

## **City, Consumption and Interculturalism: How cities can facilitate consumer acculturation**

### **Abstract**

With the rise of interculturalism as an alternative paradigm to the dominant multicultural integration policies in immigration countries, the importance of cities, as landscapes of intercultural interactions and consumption has become more and more important. This study aims to investigate how cities and city-related consumption practices play a role in consumer acculturation, an area that is largely overlooked in previous research. A hermeneutic approach is used to analyse and interpret the data collected through semi-structured and unstructured go-along interviews with 18 Iranian immigrants who live in Dortmund, Germany. Beyond the dichotomy of the home and host countries, the findings of this study show how city-related activities and interactions can lead to the construction of a sense of belonging to the hosting society. We show how such a sense of belonging can be constructed through immigrant consumers' involvement in city-related rituals, private appropriation of public space and reterritorialisation.

### **Keywords**

Consumer acculturation, interculturalism, city, space, immigrants, rituals

Wherever I am, here I am  
The sky is mine  
Window, imagination, air, love, earth are mine  
Why it should matter  
If sometimes  
The fungus of wistfulness grows.<sup>1</sup>

Sohrab Sepehri, *Water's Footfall*

## Introduction

In the light of the so-called paradigmatic shift from multiculturalism (i.e., tolerating and institutionalising ethnic diversity) towards interculturalism (i.e., facilitating intercultural interactions and socialisation) (Mansouri & Modood, 2021), the role of cities in the creation of more cohesive societies has received increasing attention in diversity management studies and policies (Schiller, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2020). From an interculturalist perspective, cities are regarded as the site of intercultural interactions and an active player that can bring people together for positive and constructive interactions.

Despite this, the city as a place for intercultural interactions (Zapata-Barrero, 2020) has received limited scholarly attention in consumer research, especially in consumer acculturation studies. The study of ethnic-minority integration in consumer research has been mostly addressed in consumer acculturation research, wherein a robust body of knowledge has developed on the relationship between ethnicity and consumption patterns (e.g. Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986; Wallendorf & Reilly, 1983), consumption and identity projects (e.g. Askegaard, Arnould, & Kjeldgaard, 2005; Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020), as well as in relation to the functioning of broader sociocultural processes, such as social class (Üstüner & Holt, 2007) and neoliberal multiculturalism (Veresiu & Giesler, 2018).

In more recent studies, a relational configuration of consumer acculturation has been advanced that focuses on the interactional aspect of consumer acculturation (Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu, 2020). In this view, consumer acculturation is regarded as “a market-mediated form of relational configuration through which immigrants and indigenes willingly negotiate competing and changing sociocultural conditions” (Veresiu, 2020, p. 343). However, the role of cities as places that facilitate and/or confine these interactions and negotiations has received limited attention.

Addressing this identified theoretical gap in the literature, our study aims to uncover how cities, as sites of consumption (Zukin, 1998) and intercultural interactions (Zapata-Barrero,

---

<sup>1</sup> Translated from Persian by the first author.

2020), can play a role in the creation of more cohesive societies in immigration countries, particularly through providing a source for consumers' identity construction. Therefore, we ask: How do city and city-related consumption practices play a role in immigrant consumer acculturation? To answer this question, we conducted this study in the context of Iranian immigrants residing in Dortmund, an immigration-destination city in western Germany.

Our contributions are primarily to extant consumer acculturation theory, which typically conceptualises immigrant consumers' experiences in relation to national or ethnic categories (e.g., Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020; Oswald, 1999; Peñaloza, 1994). We argue immigrant consumers can develop a sense of belonging to the hosting society through engaging in city spaces and city-related consumption activities. Our findings show that such city-related sense of belonging is constructed through city-related rituals, reterritorialisation and private appropriation of public space. As such, our study's findings go beyond the current division between the home and host countries/cultures in the theorisation of consumer acculturation, thus advancing theoretical understanding in this area. We also discuss how these theoretical advancements can inform diversity-management policymaking.

To this end, the remainder of our paper is structured as follows. This introduction section is followed by the section on the research background that reviews the current literature and theories on interculturalism and consumer acculturation – two important and related streams of scholarship to this study. Next, the methodological approaches that we used are discussed, which includes the context of the study, data collection and analysis. The next section then presents the findings – i.e., our interpretations and analysis of the data – and then followed by the discussion of the findings. The paper concluding with theoretical and practical contributions, along with limitations and suggestions for future research.

## **Background**

### ***Multiculturalism and interculturalism***

We are witnessing a paradigmatic shift from multiculturalism to interculturalism in the diversity-management theories and policies as a direct response to the shortcomings of multicultural policies (Zapata-Barrero, 2020). Multicultural policies are characterised by focusing on ethnic groups' cultural rights and respecting the ethnocultural differences (Zapata-Barrero, 2016). However, the domination of the multicultural paradigm in European countries has partially accounted for the formation of parallel societies at the heart of these countries (Bagguley, 2015). Although multiculturalism does not directly foster seclusion, narrowing down integration to the issues – such as providing equal opportunities, accepting/tolerating the 'other' or forcing integration through legal frameworks and official language – has led to the formation and operation of mechanisms of exclusion (Bouchard, 2011; Demangeot et al., 2019). Moreover, a lack of attention to the more symbolic and subjective aspects of integration (e.g. developing 'a sense of belonging' to the hosting society) in multicultural policymaking has placed multiculturalism under suspicion of promoting segregation (Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

Interculturalism, as an alternative paradigm to multiculturalism, is basically a project of constructing a civic culture that is founded upon cultural diversity and promoting intercultural interactions in public spaces (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). In other words, whilst respecting the differences, the focus in interculturalism is on similarities as bases for intercultural interactions, whereas in multiculturalism the focus is placed on cultural differences (Leikkilä et al., 2013; Zapata-Barrero, 2016). Interculturalism is based on three interrelated premises. First, the dialogic, relational and reciprocal nature of interculturalism warrants policymaking that is directed towards the whole society (Bouchard, 2011). Therefore, diversity-management policies do not only target immigrants and ethnic-minority groups, but also the mainstream society and institutions, including the marketplace.

Second is the less attended, symbolic and subjective aspect of integration, which is the creation of a sense of belonging, the identification with the hosting society (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). From an interculturalist perspective, moving towards a more harmonious, diverse society requires promoting and facilitating intercultural interactions in everyday experiences through which the socio-spatial connections – in the forms of affiliation and belonging – are fostered (Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Multiculturalism, as the dominant approach to diversity management, provides solutions that remain largely at the macro-theoretical approaches and policymaking, such as focusing on ethnic groups and the national background as the unit of analysis/policymaking. In contrast, interculturalism can be viewed as a project that aims to bring the conversation about diversity issues to the everyday life – to the micro level (Sealy, 2018).

Third, interculturalism in essence is an urban phenomenon (Zapata-Barrero, 2020). Through facilitating (or impeding) cognitive (i.e., learning basic life skills and know-hows in the new context), structural (i.e., consumers' access to common resources and institutions), social (i.e., intercultural interactions) and identificational integration (i.e., developing the sense of belonging to the new socio-spatial setting), cities and urban planning can play an important role in immigrants' acculturation (Leikkilä et al., 2013). Interculturalism aims to bring these (urban) capacities to the forefront of diversity-management policies. In this view, cities are regarded as key players that can facilitate the formation of diverse, dynamic and cohesive societies (Schiller, 2012; Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

Based on these three interrelated premises, an important difference between interculturalism and multiculturalism lies in how they approach the issue of identity and identity construction in relation to the hosting society. On the one hand, the dominant multiculturalist theories and policies hold a “national container view” (Caponio et al., 2019, p. 3) that tends to understand and regulate culturally diverse groups based on their nationality and/or ethnoreligious background. In other words, multiculturalism assumes a strong link between identity and nationality/ethnicity that becomes the basis of policymaking and theorisations. Therefore, this macro-level perspective largely narrows down identity to national/ethnic background and overrules other aspects of the self, other sources of identity construction (Sealy, 2018). On the other hand, interculturalism offers a micro-level framework that not only respects the ethnocultural differences, but also facilitates the possibility of identity construction in relation

to everyday life interactions in the hosting society. Therefore, an interculturalist theoretical perspective can provide an understanding of people in their natural setting and in relation to the social spaces that they experience in their everyday lives, mostly in the context of a city (Zapata-Barrero, 2016). In this sense, cities and city-related activities are regarded as spaces for intercultural interactions and important sources of developing a sense of belonging to the hosting society, which is a perspective that is largely overlooked in extant consumer acculturation studies.

### ***Consumer acculturation***

In consumer research, the topic of ethnic-minority integration is mostly addressed through examining the concept of consumer acculturation. A substantial body of literature has developed investigating the process of cultural adaptation mediated by consumption, markets and market interactions when consumers move between cultural contexts. Consumer acculturation especially received more scholarly attention after Peñaloza's (1994) seminal work, which is considered to be a turning point in the study of this concept shifting from assimilationist (i.e., focusing only on the mainstream, dominant culture in the hosting country) to postassimilationist approaches (i.e., focusing on both home and host cultural backgrounds in consumer acculturation process). Peñaloza's (1994) theorisation of consumer acculturation has affected how subsequent studies addressed and defined this concept in relation to the home (i.e., the country of origin) and the host (i.e., the immigration country) countries. Therefore, despite the heterogeneity in approaches towards studying consumer acculturation, a common theme amongst many previous studies is the construction of identity projects in relation to the home and host cultural contexts.

Accordingly, a rich understanding of identity construction and projects in relation to the home and host countries has been developed in the literature on consumer acculturation. These studies have shown how immigrant consumers rely on consumption and market resources to resist or negotiate the differences as they navigate across different cultural contexts that are associated with the home and host cultures, and how this process is reciprocally reflected in their identity projects – i.e., constructing and expressing the self in their everyday lives (e.g., Askegaard et al., 2005; Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020; Oswald, 1999). Previous studies have also shown how consumption can operate as a two-edged sword, when the lack of sufficient social, cultural and economic capital, along with the desire to participate in the upper-middle class consumer culture can lead to the formation of a 'shattered identity project' (Üstüner & Holt, 2007), or when immigrants' experiences of the contradictions in consumption and market resources, as cultural symbolic mediators, can lead to the construction of a 'torn self' (Jafari & Goulding, 2008), negatively affecting their wellbeing (Visconti et al., 2014).

There have been attempts in the previous consumer acculturation research to extend the conceptual boundaries of the field beyond the dichotomy of the home and host cultures. For example, Askegaard et al. (2005) identified 'transnational consumer culture', which highly overlaps with American consumer culture, as an agent of consumer acculturation amongst Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark. Similarly, Cruz and Buchanan-Oliver (2017)

considered Southeast Asian and transnational consumer cultures as sources of cultural capital for Southeast Asian immigrants in the context of New Zealand. Additionally, with the rise of what is referred to as ‘super-diversity’ in immigration countries, such as Australia, the UK and Canada (Vertovec, 2007, 2019), there is a recent wave in consumer studies that focuses on the concepts such as multiculturalisation (Demangeot et al. 2015; Ibarra-Cantu & Cheetham, 2021; Kipnis et al., 2014; Veresiu & Giesler, 2018) and multi-directional acculturation (Dey et al., 2019). In this view, within a multicultural marketplace, consumers are faced with more than just two options of the home and host cultures and “may develop affiliations with one, two or multiple cultures resulting in various types of cultural identities” (Kipnis et al., 2014, p.233). However, again, sources of cultural identity are discussed at the national/ethnic level, and there is a lack of a micro-level perspective of consumers’ everyday lives in acculturation/multiculturalisation processes.

In summary, it can be argued that a multiculturalist “national container view” (Caponio et al., 2019, p. 3) is evident in the existing consumer acculturation theory that focuses on the home and host cultures, or other national/ethnic-based, macro-level cultural categories as the sources of identity construction. The rise of micro-level, interculturalism provides a timely and relevant theoretical framework to extend consumer acculturation theory in a new direction and explore this concept beyond the division between the home and host countries. Our study aims to address this issue through investigating the role of cities in immigrant consumer acculturation.

## **Methodology**

Theoretically, this study is grounded in and contributes to a stream of research on consumer acculturation (e.g., Askegaard et al., 2005; Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2020; Peñaloza, 1994; Veresiu & Giesler, 2018) that is formed within the broader consumer culture theory (CCT) tradition of consumer research. In line with CCT’s epistemological position (Arnould & Thompson, 2005; Thompson et al., 2013), this study adopts an interpretivist approach to the study of social phenomena and consequently uses a qualitative methodology to investigate how the city and city-related consumption practices can play a role in immigrant consumer acculturation. The following sections provide the details of the context of the study and our approach to data collection and analysis.

### ***Context***

This study is conducted in the context of Iranian immigrants residing in Dortmund, a major city in the western part of Germany that is located in the industrial region of the Ruhr Valley – a region that is historically a popular immigration destination in Germany (Tanis, 2020). As a destination for immigrants and refugees from different backgrounds, Germany is also one of the main destinations for Iranian immigrants along with other countries, such as the US, UK and Canada (Azadi et al., 2020).

Whilst there had been a consensus in German society about the benefits of immigration, such a consensus seems to have weakened in recent years, especially after the 2015 refugee crisis

and its aftermath (Heckmann, 2016). This change should be considered in the bigger picture of the circulation and functioning of transnational anti-immigration and xenophobic discourses that largely take on Islamophobic properties (Morgan & Poynting, 2012). These discourses tend to produce a homogenised representation of Muslims and those who are from ‘Islamic countries’ – a phenomenon that is referred to as racialisation of Muslims (Meer & Madood, 2019) – representing them as separate and antagonistic race (Zia-Ebrahimi, 2018). Sadeghi (2019) reported how such homogenisation processes in the Islamophobic discourses in Germany have affected Iranian immigrants in different ways, including experiencing marginality, discrimination and perpetual foreignness.

Therefore, there is a commonality between the dominant multiculturalist policies and theories and the above-mentioned Islamophobic discourses, which is a homogenised, macro-level understanding of immigrants based on their national, ethnic and/or religious background, and putting them into boxes and labelling them as Muslim or Middle Eastern, for example. As discussed in the Background section, overemphasising national, ethnic and/or religious identities, which is also referred to as a national/ethnic container view (Caponio et al., 2019), can prevent exploring and understanding other aspects of immigrants’ identity in their everyday lives, including their interactions within city spaces and in relation to the city. Hence, the selected context (i.e., Iranian immigrants in Germany) is particularly relevant to the purpose of this study, as it provides a first-hand understanding of a group of consumers that have been largely reduced to a stereotypical, homogenised representation of themselves based upon their national and ethnoreligious background. Additionally, even within the dominant, ‘container view’ inquiries, when investigating Muslim and/or Middle Eastern communities, Iranians largely remained hidden in the shadow of larger ethnic groups, such as Turkish and Arab communities (Haque, 2012).

### ***Data collection***

Adopting an inductive approach in which the emerging theory led the direction of the data collection, we used semi-structured, in-depth interviews and unstructured ‘go-along’ interviews for the purpose of data collection. Eighteen semi-structured interviews were conducted between February and November 2018 with first-generation Iranian immigrants residing in Dortmund, Germany. Adopting a purposive sampling approach, the aim was to include Iranian immigrants with different backgrounds and different durations of residence in Germany in order to acquire a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study (Bahl and Milne, 2006). On average, each interview lasted around 100 minutes. A summary of the research participants’ profile is provided in Table 1.

In terms of the questions, a semi-structured interview guide was developed that followed a chronological approach to participants’ life stories, mostly focusing on the post-immigration era to the present, and in relation to their experiences of the city. However, there was no insistence on rigidly following the question order, as participants had the freedom to flexibly reflect on their experiences in the context of immigration as the dialogue flowed (Arsel, 2017).

**Table 1. An overview of the key characteristics of participants**

Name	Age	Gender	Marital status	Occupation	Citizenship status	Duration in Germany (years)	Education level
Ali	71	Male	Married	Grocery-store owner-manager	Iranian	50	Bachelor
Sina	27	Male	Single	Student	Iranian	3	Bachelor
Ahmad	42	Male	Married	Taxi driver	German	15	HS diploma
Bahar	30	Female	Single	Engineer	Iranian	7	Master
Parisa	33	Female	Couple	-	Iranian	4	Master
Kambiz	35	Male	Single	Lab Scientist	Iranian	5	Master
Razi	58	Female	Divorcee	-	German	23	Bachelor
Hamed	57	Male	Married	Chef	German	28	Bachelor
Mahsa	31	Female	Couple	Student	Iranian	3	Master
Mojdeh	54	Female	Married	Businesswoman	German	33	HS diploma
Saba	29	Female	Single	Teacher	German	18	Master
Baran	65	Female	Married	Professor	German	41	Doctorate
Mahmoud	76	Male	Married	Physician	German	38	Doctorate
Armin	25	Male	Single	Labourer	German	5	HS diploma
Farah	39	Female	Married	Waitress	German	4	HS diploma
Kurosh	40	Male	Single	Physician	German	36	Doctorate
Vahid	37	Male	Married	Social worker	German	10	Bachelor
Nasrin	35	Female	Married	IT specialist	German	8	Master

Note: Pseudonyms have been used to protect participants' identity.

Moreover, go-along interviews were conducted as follow-ups with seven participants, namely Bahar, Parisa, Mojdeh, Vahid, Saba, Baran and Kurosh. These unstructured, mobile interviews lasted between one and three hours. They were mostly conducted whilst walking in Dortmund, and once also whilst driving, and all ended up sitting in participants' favourite bars, pubs or cafes in the city. The go-along interviews enabled developing a better contextual understanding of participants' environment and their relationships with the city (Flick at al., 2019; Kusenbach, 2003; Carpiano, 2009; Garcia et al., 2012). As de Certeau (2002) states, "The act of walking is to the urban system what the speech act is to language or to the statements uttered" (p. 97).

The language of the interviews was Persian, which is participants' and first author's native language. To avoid losing meaning during the interpretive process of translation (Van Nes et al., 2010), the data was transcribed and analysed in Persian.

### **Data analysis**

A hermeneutic approach was adopted to analyse and interpret the data (Thompson, 1997), which began after conducting the first interview. Hermeneutics, which is described as the art of interpretation (Kinsella, 2006), puts the 'person in context' at the heart of the process of interpretation (Lavery, 2003), focusing on experiences as they are lived (Thompson et al., 1989). This approach was specifically selected considering the centrality of context in making sense of participants' experiences in hermeneutics, compared to the other more descriptive forms of phenomenology (Larkin et al., 2006; Askegaard & Linnet, 2011). Commonly used in CCT studies and consumer acculturation research (e.g. Luedicke, 2015; Veresiu & Giesler, 2018), a hermeneutic approach enabled us to better contextualise immigrant consumers' experiences, especially regarding their relationship with the city.



Following the guidelines of Thompson (1997) and Arnold and Fischer (1994), the data was subjected to intratext and intertext readings, along with following an iterative back and forth between the part and the whole in the interpretation of the data, which is the hermeneutic circle. Therefore, data analysis involved an iterative process of moving between each transcribed interview and the dynamic interpretations and conceptualisations that emerged. This process also included enriching our emergent interpretations and conceptualisations with extant understandings and theorisations of consumer acculturation and other related theoretical perspectives. This allowed us to ground our interpretations of the data with regard to the related theories in this sensemaking process.

Being conducted within the interpretivist research paradigm, the metaphor of ‘researcher-as-instrument’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) guided the epistemological position and methodological approaches of this study. Therefore, the trustworthiness of the research is assured through researchers’ immersion in, and familiarity with, the background of the study (Thompson, 1997). Additionally, the research team continuously reflected on their beliefs, biases and assumptions about the issues under investigation during the data collection, analysis and interpretation (Schwandt, 1994; Trent & Cho, 2020). The outcome of our hermeneutic understanding of the data is presented in the next section.

## **Findings**

Focusing on participants’ experiences of the city, this study investigates how cities and city-related activities can play a role in consumer acculturation. Our interpretive understanding throughout the hermeneutic circle highlights three ways through which cities can play a role in the consumer acculturation process; namely, rituals, reterritorialisation and private appropriation of public space. The following sections provide details on each of these findings.

### ***Rituals***

First, participants’ narratives revealed that the construction of a sense of belonging to the city is evident in the case of city-related consumption practices and market-related activities that take on a ritual form. For example, the city-related identity is evident in Ali’s football fan behaviour. Ali is a 70-year-old and has been living in Dortmund for 50 years. Ali’s wife is German, and they have two children, who cannot speak Persian, as Ali states. Ali owned and ran an Iranian grocery store in Dortmund at the time of the interview. When Ali was asked about whether he will support Iran and/or Germany national teams during the 2018 World Cup, he responded reluctantly, ‘neither of them’. This is despite his eagerness in supporting the Borussia Dortmund (BVB) football club as a representative of ‘his city’, which highlights how local identity can go beyond ethnic and national identity in immigrants’ identity work:

Ali: [when I go to the stadium,] I am not a fan who always sings and chants. I watch the match. If they play well, I enjoy, if they don’t, I cannot do anything. I am [just] an ordinary fan. Well, [of course] I become very sad [if they lose].

They are [representing] our city. [For me,] they should always win. I become very happy [if they win]. But when they lose, like this week, well, what can I do?

What makes Ali's strong ties to Dortmund particularly interesting is the fact that after 50 years of living in Germany and marrying a German, he still does not have a German passport and still uses his Iranian passport. This is very unusual amongst Iranian immigrants, especially because of the current restrictions for international travel with the Iranian passport. When he was asked why he has not applied for a German passport, he simply replied, "Well, I am not German. I am Iranian".

In Ali's case, it can be seen that local football fandom facilitates the construction and expression of identity in relation to the city. Previous research has shown how the collective effervescence and atmosphere in a consumption ritual, such as sports fandom, can become an important source of collective identity construction (Guschwan, 2012; Hill et al., 2022). Watching the match of the local football club in a public space, such as the stadium or in a bar, being amongst the fans that continuously express their emotions and experiencing collective effervescence (Collins, 2005) results in strong feelings of membership (Hill et al., 2022). Such a feeling can also be constructed when reflecting on the shared sorrow of a loss, as reflected in Ali's excerpt.

Similar to Ali, strong ties to Dortmund are also reflected in Mojdeh's narratives of the self. As a 54-year-old Iranian woman residing in Dortmund for 33 years, Mojdeh talks about her ties to Iran very passionately. For example, she describes: "Each time when I go to Iran, it is like entering into a different world; every cell of my body feels happy". Whilst such an emotional attachment to Germany is not evident in her identity narrative, her relationship and affiliation with Dortmund, as "her city", seems to be a different story: "When I went to Iran [for the first time] after 5 years [of staying in Germany] ... when I laid in my old bed in my parents' house, I suddenly missed Dortmund. [I missed Dortmund] because my house was there, [because] my life was there". Her affiliation and care about Dortmund are not only limited to nostalgic feelings when she is away from home, but also in supporting local businesses and economy as much as she can by not shopping online:

I try to avoid online shopping as much as I can ... It was two or three days ago that I wanted to buy one of these Bluetooth speakers. I checked the prices online. I knew I could find a better deal online, but I went to a shop ... I showed the price on the website [to the salesperson] and I said to him 'this is their price'. He said, 'I cannot offer you that price, but five Euros higher than that'. I replied 'Sure! For me, 5 Euros is nothing if it helps this business running and you keeping your job'.

In Mojdeh's case, an interrelationship between city-related ritual and identity construction is evident. Through avoiding purchasing online to support local businesses, it can be interpreted that the routine shopping experience is turned to a ritual with expressive and symbolic

properties (Rook, 1985). In the case of the ‘Bluetooth speaker’ purchase, for example, Mojdeh is not using webrooming (i.e., search online, buy offline) just to find the best deal, but also as a means of supporting local businesses. In this sense, ritual shopping experiences are used as boundary-making practices through which Mojdeh feels included in the circle of ‘Dortmunders’. Therefore, a strong, reciprocal relationship between city-related rituals and identity construction can be seen, either in the form of more collective rituals (Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991), such as supporting the local sports club, or in the form of individual rituals (Rook, 1985), such as shopping (Miller, 2013).

### ***Private appropriation of public space***

Cities as social and material spaces form consumers’ experiences in their everyday lives. Our data shows that a sense of belonging to the city is constructed amongst research participants when they associate their experiences of a specific city space with their hometown (in their home country). To label this finding, we borrow the term ‘private appropriation of public space’ from Visconti et al. (2010), through which they refer to “an individualistic view of public space” (p. 517). In the case of our findings, private appropriation of space is observed when participants express an individualistic take of a city space in relation to their original hometown. For example, this is evident in Bahar’s go-along interview. To show two of her favourite parts of Dortmund, Bahar first took the interviewer (i.e., first author) to the Rombergpark Botanical Garden and afterwards to the Nordmarkt to have some street food for lunch. Nordmarkt (North Market in German) is a borough in the inner north of Dortmund’s city centre that hosts a weekly street market. The majority of sellers and buyers in the street market are from different ethnic minority backgrounds, which is also reflected in the products that are being offered for sale, especially food. The hustle and bustle of the street market is a familiar space for Bahar, who is originally from a town in the north of Iran by the Caspian Sea – a region that is famous for its street markets. Being in a familiar public space, Bahar’s experience of the street market in Dortmund takes on an individualistic form that is constructed through her perception of the similarities in spatial properties of the market with her original hometown.

Private appropriation of public space is also reflected in Parisa’s relationship with fruit trees on the streets of Dortmund. In our first interview, Parisa laughingly said “I probably know all the fruit trees in the city”. In our second, go-along interview, Parisa took me to a street at the north of Dortmund city centre to show me the Cornelian cherry trees on the street:

I really like this street (laughing), so many ‘Zoghal Akhteh’ (Cornelian cherry trees) – it reminds me of Darakeh and Darband<sup>2</sup> ... I think it’s great [to have fruit trees in cities]. Remember when we have mulberry in the spring and the picnics!

---

<sup>2</sup> Darakeh and Darband are two mountainous villages north of Tehran with restaurants, cafés, and stores that sell various snacks, including one that is made locally from Cornelian cherries.

There is a strong nostalgic aspect to Bahar and Parisa's narratives and practices that symbolises the intimacy of home (Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2014; Emontspool & Kjeldgaard 2012). Previous studies have shown how nostalgic consumption is used by immigrant consumers to create a sense of cultural identity with the home country – e.g., Indian artefacts and decoration to reconstruct the homeland in their home space by Indian immigrants in the US (Mehta & Belk, 1991), Greenlandic symbolic products, such as tupilaks, by Greenlandic immigrants in Denmark (Askegaard et al., 2005), and Southeast Asian food consumption by Southeast Asian immigrants in New Zealand (Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2014). Bahar and Parisa's narratives show how similar socio-spatial elements of the immigration city (i.e., Dortmund) and the original hometown can lead to the construction of nostalgic feelings and a way of connecting to the immigration city and city spaces. Compared to a collective practice, such as football fandom in the case of Ali, for example, this theme can be regarded as a more individualistic appropriation of space in order to connect with Dortmund in a more personal way (Flick et al., 2019; Maciel & Wallendorf, 2021).

### ***Reterritorialisation***

The third way we found that a strong tie to the city is constructed amongst our participants is through what we label as 'reterritorialisation'. Reterritorialisation here refers to the construction of a sense of belonging to a city in the hosting country (i.e., Germany) resulting from boundary-making, city-related practices. This theme is especially relevant in relation to mobility in the context of immigration and amongst those participants who have lived in several cities in Germany. Our data shows that city-related identity construction amongst participants is not all about affiliating with Dortmund (i.e., the site of the data collection), but also, sometimes, somehow against the city and in relation to other cities in Germany. For example, for Nasrin, Dortmund is the first city in Germany she resided in, the city where she got her university degree and the city in which she currently works. However, not having very pleasant memories of her early years in the city has led her to not developing emotional ties to it and calling it 'soulless'. Nevertheless, this does not mean she has not adopted a city as her 'hometown' in Germany, as she has developed feelings for Bochum, a neighbouring city, where she currently lives with her family. For Kurosh, this affiliation is constructed towards Cologne, the city nearby where he grew up, the city where he went to university and the city that he loves for its culture, its festivals and carnival and its beer culture:

I only live in Dortmund because of my job. I am comfortable here, though. I have some friends and I am not that far from my parents. But in essence, I am not a Dortmunder. I am a Kölner ... I grew up in a small town near Leverkusen, but I went to the university in Cologne ... I like its cheerful culture and mentality. I even enjoy drinking Kölsch [i.e., a style of beer from Cologne] more than this [pointing to his glass of Brinkhoff's No.1, his favourite Dortmund beer]; I like its culture of drinking ... If you go to a pub in Cologne on your own, I am a hundred per cent sure that someone will start talking to you. But, you do not see this that often in Dortmund.

The data shows that such city-based, ingroup-outgroup boundary-making and identity work is mostly discussed by participants in relation to some forms of city-related, symbolic consumption practices. In the case of Dortmund, for example, it is the local football club (i.e., Borussia Dortmund) that plays an important symbolic role in city-related identity. On a matchday, the city of Dortmund seems to sport a different outfit, creating a special atmosphere. This is particularly more visible on the streets leading towards the stadium (the third-largest stadium in Europe). Fans walk towards the stadium along streets crowded with food stalls, the sports bars around the city are packed, and many houses and apartments fly a Borussia Dortmund flag from their balconies and windows. However, this atmosphere is not experienced in the same way by everyone, especially for non-celebrators (Weinberger, 2015). This includes Bahar who has recently resided in Dortmund to complete her PhD. After about a year of living in Dortmund, she was still in the process of adapting and connecting to the city, whilst Aachen – the city where she previously resided – still plays an important role in the way she makes sense of her experiences in Dortmund. Throughout our interview, and in order to compare with her experiences in Dortmund, Bahar describes Aachen as “a beautiful old city”, “a university city” and “livelier with so many cultural events all the time”. Whereas, when it comes to Dortmund, especially the most symbolic Dortmund-related practice, Bahar distances herself from the city, especially in relation to football and the local football club:

It's not just Dortmunders. Germans are generally speaking like this. They are very strongly attached to the place they grew up ... It was like this when I lived in Aachen, too. Probably not as much as Dortmund, though! Here, it can be sometimes annoying, especially because of football!

Bahar's experience, along with other participants who lived in different cities after migrating to Germany, underscores the dynamic nature of consumer acculturation in relation to mobility and space. With the increasing trend of mobility, immigrant consumers may reside in various cities and places (Demangeot et al., 2015). Bahar, Kurosh and Nasirn's narratives indicate how they make sense of their experiences of immigration relying on their previous experiences in other German cities they resided in pre-Dortmund.

A theme that is shared amongst all these narratives is about the functioning of different forms of collective consumption practices that are somehow related to a city and its symbols. These collective consumption practices can be regarded as territorialising consumption practices (Cheetham et al., 2018), through which ingroup and outgroup are defined (Weinberger, 2015). Here, we do not refer to the traditional conceptualisation of territory as an object and land, but a socially constructed conception of territory and territorialisation that holds territory as socio-spatial ties – the relationship between an individual or a group with a geography (e.g., a city) as an imagined entity with functional and expressive components (Brighenti, 2010).

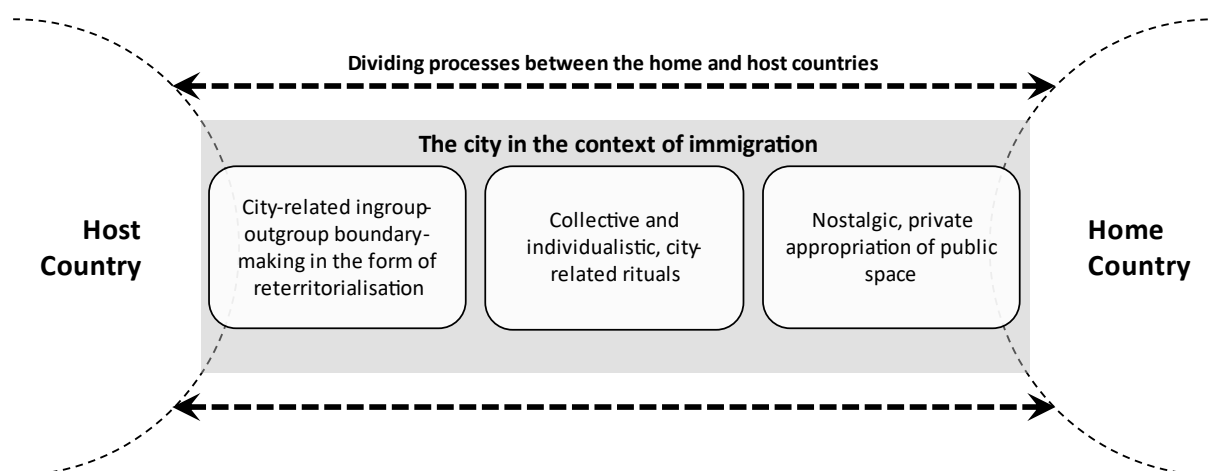
We use the term 'reterritorialisation' to label this finding in order to highlight the dynamic nature of boundary-making and identity work in the context of immigration, not only in

relation to the transition from the home country to the host country, but also in relation to post-migration mobility. In this sense, reterritorialisation does not occur only at the national level, but also, as this finding indicates, at the city level. From this perspective, reterritorialisation pertains developing a sense of ingroup-outgroup amongst participants that ties them to a specific city in the host country, similar to the sense of belonging to the original hometown, and against other cities. This finding also underscores the reciprocity that exists between city-related collective consumption and territorialisation and how it can provide immigrants with tangible and intangible resources for cognitive and emotional boundary making in their everyday lives (Cheetham et al., 2018).

## Discussion

This paper explores the role of cities in the consumer acculturation process. The findings provide new insights on the processes immigrants develop in bridging the gaps between the host and home country. As visualised in Figure 1, the findings show whilst there are dividing processes (e.g., transnational and local anti-immigration and xenophobic discourses) that dichotomise the home and host countries, the construction of a sense of belonging to the (host) city acts as a bridge to cross the boundaries between the home and the host countries. Also new is the finding that the city-related sense of belonging and identity work can be constructed and embodied in three ways. First, rituals, in both individualistic and collective forms, play an important role in the construction of a sense of belonging to the city. The routine, expressive and symbolic properties (Rook, 1985; Wallendorf & Arnould, 1991) of city-related rituals serve not only as embodied experiences of city (Everett, 2008) but also as important resources for identity construction, enabling immigrant consumers to dispute various forms of exclusion mechanisms that may prevent them from developing a sense of belonging to the hosting society.

Figure 1 – Three ways cities and city-related practices facilitate the construction of a sense of belonging to the hosting society



Second, our findings show that private appropriation of public space (Visconti et al., 2010) by immigrants can facilitate the construction of a sense of belonging to the city. Private appropriation of public space in our study refers to when socio-spatial similarities between a specific place in the city of residence and a familiar space in the original home country/city can lead to a nostalgic experience of space and the construction of a sense of connection to the host city. Third, reterritorialisation (Cheetham et al., 2018), as an ongoing and dynamic outcome of mobility in the context of immigration, can result in city-related identity construction amongst immigrants. By reterritorialisation, we refer to the process of territorialising a city as a hometown in the hosting country, especially in relation to the existing inter-city rivalries in the country – an ingroup-outgroup, boundary-making process through which immigrant consumers develop a sense of belonging to the hosting society. Overall, the findings of our study provide new theoretical and practical understandings of how cities can facilitate the construction of a sense of belonging by immigrants to the hosting society.

### ***Implications for theory***

The findings of this study extend the boundaries of consumer acculturation research beyond the dichotomy of the home and host countries. Influenced by a multiculturalist perspective towards identity, the existing literature on consumer acculturation has primarily focused on the home and host countries (Oswald, 1999; Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2017, 2020; Jafari & Goulding, 2008) or the broader transnational processes (Askegaard et al., 2005; Veresiu and Giesler, 2018; Emontspool & Kjeldgaard, 2012) as the sources of identity construction amongst immigrant consumers. The findings of this study advance our understanding of consumer acculturation through underscoring how immigrant consumers' everyday experiences of the city are reflected in their narratives of the self and become a basis for them to make sense of their experiences in the context of immigration.

When it comes to identity, existing consumer acculturation theory overemphasises connecting immigrant consumers' experiences to the macro-level notions of the home and host countries. This approach is similar to a premise of multiculturalism in categorising and labelling immigrants based on their national/ethnic background, which overlooks the other aspects of identity construction in the context of the hosting society, including the everyday life in the city. As our findings suggest, developing a sense of belonging to the host city is easier and more relatable for immigrants as they experience the city and city spaces in their everyday life, compared to the host country as a more subjective and idealist space (Saatcioglu, & Ozanne, 2013). In other words, immigrant consumers can experience the notions of the hosting country and hosting city, as spatial constructs, in different ways. Whilst the dichotomies, such as the home and the host and the West and the East in the dominant discourses, may prevent immigrants from developing ties and affiliations to the hosting country (Germany, in the case of this study), cities can operate as spaces of possibility in which the established power structures can be challenged and where alternative lifestyles and values are facilitated (Kagan et al., 2018). And, in doing so, both social and material aspects of city spaces are important in creating more inclusive societies through facilitating positive intercultural interactions and dialogue (Zapata-Barrero, 2017), along with the opportunity for

minorities, including ethnic minorities, to construct and express their identities (Demangeot et al., 2015; Maciel & Wallendorf, 2021).

The findings of this study show that immigrant consumers' affiliation to the city and their participation in the city-related, collective consumption practices and rituals enables them to mitigate the tensions resulted from the division between the home and host countries in the dominant discourses. It is important to highlight that the dichotomy between the home (e.g., Iran) and the host (e.g., Germany) countries does not only exist in the consumer acculturation literature (e.g., Askegaard et al., 2005; Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2017, 2020; Jafari & Goulding, 2008). Such a division of these two imagined spaces is also experienced by immigrants in their everyday lives through the circulation and operation of anti-immigration and xenophobic discourses that represent them as the 'other' (Dervin, 2012; Said, 1978). In this sense, the construction of a city-related identity and the sense of belonging to the hosting society can have a transformative effect for immigrant consumers, empowering them to mitigate the undermining, negative representations produced by such discourses (Sepehr, 2019).

Additionally, the findings of this study demonstrate how mobility in the context of immigration can affect consumer acculturation. Demangeot and colleagues (2015) underscored that the established consumer acculturation theory does not capture the dynamic of this phenomenon regarding the consumers' experiences of different spaces, especially as they reside in different places. The findings of this study provide insights into the dynamic nature of acculturation through showing how living in different cities in the context of immigration can affect immigrants' interpretation of their experiences throughout the consumer acculturation process. For example, through reterritorialisation, which is mostly constructed and embodied through city-related collective consumption practices, immigrants can develop a place-based sense of community (Mahmoudi Farahani, 2016), which respectively can result in the development of a common spirit and interconnections (McMillan, 1996) amongst citizens from different cultural backgrounds – a notion that is central to interculturalism (Zapata-Barrero, 2017).

Our findings also show how boundary-making, reterritorialising practices amongst participants result in the construction of a sense of belonging to a city in the hosting society. Previous research has theorised that consumption practices, especially, and more effectively, in their collective forms, perform as boundary-making practices to create ingroup and outgroup distinctions (Hill et al., 2022; Seregina & Weijo, 2016), which particularly operate based on consumers' social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Weinberger, 2015). In other words, such consumption practices, as the embodiment of social and cultural capital, function as criteria for inclusion and exclusion in various social spheres (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). The findings of this research show how city-related consumption practices are used by immigrants to construct and express their connection to a city, and how these symbolic practices are used by them to navigate the boundaries in the hosting society and reciprocally improve their social and cultural capital.



Through underscoring the spatial aspect of nostalgic experiences, the findings of this study extend the current conceptualisation of nostalgia in consumer acculturation theory. In previous research, the focus is primarily on the temporal aspect of nostalgia (i.e., longing for the past) in relation to consumer acculturation (e.g., Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2014; Emontspool & Kjeldgaard, 2012). As our finding on the private appropriation of space indicates, space is equally important in construction of nostalgic experiences (Holbrook, 1993), which is in fact closer to the original conceptualisation of nostalgia, as ‘the longing for the homeland’ (Cervellon & Brown, 2018) – that is, how spatial properties can lead to nostalgic experiences amongst consumers. Considering both temporal and spatial aspects of nostalgia can result in a more comprehensive understanding of nostalgic experiences. For example, this enabled us to identify how immigrants can connect to a city in the ‘hosting’ society through a nostalgic, private appropriation of space. Therefore, this can be seen as another theoretical contribution of this paper, considering that previous consumer acculturation research investigated and discussed nostalgia in relation to a sense of cultural identity with the ‘home’ country (e.g., Cruz & Buchanan-Oliver, 2014; Kreuzer et al., 2018).

The interrelationship between city spaces and consumer identity has been addressed in recent years in marketing and consumer research. For example, researchers have underscored the role of city spaces in consumers’ identity work regarding sustainable activism and resisting capitalist processes (Chatzidakis et al., 2012; Lloveras et al., 2018; Vicdan & Hong, 2018;). Moreover, previous studies have highlighted the excluding and alienating functioning of city spaces, especially for consumers with lower levels of economic, social and cultural capital (Castilhos, 2019; Saatcioglu & Corus, 2016;). The findings of this paper present contributions to this stream of research through showing how immigrants’ symbolic interactions within city spaces, facilitated by various forms of consumption practices, operate as a mechanism of inclusion in the hosting society.

### ***Implications for practice***

In the midst of the current challenges regarding immigrant and ethnic-community integration (Benveniste et al., 2016; Flick et al., 2019), and in spite of the growing marginalised ethno-immigrant neighbourhoods in immigration societies, such as Germany (Picker, 2016; Tammaru et al., 2016), the findings of this paper provide useful insights for policymakers and marketing practitioners. The insights regard the potentiality of city spaces and city-related consumption practices for tackling immigrant-consumer vulnerability, improving their wellbeing and facilitating the development of more cohesive societies.

For example, this can be through creating atmospheric interactions (Hill et al., 2022) in city spaces that facilitate intercultural communications. This can involve initiating and supporting collective, city-related rituals that are inclusive and allow consumers from different backgrounds participate, regardless of their social, cultural and economic capital. Therefore, from an interculturalist perspective, such events require a comprehensive planning that involves various social actors (e.g., public organisations, NGOs, businesses and consumers) of different sociocultural backgrounds. The main premise of intercultural diversity management policies is to take the focus from ‘ethnic communities and individuals’ towards

the whole society and all actors. Brands, especially those that have a symbolic connection to the city – such as the Borussia Dortmund football club for Dortmund – can play an important role in this regard. With the growing expectations from brands to enter the socio-political domain (Vredenburg et al., 2020), they can be applied in a more active way in facilitating positive intercultural interactions through their offerings and communications. For example, football-related events could be used as an intercultural facilitator to bring together diverse immigrant and ‘local’ communities and help to build intercultural bridges.

### ***Limitations and future research***

The findings of this paper should be regarded in respect to its limitations, which also provide directions for future research. One limitation of this study arises from lack of insights from the other sides of city-based actors, such as indigenes, other minorities, local businesses, NGOs and public organisations, which could provide a more comprehensive understanding and theorisation of consumer acculturation in relation to the city. Accordingly, one suggested avenue for future research is to collect data from various social actors in relation to city as the site of interculturalism and consumption. Such a comprehensive understanding and theorisation in future research should also include intersectionality to investigate how different social categories and identities (e.g., in relation to gender, sexuality and class), as well as reasons for migration, can influence immigrant consumers’ identity work in relation to city.

Another limitation of this paper arises from its primary focus on the city and city spaces as facilitators – i.e., how they can facilitate the construction of a sense of belonging to the hosting society. Future research can adopt a more critical approach to the role of cities in relation to consumer acculturation and interculturalism. For example, this can include investigating spatial barriers in a city, such as segregated neighbourhoods and gentrification, that may prevent immigrants from developing a sense of belonging to city, especially from an interculturalist perspective. A more focused unit of analysis, such as the neighbourhood, may help to develop a better understanding of such barriers that are experienced by immigrants in their everyday lives, which ultimately prevent the construction of a sense of belonging and formation of place-based communities (Mahmoudi Farahani, 2016).

### **Declaration of Conflicting Interests**

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

### **Funding**

This research was supported by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) 57314023.

## References

- Arnold, S. J., & Fischer, E. (1994). Hermeneutics and Consumer Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21(1), 55–70.
- Arnould, E. J., & Thompson, C. J. (2005). Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31(4), 868–882.
- Arsel, Z. (2017). Asking Questions with Reflexive Focus: A Tutorial on Designing and Conducting Interviews. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 44(4), 939-948.
- Askegaard, S., Arnould, E. J., & Kjeldgaard, D. (2005). Postassimilationist Ethnic Consumer Research: Qualifications and Extensions. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 32(1), 160–170.
- Askegaard, S., & Linnet, J. T. (2011). Towards an epistemology of consumer culture theory: Phenomenology and the context of context. *Marketing Theory*, 11(4), 381–404.
- Azadi, P., Mirramezani, M., & Mesgaran, M. B. (2020). Migration and Brain Drain from Iran (Working Paper 9). *Stanford Iran 2040 Project*. Stanford University.
- Bagguley, P. (2015). Interculturalism: The new era of cohesion and diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(3), 464–466.
- Bahl, S., & Milne, G. R. (2006). Mixed methods in interpretive research: An application to the study of the self concept. In R. W. Belk (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research methods in marketing* (pp. 198–218). Edward Elgar.
- Benveniste, A., Campani, G., & Lazaridis, G. (2016). Introduction: Populism: The Concept and Its Definitions. In G. Lazaridis, G. Campani, & A. Benveniste (Eds.), *The Rise of the Far Right in Europe* (pp. 1–23). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. M. Padilla (Ed.), *Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings* (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5-34.
- Bouchard, G. (2011). What is interculturalism? *McGill Law Journal*, 56, 435–468.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Brighenti, A. M. (2010). On Territorology: Towards a General Science of Territory. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 27(1), 52–72.
- Caponio, T., Scholten, P., & Zapata-Barrero, R. (2019). Introduction. In T. Caponio, P. Scholten, & R. Zapata-Barrero (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of the governance of migration and diversity in cities* (pp. 1–7). Routledge.
- Carpiano, R. M. (2009). Come take a walk with me: The “Go-Along” interview as a novel method for studying the implications of place for health and well-being. *Health & Place*, 15(1), 263–272.
- Castilhos, R. B. (2019). Branded places and marketplace exclusion. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 22(5-6), 582–597.
- Chatzidakis, A., Maclaran, P., & Bradshaw, A. (2012). Heterotopian space and the utopics of ethical and green consumption. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 28(3–4), 494–515.

- Cheetham, F., McEachern, M. G., & Warnaby, G. (2018). A kaleidoscopic view of the territorialized consumption of place. *Marketing Theory*, 18(4), 473–492.
- Collins, R. (2005). *Interaction ritual chains* (2. print., and first paperback print). Princeton University Press.
- Cervellon, M.-C., & Brown, S. (2018). Reconsumption reconsidered: Redressing nostalgia with neo-burlesque. *Marketing Theory*, 18(3), 391–410.
- Cruz, A. G. B., & Buchanan-Oliver, M. (2014). The Bittersweet Taste of Home: A Baudrillardian Interpretation of Nostalgic Food Consumption in Acculturation. *Advances in Consumer Research*, 42, 447–448.
- Cruz, A. G. B., & Buchanan-Oliver, M. (2017). Moving toward settlement: Tourism as acculturation practice. *European Journal of Marketing*, 51(4), 772–794.
- Cruz, A. G. B., & Buchanan-Oliver, M. (2020). Home culture consumption as ambivalent embodied experience. *European Journal of Marketing*, 54(6), 1325–1353.
- de Certeau, M. (2002). *The practice of everyday life*. University of California Press.
- Demangeot, C., Broeckerhoff, A., Kipnis, E., Pullig, C., & Visconti, L. M. (2015). Consumer mobility and well-being among changing places and shifting ethnicities. *Marketing Theory*, 15(2), 271–278.
- Demangeot, C., Kipnis, E., Pullig, C., Cross, S. N. N., Emontspool, J., Galalae, C., Grier, S. A., Rosenbaum, M. S., & Best, S. F. (2019). Constructing a bridge to multicultural marketplace well-being: A consumer-centered framework for marketer action. *Journal of Business Research*, 100, 339–353.
- Dervin, F. (2012). Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering. In J. Jackson (Ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication* (pp. 181–194). Routledge.
- Deshpande, R., Hoyer, W. D., & Donthu, N. (1986). The Intensity of Ethnic Affiliation: A Study of the Sociology of Hispanic Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 13(2), 214–220.
- Dey, B. L., Alwi, S., Yamoah, F., Agyepong, S. A., Kizgin, H., & Sarma, M. (2019). Towards a framework for understanding ethnic consumers' acculturation strategies in a multicultural environment: A food consumption perspective. *International Marketing Review*, 36(5), 771–804.
- Emontspool, J., & Kjeldgaard, D. (2012). Cultural Reflexivity and the Nostalgia for Glocal Consumer Culture: Insights from a Multicultural Multiple Migration Context. In R. W. Belk, S. Askegaard, & L. Scott (Eds.), *Research in Consumer Behavior* (Vol. 14, pp. 213–232). Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Everett, S. (2008). Beyond the Visual Gaze? The Pursuit of an Embodied Experience Through Food Tourism. *Tourist Studies* 8(3). 337–358.
- Flick, U., Hirsland, A., & Hans, B. (2019). Walking and Talking Integration: Triangulation of Data From Interviews and Go-Alongs for Exploring Immigrant Welfare Recipients' Sense(s) of Belonging. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 25(8), 799–810.
- Garcia, C. M., Eisenberg, M. E., Frerich, E. A., Lechner, K. E., & Lust, K. (2012). Conducting Go-Along Interviews to Understand Context and Promote Health. *Qualitative Health Research*, 22(10), 1395–1403.

- Green, A., Grace, D., & Perkins, H. (2018). City elements propelling city brand meaning-making processes: Urban reminders, the arts, and residential behavior. *Marketing Theory, 18*(3), 349–369.
- Guschwan, M. (2012). Fandom, brandom and the limits of participatory culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 12*(1), 19–40.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: Principles in practice (3rd ed)*. Routledge.
- Haque, K. (2012). Iranian, Afghan, and Pakistani Migrants in Germany: Muslim Populations beyond Turks and Arabs. In B. Becker-Cantarino (Ed.), *Migration and Religion: Christian Transatlantic Missions, Islamic Migration to Germany* (pp. 193–206). BRILL.
- Heckmann, F. (2016). *Understanding the creation of public consensus: Migration and integration in Germany, 2005 to 2015*. Migration Policy Institute.
- Hill, T., Canniford, R., & Eckhardt, G. M. (2022). The Roar of the Crowd: How Interaction Ritual Chains Create Social Atmospheres. *Journal of Marketing, 86*(3), 121–139.
- Holbrook, M. B. (1993). Nostalgia and Consumption Preferences: Some Emerging Patterns of Consumer Tastes. *Journal of Consumer Research, 20*(2), 245–256.
- Ibarra-Cantu, C., & Cheetham, D. F. (2021). Consumer multiculturalization in multicultural marketplaces: Mexican immigrants' responses to the global consumer culture construction of Tex-Mex as Mexican food. *Journal of Business Research, 134*, 70–77.
- Kagan, S., Hauerwaas, A., Holz, V., & Wedler, P. (2018). Culture in sustainable urban development: Practices and policies for spaces of possibility and institutional innovations. *City, Culture and Society, 13*, 32–45.
- Kinsella, E. A. (2006). Hermeneutics and Critical Hermeneutics: Exploring Possibilities within the Art of Interpretation. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 7*(3), Art. 19.
- Kipnis, E., Broderick, A. J., & Demangeot, C. (2014). Consumer multiculturalization: Consequences of multi-cultural identification for brand knowledge. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 17*(3), 231–253.
- Kreuzer, M., Mühlbacher, H., & von Wallpach, S. (2018). Home in the re-making: Immigrants' transcultural experiencing of home. *Journal of Business Research, 91*, 334–341.
- Kusenbach, M. (2003). Street Phenomenology: The Go-Along as Ethnographic Research Tool. *Ethnography, 4*(3), 455–485.
- Jafari, A., & Goulding, C. (2008). “We are not terrorists!” UK-based Iranians, consumption practices and the “torn self”. *Consumption Markets & Culture, 11*(2), 73–91.
- Lamont, M., & Lareau, A. (1988). Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. *Sociological theory, 6*(2). 153-168.
- Larkin, M., Watts, S., & Clifton, E. (2006). Giving voice and making sense in interpretative phenomenological analysis. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2), 102–120.
- Laverty, S. M. (2003). Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 2*(3), 21–35.

- Leikkilä, J., Faehnle, M., & Galanakis, M. (2013). Promoting interculturalism by planning of urban nature. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening*, *12*(2), 183–190.
- Lloveras, J., Quinn, L., & Parker, C. (2018). Reclaiming sustainable space: A study of degrowth activists. *Marketing Theory*, *18*(2), 188–202.
- Luedicke, M. K. (2015). Indigenes' responses to immigrants' consumer acculturation: a relational configuration analysis. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *42*(1), 109–129.
- Maciel, A. F., & Wallendorf, M. (2021). Space as a Resource in the Politics of Consumer Identity. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *48*(2), 309–332.
- Mahmoudi Farahani, L. (2016). The Value of the Sense of Community and Neighbouring. Housing, *Theory and Society*, *33*(3), 357–376.
- Mansouri, F., & Modood, T. (2021). The complementarity of multiculturalism and interculturalism: Theory backed by Australian evidence. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *44*(16), 1–20.
- McMillan, D. W. (1996). Sense of community. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *24*(4), 315–325.
- Meer, N., & Madood, T. (2019). Islamophobia as the racialisation of Muslims. In I. Zempi & Imran (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of Islamophobia* (pp. 18–31). Routledge.
- Mehta, R., & Belk, R. W. (1991). Artifacts, Identity, and Transition: Favorite Possessions of Indians and Indian Immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *17*(4), 398–411.
- Miller, D. (2013). *A Theory of Shopping*. Wiley.
- Morgan, G., & Poynting, S. (2012). Introduction: The transnational folk devil. In G. Morgan & S. Poynting (Eds.), *Global Islamophobia: Muslims and moral panic in the West* (pp. 1–14). Ashgate.
- Picker, G. (2016). 'That neighbourhood is an ethnic bomb!' The emergence of an urban governance apparatus in Western Europe. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *23*(2), 136–148.
- Rook, D. W. (1985). The Ritual Dimension of Consumer Behavior. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *12*(3), 251–264.
- Saatcioglu, B., & Corus, C. (2016). Exploring spatial vulnerability: Inequality and agency formulations in social space. *Journal of Marketing Management*, *32*(3–4), 230–251.
- Saatcioglu, B., & Ozanne, J. L. (2013). A Critical Spatial Approach to Marketplace Exclusion and Inclusion. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, *32*(1), 32–37.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Schiller NG. (2012). A Comparative Relative Perspective on the Relationships between Migrants and Cities. *Urban Geography* *33*(6), 879–903.
- Schwandt, T. A. (1994). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 118–137). Sage Publications.
- Sealy, T. (2018). Multiculturalism, interculturalism, 'multiculture' and super-diversity: Of zombies, shadows and other ways of being. *Ethnicities*, *18*(5), 692–716.
- Sepehr, S. (2019). Vulnerability Beyond Market-Mediated Power Relations: An Investigation of the Discourses of Anti-Immigration and Immigrant Consumer Vulnerability. In S. K.

- Lam, M. Giesler, & X. Luo (Eds.), *AMA Winter Academic Conference Proceedings: Understanding Complexity, Transforming the Marketplace* (Vol. 30, p. CW-12).
- Sadeghi, S. (2019). Racial boundaries, stigma, and the re-emergence of “always being foreigners”: Iranians and the refugee crisis in Germany. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(10), 1613–1631.
- Seregina, A., & Weijo, H. A. (2017). Play at any cost: How cosplayers produce and sustain their ludic communal consumption experiences. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 44(1), 139–159.
- Tanis, K. (2020). Regional distribution and location choices of immigrants in Germany. *Regional Studies*, 54(4), 483–494.
- Thompson, C. J., Locander, W. B., & Pollio, H. R. (1989). Putting Consumer Experience Back into Consumer Research: The Philosophy and Method of Existential-Phenomenology. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(2), 133–146.
- Thompson, C. J. (1997). Interpreting Consumers: A Hermeneutical Framework for Deriving Marketing Insights from the Texts of Consumers’ Consumption Stories. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 34(4), 438–455.
- Thompson, C. J., Arnould, E., & Giesler, M. (2013). Discursivity, difference, and disruption: Genealogical reflections on the consumer culture theory heteroglossia. *Marketing Theory*, 13(2), 149–174.
- Trent, A., & Cho, J. (2020). Interpretation In Qualitative Research: What, Why, How. In P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 955–982). Oxford University Press.
- Üstüner, T., & Holt, D. B. (2007). Dominated Consumer Acculturation: The Social Construction of Poor Migrant Women’s Consumer Identity Projects in a Turkish Squatter. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 34(1), 41–56.
- van Nes, F., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: Is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*, 7(4), 313–316.
- Veresiu, E. (2020). The consumer acculturative effect of state-subsidized spaces: Spatial segregation, cultural integration, and consumer contestation. *Consumption Markets & Culture*, 23(4), 342–360.
- Veresiu, E., & Giesler, M. (2018). Beyond Acculturation: Multiculturalism and the Institutional Shaping of an Ethnic Consumer Subject. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 45(3), 553–570.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024–1054.
- Vertovec, S. (2019). Talking around super-diversity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(1), 125–139.
- Vicdan, H., & Hong, S. (2018). Enrollment of space into the network of sustainability. *Marketing Theory*, 18(2), 169–187.
- Visconti, L. M., Sherry, J. F., Borghini, S., & Anderson, L. (2010). Street Art, Sweet Art? Reclaiming the “Public” in Public Place. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37(3), 511–529.
- Visconti, L. M., Jafari, A., Batat, W., Broeckerhoff, A., Dedeoglu, A. Ö., Demangeot, C., Kipnis, E., Lindridge, A., Peñaloza, L., Pullig, C., Regany, F., Ustundagli, E., &

- Weinberger, M. F. (2014). Consumer ethnicity three decades after: a TCR agenda. *Journal of Marketing Management*, 30(17–18), 1882–1922.
- Vredenburg, J., Kapitan, S., Spry, A., & Kemper, J. A. (2020). Brands Taking a Stand: Authentic Brand Activism or Woke Washing? *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 39(4), 444–460.
- Wallendorf, M., & Arnould, E. J. (1991). ‘We Gather Together’: Consumption Rituals of Thanksgiving Day. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 18(1), 13–31.
- Wallendorf, M., & Reilly, M. D. (1983). Ethnic Migration, Assimilation, and Consumption. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 10(3), 292.
- Weinberger, M. F. (2015). Dominant consumption rituals and intragroup boundary work: How non-celebrants manage conflicting relational and identity goals. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42(3), 378–400.
- Zapata-Barrero, R. (2016). Theorising intercultural citizenship. In N. Meer, T. Modood, & R. Zapata-Barrero (Eds.), *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines* (pp. 53–76). Edinburgh University Press.
- Zapata-Barrero, R. (2017). Intercultural policy and multi-level governance in Barcelona: Mainstreaming comprehensive approach. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 83(2), 247–266.
- Zapata-Barrero, R. (2020). Republicanism, diversity and public space in contemporary political theory: The normative basis of intercultural citizenship. *Citizenship Studies*, 24(8), 1066–1083.
- Zia-Ebrahimi, R. (2018). When the Elders of Zion relocated to Eurabia: conspiratorial racialization in antisemitism and Islamophobia. *Patterns of Prejudice*, 52(4), 314–337.
- Zukin, S. (1998). Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption. *Urban Studies*, 35(5–6), 825–839.