

Acculturation and Consumption: Textures of Cultural Adaptation

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Abstract

This study examines patterns of cultural adaptation of an ethnic minority as manifested in consumption of traditional ethnic and mainstream culture foods. A survey, containing multiple measures of several ethnic identification and acculturation dimensions, along with consumption frequencies of both traditional and mainstream culture foods, was administered to a sample of ethnic Lebanese residing in a predominately French-speaking urban area. The results confirm that ethnic identity and acculturation are distinct processes, providing strong support for dual process models of cultural adaptation. A series of structural equation models linking the twin cultural influences to the consumption of traditional home and mainstream host food categories found little support for the linearity assumption between cultural adaptation and consumption behavior. Rather, the relationship between ethnic identity, acculturation, and consumption behaviors appears to be far more complex, and specific to the food category under consideration. Mapping these patterns of cultural adaptation, we articulate a new typology, relating the extent and particular combinations that home and host cultural influences impact consumption behavior.

Key words: Acculturation, Ethnic identity, Consumption, Culture change patterns, Lebanese

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1. Introduction

Culture is recognized as the most profound influence on consumer behavior (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Askegaard, Arnould & Kjeldgaard, 2005; McCracken, 1986). Our attitudes and behaviors are pervasively, yet subtly, shaped by our cultural makeup even though we are not usually consciously aware of how culture impacts on our lives (Berkman, Lindquist & Sirgy, 1997). Bearing "...a significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value" (McCracken, 1986, p. 71), consumer goods "...give cultural meaning a concreteness for the individual that it would not otherwise have" (p. 73). Individuals imbue goods with meaning, in order to express cultural categories and principles, to cultivate ideas, to create and sustain lifestyles, and so on. As a consequence of varying values, beliefs and lifestyles, behavioral differences are evidenced across cultures. Across nations, these differences have been the subject of much empirical study, however, considerably less is known about subcultural differences *within* countries, that is, intranational differences (Ogden, Ogden & Schau, 2004; Walters, Phythian & Anisef, 2007).

Immigration is changing the face of Western countries. Approximately 1,000,000 and 250,000 people are admitted annually, to the United States and Canada, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002; Statistics Canada, 2003). In years past, the North American perspective on immigration corresponded to assimilation, as evidenced by the usage of the term 'melting pot'. However, the realization that ethnicity has survived has led social scientists to question the validity of assimilationist-type processes, and to direct their attention towards understanding how individuals and groups integrate and/or switch between multiple cultural narratives. Culture and ethnic identity are nowadays envisaged as fluid and adaptive (Laroche, Kim, Hui & Joy, 1996).

Multiculturalism holds that a multitude of cultures can coexist within a given environment, retaining some (if not all) of their original/minority-cultural heritage while functioning within and acquiring traits corresponding to the larger host/mainstream culture (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Phinney, 1990). For more than 40 years, Canadian society has been described as a mosaic of cultural groups in cohabitation; contemporary American society is more aptly depicted as a salad bowl of distinguishable constituent parts as opposed to a melting pot (Ogden, Ogden & Schau, 2004; Riche, 1991). Western societies will almost certainly become more ethnically-diverse in the future. Given the focal role of culture in shaping consumer behavior, the key question for researchers and marketing practitioners concerns when, where, and how traditional home and mainstream host cultures combine to impact the behaviors of immigrants and their progeny. This research focuses on patterns of cultural adaptation by ethnic immigrants (Lebanese-Canadians) within an urban area dominated by the host culture (French-Canadians), as manifested under consumption episodes (home and host culture food items). To underscore the context-specific nature of cultural adaptation, we test our model across different consumption contexts, and propose a more refined typology of cultural adaptation.

1.1. Ethnic Identity

As the “psychological locus of cultural effects,” ethnicity operates as “a mediating, orienting, and interpretive framework that will systematically bias how members of a given socio-cultural group will think, feel, and act” (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, in de Mooij, 2004, p. 94). Ethnicity stems from the fact that certain individuals belong to or identify with certain ethnic groups (Berkman, Lindquist & Sirgy, 1997; Phinney, 1990). Thus, ethnic identity (EID) captures impressions of “...common ancestry based on shared individual characteristics and/or shared socio-cultural experiences” (Driedger, 1978, p. 15), communal values and attitudes (White &

Burke, 1987), and/or other feelings of belonging and commitment (Phinney, 1990). With globalization and the corresponding loosening of cultural bonds, the nature of identity is among the most fundamental issues for social scientists. The strength of EID is tantamount to the degree of commitment to the norms of the given ethnic group, and thus, the degree of influence that this group holds on the individual's attitudes and behaviors (Hirschman, 1981). The depth of EID varies substantially within and across ethnic group members, as does the extent to which particular aspects of EID are practiced and adhered to (Mendoza, 1989; Kim, Laroche & Tomiuk, 2001; Phinney, 1990). The emerging consensus is that EID is multidimensional, subjective and relational (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007; Stayman & Deshpandé, 1989). Therefore the concept must take in how ethnic group members themselves recognize and interpret their own ethnicity from the perspectives of ethnic group formation, maintenance, and exchanges with other individuals and cultures.

1.2. Acculturation

Cultural diffusion arises when one culture becomes exposed to another. Immigration has fuelled the growth of cultural groups in the West, and a clear depiction of acculturation is fundamental to the conceptualization of ethnicity and cultural adaptation in multicultural contexts (Phinney, 1990). Whereas socialization is the process whereby individuals learn the standards of the culture in which they grow up, acculturation requires the interaction of at least two cultures, describing the process by which a person learns and adopts the norms and values of a different culture (Mendoza, 1989; Rudmin 2003). Acculturation was once viewed as a unidirectional process corresponding to assimilation: as minority individuals acquire the cultural aspects of the host/dominant culture, they simultaneously shed parts of their original cultural heritage (Phinney, 1990). While some studies (e.g., Valencia, 1985; Schaninger, Bourgeois &

Buss, 1985) document such a pattern, many others do not. Researching the food consumption patterns of Mexican-Americans, Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) found little support for the assumptions underlying bipolar acculturation models, in that consumption of certain foods by the minority exceeded that of either home-country Mexicans as well as American Anglos. A later series of studies by Laroche and his colleagues (see Laroche et al., 1996, 1997c, 1998; Kim et al., 1993) across numerous cultures and consumption contexts found limited evidence of assimilation; reporting instead complex home and host culture effects on behavior.

As the concept of cultural pluralism became more entrenched, researchers modeled a more complex acculturation process, whereby minority groups can learn and adapt to the host/majority culture while simultaneously preserving and promoting aspects of their original heritage (i.e., EID). Beyond degrees of assimilation, bidirectional models allow for individuals to identify with more than one culture, recognizing that individuals may alternate between two cultures. Thus, measures for both EID and acculturation (rather than for one or the other) are required. While these models implicitly recognize that change can occur in the dominant culture, the minority culture, or both groups, in practice acculturative processes tend to be asymmetrical, affecting the minority group much more than the host group (Berry, 1997; Ogden, Ogden & Schau, 2004). Berry (1980, 1997) has long asserted that change occurs along not one, but rather two independent continua: (1) the degree of maintenance to the individual's culture of origin, and (2) the degree to which the individual conforms to the attitudes and behaviors associated with the host culture. Dichotomizing these two aspects yields four distinguishable acculturation patterns. Individuals who maintain their original cultural identity while exhibiting behavioral characteristics of the host culture are said to endorse *integration*. Those who cherish their culture of origin while rejecting host society norms and behaviors are said to adopt a *separatist* position.

Individuals who progressively abandon their original EID in favor of host culture traits reveal *assimilation*. Finally, those that seek neither to maintain original cultural traits, nor adopt host culture behaviors are described as *marginalized or decultured*. Mendoza and Martinez (1981) also proposed a four-pattern typology of acculturation, of which three correspond to Berry's patterns: *cultural resistance* (analogous to separation), *cultural shift* (akin to assimilation), *cultural incorporation* (parallel to integration), and *cultural transmutation* (whereby a unique subcultural entity is created from an alteration of native and alternative cultural norms).

1.3. The Selective Nature of Cultural Adaptation

The acquisition of new cultural traits and the loss of traditional ones vary from trait to trait, and the corollary is that ethnic groups or individuals can exhibit one acculturation pattern for certain customs and situations, while exhibiting another patterns for others. Selective acculturation helps to explain the tendency of immigrants and minorities to adopt certain strategic traits such as learning English in order to improve their employment prospects, while retaining other native cultural values and traditions (Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Numerous researchers (e.g., McGuire et al., 1978; McCracken, 1986; Stayman & Deshpandé, 1989; Mendoza, 1989; Oswald, 1999; Usunier, 2000; Askegaard et al., 2005) share the view that an individual's level of felt ethnicity is also, at least in part, situationally determined or context-dependent. Rather than blending aspects from the traditional and alternate cultures, some argue that with integration, individuals maintain dual, independent identities (see Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). Individuals may share different cultures with different groups and "they will switch into the culture that is operational" (Usunier, 2000, p. 5) as appropriate to the situation. Today's immigrants likely develop such bicultural identities, (Oswald, 1999). Following these

perspectives, we conceive EID and cultural adaptation as elastic or heterogenic rather than fixed; focusing on identifying *which* acculturation patterns will result from *what* consumption contexts.

Researching consumer acculturation among Mexican-American immigrants, Peñaloza (1994) observed that the mainstream culture products that were most readily adopted were "...low-cost, high-visibility items, absent of any language barrier" (e.g., clothing, p. 49), whereas traditional consumption activities tended to be retained when they were strongly linked to the maintenance of cultural and family ties (e.g., foods, media, and leisure activities). To the extent that EID is perceived as a vital concern, ethnic group members will revitalize ethnic food consumption (Jamal, 1998). Not all aspects of day-to-day life involve a person's ethnicity however; for these aspects, either the alternate culture and/or non-cultural variables will affect consumption behavior. In sum, EID (and its corresponding influence on consumption) is apt to be most important in situations involving religious or secular holidays, travel, and being or communicating with family and close friends (Friederes & Goldenberg, 1982; Peñaloza, 1994). In this research, we argue that the roles of EID and acculturation on behavior will be greater, lesser, or non-significant, contingent upon the particular food consumption context. Indeed, several studies have incorporated the notion that consumer products themselves can convey a priori cultural meaning (McCracken, 1986) and possess attributes that can lead to different patterns of cultural change (e.g., Laroche et al, 1998; Stayman & Deshpandé, 1989).

1.4. Operationalizing and Measuring Cultural Adaptation

EID and acculturation are higher-order and subjective concepts, requiring measures for the multiple facets of each, such as the extent of adherence to cultural norms and values, inter- and intra- ethnic communication and interpersonal relationships, self-perceptions and ethnic pride, as well as relevant cultural customs. The most widely used indicators for capturing both

EID and acculturation have been language-based items (e.g., Phinney, 1990; Laroche et al., 1997b), further emphasizing the primary role that language is believed to play in the course of cultural maintenance and the acquisition of a second culture. Media usage indicators have also served as proxy measures (O'Guinn & Faber, 1985; Laroche et al., 1997c). Other indicators employed include the degree of social interaction with fellow ethnic group members and mainstream culture members (Mendoza, 1989; Laroche et al., 1997a, 1997b), participation in the organizations of the home and host cultures (Keefe & Padilla, 1987), self-identification, pride, and desire to maintain/participate in the home and host cultures (Hirschman, 1981; Laroche et al., 1996), ethnic and mainstream cultures' customs, habits, and values, including and participation in traditional or mainstream celebrations (Phinney, 1990; Rosenthal & Feldman, 1992; Laroche et al., 1997c, 1998), as well as family structure and sex-roles (e.g., Webster, 1994; Laroche et al., 1998). Although religious affiliation has also figured as a prominent aspect of EID, because its application is problematic for certain groups, and will not be employed in this research. Religion crosses ethnic groups and different religious affiliations can exist within the same ethnic group. This is the case with our research participants, the Lebanese, who are mainly divided between Christianity and Islam.

1.5. Culture and Behavioral Outcomes: Food Consumption

Culture is a learned experience; acquired by individuals in the course of interacting with others in their daily lives. While preserving traditions, culture also incorporates mechanisms for change. Food habits "...are part of this dynamic process in that whereas they are basically stable and predictable they are, paradoxically, at the same time undergoing constant and continuous change" (Fieldhouse, 1995, p. 2). More than just a means of sustenance, food serves as a key expression of culture (Peñaloza, 1994). The food habits of minorities tend to be highly resistant

to change. Inculcated early in life, food habits are maintained because they are practical or symbolically meaningful behaviors for a given culture (Fieldhouse, 1995). Comparing ethnic Swiss living in Switzerland and Brazil, Uhle and Grivetti (1993) found that Brazilian Swiss maintained many traditional food practices, even after a century of geographical and cultural removal from their homeland. For Oswald (1999), food consumption can serve as a means for immigrants to adapt to the host culture, while honoring the traditions of the home culture. In the act of consuming diverse foodstuffs, individuals are able to express overlapping social group identities (Oswald, 1999; Reilly & Wallendorf, 1987). The intertwined nature of cultural identity and food habits justifies their use in a study of cultural adaptation. The Lebanese and French-Canadian (FC) food items employed were purposely selected on the basis of being similar enough to fall into the same category (Appendix 1), yet specific to each culture. Drawn from the literature corresponding to the food consumption behaviors of FCs and of people of Lebanese origin, these items are described in the ensuing section.

1.6. The Research Context: Food Consumption among Lebanese in Quebec

Despite their love for their land, Lebanese were often impelled to flee political and economic turmoil in their country. Upon arriving in North America, Lebanese immigrants are confronted with different ways of living. Traditions and family values dear to Lebanese come face-to-face with orientations such as materialism and individualism that are typically associated with mainstream North American society (Belk, 1985). The first wave of Lebanese immigration to Canada began in the 1880's. The largest wave occurred as a consequence of the Lebanese civil war and its aftermath (1975-1995); approximately 85% of all Lebanese Canadians (LCs) arrived during this period (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1996). Today, there are more than 140,000 individuals of Lebanese descent living in Canada, of whom approximately half reside in

the Montreal area (Statistics Canada, 2003). Arabic is the official tongue of Lebanon (spoken by over 90% of the population), however in their daily lives most speak the Lebanese dialect (Jabbra & Jabbra, 1987) and French is widely spoken. A significant proportion of Lebanese immigrants are fluent in at least one of the two official languages of Canada (French and English). The greater part of the LC population are Christian; most of the remainder are Muslim, with a smaller number of Jewish. Within greater Montreal, approximately 69% of individuals are French-speaking mother-tongue, 13% are English-speaking mother-tongue, with the remainder taking in myriad nonofficial languages (Statistics Canada, 2003). Within Quebec, immigrant and other minority groups generally acculturate to the dominant French-Canadian (FC) culture.

A substantial body of research has investigated the food habits of the *Québécois* (i.e., FCs living in Quebec), comparing the food behaviors of this group to other major ethnic groups across North America (e.g., Kim et al., 1993; Armstrong, 1990; Schaninger et al., 1985). The *Québécois* regard food as ‘one of the good things in life’ and accordingly, they generally consume fewer convenience foods and spend more time preparing home-cooked meals (Léger, 1995; Mallen, 1973) than their English-Canadian counterparts. Travelling about Quebec, one generally encounters the same core group of dishes, notwithstanding regional specialties (Dontigny, 1995). Basic foods such as *soupe aux pois* (pea soup), *tourtière* (meat pie), and *tarte au sucre* (sugar pie) can be found on the tables of many FCs. For breakfast, FCs often consume toast made from *pain tranché* (sliced bread), pancakes covered with *sirop d’érable* (maple syrup), or *céréales froides* (cold cereals). Many FCs also drink *café régulier* (regular coffee) at breakfast, or at other times of the day. *Salade de chou* (coleslaw) often accompanies both lunch and dinner dishes, which might consist of *sandwich au viande fumée* (smoked meat sandwich), *steak haché* (hamburger steak), or *sandwich au poulet* (club sandwich). Other popular FC side-

dishes include *poutine* (French fries, cheese curds and gravy), *fromage à la crème* (cream cheese), and *cheddar* (cheddar cheese). *Vin* (wine) is often served with/after meals.

The food and cooking habits are likewise of paramount importance to Lebanese people (Vallaud, 1996; Jabbra & Jabbra, 1987), and in reference to this group, Gulick (1971) remarked that diet was one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of life. Lebanese regard cooking as an art to be passed on from generation to generation, even when living outside of the home country. In terms of availability, ingredients for Lebanese dishes are widely available at the many ethnic food stores in Montreal that cater to Middle-Eastern consumers and LCs can choose to eat out in one of the scores of Lebanese establishments in Montreal. Probably the best known Lebanese basic food item is *khibiz arabi* (pita bread), often served with every meal. Side dishes such as *tabbouli* (a salad of cracked wheat, tomatoes, onions, olive oil, lemon juice, and spices) and *hummus* (a chickpea paste) are also gaining in popularity among non-LCs. Traditional lentil soup, *shorbit adas*, often accompanies Lebanese main dishes, such as *kibbi* (deep-fried patties composed of wheat, spices, onion, and beef), *shawarma* (a spiced meat often served as a sandwich), *shish tawuk* (marinated, grilled chicken pieces wrapped in bread), and *mehchi* (a roasted, stuffed meat, generally lamb, served on special occasions). Common Lebanese dairy products include *labni* (a yoghurt derivative) and *halloom* (a cheese made from goats' milk). *Manakish* (bread with olive oil, sesame seeds and spices) is a popular Lebanese breakfast item. *Baklawa* is a special sweet pastry treat, often accompanied by *ater* (i.e., sugar and rose syrup boiled in water). With respect to beverages, *ahwi turki* (similar to Turkish coffee) is typically served after every meal, whereas *arak* (distilled grape liquor) tends to be served with main dishes, especially on Sundays.

1.7. Conceptual Model, Hypotheses, and Classification of Cultural Adaptation

[Figure 1 about here]

The research model and hypothesized relationships are presented in Figure 1. *Ethnic identity* embodies the extent to which the identity, values and traits of the acculturating ethnic group (operationalized as Lebanese ethnic identity, or *LIdentity*) are deemed to be important and strived for, while *acculturation* represents contact with and involvement in the larger mainstream culture, and the adoption of host culture traits, values, and customs (operationalized as French-Canadian acculturation, or *FCAccult*). The assimilationist perspective would predict a very strong negative correlation (i.e., approaching -1.0) between these two constructs; following the bidirectional perspective of acculturation, we posit here that:

H1: The relationship between EID and acculturation is negative but moderate.

Likewise, for the ethnic minority member, the greater the level of involvement with mainstream culture, and the concomitant adoption of mainstream traits, values and customs, *in general*, the more preponderant also will be mainstream behaviors (here, FC food consumption). To the extent to which traditional ethnic identity and corresponding traits, values and customs are more strongly adhered to, *in general* the greater also will be traditional ethnic behaviors (here, Lebanese food consumption). Formally stated:

H2a: Traditional ethnic food consumption is positively predicted by EID, and negatively predicted by acculturation.

H2b: Mainstream culture food consumption is positively predicted by acculturation, and negatively predicted by EID.

1.8. Demographic Correlates: Age and Income

Variation in home and host cultural identity and participation are due in part to demographics (Peñaloza, 1994; Laroche et al, 1998). The symbolic meanings attached to foods

have been shown to vary across age groups. The food habits acquired in childhood will shape those in adulthood and be more resistant to change. In his qualitative study on the food habits of British-Pakistanis, Jamal (1998) concluded that host culture foods "...were perceived by the younger informants as convenient, and as a way to conform to the mainstream culture" (p. 224) and to assert their independence from parental control. Older individuals are more committed to definite ways of life and are generally more suspicious of and resistant to new perspectives and things (de Mooij, 2004). We therefore conjecture:

H3a: Age is positively predictive of EID, and negatively predictive of acculturation.

H3b: Age is positively predictive of traditional ethnic food consumption, and negatively predictive of mainstream culture food consumption.

The findings reported in the literature are generally suggestive of an inverse relationship between EID and income (see Phinney, 1990); with higher levels of the former linked to lower strata of the latter, and a corresponding higher consumption of ethnic minority foodstuffs. EID is more likely to be retrenched in among lower income individuals, especially since they often live in close proximity to a higher concentration of fellow ethnic members (in ethnic enclaves). Higher household income levels result in more discretionary choice in consumption activities; moving beyond the staples and subsistence products purchased for the family unit. Wealthier individuals are less susceptible to ethnic conformity pressures, and their higher income may also be indicative of more successful economic (and perhaps also cultural) integration into the mainstream society, and thus greater contact with and exposure to, the mainstream culture and mainstream foods, respectively. We conjecture that

H4a: Income is positively antecedent to acculturation and negatively antecedent to EID.

H4b: Income is positively antecedent to mainstream culture food consumption, and negatively antecedent of traditional ethnic food consumption.

1.9. Textures of Cultural Adaptation

While H2 predicts that traditional and mainstream food consumption will *generally* commensurate with higher levels of EID and mainstream acculturation, respectively, we believe that these relationships will vary considerably across specific consumption contexts. One of objectives was to articulate a more detailed classification of cultural adaptation. As opposed to the absolute boundaries implied by the categorizations proposed by Mendoza and Martinez (1981) and Berry (1980), our taxonomy explicitly considers the episodic character of cultural adaptation and its consequent impact on consumption behavior. Reviewing the acculturation literature, it is apparent that integration, rather than assimilation, better portrays the scope of adaptation of most minority groups (Rudmin, 2003). Being the product of a combination of two (or more) cultures, integration is the most complex acculturation pattern. The domain of integration is therefore broad and embraces distinguishable forms, as a function of the relative magnitude and particular blending of home and host cultural influences, and, as we will demonstrate from our findings, contingent upon the behavioral context. We conjecture seven distinct patterns. First, the *noncultural* pattern is when behavior is unrelated to either traditional or alternative cultures, instead being a function of other variables (including, perhaps, other subcultural influences). Second, *assimilation* reflects a unidirectional pattern of cultural adaptation, where behavioral outcomes are the result of the acquisition and corresponding shedding, of host and home cultural traits, respectively. Purely monocultural occurrences of consumption behavior are also posited, whereby either acculturation (i.e., *pure acculturation*) or ethnic identity (*pure identification*) is significantly and positively predictive of consumption. We

further expect cases wherein the magnitude of acculturation on consumption will be substantially greater than that of EID (i.e., *acculturation dominant*) or vice-versa (i.e., *identification dominant*). Lastly, bicultural occurrences are posited, whereby consumption is a reasonably balanced function of both home and host cultural influences (i.e., *balanced integration*).

Thus, the directional relationships between EID and FC-food consumption and between acculturation and Lebanese food consumption are not straightforward, but rather food category-specific. We tentatively predict that the magnitude of LIdentity (compared to that of FCAccult) will be greatest in predicting traditional Lebanese food items that are consumed in group settings (i.e., family, friends), and this would most likely occur at breakfast (e.g., *manakish*) and dinnertime (e.g., main dishes like *mehchi*, and accompaniments such as *shorbit adas*) or in conjunction with cultural observances (e.g., *arak*). FCAccult will likewise dominate the consumption of mainstream FC food items that are consumed in group settings (e.g., breakfast items like cold cereal, and meals like meat pie), signifying the adoption/incorporation of mainstream behaviors. FCAccult and LIdentity are posited to jointly predict the consumption of convenience-type foods and foods likely to be consumed as an inexpensive quick lunch or snack (e.g., smoked meat, coleslaw, *hummus*, *shawarma*).

2. Methodology

2.1. Procedure and Participants

A total of 250 questionnaires were distributed to a sample of LCs residing within greater Montreal. Given the lack of census tracts with sufficiently high LC concentrations to allow random sampling, convenience sampling was employed (administering one survey per household). After verification for completeness, 166 surveys were available for analyses (out of the 168 returned, i.e., a 66% response rate). Sixty percent of the respondents were male, and half

of the sample indicated that they were married. The majority of respondents were aged between 20 and 39 (58%). Respondents were relatively affluent (60% indicating household incomes ranging from \$60-99,999), and highly educated (78% holding at least an undergraduate university degree). Overwhelmingly, respondents identified themselves as Christians.

2.2. Measures

The French-language survey consisted of several parts. Identity was measured with 69 items tapping the dimensions of (1) Leb. language use, (2) Leb. media exposure, (3) social interaction with LCs, (4) Leb. identification and pride, (5) Leb. customs, habits, and values, (6) Leb. family structure and sex roles, and (7) desire to maintain Leb. culture. FCAccult was measured with 69 items capturing seven similar dimensions, but this time reflecting the dominant FC culture. All of the aforementioned items were measured via Likert-type scales (anchored by 1=strongly disagree to 9=strongly agree). Items were adapted from ethnic-minority studies by Laroche et al. (1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998) and Kim et al. (2001), with several specific Lebanese-oriented items derived from Lebanese cultural studies (Fakhouri, 1989; Gulick, 1971; Jabbra & Jabbra, 1987). Examples of measures are provided in Appendix 2. The next series of questions prompted respondents to report their personal consumption frequencies for the Lebanese and FC food products (Appendix 1). Consistent with prior research (Laroche et al., 1996, 1997a, 1998), each item was scaled from 0=never to 5=daily. The survey included standard demographic variables, as well as measures for: (1) country of birth, (2) years of Canadian residency, and (3) religious affiliation.

2.3. Preliminary Analyses

Exploratory factor analyses (EFA) were performed using principal components extraction and oblique rotation. Items with removal of items with poor psychometric proprieties (i.e.,

mediocre and/or multiple factor loadings) were removed. Out of the 69 items designed to assess the dimensions of LIdentity, 21 items were retained in a five-factor structure, explaining 77% of the total variance. These factors exhibited high coefficient alpha estimates (ranging from .745 to .931: Appendix 2), and were labeled *LMedia* (Leb. media exposure), *LIdent* (Leb. identification/pride), *LLang* (Leb. language use), *LFamily* (Leb. family structure/roles) and *LSocial* (social interaction with fellow LCs). Regarding FCAccult, 18 items were retained in a four-factor solution accounting for 77% of the variance. With high coefficient alpha estimates (ranging from .80 to .94: Appendix 2), these factors were labeled *FCIdent* (FC identification/pride), *FCRoles* (FC sex roles), *FCLang* (FC language use), and *FCMedia* (FC media exposure). Aggregated scores for LIdentity (mean: 6.59, standard deviation: 1.05) and FCAccult (m: 5.68, sd: 1.44) were calculated, by taking the factor mean of the five and four constituent dimensions, respectively. Aggregated consumption scores for Leb. and FC foods were also calculated as the mean of the corresponding summed items.

3. Analyses and Results

3.1. Hypotheses Testing

In support of H1, LIdentity and FCAccult were negatively correlated ($r = -.21, p = .008$), albeit at a considerably lower magnitude than implied by assimilation. The modest but significant negative correlation also implies that the home and alternative cultures are not strictly orthogonal as implied by Berry's (1980) framework. Using SPSS, a two-step cluster analysis was employed to reveal the natural groupings of sample respondents on the basis of their LIdentity and FCAccult scores. This approach does not assume in advance any particular number or descriptions of groups, and instead uses statistical information to delineate the best number of clusters. Four distinct groups were revealed, three of which were consistent with varying forms

of integration as opposed to assimilation. Only the pattern for first and smallest cluster (n=17) was analogous to assimilation, taking in respondents with the lowest mean LIdentity score (mean=4.5) and the highest mean FCAccult score (m=7.0). Members of cluster 2 (n=33) held moderate levels of LIdentity (m=6.1) and exhibited the lowest degree of FCAccult (m=4.0), whereas those in cluster 3 (n=37) had the highest mean levels of LIdentity (m= 7.7) while holding relatively low degrees of FCAccult (m=4.6). The acculturation patterns for the second and third clusters straddle the boundary between separation and integration. With roughly equal mean scores on LIdentity (m=6.74) and FCAccult (6.60), the acculturating pattern for members of the last and largest (n=79) cluster most visibly entails that implied by integration.

In partial support of H2a, Leb. food consumption was positively correlated with LIdentity, even after statistically controlling for age and income ($r=.51, p<.001$). However, postulated negative relationship between Leb. food and FCAccult was not significant ($r=-.07, p=.381$, controlling for age/income), suggesting that at overall, traditional food consumption is maintained notwithstanding acculturation to the mainstream FC society. Controlling for age/income, support for H2b was also mixed. While FCAccult was positively associated with FC food consumption ($r=.36, p<.001$), so too was LIdentity ($r=.33, p<.001$), implying that overall consumption of FC foodstuffs increased, even with higher levels of Lebanese EID. Supporting H3a, age was positively correlated with LIdentity ($r=.31, p<.001$), and negatively correlated with FCAccult ($r=-.23, p=.003$). In partial support of H3b, age was positively correlated with Leb. food consumption ($r=.24, p=.002$), but not significantly with FC food consumption ($r=-.03, p=.742$). Support for H4a was mixed. Household income was positively correlated with both LIdentity ($r=.19, p=.013$) and FCAccult ($r=.33, p<.001$), suggesting that wealthy Lebanese are

effectively bicultural. Support for H4b was also mixed, as income was positively correlated with both Leb. ($r=.29, p<.001$) and FC ($r=.33, p<.001$) food consumption.

3.2. Regression Analyses: Main and Interaction Effects

To examine, case-by-case, the main behavioral effects of the cultural constructs as well as the interactive effects of age, income and culture (LIdentity*FCAccult, Income*LIdentity, Income*FCAccult, Age*LIdentity, Age*FCAccult), a series of stepwise multiple linear regressions were conducted. While space limitations preclude a review of all findings, several are worthy of mention. The results (Table 1) clearly show that while there were cases of main effects of one or both cultural constructs on behavior, for the most part it was the interaction of LIdentity and FCAccult that was the most robust predictor. The values for the latter interaction were always positively valenced; in line with the integration strategy of cultural adaptation. This pattern was obtained for the majority of Leb. (8 items) and FC (11 items) foods alike.

Income (16 significant instances) interacted more frequently with the cultural constructs than did age (4 cases). LIdentity*income was significant in eleven (positive in ten) cases, implying that except for wine, food consumption was more frequent among affluent respondents with levels of EID. This was the case for 6 Leb. (*halloom, labni, mehchi, kibbi, tabbouli, shorbit adas*) and four FC (cheddar, meat pie, hamburger steak, pea soup) items. Income*FCAccult was significant and positive (negative) in two (three) cases: wine and cold cereal consumption were higher for more affluent and acculturated LCs, whereas the consumption of two Leb. products (*halloom, tabbouli*) and one FC product (hamburger steak) dropped among respondents sharing these characteristics. Only in four cases was the interaction between age and culture significant. Older LCs with high levels of LIdentity and FCAccult consumed greater quantities of *ahwi turki*

and regular coffee, respectively. Younger, more acculturated LCs consumed greater quantities of two FC sandwiches (smoked meat, club).

[Table 1 about here]

3.3. Structural Equations Modeling

Unlike traditional multivariate procedures, structural equations modeling provides explicit estimations of measurement error, and allows for the testing of both observed (measured) variables and unobserved (latent) variables. Using AMOS, the items retained from the EFAs were first subjected to confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Apart from shedding of one of the dimensions, the factor structure obtained in the EFAs was confirmed with a 1st-order latent CFA measurement model. Different indicators were used to assess the overall fit qualities of the model, including the adjusted chi-square test ($\chi^2/\text{degrees of freedom}$) the comparative fit index (CFI), and the root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), as well as the tests for the coefficient estimates for each of the individual parameters. With a CFI of 0.933, an RMSEA of 0.065, and a $\chi^2/\text{d.f.}$ of 1.69, the model yielded a good fit to the data (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The 1st-order dimensions were then nested into a higher (2nd-order) latent variable factor structure corresponding to LIdentity and FCAccult, following the procedures outlined by Byrne (2001). Test statistics indicated a good fit, with a CFI of 0.929, an RMSEA of 0.066, and a $\chi^2/\text{d.f.}$ of 1.708. The correlation estimate between the two 2nd-order cultural dimensions was -0.247 ($p=.007$), further supporting H1. Meeting the requirement for discriminant validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981), the squared correlation coefficient (0.061) is well below the average variance extracted (AVE) for LIdentity (0.625) and FCAccult (0.715); the AVE's for each construct are superior to the 0.50 threshold, thus exceeding the minimum requirement for convergent validity.

Next, age and income were linked to the 2nd-order constructs (CFI=0.911, RMSEA=0.070, χ^2 /d.f. of 1.807). The resulting standardized path coefficient estimates were all significant: age→LIdentity (.356, p<.001), age→FCAccult (-.266, p=.001), income→LIdentity (.199, p=.012), and income→FCAccult (.432, p<.001). These findings indicate that younger Lebanese tended to be more acculturated the mainstream FC culture, and older Lebanese tended to hold stronger levels of felt Lebanese EID (further supporting H3a); and that higher income is commensurable with greater levels of both Lebanese EID and FC acculturation (partially supporting H4a).

[Figure 2 about here]

[Figure 3 about here]

The final step considered the relationships between the cultural constructs and consumption behavior, and consisted of estimating two structural models, one for the Leb. food items, and one for the FC food items (Figures 2 and 3). To account for error correlation in the food consumption items, covariance links were included between all dependent variables. Both models represented a good fit to the data, with CFI's of 0.916 and 0.915, RMSEA's of 0.060 and 0.058, and χ^2 /d.f. values of 1.590 and 1.556, for the Leb. and FC consumption models, respectively. The combined explanatory power (R^2) of both cultural constructs on consumption was on the whole very high, but as we predicted, it varied considerably across consumption items, ranging from 0.020 (coffee, where neither construct was significantly antecedent) to 0.688 (*halloom*). Highly variable too was the magnitude (and in some cases, the directional influence) of each cultural construct on consumption, demonstrating that home and host cultures influences take on different forms according to the specific product category being consumed. As expected, LIdentity was significant and positive for all 15 Leb. food categories. Corresponding to

integration, FCAccult was also significantly positive for 10 of these categories, providing further evidence that EID and host acculturation are distinct constructs that cannot be positioned as two extremities of the same continuum. Regarding evidence of assimilation, only once was FCAccult significantly and inversely predictive (*khibiz arabi*). Turning to mainstream FC food consumption, FCAccult was predictably a significant and positive antecedent of consumption for 12 categories (for the remaining 3 cases, it was not significant). Evidence of assimilation would consist of negative coefficients of LIdentity, however no such effects were exhibited. Instead, LIdentity was also significantly positive for FC consumption in 12 categories. Overall, the two constructs jointly and positively predicted consumption behavior in 22 instances. In only two cases was neither cultural construct antecedent to consumption.

[Figure 4 About Here]

3.4. Textures of Cultural Adaptation

To convey a clearer picture of relative weight of the constructs on behavior, we generated two graphs. Figure 4 maps the consumption frequencies for the 15 categories (i.e., in a pairwise fashion) according to the standardized 2nd-order latent variable path coefficients of LIdentity and FCAccult (Appendix 1). Here, the lines link the Leb. and closest corresponding FC food items. The slope of each line demarcates the relationships between home and host cultural influences, as determinants of the consumption frequencies for each pair. Four patterns can readily be distinguished: vertical, horizontal, negatively sloping diagonal, and positively sloping diagonal. The first pattern indicates that the shift from the consumption of the Leb. item to the corresponding FC item is primarily a function of decreasing levels of LIdentity, with relatively little or no differentiating effect (that is, a lack of a corresponding increase) of FCAccult. Two categories are consistent with this pattern: side dishes/accompaniments (*hummus/poutine*) and

soups (*shorbit adas*/pea soup). The second pattern indicates the exact opposite: that the shift from the Leb. item to the corresponding FC item is primarily due to increasing FCAccult, with levels of LIdentity remaining stable. This pattern is reflective of four categories: bread (*khibiz arabi*/sliced bread), main dishes (*mehchi*/meat pie), pastry (*baklawaw*/sugar pie), and dairy (*labni*/cream cheese). The third pattern, negatively sloping diagonal, indicates that as consumption shifts from the Leb. to the FC item, the relative importance of LIdentity in predicting consumption declines at the same time that FCAccult increases; corresponding somewhat to assimilation. Consumption for seven categories are reflective of this relationship: cheeses (*halloom*/cheddar), syrups (*ater*/maple syrup), chicken sandwiches (*shish tawuk*/club sandwiches), alcoholic beverages (*arak*/wine), coffee (*ahwi turki*/regular coffee), meat sandwiches (*shawarma*/smoked meat), and breakfast items (*manakish*, cold cereals). The fourth pattern, positively sloping diagonal, details increasing levels of both LIdentity and FCAccult, as consumption shifts from the Leb. to the FC item. Two categories illustrate this pattern: vegetable salads (*tabbouli*/coleslaw) and beef dishes (*kibbi*/hamburger steak).

[Figure 5 about here]

Rather than assuming that the category items represent close Leb. and FC substitutes, in Figure 5 we portray the results for each of the 30 behaviors independently. Recall that for 22 items, consumption was significantly and positively predicted by both cultural constructs (i.e., integration) and lumping all of these together without considering the relative magnitude of each influence would be an oversimplification of the acculturation pattern. For 7 of these items, all FC foods (cheddar, coleslaw, hamburger steak, cream cheese, meat pie, club sandwich, sugar pie), the consumption frequencies were a reasonably balanced function of LIdentity and FCAccult. FCAccult dominated consumption (with LIdentity significantly positive, but at a far lesser

magnitude) for four FC items (sliced bread, maple syrup, cold cereal, poutine); whereas LIdentity dominated consumption for 11 items (with FCAccult significantly positive at a proportionately reduced magnitude), all of which were Lebanese (*halloom, hummus, shish tawuk, manakish, labni, kibbi, shawarma, ater, mehchi, baklawa, shorbit adas*). Graphically, pea soup is also depicted in this region, however because the path for FCAccult was nonsignificant while the path for LIdentity was positively significant (reflecting a monocultural consumption influence), it could imply that this item has been appropriated by the Lebanese as one of their own food items, serving perhaps as a substitute for *shorbit adas*. A monocultural influence on consumption was evidenced in 5 instances. The consumption of one FC food item, smoked meat, was purely a function of FCAccult, whereas the consumption of three Leb. food items (*ahwi turki, tabbouli, and arak*) and one FC item (pea soup) was solely predicted by LIdentity. Among all 30 food items, only one exhibited a consumption pattern consistent with assimilation. As LCs became increasingly acculturated to FC society, their consumption of *khibiz arabi* (akin to pita bread) declined. Finally, for our sample, because the consumption frequency of wine and regular coffee was relatively independent of LIdentity and FCAccult; they have been labeled non-cultural products. Here, behavior might be predicted by psychographic influences (including, perhaps, other subcultures), and/or demographic variables.

[Table 2 about here]

On the basis of the relative influence of LIdentity and FCAccult on the various consumption frequencies, the graph presented in Figure 5 was divided in seven equivalent and distinguishable areas, labeled A through G. Table 2 restates the seven acculturation patterns outlined earlier, and where applicable, providing the conceptual link to Mendoza's (1989) and Berry's (1980) acculturation frameworks. Our typology refines the categorizations proposed by

the latter two researchers. Furthermore, reinforcing the notion that the patterns of acculturation exhibited by individuals (through their consumption of products) are episodic, these boundaries may be more incremental rather than absolute. Indeed, while the consumption of some of the items under analysis was monocultural (i.e., influenced solely by FCAccult [area B] or by LIdentity [area F]), most of the observed consumption patterns are a function of different relative weights of these cultural constructs. The consumption of products under area C is dominated by mainstream acculturation although minority EID plays a (albeit lesser) role. The reverse holds true for the consumption patterns of foods falling in area E. The consumption of items in area D corresponds to a balanced function of both FCAccult and LIdentity, which is conceptually similar to integration or cultural incorporation. Only for one product—*khibiz arabi* (area G)—is there any compelling evidence of the bipolar, unidimensional acculturative process predicted by assimilation. As LCs increasingly acculturate, their consumption of this product likewise falls (likely replaced by sliced bread). For this sample, wine consumption appears to be decoupled from home and host cultural influences (area A).

4. Discussion

In terms of construct validity, this research provides empirical support for the multidimensional perspective of EID and acculturation. Our sample of Lebanese-Canadians appear to reside in a two-culture world—over time acquiring characteristics of the dominant culture, yet maintaining strong ties to their culture of origin. Indeed, our findings echo Oswald's notion of culture swap, whereby immigrants use consumer goods to "...move between one cultural identity and another, as they negotiate relations between home and host cultures" (Oswald, 1999, p. 303). As the rate of and depth of intra-cultural contacts intensify, the antecedents of consumption behavior will increasingly be a function of interdependent and

overlapping cultural domains (Peñaloza, 1994). The procurement, selection, preparation and consumption of food "...reflect complex interrelationships and interactions among individuals, their culture, and the society in which they live" (Axelson, 1986, p. 345). Cross-cultural adaptation is much more complex than the processes intimated by assimilation. Rather than the extreme positions embodied by cultural shift, assimilation, cultural resistance or separation, the results obtained speak more to the interdependent nature of culture and consumption (Oswald, 1999) and corroborate Reilly and Wallendorf's (1987) description of food consumption patterns as "...complex expressions of overlapping social group memberships" (p. 289).

We illustrated that the fabrics of home and host cultures can be woven into different textures depending on the consumption category under consideration. This was further substantiated by the results from the cluster analysis; revealing four groups characterized by different blends of home and host cultural traits. Together, these findings confirm that ethnic identity may be retained or even strengthened despite acculturation. This explains why certain ethnic and mainstream food items like *halloom* and cheddar can be consumed more by high ethnic identity consumers when they also rate high on acculturation. Beyond specific product categories, such textures of adaptation are likely to be in part subject to other characteristics of the environment (for example, availability of social support from fellow ethnic group members, fellow-ethnic neighborhood density, social class, and the specific type of acculturating group) and of the individual (e.g., the length of cultural contact, expectations regarding adaptation to a new cultural environment, locus of control, and other personality qualities). Greater insight into these processes is likely to be gleaned from research that explicitly incorporates the notion cultural distance. The manner of cultural adjustment will partly be a function of the

dissimilarities of the home and host cultures, while the attainment of new cultural skills is apt to be more challenging as cultural distance increases (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006).

One interesting avenue for research would be to examine minority ethnic identification and acculturation patterns within the context of multiple dominant cultures. In the context of the current work for example, Lebanese residing in Quebec likely face acculturation pressures not only from the immediate French-Canadian culture, but also from the greater North American (i.e., English-speaking) society, as well from as the emerging global consumer culture (Cleveland & Laroche, 2007). Recent work by Askegaard, Arnould and Kjeldgaard (2005) takes us in this direction; with their qualitative study of the cultural adaptation and consumption of Greenlandic immigrants living in Denmark, they chronicled evidence of three acculturative forces, that of the traditional home culture, that of the mainstream host culture, and that corresponding to a transnational consumer culture. Regarding acculturation, Rudmin (2003) has long criticized the research focus on minority groups. Thus an important topic future research would be to consider when and how the majority culture is impacted by minority cultures. For example, how is do majority culture members indigenize minority culture aspects, and how does the majority cultures evolve overtime with exposure to internal and external influences?

4.1. Conclusion

Attempting to profitably reach and satisfy increasingly fragmented target markets will continue to be one of the biggest challenges facing marketing practitioners. With rising multiculturalism, the issues long faced by international managers regarding segmentation and adaptation of the marketing strategies are increasingly of significance to domestic managers. Axelson (1986) argued that the food-related behaviors of cultural subgroups are unlike those of their culture of origin as well as those of their culture of residence. From a research perspective,

our findings shed light on the complexity of cultural interpenetration and subsequent impact on behavior. Building upon earlier studies relating to acculturation patterns our results emphasize that ethnic identification and acculturation are two distinct sub-processes of cultural adaptation, and social scientists must steer clear of using the two concepts interchangeably and avoid using single-continuum models of culture change. From a theoretical perspective, we have proposed a more detailed conceptualization and categorization of acculturation patterns than those articulated previously. Given that our cross-sectional study examined just one minority group within one host environment, and only focused on food items for which there was a substitute in each culture, the conclusions drawn are tentative. The model and typology proposed herein must be examined under different consumption contexts, and with different ethnic minorities coexisting with different ethnic majorities. For example, the role of cultural influences is likely to be pronounced for behaviors associated with expressive products categories like clothing and status symbols (Stayman & Deshpandé, 1989). With our survey-based methodology, there may be some ambiguity about the causal direction of the effects. In order to gain additional insights into acculturation phenomena at the event-level, we counsel that future researchers include measures that enable capturing the context (i.e., situation and individual characteristics) for each behavior under analysis. Following Geertz's (1973) 'thick description' of culture, future researchers should consider incorporating ethnographic or longitudinal research designs to supplement the cross-sectional quantitative thrust contained in this work in order to gain greater insight into the dynamics of cultural adaptation and subsequent behaviors, as well as to clarify when and why some traits and behaviors change rapidly while others remain unchanged for lengthy periods, even generations.

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Appendix 1: Food Categories and Consumption Frequencies as a Function of Lebanese Ethnic Identity and French-Canadian Acculturation

Food category	Food items^a	Lidentity^b	FCacculturation^b	R^{2c}
Alcoholic beverages	<i>Arak</i>	.287* (3.27)	-.073 (-0.85)	.098
	Wine	.017 (0.19)	.132 (1.49)	.017
Bread	<i>Khibiz arabi</i>	.399* (4.96)	-.289* (-3.68)	.297
	Sliced bread	.343* (4.32)	.544* (6.71)	.328
Breakfast items	<i>Manakish</i>	.610* (7.46)	.230* (2.96)	.359
	Cold cereal	.242* (3.00)	.517* (6.26)	.269
Cheeses	<i>Halloom</i>	.841* (11.53)	.342* (5.18)	.688
	Cheddar	.688* (9.15)	.490* (6.79)	.559
Coffee	<i>Ahwi turki</i>	.539* (6.59)	-.070 (-0.90)	.313
	Regular coffee	-.061 (-0.70)	.113 (1.28)	.020
Dairy	<i>Labni</i>	.569* (6.85)	.181* (2.29)	.308
	Cream cheese	.527* (6.66)	.478* (6.10)	.391
Main dishes (meat & vegetables)	<i>Mehchi</i>	.454* (5.28)	.164* (1.97)	.197
	Meat pie	.508* (6.50)	.524* (6.71)	.411
Meat (beef)	<i>Kibbi</i>	.547* (6.67)	.376* (4.72)	.344
	Hamburger steak	.635* (8.51)	.561* (7.65)	.555
Pastry	<i>Baklawa</i>	.431* (5.02)	.252* (3.02)	.198
	Sugar pie	.439* (5.39)	.440* (5.42)	.298
Salads (vegetable)	<i>Tabbouli</i>	.333* (3.80)	.002 (0.18)	.111
	Coleslaw	.634* (8.33)	.514* (6.93)	.516
Sandwiches (chicken)	<i>Shish tawuk</i>	.602* (7.33)	.211* (2.71)	.347
	Club sandwich	.409* (4.91)	.371* (4.48)	.235
Sandwiches (beef)	<i>Shawarma</i>	.525* (6.23)	.180* (2.23)	.263
	Smoked meat	.033 (0.39)	.362* (4.22)	.127
Side dishes/accompaniments	<i>Hummus</i>	.582* (7.08)	.301* (3.82)	.347
	Poutine	.185* (2.15)	.316* (3.66)	.107
Soups (vegetable)	<i>Shorbit adas</i>	.489* (5.74)	.125 (1.53)	.226
	Pea soup	.318* (3.66)	.153 (1.78)	.102
Syrups	<i>Ater</i>	.483* (5.68)	.214* (2.61)	.231
	Maple syrup	.256* (3.10)	.462* (5.53)	.225

^aItems appearing in italics are Lebanese foods; English translation provided for French-Canadian foods.

^bStandardized path coefficients (t-values in parentheses) for LIdent and FCAccult estimated using AMOS;

^cR² denotes squared multiple correlations.

*Significant (p≤.05).

Appendix 2: Scale Measurement Items for Acculturation and Ethnic Identity

Factor/Item ^a	loading ^c
Lebanese Media Exposure (LMedia)	$\alpha=.931$
(eid12) The radio programs that I listen to are always in Lebanese or Arabic. ^b	.894
(eid15) The movies /video cassettes that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic. ^b	.861
(eid11) The TV programs that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic. ^b	.833
(eid14) The magazines/books that I read are always in Arabic. ^b	.819
(eid13) The newspapers that I read are always in Arabic. ^b	.782
Lebanese Self-Identification and Pride (LIdent)	$\alpha=.893$
(eid36) I am very attached to all aspects of the Lebanese culture.	.876
(eid34) I am very proud to identify with the Lebanese culture.	.871
(eid32) I feel very proud of the Lebanese culture.	.808
(eid33) I feel most comfortable in the Lebanese culture.	.780
(eid31) The Lebanese culture has had the most positive impact on my life.	.740
(eid35) I consider the Lebanese culture to be rich and precious.	.697
Lebanese Language Use (LLang)	$\alpha=.863$
(eid4) I always speak Lebanese with other family members. ^b	.955
(eid3) I always speak (spoke) Lebanese with my parents. ^b	.879
(eid7) I mostly speak in Lebanese at family gatherings. ^b	.786
Lebanese Family Structure/Roles (LFamily)	$\alpha=.823$
(eid54) Children must have a strong sense of obligation and responsibility towards their parents. ^b	.814
(eid55) Each family member must contribute to the well-being of the family. ^b	.813
(eid51) The authority of parents towards their children must be respected. ^b	.810
Lebanese Social Interaction (LSocial)	$\alpha=.745$
(eid18) Most of the people that I go to parties with are Lebanese-Canadian. ^b	.904
(eid19) I get together with Lebanese-Canadians very often. ^b	.857
(eid17) Most of the people at the places I go to have fun and relax are Lebanese-Canadian. ^b	.784
(eid16) Most of my friends are Lebanese-Canadian. ^b	.747
French-Canadian Self-Identification and Pride (FCIdent)	$\alpha=.933$
(acc34) I am very proud to identify with the French-Canadian culture. ^b	.857
(acc36) I am very attached to all aspects of the French-Canadian culture. ^b	.832
(acc67) I would like to become more like (mainstream) French-Canadians. ^b	.812
(acc66) I want to acquire the cultural characteristics of French-Canadians. ^b	.808
(acc35) I consider the French-Canadian culture to be rich and precious. ^b	.799
(acc32) I feel very proud of the French-Canadian culture. ^b	.757
French-Canadian Sex Roles (FCRoles)	$\alpha=.858$
(acc64) Both husbands and wives alike have the right to work (outside the home) if they so desire. ^b	.861
(acc61) "Marriage" (being a housewife) is not the best career for a woman. ^b	.816
(acc62) A young woman need not quit her job once she marries. ^b	.781
(acc59) Sons and daughters should be accorded the same privileges.	.773
French-Canadian Language Use (FCLang)	$\alpha=.887$
(acc3) I always speak (spoke) French with my parents. ^b	.868
(acc4) I always speak French with other family members. ^b	.864
(acc7) I mostly speak in French at family gatherings. ^b	.824
French-Canadian Media Exposure (FCMedia)	$\alpha=.928$
(acc13) The newspapers that I read are always in French. ^b	.856
(acc15) The movies /video cassettes that I watch are always in French. ^b	.843
(acc12) The radio programs that I listen to are always in French. ^b	.822
(acc11) The TV programs that I watch are always in French. ^b	.804
(acc14) The magazines/books that I read are always in French. ^b	.799

^aEnglish translation

^bRetained in subsequent SEM analyses

^cCronbach alphas, factor loadings (principal components, oblimin rotation)

Figure 1: Research Model and Hypothesized Relationships

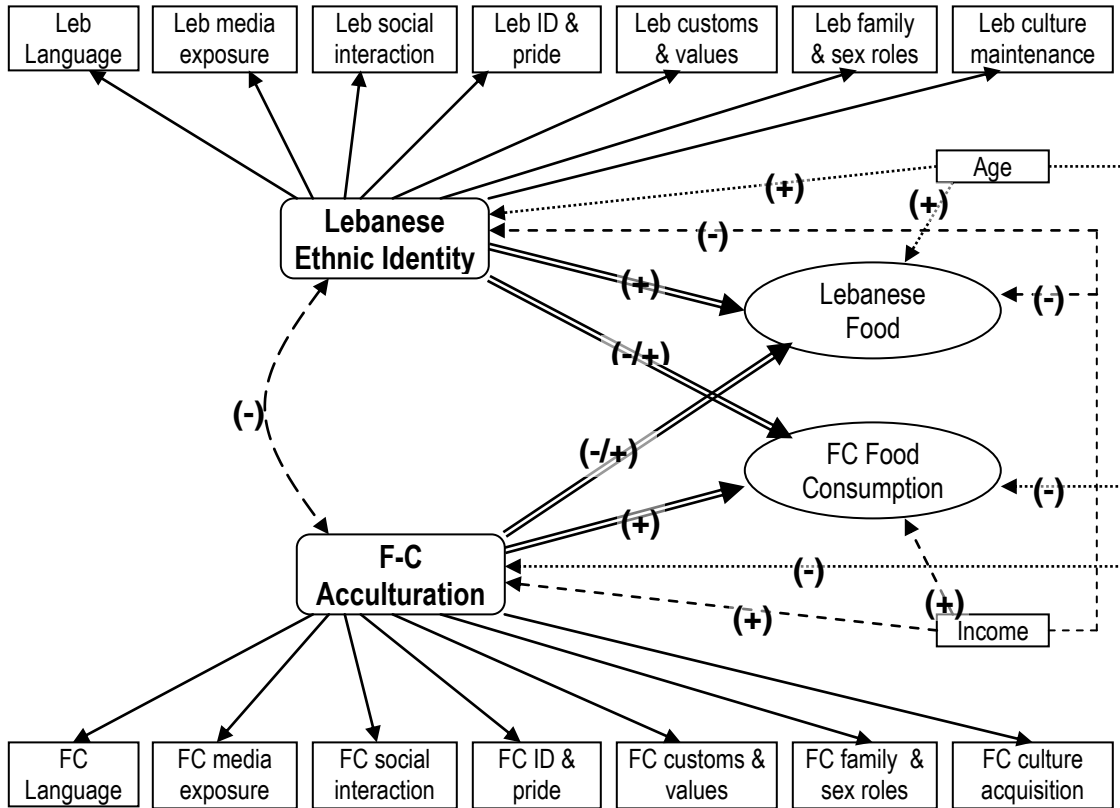


Figure 2: Structural Model Linking Cultural Constructs to Leb. Food Consumption

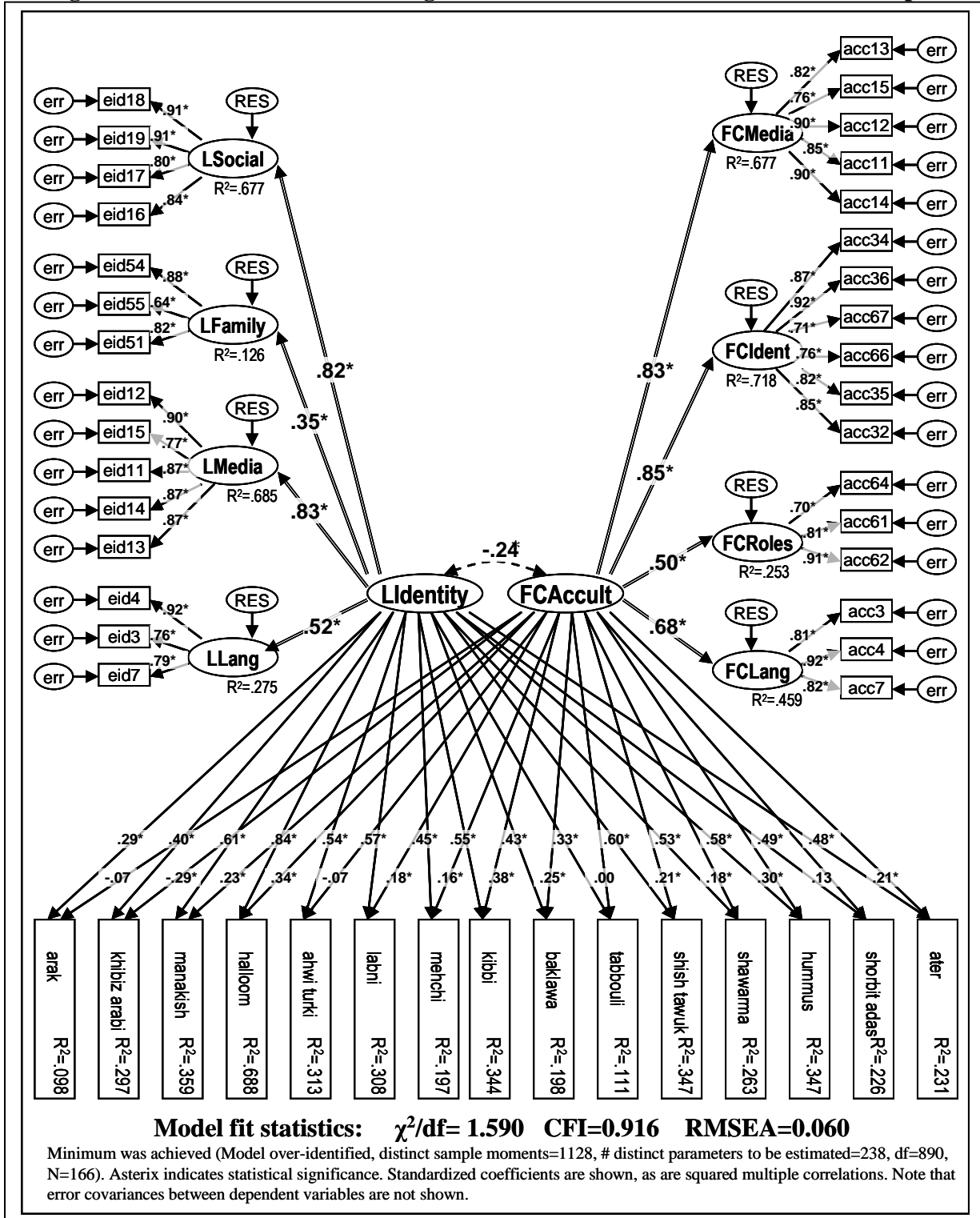


Figure 3: Structural Model Linking Cultural Constructs to FC Food Consumption

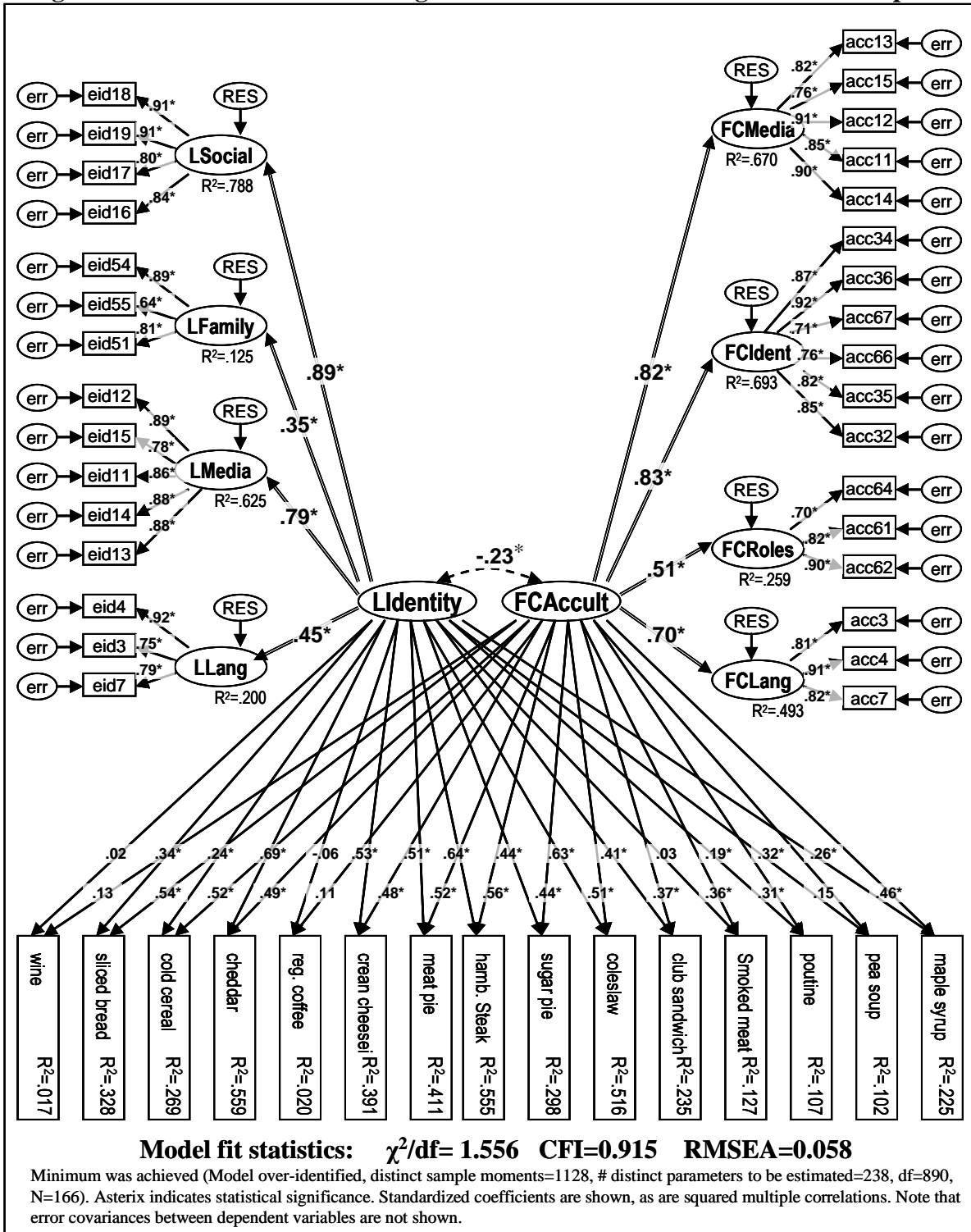
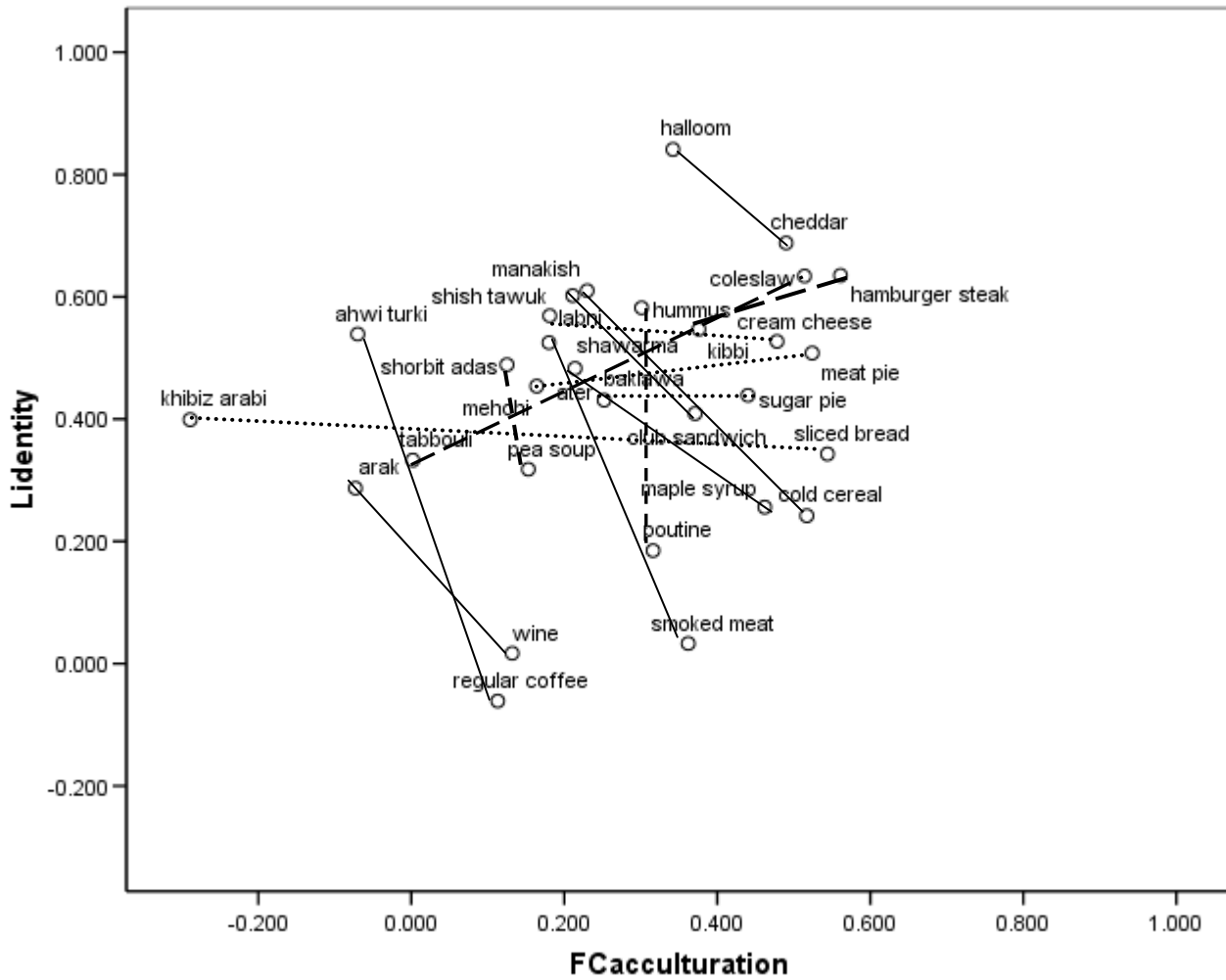
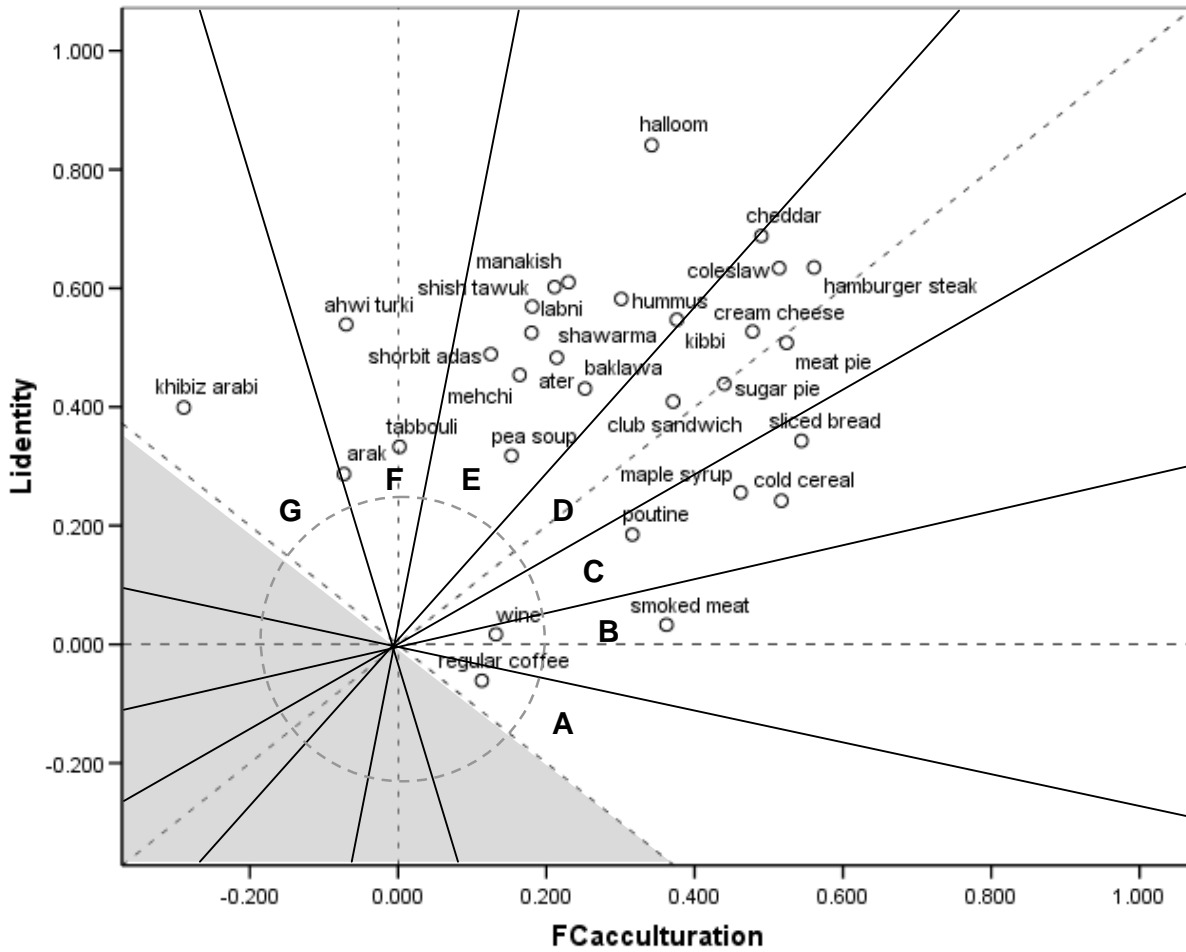


Figure 4: Within-Category Leb. and FC Food Consumption Patterns



- Vertical (primarily ↓LID)
- Horizontal (primarily ↑FCACC)
- Downward sloping (↓LID, ↑FCACC)
- - - - Upward sloping (↑LID, ↑FCACC)

Figure 5: Food Consumption According to the Relative Influence of Lebanese Ethnic Identity and FC Acculturation*



A-noncultural, **B**-pure acculturation, **C**-acculturation dominant, **D**-balanced, **E**-identification dominant, **F**-pure identification, **G**-assimilation.

*Items appearing in *italics* are Lebanese basic foods; standardized coefficients

Equal segments, each at an angle of $180/7=25.7$ degrees; the circle roughly representing zone of statistical non-significance of path coefficients.

Table 1: Consumption Patterns—Main Effects and Interactions*

Food	LIdentity	FCAccult	LIdentity* FCAccult	Income* LIdentity	Income* FCAccult	Age* LIdentity	Age* FCAccult	F	R ²
<i>Arak</i>	.267 ^a							12.6 ^a	.071
Wine				-.251 ^b	.359 ^a			5.5 ^a	.063
<i>Khibiz arabi</i>	.271 ^a	-.259 ^a						16.6 ^a	.169
Sliced bread			.517 ^a					59.9 ^a	.268
<i>Manakish</i>	.344 ^a		.194 ^a					22.0 ^a	.213
Cold cereal			.244 ^a		.600 ^a			25.7 ^a	.239
<i>Halloom</i>			.441 ^a	.725 ^a	-.535 ^a			52.0 ^a	.490
Cheddar			.365 ^a	.315 ^a				44.6 ^a	.354
<i>Ahwi turki</i>	.206 ^a					.520 ^a		176.0 ^a	.439
Regular coffee							.356 ^a	23.9 ^a	.127
<i>Labni</i>				.409 ^a				33.0 ^a	.168
Cream cheese		-.266 ^a	.723 ^a					33.8 ^a	.293
<i>Mehchi</i>				.347 ^a				22.5 ^a	.120
Meat pie			.384 ^a	.194 ^b				29.6 ^a	.263
<i>Kibbi</i>			.243 ^a	.315 ^a				25.5 ^a	.229
Hamburger steak			.524 ^a	.365 ^a	-.216 ^a			36.0 ^a	.400
<i>Baklawa</i>		-.259 ^b	.508 ^a					11.1 ^a	.346
Sugar pie			.421 ^a					35.4 ^a	.177
<i>Tabbouli</i>				.449 ^a	-.262 ^a			9.3 ^a	.102
Coleslaw	.263 ^a		.414 ^a					40.8 ^a	.333
<i>Shish tawuk</i>	.268 ^a		.242 ^a					21.2 ^a	.206
Club sandwich		-.234 ^b	.649 ^a				-.186 ^a	14.2 ^a	.220
<i>Shawarma</i>		-.508 ^a	.697 ^a					19.1 ^a	.190
Smoked meat		.371 ^a					-.156 ^b	17.4 ^a	.126
<i>Hummus</i>	.286 ^a		.272 ^a					23.3 ^a	.222
Poutine			.314 ^a					18.0 ^a	.100
<i>Shorbit adas</i>				.371 ^a				26.2 ^a	.138
Pea soup				.311 ^a				17.5 ^a	.096
<i>Ater</i>	.242 ^a		.175 ^b					11.7 ^a	.125
Maple syrup			.382 ^a					28.1 ^a	.146

*Stepwise multiple linear regression, using SPSS. LIdentity and FCAccult calculated from the mean of composite dimensions listed in Appendix 2. Standardized beta coefficients are shown.

^ap<.01, ^bp<.05.

Table 2: Typology of Cultural Adaptation and Consumption

Culture Change Pattern	Examples	Consumption a Function of ^a :	Mendoza's (1989) Typology	Berry's (1980) Typology
A) Noncultural	Wine, regular coffee	Acc (Ø), Id (Ø)		Marginalization
B) Pure Acculturation	Smoked meat	Acc (++), Id (Ø)		
C) Acculturation Dominant	Maple syrup, sliced bread	Acc (++), Id (+)	Cultural incorporation*	Integration
D) Balanced Integration	Cheddar, <i>kibbi</i>	Acc (+), Id (+)		
E) Identification Dominant	<i>Shish tawuk, shawarma</i>	Acc (+), Id (++)		
F) Pure Identification	<i>Tabbouli, ahwi turki</i>	Acc (Ø), Id (++)	Cultural resistance	Separation
G) Assimilation	<i>Khibiz arabi</i>	Acc (-), Id (+)	Culture shift	Assimilation

*Under certain consumption characteristics/circumstances, Mendoza's (1989) fourth categorization, cultural transmutation (i.e., "...an alteration of native and alternate cultural practices to create a unique subcultural entity," p. 373) may be a more appropriate descriptor.

^a(Ø) non significant, (+) positive and influential, (++) positive and very influential, (-) negative and influential.