incorporation of traditions in their contemporary identity projects. These results provide an integrative form to understand how consumers use tradition in fostering identity in emerging markets. We shift the discussion involving tradition versus globalization to explore traditionscape as an additional flow in contemporary consumer culture. Additionally, traditionscape overpass the notion of tradition as a rigid cultural aspect, assuming a fluid character subject to every individual's perspective, in which consumers recognize tradition in their identity projects.

In practical terms, the findings allow reflecting the importance of considering local traditional in developing political actions to deal with contemporary challenges in preserving local identities in emerging markets. Governments, social movements, and organizations can explore local connectedness evoking traditional aspects in social identity through a narrative evoking a local social belongs. In another way, products such as foods and clothes are used to preserve a strong connection with local culture and can serve as a powerful instrument to reinforce the tradition attachment. The traditionscapes perspective can also help private and public decision-makers to find the best position in this complex and dynamic scenario. Observing the nuances involving global culture resistance and tradition attachment affecting indistinctly the social and cultural identity allow overpassing the dichotomy global versus local, recognizing that tradition value does not necessarily imply in global culture resistance, even in consumption terms.

In particular, the traditionscapes framework has managerial implications for global brands strategies, considering that the relation between brands and traditions has been under-valued in the literature (Fournier and Alvarez, 2019). In emerging markets, brand management needs to go beyond the brands as traditional (long term established brands) or brand heritage, but its attachment with local culture and the capacity to conduct traditional elements to help consumers foster their identities. Local brands are typically described as a unique signal of local traditions, offering a more intimate basis for nurturing consumer-brand relationships close with local culture narrative (Steenkamp *et al.*, 2003). In the globalized society, where consumers find multiple sources for identity construction, brands attached with a local culture can represent the coherent unit around traditions that transit in the fluid process of traditionscapes. Traditionscapes can conduct brands beyond local borders without losing local attachment. Examples are brands with the designation of origin (e.g. brand wines that are attached to a region recognized for its cultural winery tradition). Brand local attachment is associated with the consumer identification process and, consequently, the brand is evaluated in association with the local tradition. Nevertheless, considering that consumers value traditions in dialogue with global aspects, in traditionscapes, brands can find an alternative form to be of value in the consumers' mind without necessarily reproducing a global cultural narrative.

4.2 Limitations and suggestions for future research

Our study provides novel insights in describing the local tradition attachment as a fluid process of identification and valuation of tradition insight into the global and local cultural dynamic. Building the notion of traditionscapes in an emergent context, we expand previous studies on tradition consumption mainly concentrated in North American or European contexts. However, it is important to note that our approach considers the gaucho traditions and one single context, any generalizability of these conclusions should be taken cautiously. Additionally, even that we made reasonable attempts to control possible method biases, some bias usual in attitudinal research can remain, e.g. the control of respondent questions interpretation. In terms of theoretical limitation, there may be an increasing occurrence of other types of identities (e.g. gender) beyond the three types we explore in this study.

Following prior studies (Paul and Mas, 2019), we provide detailed directions for future research by others in this area with reference to theory, method, and context. Firstly, in theoretical terms, we suggest that further studies replicate our framework in other contexts aiming to test and validate the universal character of the traditionscapes model. Additionally, in demonstrating the fluid process involving tradition and consumption identity, we can also assume the interference of traditionscapes in the market dynamic. Traditions are not necessarily mediated by traditional institutions, but by the market (McAlexander *et al.*, 2014; Türe and Ger, 2016). However, we do not know how distinct

market agents foment traditions through their practices and supporting consumer identity formation.

In methodological terms, we stimulate the adoption of multi-level approaches on emerging market studies. The combination of exploratory and confirmatory phases allows exploring the cultural complexities of emerging markets in both density and variability. Finally, exploring the emerging markets contexts, further studies could analyze the relation between tradition and identity. This relation can be disjunctive and profoundly unpredictable in emerging contexts because attachment and resistance are subject to its own constraints and incentives. Further studies could explore it from an integrative perspective and not in a dialectic perspective (i.e. global versus local), as a form to provide new understanding to cultural elements driving emerging markets particularities.

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Appendix

Scales used in confirmatory study

Local culture attachment ($\alpha = 0.961$)

- (1) Love of local tradition
- (2) Pride of being local
- (3) Identification with local culture
- (4) Conservation of the traditional local culture
- (5) Conservation of the traditional local cultural roots
- (6) Strengthening local tradition

- (7) Dissemination of the history of local tradition
- (8) Dissemination of the local culture
- (9) Preservation of the Identification of the local culture
- (10) Valorization of local culture customs

Global culture resistance (moderator) ($\alpha = 0.856$)

- (1) I try to distinguish between what belongs to the local culture and what does not belong
- (2) I prefer products linked to my land than products with global characteristics
- (3) The preservation of traditions avoids the homogenization from the global culture
- (4) The more I get involved with local traditions, the more I become opposed to what does not belong to it

Local identification ($\alpha = 0.749$)

- (1) The local culture is linked to my Identification
- (2) "Being a local" is directly connected with traditions
- (3) When I accept things from outside, I am contradicting the fact that "being local"

Social identification ($\alpha = 0.831$)

- (1) Living with local traditions that are poorly cultivated for the rest of the year
- (2) Provide those who live in the city to experience the local tradition
- (3) The importance of being part of a social group
- (4) Celebrate a historic moment of the local culture
- (5) Finding people who share the same pride for the local tradition

Cultural identification ($\alpha = 0.918$)

- (1) Reinforce the local culture
- (2) Building character, forming Identification
- (3) Preservation of family and cultural value
- (4) A place to celebrate traditional culture
- (5) A place for the locals to know more about the traditional culture

Tradition value ($\alpha = 0.804$)

- (1) In my day-to-day life, I try to value aspects related to the local tradition
- (2) Maintaining the local tradition is important to avoid losing the regional culture
- (3) The more I get involved with local traditions, the more I value the local products

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