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CULTURE CHANGE AND THE CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS: THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Rony J. Kastoun

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ABSTRACT

CULTURE CHANGE AND THE CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS: THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Rony J. Kastoun

This paper is concerned with the relationship between culture change and the consumption of basic foods. The literature dealing with acculturation, ethnic identification, and consumption is reviewed and focused on an ethnic group neglected in the consumer research literature: the Lebanese-Canadians. Hypotheses regarding the relative power of acculturation and ethnic identity as two separate yet correlated constructs that predict a variation in the consumption frequencies of various basic food items are drawn and a multidimensional culture change model is built. A survey using a convenience sample of Lebanese-Canadians residing in the Montreal Metropolitan Area is analysed. The results reveal that acculturation and ethnic identification are multidimensional constructs which have some impact on ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic foods, respectively. In addition, evidence is found that Lebanese-Canadian respondents reside in at least a two-culture world. Several consumer lifestyle factors also emerge from the data analysis with differing relationships with culture change. Finally, implications for marketers are discussed along with limitations and directions for future research.

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Responsibility for errors and omissions in this thesis is mine alone, and I remain conscious of the debt owed to the numerous researchers on whose work I have drawn to lay the foundations of my study.

Montreal, March 2000

To my mother and father,

to Roudy and Jenny.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

"Dis-moi ce que tu manges,
je te dirai qui tu es"
(Vallaud 1996:34)

One of the topics that research in social science in general and marketing in particular has always been concerned with relates to the factors influencing consumption. Of the various factors investigated, culture still attracts considerable attention. In fact, the culture in which we live has a pervasive yet subtle influence on our attitudes and behaviours as consumers thus shaping and moulding our values and beliefs; see Kim, Laroche, and Zhou (1993). Even though we are not always conscious of the ways in which it impacts our lives, culture is a powerful force in the way we live and the decisions we make (Berkman, Lindquist, and Sirgy 1997a) and, by contrasting different ethnicities, its richness and power as an explanatory construct for consumer research become evident (Daghfous and d'Astous 1991). Yet, researchers and social scientists have been slow to see the relationship between culture and consumption, and it is but recently that the theories of culture, meaning, and symbolism, needed to understand the cultural and communicative properties of consumer goods and behaviour, were developed (McCracken 1988). In fact, past scholars have failed to acknowledge that "consumption is a thoroughly cultural phenomenon," as the author adds in the introduction of his book (p.xi).

Nowadays, "'multiculturalism' or 'ethnic pluralism' is considered as indicative of the North American cultural reality" (Laroche, Kim, Hui, and Tomiuk 1997:34). In plural societies of which Canada is a prime example, "multiculturalism is not only a term used to describe a national policy, but it has become a national objective" (Lambert and Taylor 1990:10). This tenet holds that a multitude of cultures can coexist in the same region and yet retain some of their cultural heritage, if not all of it, while functioning within a host/dominant society (Hraba 1979). The diversity and potential distinctiveness of ethnic groups is thus taken into account (Lambert and Taylor 1990) and they are usually referred to as 'ethnic subcultures' or merely 'subcultures' (e.g., Berkman, Lindquist, and Sirgy 1997b; Hawkins, Best, and Coney 1998a; Laroche, Kim, and Tomiuk 1996). This way of thinking is relatively recent however; it stemmed from the realization that ethnicity has survived in North America impelling social scientists to question the validity of assimilationist-type processes (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Lambert and Taylor 1988). In Canada for instance, the 'Policy of Multiculturalism' was pronounced by former Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau in the House of Commons in 1971; see Lambert and Taylor (1990).

Although American and Canadian societies have always embraced numerous subcultures, until recently many marketers still treated them as homogeneous cultures based primarily on Western European values (Hawkins et al. 1998a). Though this view of North America was never accurate, it is even less so today as non-European immigration, differential birthrates, and increased ethnic identification accentuate the heterogeneous nature of our society. Canada, for instance, has been described as a 'mosaic' of cultural groups in cohabitation (Porter 1965). Canadian society is characterized by an array of racial, ethnic,

nationality, religious, age, and regional groups or subcultures. Furthermore, immigrants have continuously made up a substantial proportion of the Canadian population. In 1991, for example, 16 percent of the population were immigrants; they came from a wide variety of countries with different histories, cultures, and economic backgrounds (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998a). Even the United States (US) are often described today as a 'salad bowl' rather than a 'melting pot' or a 'soup bowl' (e.g., Hawkins et al. 1998a; Riche 1991). In fact, "when a small amount of a new ingredient is added to the soup, it generally loses its identity completely and blends into the overall flavour of the soup: in a salad, each ingredient retains its own unique identity while adding to the colour and flavour of the overall salad" (Hawkins et al. 1998a:141).

Culture and identity being "fluid and adaptive" (Laroche et al. 1996a:4), multiculturalism leaves open the possibility that immigrants in their adaptation process to a host/dominant culture may also independently maintain aspects of their culture of origin (Laroche et al. 1997c; Mendoza 1989; Padilla 1980). Otherwise said, multiculturalism involves the acquisition of traits of the host culture—what is commonly referred to in the literature as 'acculturation'—and the maintenance of traits of the culture of origin—usually labelled 'ethnic identification' or 'ethnic loyalty'—(Dashefsky and Shapiro 1974; Driedger 1978; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Phinney 1990; Rosen 1965; Salgado de Snyder 1987).

Consumer goods bear "a significance that goes beyond their utilitarian character and commercial value" (McCracken 1985; 1986; 1988). A great deal of theoretical and empirical attention in recent years has focused on consumption as a reflexion of culture and ethnicity.

Since "it is now generally believed that level of acculturation is associated with buyer behaviour" (Laroche et al. 1997c:34), an interesting case is that of "immigrants who come to a new country with their distinct cultural background and have to learn and adjust to the norms and values of the host society" (Daghfous and d'Astous 1991:91). Consumption activities depend here on the degree of cultural adjustment of the minority group and, at the same time, they are likely to affect the process of integration to the core culture. As Daghfous and d'Astous (1991) and Laroche et al. (1997c) sum up, marketing's involvement with ethnic minorities has generally revolved around the notion that ethnic group membership can have an impact on marketing-related variables and findings that highlight a correlation between level of acculturation and/or ethnic identity on one side and consumption-related activities and opinions on the other.

Canada comprises in excess of seventy distinct and identifiable ethno-cultural groups. Historically, the country has received immigrants from all over the world (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Fakhouri 1989). Acknowledging cultural diversity is salient to marketers and understanding the evolution of ethnic cultures improves their approaches and chances of success in their market niches (Fakhouri 1989). As the author adds, "today's immigrants are shaping tomorrow's market" (p.2-3), therefore the study of the buying behaviour of cultural minorities helps marketers make correct forecasts and adopt effective and efficient marketing strategies. Drawing upon pertinent articles found in the literature, we examine the relationship between acculturation, ethnic identification, culture change, and consumer behaviour among minorities. We focus in particular on an ethnic group that has been neglected in the consumer research literature: the Lebanese. In fact, to our knowledge,

there is no published empirical research specific to the consumption behaviour of this cultural group in Canada nor in the US. Nevertheless, people of Lebanese descent, immigrants and North American-born, deserve special attention because of their growing number, particularly in Canada, and the significant differences existing with the local culture.

Despite its beauties and their love for their land, Lebanese often were impelled to flee political turmoil in their country hoping for peace and stability and seek better life opportunities and success elsewhere. The values of Lebanese are an amalgam of social, traditional, and religious belief systems. Upon their landing in North America, Lebanese immigrants are confronted with a different—sometimes even divergent—way of living. Behaviours that are not current in the Middle East—for example, leaving your parents' house when you are barely eighteen, living common law, or being a lone parent—are considered normal and, within certain limits, socially acceptable in the US and Canada. Also, traditions and family values dear to Lebanese come face to face with orientations such as materialism and individualism that are typically associated with the North American culture (Belk 1985; Du Bois 1955).

As minorities become more integrated, there may be a tendency to progressively adopt the patterns of behaviour of the dominant culture and some typical behaviours and traditions even die out with time and the succession of generations (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987; Laroche et al. 1996a). Yet, food habits are quite profound in ethnic cultures and likely to be long-lasting and resistant to change (e.g., Fieldhouse 1995; Hirschman 1985), leaving practices virtually intact from generation to generation (Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). They seem to be the consumption

pattern that survives most according to Hirschman (1985). In the Lebanese case, food and cooking habits are of paramount importance and well anchored in their system of values, and Lebanese basic foods are part of the daily lives of the immigrants and their descendants through generations. As Fakhouri (1989:9) puts it, Lebanese immigrants "wish to maintain their cultural heritage, and part of this heritage is their food which women keep as an art, and in which Canadians are becoming interested."

Study Layout

At an era of fundamental restructuring, where our world resembles more a 'global village', the Lebanese experience in Canada provides an interesting framework for the study of culture change and its impact on consumer behaviour. Specifically, this paper investigates ethnic change among Lebanese-Canadians established in Montreal, Quebec, and how it affects their consumption of basic foods and lifestyles. In the first chapter, we start by developing concepts and theories based on what is found in past studies that deal with culture and consumption. This review of related literature will enable us to determine the underlying structure of Lebanese cultural change in French-Canada and develop our research model along with the hypotheses necessary to conduct our investigation. In the second chapter, the research methodology is presented and an adequate measuring device is developed and pretested in order to empirically assess the effects of culture change on the consumption behaviour of a sample of Lebanese participants residing in the Montreal Metropolitan Area. The third chapter analyses the results and reduces the data into a more meaningful and practical subset of independent variables. Via stepwise regression analyses, this chapter

particularly estimates the impact of each dimension of acculturation and ethnic identification along with socioeconomic predictors on food consumption variables and lifestyles. In the fourth chapter, the results of our exploratory study are further discussed in order to support or reject the hypothesized relationships and to corroborate or improve our culture change model. Finally, relevant implications to marketers and limitations peculiar to the study's settings are laid opening avenues for future research.

Research Goals

This study is purely exploratory in the sense that it is the first in its kind to empirically examine a convenience sample of Lebanese participants to assess their culture change and its effects on food consumption and lifestyles. The purpose of our research is therefore twofold. Firstly, we posit and test the impact of culture change in Canada on consumption of ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic foods and consumer lifestyles. Secondly, a model of ethnic change is adapted to Lebanese living in Canada and further improved by rounding-up its relevant dimensions for future testings. Due to limited resources, this exploratory study thus attempts primarily to couple cultural change among Lebanese-Canadians with consumption and lay the foundations for additional research; it should therefore not be regarded as the final word on the matter.

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT

The growing presence of ethnic subcultures has had significant implications for many aspects of consumption in the North American context (Laroche et al. 1997c). In response, marketing studies were undertaken to examine the relationship between ethnicity, consumption, and lifestyle patterns of immigrants. In fact, a preliminary review of the extant literature reveals a recent surge of interest in the study of ethnicity and its impact on consumer behaviour thus reflecting a belief that consumption is primarily a cultural phenomenon (Donthu and Cherian 1992; Hirschman 1981; Lee 1993; McCracken 1988; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983; Webster 1994). Many studies have focused on Hispanics in the US (e.g., Deshpande, Hoyer, and Donthu 1986; Donthu and Cherian 1992; Hoyer and Deshpande 1982; O'Guinn and Faber 1985; Saegert, Hoover, and Hilger 1985; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983), African-Americans (e.g., Akers 1968; Bauer and Cunningham 1970; Sexton 1972), and other minorities living in the US or Canada such as Arabs, Greeks, or Italians (e.g., Daghfous and d'Astous 1991; El-Koholy 1966; Laroche, Kim, and Hui 1997; Laroche, Kim, and Tomiuk 1998b; Laroche et al. 1997c; Laroche, Kim, Hui, Joy, and MacKay 1993).

As Laroche et al. (1997c) mention, numerous ethnicity-oriented investigations in marketing in general and consumer behaviour in particular have derived their findings from cross-cultural comparisons. For instance, some researchers compared Hispanic-American families with Anglo-American families (e.g., Imperia, O'Guinn, and MacAdams 1985;

Webster 1989). Others examined ethnicity as a factor influencing behaviour and lifestyles using respondents among English and French-Canadians (e.g., Kim et al. 1993; Laroche, Kim, and Hui 1998; Lefebvre 1975; Schaninger, Bourgeois, and Buss 1985; Tigert 1973). Moreover, Douglas (1979) investigated cross-national differences in attitudes and behaviours using samples from Chicago, Glasgow, London, Paris, Brussels, and Quebec City and was able to detect differences between the English and French-speaking subjects.

Initial attempts to classify respondents into ethnic group categories were based on researchers' perceptions (i.e., etic approach) and ethnic identification was operationalized in a rudimentary all-or-none fashion (Daghfous and d'Astous 1991; Laroche et al. 1996a). However, the controversy that arose as a result of the many criticisms pointing toward potential researcher biases that led to erroneous categorizations of subjects (Hirschman 1981) impelled subsequent studies to develop multi-item measures of ethnicity based on ethnic self-labelling. In fact, the measurement of the degree of identification an individual may feel toward a particular ethnic group was needed; see Hirschman (1981). Moreover, most researchers now agree that ethnicity is a continuous variable (Daghfous and d'Astous 1991; Yancey, Eriksen, and Juliani 1976) and that it has many facets. Consequently, more valid measurements of ethnicity should include several dimensions/factors such as the extent of adherence to cultural norms and values, inter-ethnic communication, interpersonal relationships, and self-perception; see Daghfous and d'Astous (1991). Multi-item self-administered instruments thus assured that subjects "would be classified according to their self-perceptions (i.e., emic approach) rather than those of researchers" (Laroche et al. 1996a:3). In addition, an increasing number of marketing researchers have also

incorporated the notion of changing culture and changing ethnic identity into their frameworks (Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c).

In sum, the literature dealing with the relationship between ethnicity and consumer behaviour is abundant and the assumption that consumption is in part a cultural phenomenon underlies most marketing studies involving ethnic subcultures and cross-cultural adaptation (McCracken 1985; 1986; 1988). Past studies have sought to demonstrate that consumption is shaped, driven, and constrained at every point by cultural considerations (McCracken 1988). Specifically, ethnicity was shown to be a good predictor of ethnic food choices and preferences.

We therefore devote the first section of our literature review to the thorough examination of consumption as a reflexion of culture. Secondly, we delve into cross-cultural adaptation and the acculturation process that immigrants and ethnic groups go through. In the third section, the ethnic identification of minorities is examined with a particular focus on the Lebanese community living in Canada. This will enable us, fourthly, to derive the hypotheses needed for our study and link everything together in order to build the research model.

1.1 - Culture and Consumption

In Western developed societies, culture is deeply connected to and dependent on consumption (e.g., Fieldhouse 1995; McCracken 1988). The system of design and production that bears consumer goods is itself an entirely cultural enterprise (Fieldhouse 1995). Thus, as McCracken (1988:xi) adds, "consumer goods . . . are charged with cultural

meaning" that "consumers use . . . to entirely cultural purposes." In fact, the anthropologist argues that people use the meaning of consumer goods to express cultural categories and principles, cultivate ideas, create and sustain lifestyles, and so on.

In the field of consumer behaviour, scholars have been reluctant participants in the study of the relationship between culture and consumption (McCracken 1988). In fact, it is but recently that researchers have started to show an interest in examining the cultural aspects of consumption plainly and elaborate on them. The definition of 'consumer behaviour' was for instance broadened to go beyond 'purchase behaviour'—that is, what happens when the consumer reaches to the shelf to choose brand 'A' or brand 'B'—and include all of the interaction between the good and the consumer before and after the moment of purchase; see McCracken (1988). In fact, the emerging definition of consumer behaviour that encompasses a wide variety of actions and reactions is clearly stated in Bergadaà (1990:290): "When we speak of the behaviour of the consumer in a given society, we mean the 'action' of the individual, that is, the process leading from initial motivation to decision and finally to the act eventually carried out and its consequences." Moreover, scholars in the field (e.g., Anderson 1986; Deshpande 1983; Firat 1985; Friedman 1985; Gardner 1985; Kassarjian 1986; Wells 1986) have displayed a willingness to transcend the methodological individualism and the narrow microscopic focus inherited from the field of psychology, and to consider the larger macroscopic social and cultural systems and contexts of consumption. With this broadening of the field, consumption is now less often defined as a small slice of the individual's reality and more often approached as a range of diverse, systematic, and fully cultural phenomena; see McCracken (1988).

The extent to which consumption is pegged to culture and ethnicity seems to be critical to marketers around the globe especially when studying, analysing, or predicting the behaviours of consumers as to basic foods. In fact, as Fieldhouse (1995:1) sees it, "culture is a major determinant of what we eat." The author adds that, "whereas it is easily seen that the direct consequences of food intake are biological . . . it is also apparent that the nature of that food intake is shaped by a wide variety of geographical, social, psychological, religious, economic, and political factors" (p.1). The foods we chose, our ways of preparing and eating, time of eating, and the number of meals per day are among the main factors that make up "human foodways" and are "an integrated part of a coherent cultural pattern in which each custom and practice has a part to play" (Fieldhouse 1995:1). Food habits are inculcated early in life and maintained because they are practical or symbolically meaningful behaviours in a particular culture. As Fieldhouse (1995:1) continues, "they are a product of ecological forces acting within the context of historical conditioning and belief systems—a melding of new ideas and imperatives with old traditions." In the Canadian context—where one of the major consumer realities is the country's ethnic mosaic, and the understanding of the Canadian consumer is a prime need to marketers—, what people buy today "reflects both their origin and how they changed during their stay in Canada" (Fakhouri 1989:2).

Drawing upon the available literature, the ethnic character of subcultures is revealed in this section. Next, we review the evolution in the measurement technique of ethnicity. Finally, the links between cultural change and consumption are studied. First however, we briefly present some of the basic definitions that can be found on culture and consumption with an emphasis on ethnic subcultures.

1.1.1 - Consumption, Culture, and Subcultures Outlined. Thoroughly defining the complex concept that is 'consumption' is not our main objective here. Despite its presence in daily vocabulary usage, it would take an entire book to cover all of its aspects if not an entire library. We will therefore content ourselves with this brief definition by McCracken (1988:xi): "[Consumption] is an array of activities and processes by which consumer goods and services are created, bought, and used" (to pursue further reading on issues of consumer behaviour and consumption, one may wish to begin with: Berkman, Lindquist, and Sirgy 1997; Hawkins, Best, and Coney 1998; Kindra, Laroche, and Muller 1993; Mallen, Kirpalani and Savitt 1977; Wells and Prensky 1996; and Wilkie 1994).

Understanding consumption behaviour is very important to marketers who seek to establish and maintain long-term relationships with customers (Berkman, Lindquist, and Sirgy 1997c). Even more important is consumer behaviour across cultures. In his discussion of cross-cultural comparisons, Wilkie (1994a), notes that consumers behave differently in different cultures for many reasons such as varying cultural values, beliefs, and lifestyles. Otherwise said, consumption is a source of cultural meaning and detailed understanding of each potential ethnic market is of capital importance to marketers in their development of efficient marketing strategies.

In everyday speech, we often use the term 'culture' as "a convenient shorthand for an ill-defined entity which we might better describe as way of life" (Fieldhouse 1995:1). About this "kind of social heritage" (p.1) the author adds: "We are vaguely aware that our culture is what makes us similar to some other people and yet different from the vast majority of people in the world" (p.1). However, scholars have disagreed about the precise meaning

of culture and many different attempts at formulations have been made over the years. Nevertheless, many still favour an early definition by Tylor (1871) where culture is seen as the "complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by humans as members of society" (Fieldhouse 1995:2; Hawkins, Best, and Coney 1998b:42). In other words, culture describes patterns of values, beliefs, and learned behaviour that are held in common and transmitted by the members of any given society (Fieldhouse 1995; Linton 1945). It is therefore a comprehensive concept that comprises almost everything that influences an individual's thought processes and behaviours (Hawkins et al. 1998b).

Culture not only influences our preferences but also how we make decisions (Ford, Pelton, and Lumpkin 1995; McDonald 1994; 1995) and even perceive everything surrounding us (McCort and Malhotra 1993). Although there is great diversity between cultures, a number of characteristics common to all may be identified; see Foster (1962). Like most human behaviour, culture is a learned experience: it is acquired rather than innate and, therefore, it affects a wide array of behaviours (Fieldhouse 1995; Hawkins et al. 1998b). Another key characteristic of culture is that it is shared: it is a group phenomenon transmitted from one generation to the next; see Fieldhouse (1995). No matter how different we may feel we are or even try to be from each other, our cultural heritage unites us (Berkman et al. 1997a). In fact, in most industrial societies, culture supplies boundaries within which the majority of members behave, think, and feel in a consistent manner because it seems 'natural' or 'right' to do so. Moreover, behaviours that seem strange or even repugnant to North Americans can yet be perfectly natural to members of other cultures and vice versa.

Finally, through cultural values—which are widely held beliefs that affirm what is desirable—culture provides a framework of norms within which individual and household lifestyles evolve (Hawkins et al. 1998b). We as individuals tend to abide by cultural norms without thinking, not by fear of the violation sanctions, but mostly because to do otherwise would seem unnatural. As Kindra, Laroche, and Muller (1989) remind us, each distinct culture creates its own set of norms and values to live by—norms and values which affect consumption behaviour.

A word on the nature of subcultures is probably in order at this point since that term has already been mentioned in our ongoing discussion without being clarified. As a matter of fact, large groups of consumers are living daily lives that involve identification with distinct subcultures (Wilkie 1994b). A 'subculture' is defined throughout the literature as "a segment of a larger culture whose members share distinguishing patterns of behaviour" (Hawkins et al. 1998a:140). In other words, members of a subculture are part of the larger culture that hosts them but share a distinct behaviour which, according to Hawkins et al. (1998a), is based on the social history of the group as well as on its current situation. The researchers add that identification with a subculture produces unique market behaviours and the degree to which he or she behaves in a manner unique to a subculture depends on the extent to which the individual identifies with that subculture. One major aspect of association with a subculture is ethnic identification; it is further discussed in a subsequent section.

Ethnic groups are the most commonly described subcultures, but generations, religions, and geographic regions are also the bases for strong subcultures whether in the US or Canada. Thus, we are all members of several subcultures, depending on whether race,

nationality, religion, age, or region is in question. While this study focuses on ethnic subcultures in Canada, namely the Lebanese-Canadians of Montreal, all subcultures must be considered by marketers. In fact, as Hawkins et al. (1998a) remind us, while our food preferences may be strongly influenced by our ethnic subculture, our attitudes toward new or imported products may be deeply affected by our regional subculture, our taste in music by our generation subculture, and our alcohol consumption by our religious subculture.

1.1.2 - Subcultures Based on Ethnicity. Across the border, the *US Bureau of the Census* uses the terms 'black', 'white', 'Asian/Pacific Islander', and 'American Indian' to describe major racial groups that are encountered in the US; see US Bureau of the Census (1992). Back in Canada, *Statistics Canada* uses terms like 'Aboriginal', 'African-Canadian', 'Indo-Chinese', and 'Asian-Canadian' when speaking of ethnic origin; see Statistics Canada (1997). Still in Canada, 'French-Canadian' and 'English-Canadian' are used as ethnic terms describing individuals of the two founding cultures, with both French and English being the official languages of the country. Moreover, 'Hispanic' is used in both countries to describe individuals from Spanish-speaking cultures regardless of race. Under this system, people of Arab background are considered white and people from China, India, and Samoa are grouped together (Hawkins et al. 1998a).

There are obvious problems with such a system and, although most people have a commonsense notion of ethnicity, precise delineations of specific ethnic groups are almost impossible (Phinney 1996). If we take the Lebanese for example, these people are considered white when Lebanon and the entire Middle East are actually part of the Asian continent. In

fact, Lebanon was even included in 'Asia, not British' in immigration statistics prior to 1956 (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996) and Lebanese were grouped with Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians into a category called 'Asian' or 'Asiatic' (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Moreover, many younger Hispanics do not consider themselves to be white or black, but to be Hispanics or Latinos. Finally, the racial categorization does not take into account the increasing number of individuals with mixed heritages who cannot be assigned to a single group (Evinger 1996; McNamee 1994; Phinney and Alipuria 1996). Nevertheless, while far from perfect, categorizations used in Canada and the US are often the unique sources of data on the size and characteristics of racial groups coexisting in North America (Hawkins et al. 1998a).

Hawkins et al. (1998a) define 'ethnic subcultures' as cultural groups whose members' unique shared behaviours are based on a common racial, language, or nationality background. Ethnic subcultures tend to concentrate in relatively few areas of the country. Thus, Asian-Canadians are the largest group in south-west Canada (especially in British Columbia), Natives are a majority in Northern Canada (e.g., Inuits in the Northwest Territories), and, if we look very close, Lebanese-Canadians are dominant in parts of Saint-Laurent, Montreal, Quebec; see Statistics Canada (1998b). Clearly, immigration patterns have fuelled the growth of cultural groups in North America. The influx of immigrants not only increases the size of the ethnic subculture but also reinforces the unique behaviours and attitudes derived from the group's home culture; see Hawkins et al. (1998a).

Which finally brings us to ethnicity, a concept described in many ways by product designers, advertisers, marketers, researchers, and scholars. For some, ethnicity and race are

very similar (e.g., Hawkins et al. 1998a), others argue that ethnicity and nationality can be easily mixed up (e.g., Berkman et al. 1997b). The topic therefore "lacks a clear theoretical framework and has only a limited empirical base" (Phinney 1996:143). Most people tend to agree however that at a general level, ethnicity follows from the fact that certain individuals 'belong to' or 'identify with' certain ethnic groups; hence the term 'ethnic identification' (Berkman et al. 1997b; Hawkins et al. 1998a; Phinney 1990; Wells and Prensky 1996a; Wilkie 1994c). In other words, 'ethnicity' generally refers to "the character or quality encompassing several cultural indicators which are used to assign people to groupings" (Laroche et al. 1998a:2). As we have seen, these groupings or ethnic subcultures—minority cultures within a dominant majority culture that is—have their members sharing particular patterns of values and behaviours (Wilkie 1994c), for example the consumption of basic foods, which is of interest in the present study.

Ethnicity is also widely accepted as a dynamic and adaptable concept because cultural traits may change as a result of some large scale political, economic, and demographic trends (Barth 1969; Paranjpe 1986). In a multicultural environment such as Canada, a nation in which many cultural groups are in continuous contact with one another, Phinney (1990) argues that it is crucially important that researchers incorporate acculturation in their conceptualization of ethnicity; we will come back to this later in our study. As for Laroche, Kim, and Hui (1995), they add that language use and ethnic origin are among the most often mentioned cultural facets when speaking of ethnicity; they are backed up in their arguments by researchers such as Isajiw (1974), Schaninger et al. (1985), and Webster (1994).

*1.1.3 - **Measuring Ethnicity Today.*** Measuring ethnicity is a key factor in many markets around the world, as Wilkie (1994b) reminds us, and detailed understanding of each potential ethnic market is needed before distinct strategies are implemented. In Canada, for example, about 45 percent of the citizens are of British origin, about 30 percent are of French descent, and the rest come from a variety of other nations such as China, Italy, and Lebanon to name a few (adapted from Schaninger et al. 1985). Likewise, Kindra et al. (1989) argue that about 30 percent of Canadians are not of French nor English origin, and since then, this percentage has increased as predicted. Geographically and culturally, these ethnic backgrounds have not entirely assimilated into a single national marketplace as many studies have noted (e.g., Bergier 1986; Joy and Dholakia 1992). In Quebec for instance, over 80 percent of consumers are of French origin, with only some 10 percent of English origin (Kim, Laroche, and Lee 1989), which seems to indicate that there are as much ethnic minorities as there are English-Canadians in the Province. The daily languages differ, and a number of customs and preferences differ as well. These ethnic subcultures present marketing challenges and opportunities and can represent viable market segments for specific products and services, especially in areas with high concentrations of ethnic minorities (Kindra et al. 1989). This has led one Canadian researcher to conclude that "in Canada, cross-cultural studies are not a luxury but a necessity," especially due to government policies aimed at encouraging ethnic diversity; see Bergier (1986:37).

Traditionally, ethnic and race segmentation has been used as one of the many managerial strategies that adapt firms' marketing mixes to best fit the various consumer demand curves existing in markets (Wilkie 1994b). Seeking to obtain competitive advantage

by doing a better job of satisfying customer requirements, this adaptive strategy first assigns consumers to a potential segment based upon their ethnic or racial group membership, then these segments are evaluated on the marketing efficiency and systematic purchasing behaviour criteria; see Foote (1969) and Wilkie (1994b). Ethnic and race segmentation was at one time the only technique used by marketers to measure ethnicity and racial affiliation particularly in local markets—where different neighbourhood retailers would cater to enclaves of immigrants—or neighbourhoods segregated by race (Wilkie 1994b). Early measurements of ethnicity were thus constantly susceptible of leading to biased and controversial categorizations of subjects since these were primarily based on researchers' own perceptions and segmentations (e.g..Daghfous and d'Astous 1991; Laroche et al. 1996a).

Today, a change in the nature of potential ethnic segments is clearly detectable and there is considerable uncertainty in marketers' minds about when and how ethnic segmentation might best be accomplished (Wilkie 1994b). Reviewing recent marketing studies. Laroche et al. (1995) notice however a shift toward the recognition and incorporation of the dynamic and adaptable nature of ethnicity. Almost two decades ago, Hirschman (1981) had insisted on the need for the measurement of the degree of identification an individual could feel with a particular ethnic group. regardless of the researcher's classification or segmentation. She consequently departed from the traditional dichotomous conceptualization of ethnicity, that is, whether or not one belongs to an ethnic group. Moreover, Hirschman (1981) argued that the degree of a person's ethnic identification could determine the level of commitment that person experienced regarding the norms of the group and thus, the degree of influence the group had on the person's behaviours and attitudes. This new

approach therefore consisted of the categorizations of respondents based on their self-perceived strength of affiliation; it was later used by numerous researchers in their operationalization of Hispanic ethnicity (e.g., Deshpande et al. 1986; Donthu and Cherian 1992; Webster 1994) or Jewish ethnicity (e.g., Hirschman 1981) thus contrasting with initial biased attempts that were subject to continuous controversy.

Moreover, as Phinney (1996) notices, many past studies (e.g., Atkinson, Morten, and Sue 1993; Cross 1991; Phinney 1989) have emphasized the importance of minority group members examining and questioning preexisting ethnic attitudes and assumptions and searching into the past and present experiences of the group, and its relations with other groups, as a necessary step toward identity achievement. In her extensive review of research on this topic, Phinney (1993) adds that adolescents are assumed to progress over time from an unexamined or received view of their ethnicity—based on attitudes of parents, communities, or society—through a crisis or exploration phase, in which they immerse themselves in the history and culture of their group, all the way to an achieved secure sense of their ethnicity. We will get back to this exploration process later in the discussion.

1.1.4 - Culture Change and Consumption. Whether from a national or an international perspective, "an important characteristic of culture is that it is not static, but undergoes constant change" (Berkman et al. 1997a:415). Even though culture preserves traditions, it also creates mechanisms for change; see Fieldhouse (1995). In multicultural environments, 'culture change' refers to "a multidimensional process by which immigrants, after continuous first-hand contact with a dominant group, may or may not acquire cultural

attitudes, behaviours, and values of the dominant group while potentially retaining or relinquishing . . . cultural attitudes, behaviours, and values of their original culture" (Tomiuk 1993:169). Thus, in plural societies like Canada, culture change differs from 'assimilation', 'Americanization', and 'enculturation', which are further discussed later. Finally, another paramount aspect of culture change is that it is a dynamic/fluid process and, like all processes, it should be differentiated from an outcome (Tomiuk 1993) (to pursue further reading on culture change, one may wish to start with: Berry 1980; 1986; 1988; Fieldhouse 1995; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Padilla 1980; and Ting-Toomey 1981).

As culture changes, so do consumer needs and behaviours. Because a culture must be able to adapt in order to survive, cultural change is an ongoing sometimes uneven process; see Berkman et al. (1997a). Moreover, Fieldhouse (1995) reminds us that change occurs over time; each generation, although it learns the culture it is born into, is never exactly identical to its predecessor. According to Berkman et al. (1997a), technology and cultural diffusion are among the main factors that contribute to the process. In fact, they could easily accelerate changes in values and behaviours, if not alter them completely. Yet, while very powerful in changing one's culture, technological progress is not a pertinent issue in our study; we will therefore focus our attention on the diffusion of culture.

Cultural diffusion results when one culture becomes exposed to another (Berkman et al. 1997a). The term 'diffusion' itself means the spreading out and, thus, the general topic 'diffusion of culture' refers to the manner in which norms and values for instance spread through a culture and its members, including subcultures; see Wilkie (1994a). The exchange that has occurred between East and West since the end of World War II illustrates quite well

how different cultures, when entering in contact with one another, can change significantly if not dramatically. Researchers state for instance the introduction of rock music, with its loud beat, rebellious electric guitars, and the youth fashions and lifestyles associated with it, into such diverse places as France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and Singapore which has had an enormous and long-lasting impact on young generations in each of these countries. Rock music has drawn them away from the music of their own cultures, and also from previous paths of behaviour and values inherited from their forefathers (e.g., Berkman et al. 1997a). Jeans are another significant example of cultural diffusion; *Levi Strauss* jeans' popularity the world over has influenced fashions for both men and women along with lifestyles and behaviour patterns. The technologies of jet travel, computer chips, and satellite communications have produced incredible demand for goods and services across cultures around the world. Who can deny the power of the *Internet* today? Exchanging information, cultural values, and new ways of life through the *World Wide Web*—the multimedia portion of the Internet—can be as quick and easy as logging in on your personal computer. In fact, surfing the *Net* presents people with endless possibilities from simple chitchats or game contests across oceans to carrying worldwide information searches and checking the stock markets in major financial capitals; see Rupley (1995a; 1995b).

But perhaps nothing better illustrates the process of cultural change than the case of immigrants coming to a new country; which also suits the purposes of our study. In fact, these ethnic minorities carry with them a distinct cultural heritage and, in order to survive, have to learn and somehow adapt to the norms and values of the core culture; see Daghfous and d'Astous (1991). Faced with a new way of living, thinking, and behaving, these

subcultures undergo changes in their own culture. To paraphrase Kindra et al. (1989), different cultural surroundings modify their values and, thereby, redefine their desired states with respect to some goods or needs. Otherwise said, consumers who move to a foreign land progressively learn and accept the norms, behaviours, and standards of the host culture. This does not happen easily, especially when the host society is radically different than the culture these people grew in, and an initial 'culture shock' is inevitable (e.g., Kindra et al. 1989). Middle Eastern consumers coming to Canada for instance—to reverse the example used by Kindra et al. (1989:212)—are initially confused with the rules of shopping that are utterly different here. Instead of being able to haggle and bargain at an open-air market like they are accustomed to back home, the shoppers are faced with fixed prices that are rarely subject to change.

A newly arrived Lebanese couple invited to dinner in the home of a French-Canadian family living in Montreal whom they have befriended is another example of life in a different culture. If they show up an hour late—a widely accepted practice in the Middle Eastern culture—, they will probably be the last, for the remaining guests, unless they are Lebanese too, would already be finishing the entrée and awaiting the main dish. Throughout the remainder of the dinner, their hosts would offer them food, wine, and dessert, once and not more; to refuse would simply deprive them of eating since it is not a North American custom to insist on offering someone something. In the Middle East, a host would be expected to insist, at least twice, and a guest is supposed to refuse, at least once. In other words, our Lebanese couple would remain hungry, unless they accept the first invitation to add food to their plates (adapted from Kindra et al. 1989).

The two preceding sketches illustrate some of the "confusing signals, strange standards, peculiar mores, and odd norms of correct behaviour that confront a newcomer to any culture" (Kindra et al. 1989:213). Yet, as the authors remind us, to natives who have been socialized in that culture, all of this is perfectly normal and taken for granted. A Lebanese consumer's experience while living in an alien culture such as Quebec can, therefore, be quite "shocking" and lead to "culture fatigue" (some symptoms being anxiety and insomnia; see Kashmeri 1986) until the person becomes sufficiently acculturated through environmental learning and avoids making "cultural mistakes" (Kindra et al. 1989:214).

The cultural change that subcultures undergo when exposed to the core society depends on their cross-cultural adaptation on one hand and their identification with their culture of origin on the other. Social scientists analyse the changes experienced by an immigrant ethnic group in terms of generations, from the first generation arriving in North America through the third and fourth generations, their grandchildren and great-grandchildren (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). It is helpful in understanding the changes ethnic consumer groups undergo and categorize them in terms of acculturation and ethnic identification. As Laroche et al. (1997c) point out, the literature is not lacking when it comes to findings that highlight a relationship between level of acculturation and/or ethnic identity on one side and consumption-related activities and opinions on the other. Acculturation and ethnic identification, the principal components of culture change in plural societies, are the object of further analysis later in our conceptual development.

In sum, one behavioural aspect of interest in the present study—positively related to cultural change and the diffusion of new values and behaviours from the core culture to the

ethnic subcultures it hosts—is consumption. In fact, Daghfous and d'Astous (1991) argue that, while they are likely to influence the process of integration to the dominant culture, consumption activities also depend on the degree of cultural adjustment of the minority group to their new way of living. They are backed up by Fakhouri (1989:2) who adds that in Canada, for instance, "one of the major Canadian consumer realities is [the country's] ethnic composition and the evolution process of its immigrants." It is therefore imperative for marketing personnel who undertake the targeting of a subculture market to know the culture of that society in all its aspects, namely its values, ideas, attitudes, traditions or customs, artifacts, and symbols; see Kindra et al. (1989).

The foregoing paragraphs highlight the clear influence that culture and ethnicity can have on consumer behaviour and consumption. All indicates that large groups of consumers are living daily lives that involve identification with distinct subcultures. It is now necessary for us to take a closer look at the process of identification that ethnic subcultures go through with respect to their ethnic background and heritage. First however, a word on the nature of acculturation and cross-cultural adaptation is surely in order since, similarly to ethnic identification, it is a key player in the process of culture change.

1.2 - Cross-Cultural Adaptation and Acculturation

Research into cross-cultural adaptation has been active primarily across the border, in the US, where "immigrants and ethnic diversity have always been a major reality and an issue of serious concern" (Kim 1988:11). Although hundreds of books and articles related to culture and various aspects of cross-cultural adaptation have accumulated since the turn

of the twentieth century, the field remains quite diverse and complex (Kim 1988). In fact, cross-cultural adaptation has an apparent impact on many areas of inquiry in the field of social sciences including consumer behaviour (Tomiuk 1993). As Kim (1988:12) reports, its confusing complexity results from "the application of concepts, definitions, and methodologies peculiar to different disciplinary and ideological perspectives."

When it comes to marketing issues, the relevance and importance of cross-cultural adaptation are emphasized by the numerous attempts made by marketers to incorporate and apply its notions, particularly acculturation. A key issue in the field of cross-cultural adaptation, acculturation has been studied extensively from various theoretical perspectives but differing and confounding views of its definition characterize it; see Tomiuk (1993). As Keefe (1980:85) puts it, acculturation is "one of those terms all social scientists use although few can agree upon its meaning."

According to Herskovits (1938), the earliest use of the term 'acculturation' dates back to 1880 and is to be found in the writings of the American ethnologist John W. Powell. In their more recent retracing of the term's origins, Keefe and Padilla (1987) argue that the term appeared in the 1920's in American anthropology when researchers turned from an interest in studying traditional American native cultures to an interest in culture contact principally between primitive and civilized cultures. As early as 1940 however, acculturation had already picked up a variety of confusing and conflicting meanings and had "accumulated a wealth of associations" (Linton 1940). Over time, the meaning of acculturation has evolved with a trend toward a definition that is much broader in scope and therefore consistent with a multicultural perspective on North American society (Tomiuk 1993).

While socialization is the process whereby individuals learn the mores and standards of the culture in which they grow up, acculturation is the process by which a person learns the norms and values of a different culture (Kindra et al. 1989). Up to very recently however, many theorists still regarded acculturation as a bipolar unidimensional process by which not only do immigrants acquire the cultural aspects of a host/dominant culture but also simultaneously lose part or all of their cultural heritage (e.g., Burnam, Telles, Karno, Hough, and Escobar 1987; Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso 1980; Salgado de Snyder 1987; Szapocznik, Kurtines, and Fernandez 1980). This crude approach suggests the replacement of traditional culture traits by those of the dominant culture as depicted by a *Single Continuum Model* which shows the level or degree of acculturation ranging from 'acculturated' to 'unacculturated' with 'biculturalism' as the midpoint (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Laroche et al. 1997c; Phinney 1990). It is argued that such a view was partly due to 'melting pot' pressures, particularly in the US, that caused individuals to behave in this fashion; see Marina (1979). Accordingly, Keefe (1980:86) suggests that acculturation research in the US generally assumed a "unidirectional continuum of change from native/ethnic minority culture to Anglo culture" and, because of its unidimensional aspect, the process was usually regarded as "one of replacement, that is, traditional culture traits [were] dropped while Anglo traits [were] added" (p.86).

Nowadays, due to the growing influence and acceptance of the concept of cultural pluralism (Tomiuk 1993), it has become customary to conceptualize acculturation as a process whereby minorities or immigrant groups come to learn and adapt to a new culture (Sturdivant 1981) while preserving their ethnic heritage. Thus, these individuals

acquire the values, attitudes, and behaviours of the dominant society (Garcia and Lega 1979; Keefe 1980; Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c), and that acquisition of host culture traits occurs with no concomitant loss of culture of origin (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Lambert and Taylor 1990; Lee, Um, Rhi-Perez, Tharp, Cornwell, and Katz 1991; Phinney 1990). When taken to refer to a broader multicultural process, acculturation reflects culture change in plural societies where diverse ethnic groups coexist in a multiethnic climate. This broader view is not to be confounded with 'enculturation' (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, and Dasen 1992). Moreover, acculturation entails an adaptation process which is by far more complex than that suggested by 'assimilation' (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Mendoza and Martinez 1981) and related concepts such as 'Anglo-conformity' (Lambert and Taylor 1990) or 'Americanization' (Hraba 1979). In fact, enculturation is essentially the process of learning one's native culture (Berry et al. 1992; Fieldhouse 1995; Wells and Prensky 1996b), whereas assimilation maintains that ethnic groups lose their mores and traits over time and gradually adopt behaviours, lifestyles, and purchasing habits associated with the dominant culture in which they live (Glazer 1964). As for the other two—which imply the integration of cultures into a 'melting pot' or a 'soup bowl'—, they are perhaps better suited to characterize the abovementioned unidimensional approach (Hraba 1979; Lee et al. 1991).

This section of our conceptual development starts by studying the multidimensional aspect that acculturation is widely accepted to have today. The models that can be found in the relevant literature are then displayed and discussed. Next, acculturation is briefly conceptualized to fit the profile and requirements of our study. Finally, the section ends with a little French-Canadian culinary history.

1.2.1 - The Multidimensionality of Acculturation. Most researchers nowadays agree that acculturation is a multidimensional process (e.g., Felix-Ortiz de la Garza, Newcomb, and Myers 1995; Hazuda, Stern, and Haffner 1988; Laroche et al. 1996a; Mendoza 1989; Phinney 1990) in that "it may span over many aspects of culture and life" (Tomiuk 1993:74). Nevertheless, acculturation has also been regarded as unidimensional (e.g., Berry and Annis 1974; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde 1978). In fact, many single sum indices of the process were developed (e.g., Deyo, Diehl, Hazuda, and Stern 1985; Olmedo and Padilla 1978) even though it was theoretically recognized as multidimensional (Hazuda et al. 1988). The most widely used indicators of acculturation have been language-based items (e.g., Kim 1977; Olmedo 1979; Phinney 1990), stressing the primacy of this conceptual dimension in the process of acquiring a second culture (Laroche et al. 1997c). The importance of language was further reinforced by measuring instruments strictly relying on items which tap language familiarity, preference, and/or use in differing contexts (e.g., Faber, O'Guinn, and McCarty 1987; Markides, Krause, and De Leon 1988; Ortiz and Arce 1984).

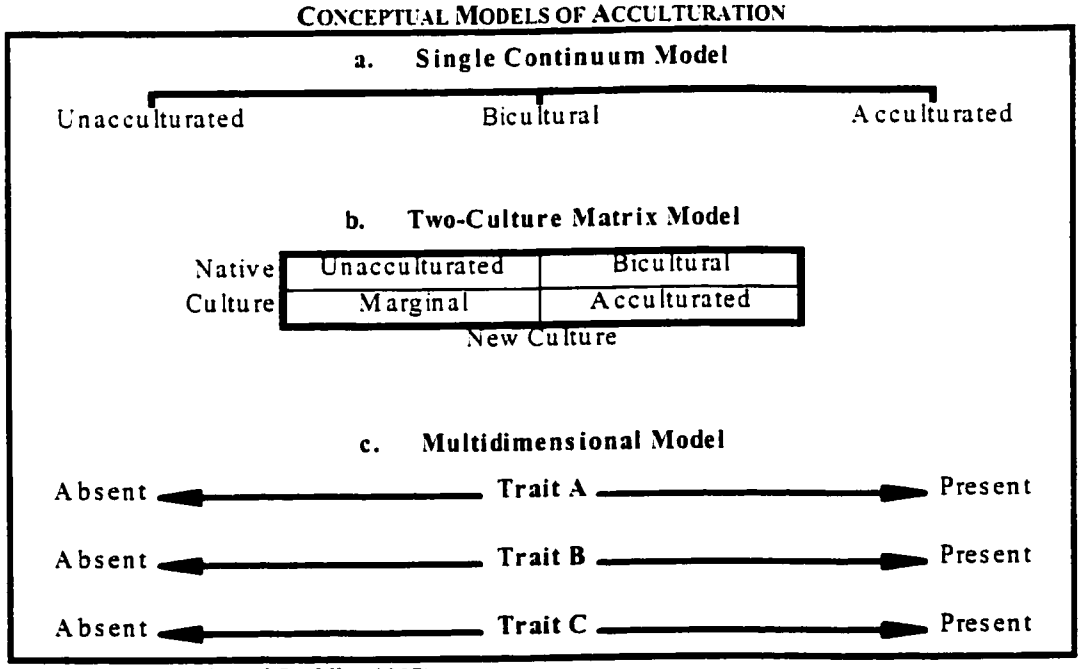
Many measure developers (e.g., Garcia and Lega 1979; Huhr and Kim 1984; Kim 1977; 1978; O'Guinn and Faber 1987) have also relied heavily on media-type items (i.e., newspapers, magazines, books, radio, and television). In addition to language and media, measures of acculturation have also comprised indicators of other conceptual dimensions such as measures of social interaction with members of a host culture and/or participation in the organizations and associations of that culture (e.g., Campisi 1947; Cuellar et al. 1980; Franco 1983; Keefe and Padilla 1987). Furthermore, Garcia (1982) and Weinstock (1964) also stressed the importance of media and social interaction and

participation dimensions in the process of acculturation by reporting that not language but rather the number of friends from the host culture and mass media preferences were the best indicators of acculturation.

By examining only a few of the many sets of acculturation dimensions available in the literature, it becomes obvious that several overlap. Tomiuk (1993) hence came up with a set that adequately captures the relevant dimensions; it is presented later in this chapter.

1.2.2 - Models of Acculturation. Offering a good synopsis of acculturation models found in past studies, Keefe and Padilla (1987:15) argue that the process "has been conceptualized in several ways, with each involving a different notion of biculturalism, or facility with two cultures." Gathered in Figure 1 are depictions by Keefe and Padilla (1987:17) of the ways in which acculturation has been considered in the literature.

FIGURE 1
CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF ACCULTURATION



Source: *Keefe and Padilla (1987).*

The first depiction (see Figure 1a) represents the Single Continuum Model which supports a "gradual replacement of traditional cultural traits with Anglo-American traits" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:16). This model shows the level of acculturation ranging from 'unacculturated'—resulting in a high ethnic identity—to 'acculturated'—hence a low or non-existent ethnic identity—with 'bicultural', the midpoint, characterizing people who have consistently changed to some extent across cultural traits and in all aspects of life; see Keefe and Padilla (1987). As Tomiuk (1993) asserts, the Single Continuum Model clearly depicts the process of 'Americanization' or 'Anglo-conformity'. Nevertheless, despite its strong limitations, the adoption of this model was an improvement on earlier conceptualizations of ethnicity and acculturation (Tomiuk 1993).

Not all measurement studies of acculturation adhere to the bipolar depiction of the concept. The process of immigrant adaptation having been traditionally regarded as unidimensional, the presumed linearity of this process has been challenged by many specialists in the areas of marketing and social psychology (e.g., Berry 1980; 1986; 1988; Laroche, Kim, Hui, and Tomiuk 1996; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). For instance, the validity of the Single Continuum Model was called into question by Berry (1980; 1986; 1988) who stressed two continua of change instead of only one. In their study of consumption patterns of Mexican-Americans, Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) completely dismissed the bipolar model by finding that the mean consumption of certain food categories by the ethnic minority exceeded that of either Mexicans or Anglos. The authors thus asserted that acculturation was "more than a simple linear progression from one culture to another" (p.300). As for Laroche et al. (1996c), their study was based on multiple Canadian

samples and showed that the relationship between level of acculturation and level of self-identification with the traditional culture was also best depicted by a complex non-linear relationship.

This brings us to the *Two-Culture Matrix Model* (see Figure 1b) where "the two cultural systems are treated independently as separate axes forming a matrix" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:16). According to the authors, each culture is conceived here "as a single continuum, and individuals may vary in their acceptance of and adherence to the two cultures" (p.16). In this case, individuals who hold on to their original culture are considered bicultural (Tomiuk 1993). Moreover, it is suggested that addition of Anglo culture traits "requires no concomitant loss of traditional behaviours and values" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:16). Thus, the Two-Culture Matrix Model abides by the rules and principles of the new school of thinking which postulates two aspects of cultural change "where new cultural traits are seen as supplementing traditional or native ones" (Tomiuk 1993:73). Pioneers of such ideas include researchers such as Dohrenwend and Smith (1962) and McFee (1968).

The third and final diagram proposed by Keefe and Padilla (1987) (see Figure 1c) illustrates the *Multidimensional Model*. It is said to symbolize the acquisition of new cultural traits and the loss of traditional ones varying from trait to trait; see Keefe and Padilla (1987). The authors add that "each aspect of culture change must be measured independently" when using this approach (p.16). According to this model, "a bicultural person would have retained some traditional traits and adopted some new traits, but unlike the case of the Two-Culture Matrix Model, there is no assumption that a bicultural person is highly adept in both

cultures" (Keefe and Padilla 1987:16). This concept of "selective acculturation" has been used to describe the common tendency for immigrants and minorities to adopt certain "strategic traits" (e.g., learning English to improve their financial situation), while retaining other native cultural values and traditions; see Keefe and Padilla (1987:18).

1.2.3 - Acculturation Conceptualized. The variety of differing definitions of acculturation that can be found in the literature revolving around cross-cultural adaptation keep on adding to the ambiguity and vagueness already surrounding the phenomenon. To sum up, acculturation in this study is regarded as one facet of a broader multicultural phenomenon intimated by such terms as 'ethnic change' (Laroche, Kim, Hui, and Joy 1996) or 'culture change' (Keefe and Padilla 1987). In fact, in heterogeneous societies like Canada—where ethnic pluralism or multiculturalism is state policy and assimilationist forces are kept to a minimum therefore encouraging the maintenance of ethnic identity (Lambert and Taylor 1990; Ramirez 1989)—, the adaptation process suggests that culture change involves at least two sub-processes. These two major components of culture change are: the retention/loss of culture of origin or traditional culture—this notion has usually been addressed by 'ethnic identification'; it is further discussed in section 1.3—and the gain or acquisition of new cultural traits—which we now know as 'acculturation'. Interestingly, these two aspects or levels of culture change were already postulated, more than three decades ago, by researchers such as Dohrenwend and Smith (1962).

In Quebec, the acculturation of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities happens *vis-à-vis* the dominant French-Canadian culture. Lebanese all over the Province are in direct

daily contact with the mainstream French-speaking society which, in spite of being a subculture itself in North America, is particularly rich with its distinct traditions, values, and customs dating back to the first explorers and settlers sent by the King of France more than four centuries ago. Despite their having lost the war against England in 1759, Quebec inhabitants were allowed to speak their own language, to practice their religion, and to keep their mores and traditions; see Dontigny (1995). Nowadays, the French-Canadians of Quebec remain very attached to their cultural heritage and are very proud of it. Living side by side with the English contributed to enrich many of their customs and practices including food and eating habits (Dontigny 1995). Traditional cooking is still very much alive today in Quebec, even though much international cuisine has been integrated into the daily menu (Armstrong 1990; Dontigny 1995).

1.2.4 - French-Canadians and Food. Unlike the Lebanese community living in Canada, the literature does not lack when it comes to the food and food habits of Quebeckers (i.e., the French-Canadians of Quebec). A great deal of theoretical and empirical attention in recent years has focused on the consumption behaviour of French-Canadians and many studies have examined the food purchase behaviour of this cultural group often comparing it to other major ethnic groups across North America such as the English-Canadians (e.g., Kim et al. 1993; Laroche et al. 1998a; Lefebvre 1975; Mallen 1973; Schaninger et al. 1985; Tigert 1973; Vickers and Benson 1972). Among the country's founding cultures, French-Canadians represent the second most important market in multicultural Canada (e.g., Kindra et al. 1993) and the food marketing industry takes into

account the needs and demands of its Francophone clientele in its daily efforts to promote its various products. In fact, separate marketing mixes and programs are targeted toward this subculture all over the country and not solely in Quebec. French-Canadian advertisement themes, media, and distributional policies are developed and maintained within metropolitan geographical markets across the country (Schaninger et al. 1985).

The importance of food and food retailing in Quebec has traditionally been associated with the famous '*joie de vivre*' cliché "which underlies the fact that Quebeckers see food as one of the good things of life and therefore spend a great portion of their income on the '*plaisir de la table*'" (Menard 1978:3). Accordingly, it is argued in Léger (1995) that across the Province, particularly in Montreal and Quebec City, the '*bien manger*' tradition is not a myth but a reality. Statistics collected on retail food sales do not contradict this widely accepted belief and the 1996 Census figures confirm the relatively prestigious position of Quebec's food retailing; see Statistics Canada (1998b). In fact, food habits and practices are the most profoundly rooted in any ethnic culture and seem to be the consumption pattern that survives the most (Hirschman 1985).

Past studies examining French-Canadian consumption behaviour concluded that French-Canadians nowadays use less instant and frozen convenience foods and are more concerned with cooking and baking than English-Canadians (e.g., Laroche, Kim, Hui, Joy, and Lahaie 1991; Mallen 1973; Tigert 1973; Vickers and Benson 1972). Schaninger et al. (1985), for their part, examined consumption differences between French-speaking, bilingual, and English-speaking Canadian families thus updating previous research. Significant differences were found by the authors for foods, alcoholic, and nonalcoholic

beverages. Their French-Canadian respondents tended to use more staples (e.g., homemade soup), indicative of more original cooking. French families also emerged as heavier consumers of soft drinks, sweet beverages, beer, and wine than English families. On the other hand, French-Canadians use less frozen vegetables, nonsweet or dietary beverages, scotch, hard liquor, and mixers than their English counterparts; see Schaninger et al. (1985). The preceding findings were congruent with past research where the two subcultures appeared to differ regarding motives underlying food preparation as well as usage of convenience food products. In their more recent consumption studies, Laroche et al. (1991; 1998a) similarly found that French-Canadians exhibit less propensity to consume convenience foods than English-Canadians. They also found that French-Canadians tend to drink more wine, cognac, and champagne but less scotch, rye, and rum, which corroborates previous research.

The stronger orientation of French-Canadians toward cooking, baking, and the kitchen in general (Lahaie 1990) is congruent with a recent *Léger et Léger* survey, where 92.7 percent of the French-Canadian respondents claimed they prepared their home meals themselves rather than buy convenience foods; see Léger (1995). This finding also supports Mallen (1973) who reports that in Quebec homes, more time is spent in the kitchen. Furthermore, many typical French-Canadian dishes are prepared without a recipe and are passed on by word of mouth (Dontigny 1995). This way of sharing traditional food recipes with family and friends across Quebec is also common among Lebanese people, but unlike the latter, French-Canadians use fewer ingredients while cooking (e.g., Armstrong 1990; Dontigny 1995).

The cuisine of Quebec is based on the cultures of the Aboriginals, the French, and the English; see Dontigny (1995). According to the author, corn, beans, and wild meat came from the Natives, pastry such as pies and tarts, and soups originated from the French, while the fried fish dishes, puddings, and oatmeal are due to British influence. As cooking habits blended, simple recipes continued to be the norm, preparation times short, and cooking times long (Armstrong 1990). Cooks in the new colony were in as much of a rush to prepare meals as their modern counterparts. Instead of hastening to a job outside the home, housewives had to grow food, harvest and preserve it, make cloth and sew it into clothes, boil up soap and candles, and raise both children and farm livestock (Armstrong 1990). Most "time-honoured" dishes in Quebec have a common characteristic: few ingredients, simple assembly, slow cooking that requires little or no supervision, "and a result that offers substantial nourishment to hard-working settlers" (Armstrong 1990:1-2).

Travelling about the Province, one finds the same core group of dishes with the exception of some specialties which characterize each of the regions (Armstrong 1990: Dontigny 1995). Fish and seafood often appear on menus in Gaspé and on the Côte-Nord for example; the wild meat dishes are popular in Mauricie and the Saguenay Lac St-Jean; and inhabitants of the Beauce region—the largest producer of maple sap products in Quebec and North America—make much use of maple syrup (Dontigny 1995). Basic foods such as *soupe aux pois* (i.e., pea soup)—traditionally served in winter when fewer fresh vegetables are available—, *tourtière*—Quebec's famous deep dish meat pie composed of layers of cubed meat and potato in a pastry crust—, and *tarte au sucre*—the most popular dessert in the Province which consists of a very sweet brown sugar pie—, are found on most tables across

Quebec; see Armstrong (1990) and Dontigny (1995). At the beginning of the colony, most people ate the same basic foods, but when people started dispersing about the country, different ways of eating appeared in the different regions resulting in variations in combinations of ingredients, flavour, and method (Armstrong 1990). Moreover, what the people of each region would eat was very much determined by what the particular region had as its native foods, or could produce; see Armstrong (1990).

Bread is nowadays easier to buy than to bake especially when the loaf comes already sliced—*pain tranché*—and conveniently wrapped in plastic bags. Nevertheless, like their ancestors, many farmers in regions such as the Chaudière River valley still grow their own wheat and grind it into flour in order to make traditional *pain de ménage* right at home (Armstrong 1990). For breakfast, Quebeckers often serve regular or buckwheat pancakes; these can be covered with their famous *sirop d'érable* (i.e., maple syrup) also used with sweet dessert pastry (e.g., *tarte au sirop d'érable* or maple syrup tart). Traditionally, pancakes were cooked in lard or shortening but now that people are conscious of fat intake, the use of vegetable oil is more common (Dontigny 1995). In early times, French-Canadians worked hard as farmers, lumberjacks, and trappers, but through the years, their lifestyles changed and so did their eating habits; see Dontigny (1995). The author argues that Quebeckers now eat lighter breakfasts during weekdays (e.g., *céréales froides* or cold cereals) and pancakes are more served in weekends or when outdoor activities are anticipated. Milk, for its part, is taken regularly, usually raw or with oatmeal porridge; see Dontigny (1995). Breakfast is also served with buttered toasts and regular coffee or *café régulier*.

Traditional French-Canadian cooks often choose coleslaw as their favourite fresh salad; see Armstrong (1990). In fact, cabbage salad often accompanies the principal daily meal of Quebeckers which, according to Mallen (1973), is often served both at noon and in the evening. The *salade de chou*, as it is called in French, is usually coloured with grated carrots and often flavoured with prepared mustard and celery seed; see Armstrong (1990).

When it comes to pointing out their traditional beverage, things are less obvious however. Historically, like their French ancestors, Quebeckers love to drink wine, red and white alike, but recent studies have also shown French-Canadians to be heavy consumers of cognac, beer, champagne, and liqueurs, at least compared to English-Canadian families (e.g., Laroche et al. 1998a; Schaninger et al. 1985). On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, French-Canadians are not big fans of instant and frozen convenience foods, *vis-à-vis* their English peers (e.g., Lahaie 1990; Mallen 1973; Tigert 1973; Vickers and Benson 1972).

Other typical French-Canadian basic foods include *poutine*—French fries, cubes of fresh cheddar cheese, and some sort of hot barbecue sauce—; it is eaten more as a side dish or hors-d'oeuvre, and *fromage à la crème* (i.e., cream cheese), a typical dairy product found all over Quebec where interest for dairy produce, particularly cheese, is growing (e.g., Dontigny 1995). Yet, the most popular cheese among the Quebeckers is fresh cheddar cheese especially the curd; see Dontigny (1995). It is made almost everywhere in the Province and travellers as well as the local people can obtain some from different cheese factories and "have the opportunity to savour the fresh rounds of cheese of the day" (Dontigny 1995:14).

Finally, food typically associated with the North American culture as a whole is available in most French-Canadian fast food chains and often French-Canadian households,

such as smoked meat, hamburger steak, and club sandwich, or *viande fumée*, *steak haché*, and *sandwich au poulet*, as Quebeckers call them (e.g., Léger 1995). According to the 1995 *Léger et Léger* survey, beef is the most popular meat in North America and 21.5 percent of the French-Canadian respondents from Montreal said it was the meat they eat the most (e.g., *steak haché*); see Léger (1995). Moreover, when Quebeckers have to prepare a meal at home, two out of ten respondents (20.3 percent) answered they would opt for chicken most of the time (Léger 1995). These French-Canadian food items and the preceding will be grouped together along with Lebanese basic foods and categorized in the second chapter of our study.

Acculturation—or the degree to which the values and standards of a cultural minority adjust to those of the mainstream society—representing one aspect of the broad multicultural process that is culture change, the next section deals with the other facet known as ethnic identification.

1.3 - Ethnic Identification and the Lebanese Culture

According to Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974:4), 'identity' is probably "the most widely used concept to describe the individual's sense of who he is." The authors go on to say that identity in any one of its four facets—social identity, personal identity, ego identity, and self-conception—is "built up through a series of identifications" (p.5). Identification can thus signify many different aspects of identity when used without qualifiers, Tomiuk (1993) adds. The literature is in fact saturated with terms like 'ethnic identity', 'cultural identity', 'group identity', and 'religious identity', to name a few; see Tomiuk (1993).

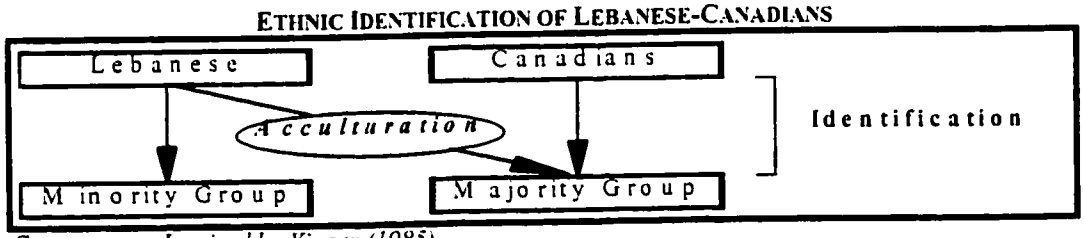
Identification can occur at three levels, as Rosen (1965) argues. First, one may identify with an important person such as a parent or a friend. Second, one may identify with a group from which values are drawn like the family or coworkers. Last but not least, identification is possible with a broader category of people such as an ethnic group or occupational group. Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974:7) define 'group identification' as "a generalized attitude indicative of a personal attachment to the group and a positive orientation toward being a member of the group." Driedger (1978) adds that it is mainly with an individual's ethnic group that identification takes place.

According to Berry (1980) and his co-workers (Berry et al. 1992), two types of group identification can be conceptualized as separate social-psychological dimensions in heterogeneous societies: identification with the majority group and identification with the minority group. The first behaviour being mainly triggered by acculturation (Donthu and Cherian 1992), it is the second one that is of interest at this point in our research. In fact, identification with the minority group reflects primarily a person's ethnic origin, which is among the most often cited facets of ethnic identity; see Laroche et al. (1995). Accordingly, identification with the minority group is more a reflective than a formative ethnicity indicator and vice-versa when identification with the majority group is of concern (Laroche et al. 1995). In fact, ethnic origin is not subject to someone's volition and is hardly changed by continuous contact with another cultural group, even if it is dominant; see Laroche et al. (1998a). On the other hand, language of exposure to media usage, for instance, is at least partly determined by a person's extent of acculturation (Laroche et al. 1998a), but we will not be dwelling into that any further since it is not our main concern here.

Thus, ethnic identification, which interests us in this part of the study, occurs with one's ethnic group. Furthermore, ethnic identification in multicultural environments happens only between members of the majority and minority groups and their respective groups or—and this is induced by acculturation—between members of the minority group and the majority group. In fact, the social, economic, and political structure of the mainstream society makes it rather unlikely for any of the majority group members to develop a sense of identification with the minority group (Yinger 1985). Accordingly, Campisi (1947) and Tomiuk (1993) hold that in multicultural environments such as Canada, culture change tends to be unidirectional whereby it is the immigrant who takes on the cultural traits of the host society and that the converse is rather unlikely, or, to the least, "something that a person from a dominant group is not forced to do" (Tomiuk 1993:166).

Although rather simplistic, Figure 2 helps in clarifying the process of ethnic identification applying it to Lebanese in the mosaic of cultures that is Canada.

FIGURE 2
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS



Source: *Inspired by Yinger (1985).*

The diagram captioned above (see Figure 2) depicts acculturation toward the dominant group as one of the frameworks for studying ethnic identity (Phinney 1990); it is the object of further discussion later in our literature review (see section 1.4). Driedger (1978:15) adds that "ethnic identification takes place when the group in question

is one with whom the individual believes he has a common ancestry based on shared individual characteristics and/or shared sociocultural experiences." Moreover, different individuals are attached in varying degrees to their ethnic group; see Stymeist (1980). This attachment is said to be in terms of both identification and participation, as Tomiuk (1993) sums up.

This brings us to 'ethnic identity' itself which, similarly to ethnicity and acculturation, is defined in numerous ways throughout the social sciences literature. In fact, researchers seem to share a broad general understanding of the concept, but when it comes to its specific aspects, these are not emphasized similarly across studies because of differing conceptual frameworks (Phinney 1990). Furthermore, the expression 'ethnic identity' is so elastic that it makes many nuances possible; see Roosens (1989).

Ethnic identity sometimes refers to origin, uniqueness, passing on of life, 'blood', unity, solidarity, security, and personal integrity, among others; see Roosens (1989). The author adds that "it is therefore not at all surprising that the words 'ethnic groups', 'culture', and 'ethnic identity' are confused in daily usage" (p.19). Some researchers, particularly those studying African-Americans, refer to it as 'racial identity' in their writings (e.g., Cross 1991; Helms 1990), even though ethnic and race identity have been studied within different research traditions encompassing different theoretical and methodological approaches (Phinney 1996). In her exhaustive literature review of the topic, Phinney (1990:500) adds that "in a number of articles, ethnic identity was defined as the ethnic component of social identity, as defined by Tajfel (1981) . . . ; others emphasized feelings of belonging and commitment (Singh 1977; Ting-Toomey 1981; Tzuriel and

Klein 1977), the sense of shared values and attitudes (White and Burke 1987), or attitudes toward one's group (e.g., Parham and Helms 1981; Teske and Nelson 1973)." Phinney (1990) also writes that other definitions of ethnic identity, instead of focusing on attitudes and feelings like the preceding ones, rather insisted on "the cultural aspects of ethnic identity; for example, language, behaviour, values, and knowledge of ethnic group history (e.g., Rogler, Cooney, and Ortiz 1980)" (p.500).

Furthermore, an understanding of ethnic identity is only of value when dealing with the implications of a diverse society. Accordingly, Phinney (1990:501) argues that "ethnic identity is meaningful only in situations in which two or more ethnic groups are in contact over a period of time" therefore, "in an ethnically or racially homogeneous society, ethnic identity is a virtually meaningless concept." Likewise, Roosens (1989:19) states that "it is impossible for ethnic identity to mean anything without the existence of ethnic groups or categories for it is a relational construct."

To sum up, ethnic identity has been viewed as "a complex construct including a commitment and sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, positive evaluation of the group, interest in and knowledge about the group, and involvement in activities and traditions of the group" (Phinney 1996:145). Thus, to study ethnic identity, one needs to examine how group members themselves understand and interpret their own ethnicity (Phinney 1996). According to the author, individuals vary in the degree to which they identify with their designated ethnic group and the extent to which their group identity is important to them. In fact, while some individuals have a clear sense of commitment to their group, often coupled with strong positive emotional ties, others are confused about their ethnicity and feel they do not belong,

or feel that ethnicity is not significant to them; see Phinney (1996). Finally, although much of the research has studied individuals at one point in time and looked at differences in the way they interpret their ethnicity (e.g., Ferdman 1995), both conceptual and empirical writings acknowledge that ethnic identity is a dynamic construct that varies over time, context, and individuals (Phinney 1996).

In the remainder of this section, the multidimensionality of ethnic identity is explored. Similarly to acculturation, the pertinent ethnic identification models found in the available literature are then reproduced and analysed. Next, ethnic identification is conceptualized and focused on a particular ethnic group established in Canada for over a century now: the Lebanese. Finally, the food consumption behaviour of Lebanese-Canadians is examined, based on the few relevant studies that we were able to identify.

1.3.1 - The Multidimensionality of Ethnic Identity. Numerous past studies indicate that ethnic identity is a multidimensional construct (e.g., Driedger 1975; 1976; Giles, Taylor, and Bourhis 1974; Giles, Taylor, Lambert, and Albert 1976; Phinney 1990; Rosen 1965; Taylor, Bassili, and Aboud 1973; Taylor, Simard, and Aboud 1972). For instance, Taylor et al. (1972) postulate three dimensions of ethnic group identification with respect to English and French-Canadians; these are: geographical boundary; cultural background; and language. In other studies, language seems to consistently emerge as the paramount dimension in the process of maintaining one's culture of origin (e.g., Aboud and Christian 1979; Bergier 1986; Christian, Gadfield, Giles, and Taylor 1976; Giles et al. 1974; 1976; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Laroche et al. 1995; Saloutos 1980; Taylor et al. 1973; Valencia 1985).

Investigating Greek identity, Saloutos (1980) associates national identity with: language; faith; and customs and traditions. Adding two more factors, Theodoratus (1971) found that ethnic identity is correlated with: language; religion; cultural tradition; history; and nationality. As Tomiuk (1993) reports, the employment of language as a criterion in ethnic identification seems to be widely used in other Greek identity studies as well (e.g., Constantakos 1971; Constantinou and Harvey 1985; Karanikas 1981). Statistics Canada, for its part, differentiates between 'mother tongue' and 'language spoken most at home' thus adding a second language factor to its measures of French-Canadian group identification which include: ethnic origin; mother tongue; language spoken most at home; and place of birth; see Lawrence, Shapiro, and Lalji (1986). Conversely, Dashefsky and Shapiro (1974) assert that language has little importance in the ethnic identification of Jewish-Americans. Accordingly, it is suggested that Reform-Jews living in the US and Canada, identify primarily in religious rather than linguistic terms; see Anderson and Frideres (1981).

The preceding paragraphs only cover a very few of the numerous studies that are available in the literature dealing with the measurement of ethnic identity. A more elaborate and exhaustive list of ethnic identity and acculturation dimensions spanning over fifty past studies can be found in Tomiuk (1993).

According to Phinney (1990), the differing results with respect to the number of ethnic identity dimensions reported in the literature are due to the variety of factor analytic techniques and the types of items used by researchers. As another example, Garcia and Lega (1979) content themselves with a single factor; two factors are found by Constantinou and Harvey (1985) and Driedger (1976); three factors are used by Hogg, Abrams, and

Patel (1987); and four or more factors are suggested by Caltabiano (1984), Driedger (1975), Kindra et al. (1989), and Makabe (1979).

Nevertheless, in her extensive research of the topic in question, Phinney (1990) suggests the four following components as the most pertinent: self-identification as a group member; a sense of belonging to the group; attitudes about one's group membership (positive or negative); and ethnic involvement (i.e., social participation, cultural practices, and attitudes). The fourth component (ethnic involvement) is very important according to the researcher who argues that "[involvement] in the social life and cultural practices of one's ethnic group is the most widely used indicator of ethnic identity but also the most problematic" since "as long as measures are based on specific practices that distinguish an ethnic group, it is impossible to generalize across groups" (Phinney 1990:505). Nevertheless, the component in question is said to potentially encompass the following seven indicators: language; friendship (i.e., in-group friends/dating); religious affiliation and practice; structured ethnic social groups (i.e., participation in ethnic clubs, societies, or organizations); political ideology and activity; area of residence; and miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes (i.e., ethnic music, songs, dances, newspapers, literature, family roles, traditional celebrations, food or cooking, and so on).

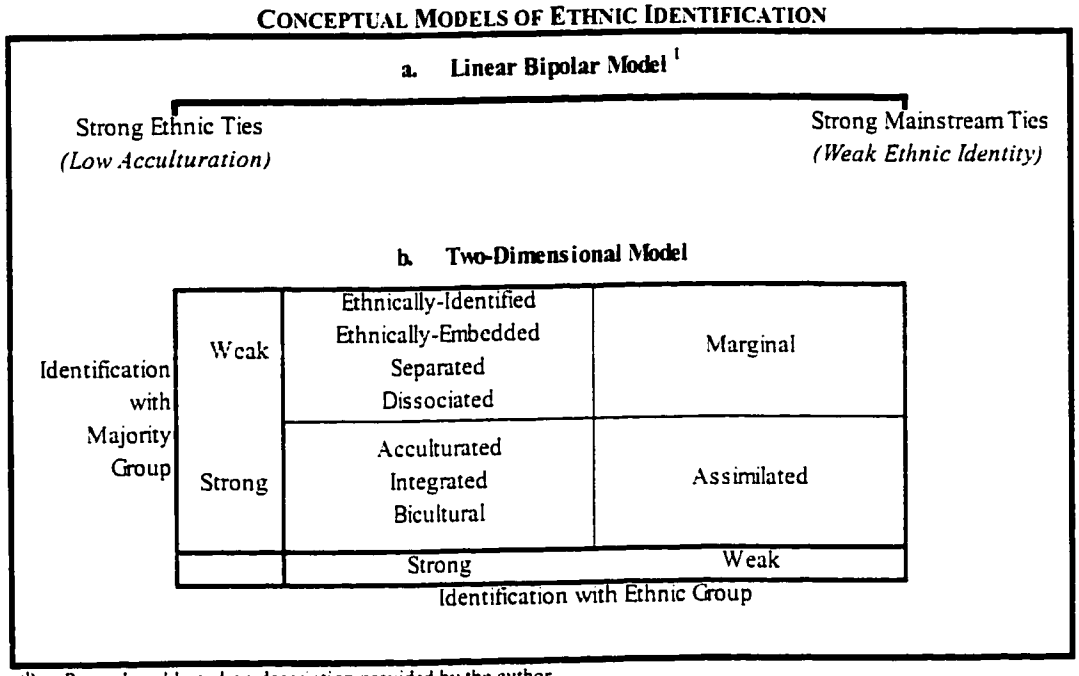
Likewise, based on their thorough content analysis of the many identificational factors enumerated by sociologists in past studies, Anderson and Frideres (1981) had suggested the following four ethnic identity components: ethnic origin; mother tongue; ethnic-oriented religion; and folkways (i.e., practice of customs unique to the group).

*1.3.2 - **Models of Ethnic Identification.*** According to Phinney (1990), two distinct models of ethnic identification appear in the literature; one is unidimensional bipolar and the other is two-dimensional. In the *Linear Bipolar Model*, ethnic identity is conceptualized along a continuum ranging from 'strong ethnic ties' at one extreme to 'strong mainstream ties' at the other (e.g., Andujo 1988; Makabe 1979; Simic 1987; Ullah 1985). Underlying this first model is the assumption that "a strengthening of one requires a weakening of the other; that is, a strong ethnic identity is not possible among those who become involved in the mainstream society, and acculturation is inevitably accompanied by a weakening of ethnic identity" (Phinney 1990:501).

The *Two-Dimensional Model* seems to be a better alternative since it is said to emphasize the fact that "acculturation is a two-dimensional process, in which both the relationship with the traditional or ethnic culture and the relationship with the new or dominant culture must be considered, and these two relationships may be independent" (Phinney 1990:501). Accordingly, "a strong identity does not necessarily imply a weak relationship or low involvement with the dominant culture" (p.501).

The first two of the three acculturation models by Keefe and Padilla (1987), reproduced earlier (see Figure 1), were therefore adapted to conceptualize the changing ethnic identity by Phinney (1990:502). The transposed models appear in Figure 3, next.

FIGURE 3
CONCEPTUAL MODELS OF ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION



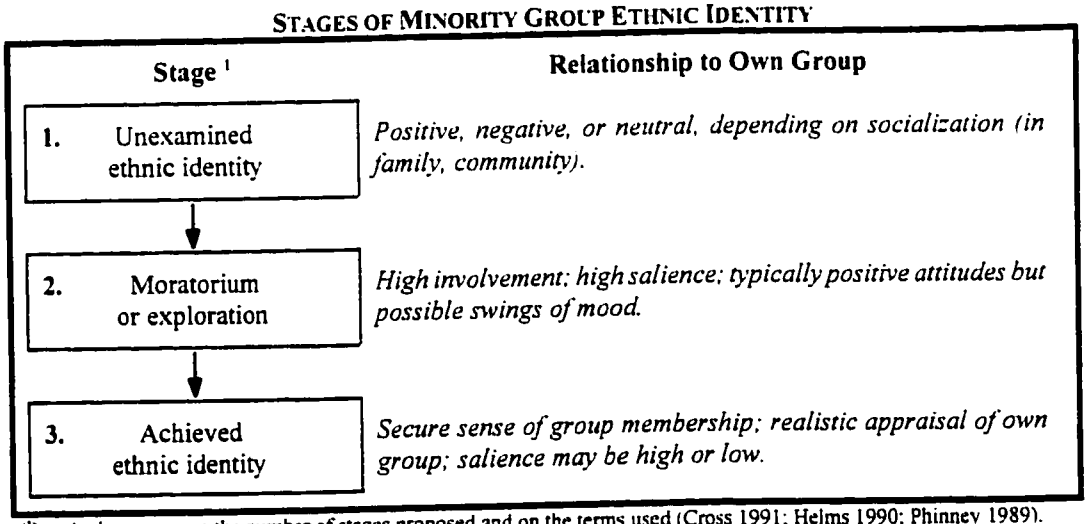
(1) Reproduced based on description provided by the author.
Source: *Phinney (1990).*

As it can be clearly seen, the first model (see Figure 3a) is similar to the Single Continuum Model (see Figure 1a) presented earlier in our review and which was proposed by Keefe and Padilla (1987) more than a decade ago. In fact, two acculturative extremes of assimilation or pluralism are again supported with the Linear Bipolar Model. The second model depicted by Phinney (1990) (see Figure 3b) also bears some resemblance with Keefe and Padilla's Two-Culture Matrix Model (see Figure 1b). Here, four ways of dealing with ethnic group membership in a diverse society are possible according to Phinney (1990). The author goes on to say that "strong identification with both groups is indicative of integration or biculturalism, identification with neither group suggests marginality. . ., identification with the majority culture [exclusively] indicates assimilation, whereas identification with only the ethnic group indicates separation" (p.502). Finally, as noticed by Tomiuk (1993), this Two-

Dimensional Model underlies the work on ethnic identity of numerous other researchers and social scientists (e.g., Clark, Kaufman, and Pierce 1976; Hutnik 1986; Pettigrew 1988).

In a more recent study of cultural diversity, Phinney (1996) adds that ethnic identity formation depends on a process of exploration that includes questioning preexisting ethnic attitudes and searching into the past and present experiences of one's group and its relations with other groups. As already mentioned, this process ideally leads to an achieved, secure sense of one's ethnicity in a diverse society; it is summarized in Figure 4, next, together with hypothesized implications for attitudes and feelings about one's ethnic group. Inspired by Phinney (1996:147), this model is intended as a guide to considering variation among young adults in their understanding of their ethnic identity rather than as a theoretical explanation of the process. In fact, the author reminds us that the "development of ethnic identity is clearly influenced by many experiences, at the family, community, and societal level, but specific factors that bring about transitions have not been documented empirically" (p.146).

FIGURE 4
STAGES OF MINORITY GROUP ETHNIC IDENTITY



([1]) Authors vary on the number of stages proposed and on the terms used (Cross 1991; Helms 1990; Phinney 1989).
Source: *Phinney (1996).*

The initial stage in minority group identification (see Figure 4) is described by its author as "a period when ethnicity is not salient and has been given little conscious thought" (Phinney 1996:146). The surrounding values and attitudes are accepted by the child or young adolescent. When the family and community present a strong positive image of the group for the minority child, he or she is likely to have a positive identification with the group, even though it might be vague and inarticulate (Phinney 1996). However, children may also be exposed to negative images and stereotypes from the wider society (e.g., mainstream institutions and the media), therefore entering adolescence with positive, negative, or mixed feelings about their ethnicity; see Phinney (1996).

The second stage (see Figure 4) is seen as a period of immersion (Cross 1991) or search (Phinney 1993) during which minority individuals become deeply interested in knowing more about their ethnic group. In fact, as adolescents move into a larger world, they encounter more people from other backgrounds and are increasingly exposed to discrimination (Phinney 1996). These experiences trigger the desire to understand the history, customs, and current situation of their group. Ethnic clubs on campuses (e.g., *Association des Etudiants Libanais* at *Université de Montréal* and the *Lebanese Students Society* of *Concordia University*, for Lebanese students in Montreal) can assist students in this exploration process, as can efforts by educational and government institutions to promote and develop courses and activities that give recognition to cultural diversity. "At this time, ethnicity is assumed to be highly salient, and attitudes toward one's group highly positive, even ethnocentric" (Phinney 1996:147).

Eventually, at the third stage (see Figure 4), individuals develop a secure, confident sense of themselves as members of their minority group. According to Phinney (1996:147), "they feel secure in their own ethnicity and are assumed to hold a positive but realistic view of their own group." She adds that, "although they are comfortable with their group membership, ethnicity may or may not be salient to them; other aspects of their lives may become more important" (p.147).

The aforementioned stages of ethnic identity are important conceptually since they may lead to the development of a secure, positive sense of one's identity as a member of an ethnic or racial group as we have mentioned. However, as Phinney (1996) insists, they remain difficult to measure accurately and there is no extensive empirical research to validate them. Interviews are probably the best way to study ethnic identity stages (e.g., Phinney 1989), but they are time-consuming and difficult to code for assignment to stages. An alternate approach to measuring ethnic identity involves the use of a questionnaire (e.g., Phinney 1992) that would be based on a conceptualization of ethnic identity as a continuous variable, ranging from a low or weak identity to a high, strong, positive identity.

1.3.3 - Ethnic Identification and Lebanese-Canadians. As we have seen, ethnic identification can be conceptualized as the maintenance or loss of traits of the traditional culture, that is, the culture of origin which, in our case, is the Lebanese culture. As suggested in the literature, attempts to maintain attachments to the native culture and identifying with it can be viewed as means of maintaining ethnic loyalty and may therefore be construed as a dimension of the construct (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Phinney 1990). In addition, Lebanese

ethnic identity is associated with the perpetuation of the Lebanese language, Lebanese faith, and customs and traditions considered Lebanese (adapted from Saloutos 1980).

There are more than 130,000 individuals of Lebanese descent living in Canada (about 0.5 percent of the Canadian population) with approximately 36 percent residing in the Province of Quebec alone (e.g., Statistics Canada 1998b). Of the numerous distinct and identifiable ethno-cultural groups that Canada comprises, only a very few have their place in Canadian history and society well known and documented. When Lebanese-Canadians are concerned, this imbalance is more evident than ever and perhaps no group in North America has a more inaccurate stereotype. For example: what is the most common religion of Lebanese-Canadians? The majority identify themselves as Christians, the rest are Muslim, and a few are Jewish. In fact, the literature dealing with this cultural group living in Canada is very poor and, besides governmental statistics, a limited number of essays written more than a decade ago is available (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987). Moreover, there seems to be no published research whatsoever on the specific consumer behaviour of Lebanese-Canadians. We will therefore content ourselves with the little literature we came upon in order to pursue our preliminary investigation of this ethnic group and its consumption of basic foods within Canada's multiethnic climate. Prior to going any further however, a quick overview of Lebanese history and geography is probably in order.

Lebanon is a small and beautiful country on the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Beirut, its capital, is at about the same latitude as Atlanta or Los Angeles, so that the climate is much warmer and moderate than that experienced by Canadians (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). The area of Lebanon is 10,452 square kilometres (about one thousandth the

size of the Province of Quebec). It is bordered on the north and east by Syria, on the south by Israel, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. There are four geographical regions: the narrow but fertile coastal plain (the coastline extends about 220 kilometres); the coastal range, the Lebanon Mountains (with the highest snow-covered peak in the region rising at 3,083 metres); the fertile central plain, the Bekaa Valley; and the interior mountain range, the Anti-Lebanon Mountains (e.g., McNally 1998; Vallaud 1996). Because of its proximity to the sea and to international communications, the coastal plain is the site of the principal cities (Tripoli, Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon) and was the home of the ancient Phoenicians, skillful merchants and navigators and inventors of the phonetic alphabet around the first millennium BC (e.g., Arab World Institute 1998; Atallah 1973; Durant 1949; Harden 1963; Hitti 1957; Sarkis 1980; 1994; Vallaud 1996; Weill 1940).

Apart from its rich geography and temperate climate, Lebanon has few natural resources and often had to export its people (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c); emigration from Lebanon has gone on ever since Phoenicians first established colonies throughout the Mediterranean basin where they engaged in trade (e.g., Arab World Institute 1998; Harden 1963; Hitti 1957; Sarkis 1980; Vallaud 1996; Weill 1940). Later on, the population stabilized, and emigration declined until the nineteenth century when several political events eventually touched off a wave of emigration from the old country, and brought the first Lebanese to Canada in the early 1880's (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c).

Lebanon took its only official census in 1932, and has not collected any reliable statistics since the early 1970's, so that it is impossible to provide definitive information on population size (e.g., Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c; Vallaud 1996). Moreover, during the 1975-

1990 civil war and the unstable occupation years which followed, thousands of Lebanese died or emigrated. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to estimate the number of people living in the old country today at somewhere around five million (Faour 1999). The recently published newspaper article also estimates the Lebanese population's natural growth at somewhere between 2 and 2.5 percent per annum on average, after a period of progressive decline (1975-1990) due to political turmoil and emigration; see Faour (1999). Moreover, close to half of the country's population lives in Beirut and its suburbs (Faour 1999); thus Lebanon is the most highly urbanized country in the Middle East after tiny Kuwait (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). Ironically, there are probably twice as many Lebanese and ethnic Lebanese living outside their homeland; they can be found scattered all over the globe.

Arabic is the official language of Lebanon, and the mother tongue of over 90 percent of its population (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). The Arab conquest of AD 636 brought Arabic to Lebanon where it gradually replaced Aramaic and other languages (Hitti 1957; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c; Vallaud 1996). In their daily lives however, Lebanese speak Lebanese, which is one of the many derivatives of the classical Arabic language known as dialects. In fact, in Lebanon as elsewhere in the Arab world, there are essentially two forms of Arabic: colloquial—of which the many dialects are born—, and classical—which has a modern standard form. Classical or modern standard Arabic is the language of writing, public speaking, and the broadcast media. By being uniform throughout the Arab world, it is the principal unifying factor among the Arab countries stretching from North Africa to Asia (e.g., Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia) and the vehicle of a great literature (El-Badry 1994; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). Other languages

in Lebanon include Armenian, spoken by about 6 percent of the population; French, used in most government publications after Arabic and taught in most schools; and English, which has increased in importance since World War II. As Jabbra and Jabbra (1987c) remark, fluency in French or English, as well as in Arabic, is the mark of an educated Lebanese.

The existence of abundant land and plentiful economic opportunities was one of the main factors that drew Lebanese to North America (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Historically, both Canada and the US had expanding economies and, as a matter of policy, made it relatively easy for immigrants to acquire jobs and land (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Another factor affecting emigration and resettlement was "an almost random element afforded by the steamship lines" (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b:20). About all that the peasants of Lebanon knew of the outside world were the names 'New York' and 'America', but what these corresponded to geographically was exceedingly vague; they were therefore sold tickets to almost anywhere in the Americas (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Moreover, according to the same source, Halifax and Montreal alternated as the winter and summer ports of Canada and laid on the route from the Middle East to New York; thus, it was inevitable that they became final destinations for many Lebanese immigrants.

The first of the two major Lebanese immigration waves in Canada began with the arrival of Abraham Bounadère in Montreal in 1882 (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). In 1885, a small colony grew on the island when a few others followed the first pioneer; see Fakhouri (1989). Life was difficult for the first Lebanese-Canadians, for they had to make a living as peddlers (Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Lebanese immigration was

halted on the eve of World War I because of the increasingly restrictive legislation the Great War inspired; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987b). In fact, Lebanon back then was still occupied by Turkey and part of the Ottoman Empire which fought on the side opposed to the British and their allies. Thus, Lebanese who came before 1914 were classified as Turks by immigration authorities (Fakhouri 1989).

The second wave that brought Lebanese to Canada began after World War II. However, as depicted by the charts of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996), it was the Lebanese civil war of 1975-1990 and its aftermath which really altered the nature of the Lebanese-Canadian community by tearing the old country apart and forcing many of its citizens, especially Christians, to go into exile with their families. Thousands of Lebanese, fearing for their safety and often having lost everything in the widespread destruction, fled their homeland hoping to settle in more peaceful countries (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). According to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996), approximately 85 percent of all immigrants from Lebanon came during and immediately after the 1975-1990 period.

At the time of the 1996 Census, there were 131,385 ethnic Lebanese (i.e., newcomers from Lebanon and Canadian-born) living in Canada, representing 0.45 percent of the Canadian population; see Statistics Canada (1997; 1998b). Of people with Lebanese roots, the Province of Quebec houses the biggest group; precisely 47,745 ethnic Lebanese in 1996 according to the same source. The most recent large influx of immigrants from Lebanon was recorded in the early 1990's by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996). In 1990 and 1991, for example, a total of 25,000 Lebanese immigrants arrived in Canada, representing almost 6 percent of all immigrants in this period (Citizenship and Immigration

Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998a). Moreover, in 1996, there were 63,135 individuals born in Lebanon living in Canada; see Statistics Canada (1998b). Despite the fact that most Lebanese immigrants are relatively recent arrivals, the large majority are now Canadian citizens. In fact, whatever their period of immigration, they are even more likely than their counterparts in the overall immigrant population to have Canadian citizenship (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). As Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a) write, acquiring Canadian citizenship takes place rapidly among these immigrants, and, by doing so, they do not lose their Lebanese citizenship.

Furthermore, according to the 1996 Census, the majority of Lebanese living in Quebec (47,745)—Canadian-born and immigrants—reside in the Montreal Metropolitan Area (42,900 or approximately 90 percent); see Statistics Canada (1998b). The precise numbers as recorded in the 1996 Census of Canada are gathered in Table 1, below, with a distinction between Lebanese immigrants and the more global category of individuals who identified themselves as having a Lebanese ethnic origin, immigrants included.

TABLE 1
LEBANESE IN THE CANADIAN CENSUS OF 1996

1 9 9 6	Lebanese Immigrants [1]	Lebanese Ethnic Origin [2]	Total Population
Canada	63,135	131,385	28,846,761
Province of Quebec	28,430	47,745	7,138,795
Montreal Metropolitan Area [3]	26,470	42,900	3,326,510

([1]) Refers to the people born in Lebanon who are or have been landed immigrants in Canada, whether or not they are currently Canadian citizens. A landed immigrant is a person who has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Some immigrants have resided in Canada for a number of years, while others are recent arrivals;

([2]) Refers to the Lebanese ethnic or cultural group to which the respondents' ancestors belong. In other words, it pertains to the ancestral 'roots' or background of the population and should not be confused with citizenship or nationality;

([3]) Montreal Urban Community together with adjacent urban and rural areas that have a high degree of social and economic integration with this urban area such as the South-Shore and the North-Shore.

Source: *Statistics Canada (1997; 1998b).*

An important number of Lebanese immigrants attended Western or Westernized schools and were fluent in at least one of the two official languages before landing in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). They are somewhat younger than the general population, better educated, and considerably more likely than all immigrants or people born in Canada to be self-employed (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). In fact, an overwhelming proportion of Lebanese, particularly the first-generation (i.e., the immigrants) but also the Canadian-born, are in business for themselves. They prefer to run their own businesses, however small these may be, and employ family members, rather than work for someone else (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987d). Immigrants from Lebanon are also considerably more likely than all immigrants or people born in Canada to be graduates of professional programs in engineering, mathematics, and science (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). In addition, their occupations or intended occupations are most likely to be oriented toward functions related to these domains along with clerical, sales, and service positions; see Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1998). Many Lebanese are also entrepreneurs, managers, administrators, teachers, and mechanics; see Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996; 1998).

According to the same official sources, Lebanese immigrants are more likely than their counterparts among all immigrants and people born in Canada to be living with their husband or wife, while they are less likely to live common law or to be lone parents. Even though Lebanese women today are very much likely to be employed, in Lebanon as much as elsewhere, the distinction is yet made between jobs and careers. In fact, marriage is still thought of as the most appropriate career for women, although jobs may be

acceptable (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). Moreover, according to the same source, immigrant Lebanese parents in their majority, fearing for their reputation, do not approve of their daughters dating, although group activities, particularly with other Lebanese youths, are allowed. Marriages are seldom arranged, although parents hope that their children will marry other Lebanese (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). The authors add that unlike their Canadian peers, immigrant Lebanese parents are strict with their adolescents and expect very much from them. On the other hand, they are lenient with young children while Canadian parents are comparatively demanding; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a).

Nevertheless, over the years, minorities inevitably become more integrated, and the Lebanese are no exception. Some ethnic patterns of behaviour are gradually replaced or, to the least—to avoid the old assimilationist vocabulary—, behaviours typical of the dominant culture are slowly adopted (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a; Laroche et al. 1997c). Thus, since their arrival in Canada late in the nineteenth century, the Lebanese have changed in many ways, and have become absorbed into Canadian life to a considerable degree (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). Yet, food habits and practices have remained almost intact from one generation to the other (Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a) since these are the most profound, stable, and long-lasting in any ethnic culture (Fieldhouse 1995; Hirschman 1985). Moreover, they seem to be the consumption pattern that resists change the most; see Hirschman (1985).

1.3.4 - Food Consumption Behaviour of People of Lebanese Origin. As suggested by Glock and Nicosia (1964), some consumption behaviours are associated with key cultural

values of an ethnic group and, like the reflective cultural characteristics (e.g., ethnic origin), such consumption behaviours are more resistant to the acculturating forces and, thus, less likely to change as a result of continuous contact with the majority group. On the other hand, other consumption traits are more prone to the influence of acculturating forces and may change even after some very minimal contact with the host group (Laroche et al. 1998a). Culture-irrelevant activities (e.g., waxing the car) are comprised in the latter group (Lee and Tse 1994) whereas culture-relevant activities (e.g., food habits and practices) are among the former (Gulick 1971; Hirschman 1985; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a).

For people of Lebanese descent, food is very important and well established in their system of values (e.g., Vallaud 1996). In fact, food habits and practices are profoundly anchored in any ethnic culture and seem to be strongly resistant to change (Fieldhouse 1995; Hirschman 1985). In his study of Lebanese social structure and culture change, Gulick (1971:43) adds that "diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture." Basic ethnic foods have thus been part of the daily lives of Lebanese immigrants and their descendants through generations. As Fakhouri (1989:10) writes, it is nowadays "common to see housewives competing to cook the most authentic ethnic dishes, and proud to outperform their grandmothers in cooking the most difficult recipes." In their daily struggle to keep their cultural heritage alive and their constant efforts to contribute to the multicultural mosaic in Canada, Lebanese regard cooking as an art that has to be passed on from generation to generation, even when far from the homeland. Moreover, like many other Mediterranean people, homemade 'fresh' food is preferred to canned or convenience foods, even if the latter are ethnic (e.g., freshly ground *humus* versus

canned *humus*). Sometimes even, housewives consider opening a can an insult to their cultural heritage and to their families and, regardless of the amount of time and energy it could save, prefer to make their dish entirely from scratch. This strong orientation toward original cooking is also shared by French-Canadians as we have discovered in section 1.2.4.

Despite the fact Canadians are becoming more interested in Lebanese foods—the presence of no less than a hundred restaurants, fast foods, and Lebanese food chains of all sorts, on the island of Montreal alone (e.g., *Amir*; *Monsieur Falafel*; *La Sirène*; *Restaurant Daou*), is in itself a good proof—and even though the Lebanese community is growing in number and importance every day, there is almost nothing available in the extant literature on the food habits of these Middle Eastern consumers. Moreover, even Lebanese cookbooks are hard to find, in Lebanon or elsewhere, since, like their Quebec counterparts (e.g., Dontigny 1995), most Lebanese prepare their dishes relying on recipes passed on by word of mouth or while watching relatives or friends cooking. Though not very recent, the works of Fakhouri (1989), Gulick (1971), Jabbra and Jabbra (1987), and Tannous (1944) seem to be the only few reliable sources of information on this matter.

As reported in Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e), the Lebanese have made some notable contributions to the Canadian multicultural mosaic. Among these are various basic recipes, which use ingredients that can be found in Lebanon as well as in Canada. Lemon and garlic are the main flavours (Fakhouri 1989). Spices such as black pepper, coriander, basil, and cumin are imported mostly from India and used in almost every dish; see Fakhouri (1989). Traditional Lebanese food also uses a lot of farm produce (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Gulick 1971; Tannous 1944). Moreover, there is a wide variety of recipes that use vegetables such as

spinach, vine leaves, green squashes, eggplants, onions, and parsley. These ingredients are used to cook various vegetarian and non-vegetarian meals (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Gulick 1971; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e; Tannous 1944). The Lebanese repertoire comprises in excess of one hundred different dishes, from entrees or *meza*, to more sophisticated dishes, and this does not include bakery products, pastry, and sweets (e.g., Vallaud 1996). Many of these Lebanese specialties have been incorporated into North American cuisine and Canadians often prepare them (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e). Basic Lebanese dishes such as *tabbouli*—a salad made with cracked wheat, finely chopped parsley, diced tomatoes and onions, lemon juice, olive oil, dried mint, salt, and pepper—and *humus*—a side dish spread consisting of chick-peas, ground sesame, garlic, lemon juice, and salt—are well known among Canadian households in many parts of the country today; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e).

Lebanese regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays (Gulick 1971). Probably the best-known Lebanese basic food item, often eaten with every meal, is the Lebanese bread—flat, round loaves about a third of an inch thick that split to form two disks about one foot or more in diameter (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e; Gulick 1971; Tannous 1944). Canadians often refer to it as pita bread, but the Lebanese simply call it *khibiz arabi* (i.e., Arabic bread); see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e). According to Tannous (1944), the average Lebanese adult eats about two loaves of bread with each meal. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function for the Lebanese (Gulick 1971) and a number of bakeries in Canada produce it (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e). Nowadays, Lebanese bread is widely sold in ethnic and non-ethnic grocery stores and supermarkets around the country.

Bread is not the only wheat product to be made in Lebanese bakeries. There is also a special treat, *mankushi*, which is usually eaten in the morning when it is freshly baked. As Gulick (1971) describes it, this starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the baker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with his fingers. The center is then covered with olive oil, dried powdered thyme, and a sprinkle of sesame seeds. This typical Lebanese breakfast item can be found in all of Montreal's Middle Eastern bakeries (e.g., *Boulangerie Andalos* and *Al Yasmeen Bakeries*) and, like in the old country, *manakish* (plural of *mankushi*) are hot and ready at dawn.

Less-known basic Lebanese foods include triangle-shaped meat or spinach pies called *fatayer*; *kibbi*—made of wheat, spices, onion, and beef, ground together and formed into individual patties or flat disks the size of a hamburger and deep fried—and *falafel*—deep fried spicy bean croquettes in the form of small balls (e.g., Gulick 1971; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e). Another Lebanese specialty, *mehchi*, consists of cooked green squashes and/or eggplants and/or vine leaves, stuffed with rice and meat; see Gulick (1971). These foods are usually sold in Lebanese restaurants, fast-foods, and some commercial establishments. More frequently, they sell *shawarma*—a close relative of the Turkish *donair* meat that the Greeks eat as well, but with a different seasoning—and *shish tawuk*—marinated pieces of chicken grilled on a spit and wrapped in small bread rounds; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e). Another food shared by Greeks and Lebanese, which appears to be of Turkish origin, is the delectable baklava pastry, or *baklawa* as Lebanese call it. Other typical products are green and black olives imported directly from Lebanon—some are cured

in brine and stored for eating throughout the year (Gulick 1971)—and Lebanese dairy such as *laban* (i.e., 'sour' milk or 'yogurt') and *labni*—drained *laban* which has the consistency of cream cheese and is eaten with bread and olive oil (Gulick 1971).

The Lebanese drink a lot of beverages, alcoholic and nonalcoholic alike. Tea is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that Turkish coffee (*ahwi turki*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is syrupy sweet isn't necessarily founded on fact (Gulick 1971). It has to be taken thick and boiling hot with little sugar or none at all, and guests are usually asked if they prefer it sweet or bitter (e.g., Gulick 1971; Vallaud 1996). Typical Lebanese households serve *ahwi turki* after every meal (e.g., Gulick 1971; Vallaud 1996) and more often than milk or tea (Tannous 1944). It is also the first beverage to be taken in the morning. Milk, for its part, is not usually taken raw, as Gulick (1971) adds, since it is more used to cook some hot dishes or eaten in one of three fermented forms: *halloom*—a sort of white cheese; in Lebanon it is traditionally made from goat's milk—, *laban*, and *labni*. Lebanese soup, such as the traditional *shorbit adas* (i.e., lentil soup), never contains milk however.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner (e.g., *mehchi*), taken at noon, is usually washed down with another famous Lebanese item, *arak*—a distilled grape liquor, flavoured with anis, which is clear and colourless when it is first poured but turns milky white when water and ice cubes are added, as they normally are; see Gulick (1971). Lebanese-Canadians can buy their traditional alcoholic beverage from authorized dealers in Canada (e.g., *Société des Alcools du Québec*, in Quebec) or import their favourite brands directly from Lebanon using special permits or with visiting relatives. Nevertheless, some traditional Lebanese

families still prefer to make their own homemade *arak*, which is usually stronger than the commercialized one (e.g., Gulick 1971; Tannous 1944). The intake of alcohol is very moderate however—four small glasses of *arak* mixed with water are considered sufficient, if not too much—and it is never drank alone but always as part of a meal (e.g., Gulick 1971; Vallaud 1996). The typical Lebanese meal ends with coffee and dessert. In fact, after the multitude of small entrees or *meza*, and the main course, room must still be made for coffee and all sorts of sweets, fine pastry, and fruits. Sweets and pastry (e.g., *baklawa*) are usually made with or accompanied by *ater*—a sort of sweet liquid consisting of sugar and rose syrup boiled in water; see Tannous (1944). These Lebanese food items and the preceding will be grouped together with French-Canadian basic foods and categorized in the second chapter.

In Montreal, ingredients for Lebanese dishes are mostly sold at ethnic food stores that cater to Middle Eastern consumers. These specialized stores (e.g., *Supermarché Adonis* and *Boulangerie Andalos* in Montreal) provide consumers with foods that are usually not available in other supermarkets and convenience stores. Montreal hosts a great diversity of ethnic food outlets. In fact, as Fakhouri (1989:11) reminds us, "there are as many different stores as there are ethno-cultural groups, where each specializes in its own ethnic foods." The author adds that "ethnic food stores are mostly located on street corners and strip shopping centres in relatively densely populated areas" (p.11).

Lebanese food stores attract buyers from various districts of Montreal and other nearby cities. The stores offer numerous authentic ethnic foods—most are still imported but local production is booming—with an assortment of brands and sizes of each food type. For example, a Lebanese store displays an average of fifteen different types of olives to be sold

in bulk and another ten canned or packaged brands; see Fakhouri (1989). Moreover, the buyer would find an average of sixty different types of spices. A growing number of non-ethnic foods can be seen on the shelves today as well, especially when it comes to basic dairy products like milk and cheese, and wheat products such as bread and cereals. In general, ethnic food stores offer high level, personalized over the counter service (Fakhouri 1989). The author adds that in such stores, the buyer is able to ask in his or her mother tongue about food items and receive information and even cooking instructions from the sales personnel. As Fakhouri (1989:12) concludes, "to an ethnic buyer, a trip to the ethnic food store is not just a necessity, it is a social activity and a window to the old country."

Now that acculturation and ethnic identification have been conceptualized as separate aspects of culture change in a multicultural environment where culture and ethnicity surely influence consumption, with a particular focus on the food consumption behaviours of French-Canadians and Lebanese, the next section examines more closely the links that nevertheless exist between the two constructs. In the end, research hypotheses are drawn from our review of the literature and a culture change model is proposed for testing on a sample of Lebanese-Canadians from Montreal.

1.4 - Acculturation, Ethnic Identification, and Culture Change Interrelated

When it comes to assessing cross-cultural adaptation, it is evident that the postulated dimensions and items of ethnic identity are very similar to the ones used in acculturation scales (Tomiuk 1993). Accordingly, Rogler, Cortes, and Malgady (1991) argue that some

ethnic identity measures are virtually identical in content to acculturation measures. Moreover, the term ethnic identity itself has often been used synonymously with acculturation in the past (Phinney 1990). Ironically, other authors somehow regard ethnic identification as the opposite of degree of acculturation (e.g., Daghfous and d'Astous 1991). Nevertheless, like acculturation, ethnic identity has long been recognized as a multidimensional construct (e.g., Driedger 1976; Driedger and Church 1974; Driedger and Peters 1977; Giles et al. 1976; Phinney 1990; Richmond 1974; Rosen 1965).

Going back to the models depicted earlier (see Figure 1 and Figure 3), we can easily notice that the relationship between the processes of acculturation and ethnic identification is either linear and inverse, according to the bipolar models, or that it is two-dimensional, which is by far more complex. In the latter case, differing types result and "two continua of change are proposed rather than a single one which, in turn, opposes involvement in one culture to another" (Tomiuk 1993:107).

Deciding which model is valid hence more appropriate is not an easy task since empirical results from various past studies indicate that neither one can be readily dismissed; see Tomiuk (1993). For instance, it was consistently found that identification of minority or immigrant groups with the culture of origin (i.e., ethnic identification) and identification with the host/dominant society (i.e., acculturation) are independent, which reinforces the notion of two separate continua of culture change (e.g., Der-Karabetian 1980; Driedger 1976; Hutnik 1986; Ting-Toomey 1981). Conversely, other studies established the dependence of the two constructs. In their examination of bipolar and orthogonal models of ethnic identity, Elias and Blanton (1987) and Elizur (1984), for example, found that attitudes and behaviours

relative to being Jewish or American are not independent but rather negatively correlated. Such findings support the assumption of a bipolar model of changing ethnic identity.

Furthermore, in her study of the cultural adaptation of Puerto Ricans living in the US, Torres-Matrullo (1980) notices a recent shift in interest from the concept of acculturation to that of ethnic identity. Accordingly, Phinney (1990:501) argues that "ethnic identity may be thought of as an aspect of acculturation"—taken in its broader multicultural meaning—"in which the concern is with individuals and the focus is on how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society." Conversely, when dealing with acculturation, the author adds that "the level of concern is generally the group rather than the individual, and the focus is on how minority or immigrant groups relate to the dominant or host society" (p.501).

The preceding arguments all point toward the recognition that the two main subprocesses of culture change are distinct and strongly interrelated at the same time; see Keefe and Padilla (1987). Accordingly, Laroche et al. (1997c:33) hold that "ethnic identification constitutes a separate yet correlated process" as to the acquisition of host culture traits. Moreover, as one compares the many postulated dimensions of acculturation to those of ethnic identity, similarities can be easily spotted with the exception that "ethnic identity measures tend to tap aspects of retention of the culture of origin whereas most acculturation . . . measures focus on the acquisition of traits of a host or dominant culture" (Tomiuk 1993:104). The author backs up his argument by taking for example the 'language' dimension, appearing in most measures of acculturation, among which individual items do not focus on the retention of the immigrant's mother tongue but rather on the acquisition of the language of the dominant culture. Yet, as we know, language is also often

cited as a critical factor in the maintenance of ethnic identity (Laroche et al. 1995). In addition, as pointed out previously, models of acculturation have clear analogs in models of ethnic identification. This evident and definite conceptual overlap existing between the two constructs adds to the complexity and ambiguity of culture change and the entire field of cross-cultural adaptation.

In light of the above and in taking a multicultural perspective on culture change, Tomiuk (1993) stresses that no argument has yet been found that would not allow the use of conceptual dimensions proposed for acculturation and/or ethnic identification in previous measure development studies that exhibit adherence to the Single Continuum Model (see Figure 1a). In fact, despite the variety of models describing the process of culture change and the conflicting opinions that exist in the literature as a result, supporters of the pluralistic view have been reported to use many dimensions that reflect a unidimensional bipolar approach to ethnic change (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987; Phinney 1990; Ting-Toomey 1981; Tomiuk 1993).

The main purpose of our study being the development of a model of culture change specifically designed for Lebanese living in French-Canada which would particularly focus on their consumption of basic foods, existing content analyses that enclose groupings of conceptual dimensions (e.g., Anderson and Frideres 1981; Phinney 1990; Tomiuk 1993) are of capital importance to the accomplishment of our task. We will therefore begin this section with a presentation of a summary grouping that properly captures many of the conceptual dimensions posited for ethnic identity and acculturation, notwithstanding the fact that two different models—bipolar and multidimensional—generally underlie most extant cross-

cultural studies. This will enable us, next, to choose a proper set of dimensions specific to each of the two constructs that constitute culture change in plural societies like ours. Finally, research hypotheses are drawn and a model is proposed based on what is established throughout this section and the rest of our review of the literature dealing with the acculturation, identification, and consumption behaviour of ethnic minorities.

1.4.1 - Grouping Acculturation and Ethnic Identity Dimensions. Due to the various overlapping sets of conceptual dimensions proposed in the literature, it becomes obvious that a grouping is necessary although standardizing across different cultures is sometimes hard. In fact, as Phinney (1990:505) reminds us, "as long as measures are based on specific practices that distinguish an ethnic group, it is impossible to generalize across groups." Yet, like Anderson and Frideres (1981), Phinney (1990) was able to come up with summary groupings of relevant ethnic identity dimensions that could be adapted to the study and measure of the culture change of different groups. These generalized groupings along with the acculturation and/or ethnic identification components proposed by a few other authors were reviewed earlier (see sections 1.2.1 and 1.3.1). A more recent content analysis of the conceptual dimensions of existing measures, conducted by Tomiuk (1993), seems however more appropriate since it spans over the previous two reviews (i.e., Anderson and Frideres 1981 and Phinney 1990) and other prior investigations.

In his research aiming at the development of a multidimensional and multicultural measure of culture change for Italian-Canadians, Tomiuk (1993:139) came up with a summary grouping capturing most of the acculturation and/or ethnic identity dimensions

posited by fifty past studies (e.g., Bergier 1986; Berry 1980; 1986; 1988; Dashefsky and Shapiro 1974; Delgado, Johnson, Roy, and Trevino 1990; Garcia and Lega 1979; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Laroche et al. 1993b; Mendoza 1989; Padilla 1980; Ting-Toomey 1981). According to the author's review, the most inclusive and representative set that groups together both acculturation and ethnic identification indicators is composed of seven dimensions; these are presented in Table 2, next.

TABLE 2
BASIC ACCULTURATION AND ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION DIMENSIONS

Dimension [1,2]
1. Language (Use / Preference / Familiarity)
2. Media Exposure
3. Social Interaction
4. Ethnic Identification / Ethnic Pride
5. Culturally-Linked Customs, Habits, and Values
6. Family Structure and Sex Roles
7. Desire to Acquire Dominant Culture / Retain Original Culture

(1) This list is very general in that it is intended by its author to categorize a large set of items and dimensions into a manageable and inclusive set of categories;
(2) An eighth dimension, 'Perceived Discrimination'—judged 'inappropriate' and later rejected by the author since it was ignored in the majority of the studies reviewed—, was not included in this list.

Source: Tomiuk (1993).

In his review, the author adds that the first five factors (see Table 2) are the most widely represented in studies proposing a measure of acculturation toward the dominant ethnic group or a measure of ethnic identity. In fact, as one compares the many postulated dimensions of acculturation to those of ethnic identity, similarities are easily spotted except that ethnic identity measures focus on aspects of maintenance of the culture of origin whereas acculturation measures generally focus on the acquisition of traits of the host society; see Tomiuk (1993). The 'language' dimension, for instance, appears in most measures of acculturation among which individual items do not focus on the retention of the immigrant's

mother tongue (e.g., Lebanese) but rather on the acquisition of the language of the dominant culture (i.e., French in the case of Lebanese living in Quebec). Yet, 'language' is also a key determinant of ethnic identification (Laroche et al. 1995). In addition, it appears in different ways as to its use, preference, and familiarity in 46 of the 50 studies reviewed by Tomiuk (1993), thus making it indeed the single most discussed indicator of acculturation and culture maintenance (Phinney 1990).

'Media exposure', the second dimension, appears in many studies that propose a media-type dimension and clear media-type items (e.g., television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and books) often appear in the final scales; see Tomiuk (1993).

The third dimension posited, 'social interaction', groups together items relating to exogamy and endogamy, memberships in associations, ethnicity of coworkers and friends, and so on (Tomiuk 1993).

'Ethnic identification/ethnic pride', for its part, encompasses items ranging from simple self-identification questions to elaborate items such as pride felt toward a group and the identification of family members; see Tomiuk (1993).

Fifth in the list, the 'culturally-linked customs, habits, and values' dimension relates to music, dress, holiday celebrations, and more. Most importantly however, this dimension encompasses food and food habits, which concern us in our development of a model of culture change designed for Lebanese-Canadians, with a particular focus on their consumption of basic foods.

The importance of the 'family structure and sex roles' sixth dimension is made apparent in Torres-Matrullo (1980) who stressed the role of family in the acculturation

process of Puerto Ricans living on the American mainland. This dimension is based on items tapping family values, the roles of parents, boyfriends, and girlfriends, the roles of men and women, and so on.

Which finally brings us to dimension 7, 'desire to acquire dominant culture/retain original culture', which is the least represented dimension in the fifty studies reviewed by Tomiuk (1993). The author argues that this last dimension is nevertheless important because of its direct link to culture change. Moreover, it taps items dealing with 'wanting to acquire/retain' cultural factors or 'becoming like the dominant group'; see Tomiuk (1993).

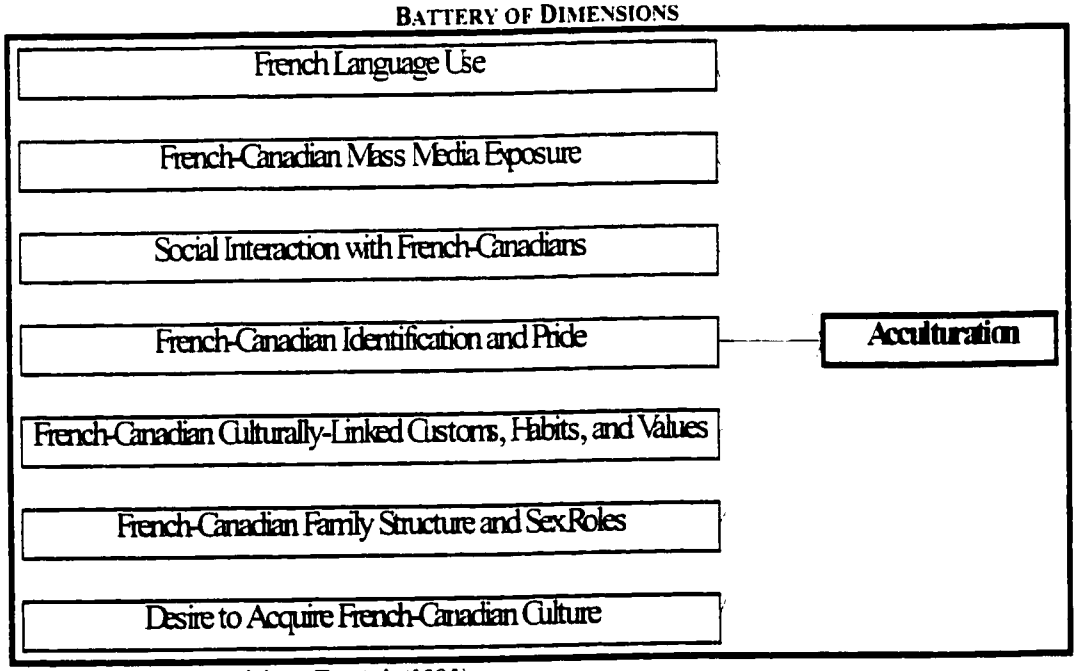
Stemming from "an informal content analysis of a substantial number of measures developed for and with a variety of ethnic groups," Tomiuk (1993:142) warns that the array of dimensions he arrived at (see Table 2) is quite general and not definite. In fact, the preceding list may be viewed as a baseline set that may potentially apply to and be representative of a variety of ethnic groups such as the Italian-Canadians or the Lebanese-Canadians. However, this set would first have to be adapted to reflect an array of salient culture maintenance or acculturation dimensions for that particular ethnic group; see Phinney (1990) and Tomiuk (1993).

1.4.2 - Acquisition of Dominant Culture Traits. With the baseline dimensions compiled by Tomiuk (1993) in mind (see Table 2), and his arguments that they are generally representative of the acquisition aspect of culture change toward a dominant society, we were able to develop a subset of dimensions that would tap acculturation toward the French-Canadian culture.

Inspired by a more recent study by Laroche, Kim, and Tomiuk (1998c), the 'language' dimension identified earlier (see Table 2) was limited to its usage aspect therefore 'language preference' and 'language familiarity' were not taken into account. In his research aiming at the development of a preliminary measure of culture change for Italian-Canadians, Tomiuk (1993) had also ignored the preference aspect of the 'language' dimension to avoid involving "the use of bipolar scales opposing one culture to the other" (p.152).

Figure 5 depicts the proposed subset of dimensions pertaining to the acquisition of dominant French-Canadian culture traits for ethnic minorities living in Quebec. This pictorial summary clearly represents acculturation—one of the two predominant aspects of culture change in plural societies—as a multidimensional construct.

FIGURE 5
ACQUISITION OF FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE
BATTERY OF DIMENSIONS



Source: *Adapted from Tomiuk (1993).*

In the previous diagram (see Figure 5), the acculturation component that relates to the 'culturally-linked customs, habits, and values' fifth dimension identified by Tomiuk (1993) (see Table 2) is particularly interesting since its items would tap ethnic majority customs and habits such as enjoying French-Canadian foods. In fact, these customs and habits, if adhered to and respected, would be responsible, *ceteris paribus* (i.e., every other dimension put aside), for the acculturation of the respondent(s) toward the dominant culture. In turn, being acculturated would trigger the consumption of basic ethnic majority foods. Further discussion of this issue is yet to come. Ironically however, Laroche et al. (1998c) ignored this dimension and the last two (i.e., dimensions 6 and 7; see Table 2) in their recently validated four-dimensional measure of Italian-Canadian acculturation.

1.4.3 - Retaining the Culture of Origin. In plural societies like Canada,characterized by an array of racial, ethnic, and nationality groups coexisting together in harmony, multiculturalism has become a national objective; see Lambert and Taylor (1990). Moreover, immigrants have historically made up a substantial proportion of the Canadian population; they came from a wide variety of countries with different histories, cultures, and economic backgrounds (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998a). Retaining some of their cultural heritage, if not all of it, while functioning within the host society could therefore occur for Lebanese-Canadians over a subset of dimensions based on the list reproduced earlier (see Table 2). The relevance of certain dimensions to Canada's multiculturalism cannot be ignored, however, because it is perhaps what encourages the maintenance of Lebanese culture over some dimensions (adapted from Tomiuk 1993).

The lack of behavioural research on Lebanese-Canadians is more than evident and we have to rely again on the few studies that exist, even if these are outdated or too general. As already mentioned, in most available studies, 'language' seems to emerge as the most salient dimension in the process of maintaining one's culture of origin (e.g., Bergier 1986; Christian et al. 1976; Giles et al. 1976; Laroche et al. 1995; Taylor et al. 1973; Valencia 1985). In 1991, for instance, the majority of immigrants from Lebanon living in Canada spoke Lebanese most often at home (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996) even though most were fluent in at least one official language upon their arrival here (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). Moreover, Fakhouri (1989) found that all new Middle Eastern immigrants spoke fluent Arabic but that with time and the succession of generations, the descendants of the immigrants hardly spoke the language of their ancestors. Likewise, Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a:68) argue that "third-generation Lebanese seldom know any Arabic at all, except for a few words for food items." 'Language' is therefore relevant to the maintenance of the Lebanese culture and this first dimension (see Table 2) appears as an ideal indicator of their ethnicity, especially if a variety of language use contexts are examined.

When it comes to 'media exposure', the second dimension in our general set (see Table 2), its salience to Lebanese-Canadians and their maintenance of links with the old country is clear. Lebanese media forms are numerous and available within the island of Montreal. For instance, the community has its own newspapers and magazines (e.g., *Al-Moustakbal/L'Avenir* and *An-Nahar/Le Jour*), television program (*Horizons*, on the multiethnic cable channel *CJNT*), and radio station (*Izaat Al-Shark Al-Awsat/Radio Moyen-Orient*, which broadcasts on a special FM wave).

The third dimension, 'social interaction' (see Table 2), is also relevant for the study of Lebanese ethnic identification since Lebanese-Canadians have many organizations and associations of their own. In Montreal, for instance, Lebanese students have opened clubs on each of the four university campuses (e.g., *Association des Etudiants Libanais* at *Université de Montréal* and the *Lebanese Students Society* of *Concordia University*) and most colleges attended by ethnic minorities. Outside campus, Lebanese religious, occupational, or recreational (sports) organizations are numerous; such institutions are mainly "aimed at recreating a cultural universe in which they could maintain alive their traditions and sense of identity" (Ramirez 1989:15). Lebanese-Canadians can also send their children in Montreal to a Lebanese school (*Ecole Pasteur*) where Arabic is taught simultaneously with French and English and where they can interact with other Middle Easterners.

Also part of this dimension, friendship between immigrant Lebanese and Canadians is inhibited by differences in the conception of friendship, by different patterns of sociability and hospitality, and by differing language, tastes, and interest (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). Therefore, immigrant Lebanese mainly have other Lebanese as friends, particularly in cities like Montreal, and these are likely to be relatives and people from the same home town (e.g., Kobayat) or region (e.g., Northern Lebanon). Yet, according to the authors, the longer-established first generation immigrants, the Lebanese living in small towns, and the Canadian-born have Canadian friends as well; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a).

Last but not least, the multitude of Lebanese convenience stores, grocery stores, supermarkets, and commercial establishments, that offer high level personalized over the counter service, also play a major role in the social interaction of the Lebanese community.

In fact, as Fakhouri (1989:12) puts it, "to an ethnic buyer, a trip to the ethnic food store is not just a necessity, it is a social activity and a window to the old country." The author adds that "the use of the old country language, and being surrounded by old country folks, all talking about and selecting their old country food can create great nostalgic feelings;" thus the ethnic food store "is a relaxing meeting place for many of the ethnic buyers" (p.12).

Dimension 4, 'ethnic identification and pride' (see Table 2), seems also salient to the culture maintenance of Lebanese-Canadians. For instance, Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a) argue that changes in identification occur across time and generations, not in sharp steps, but as a continuum. The immigrants at first consider themselves to be Lebanese, and then Lebanese-Canadian after they become citizens, but they never quite feel at home in Canada, for they can never eradicate the old country from their souls (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). The Canadian-born, for their part, feel lost between two cultures: "They are Canadians with a difference," the authors add, "Lebanese-Canadians" (p.72). Lebanon is their ancestral homeland, but they cannot go home to it anymore. Many of those who have visited their parents' birthplaces have returned troubled by the disappearance of many of the old traditional mores and values and disoriented by the different standard of living in which their relatives live (adapted from Ramirez 1989), especially after fifteen years of war. Some of them find themselves fighting both cultures; others simply feel caught in the middle, trying to understand (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). "At the end of the continuum, with the third and fourth generations, . . . not much is left except a dim nostalgia for Lebanon" (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a:73). In short, the authors note that it has taken four generations, or about a hundred years, for the descendants of the Lebanese pioneers (i.e., the immigrants that first

came to North America at the end of the nineteenth century) to acquire an identification as plain Canadians. Nevertheless, "both the descendants of the pioneers and the newcomers alike are proud of their identity as Lebanese, proud of their contributions to Canadian society, and glad that they or their ancestors chose to come here" (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a:74).

Accordingly, this dimension seems quite relevant to Lebanese-Canadians, especially the youths and the Canadian-born (at least till the third generation), since the 'multiculturalism policy' in force in Canada encourages, as we have seen, the maintenance of more than one identity. They are therefore "fractional men," as Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a:72) describe them, with a "hyphenated" identity (Tomiuk 1993:156), no longer fully Lebanese but not yet fully Canadian. Neither old-country Lebanese nor majority-culture Canadians can understand their dilemma. In short, these North American-born "cannot undo the immigrant struggles to become accepted" (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a:73).

'Culturally-linked customs, habits, and values', represented by dimension 5 (see Table 2), seem particularly important to Lebanese-Canadians in their ethnic identification process. Included here would be Lebanese music, Lebanese holiday celebrations (e.g., Lebanon's Independence Day), folkways (e.g., dancing the *dabki*), and more. Religion would normally figure among the principal elements but, in Canada as elsewhere in the diaspora, the largest group of Lebanese remains affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). Divergences as to religion are thus minimal especially in the Province of Quebec where the local population is also Roman Catholic in its majority, at least officially (e.g., Statistics Canada 1998a). Moreover, this will spare us from being too specific in the Lebanese-oriented items reflecting the different facets of this

dimension since there is considerable diversity among Lebanese originating from different regions in Lebanon with regards to religion, customs and traditions, and even language accent. Let us just say that unlike in post-1960's Quebec, religion is still a very important aspect of life for Lebanese (e.g., Gulick 1971; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987; Vallaud 1996).

More importantly, this dimension encompasses food and food habits, which are very dear to people of Lebanese descent and well anchored in their system of values, as we have previously mentioned (see section 1.3.4). In fact, food habits are the most profound in any ethnic culture and cannot be easily influenced (Fieldhouse 1995; Hirschman 1985). As reported in Fakhouri (1989), Lebanese see their food as an important part of their cultural heritage which has to be passed on from generation to generation. Moreover, Lebanese housewives often compete to prepare the most authentic ethnic dishes, and are proud to outperform their grandmothers in the kitchen (Fakhouri 1989).

Dimension 6, 'family structure and sex roles' (see Table 2), is also relevant to the ethnic identification of Lebanese-Canadians. In fact, traditions and family values dear to Lebanese come face to face with orientations such as materialism and individualism that are usually associated with the North American value system (Belk 1985; Du Bois 1955). For example, Lebanese immigrants are more likely than their counterparts among all immigrants and people born in Canada to be living with their husband or wife, while they are less likely to live common law or be lone parents (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998a). First-generation immigrants, particularly women, are likely to marry other Lebanese because they have many stereotypes about the suitability of Canadians as mates; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a). The authors add that second-generation Lebanese are more

likely to marry Canadians however and, despite the stereotypes, mixed marriages are not unhappier than marriages where both spouses are Lebanese.

Even though Lebanese women today are very much likely to be employed, marriage is still thought of as the most appropriate career for women (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a). Accordingly, cooking is usually reserved for women and housewives are expected to outperform their grandmothers in preparing the most difficult ethnic dishes (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Gulick 1971; Tannous 1944). In addition, fertility levels are high and immigrant women from Lebanon living in Canada have generally had more children than other immigrant women or those born in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). Furthermore, out of fear for their reputation, most immigrant Lebanese parents do not approve of their daughters dating, although group activities, preferably with other Lebanese youths, are allowed; see Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a).

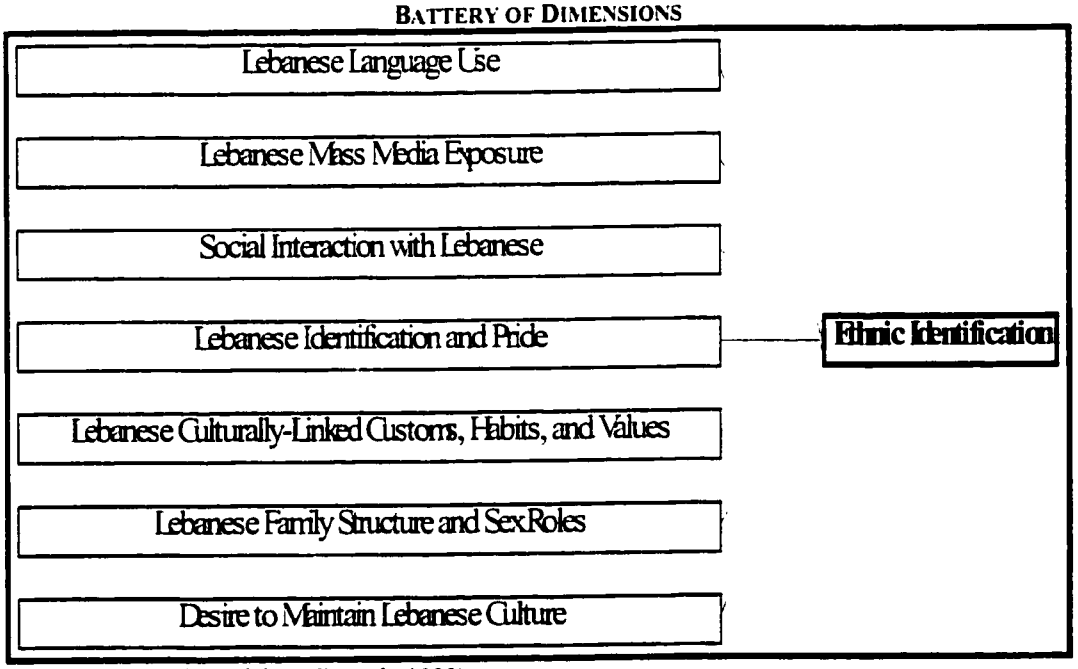
Moreover, according to Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996), senior Lebanese immigrants are more likely than seniors in other groups to live with their family (both nuclear and extended). "Immigrant seniors from Lebanon are also much less likely than other seniors to live alone," the official report adds (p.6). Family is important in business as well and an overwhelming proportion of the Lebanese, particularly the first-generation but also the Canadian-born, prefer to run their own businesses and employ family members, rather than work for/employ strangers (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987d).

Finally, dimension 7, 'desire to acquire dominant culture/retain original culture' (see Table 2), seems self-explanatory. Indeed, it is the logical outcome of the issues discussed above since these clearly show evidence of a desire among Lebanese living in Canada to

maintain their cultural heritage. They are mainly encouraged by the Canadian multicultural policy that promotes 'pluralism' and the maintenance of ethnic identity over 'assimilationism' and the American 'melting pot' (e.g., Lambert and Taylor 1990).

Similarly to the previous section (see section 1.4.2), 'language preference' and 'language familiarity' were excluded from the subset of dimensions that would measure Lebanese ethnic identification in order not to oppose one culture to the other (Laroche et al. 1998c; Tomiuk 1993). Figure 6, below, illustrates these culture maintenance dimensions derived from the baseline set reproduced earlier (see Table 2).

FIGURE 6
MAINTENANCE OF LEBANESE CULTURE
BATTERY OF DIMENSIONS



Source: *Adapted from Tomiuk (1993).*

Interestingly, the preceding battery of dimensions (see Figure 6) is compatible with the list of ethnic identity components that Phinney (1990) had come up with in her thorough content analysis of past studies. It also fits harmoniously the general ethnic identification

factors proposed by Anderson and Frideres (1981) and Kindra et al. (1989) in their separate reviews of the pertinent literature.

1.4.4 - Culture Change and Basic Foods: Research Hypotheses. As we repeatedly mentioned, acculturation and ethnic identification are two facets of this broader multicultural phenomenon called 'culture change'. Proponents of the pluralistic view in the area, whose work has reflected a multicultural approach to scale development (e.g., Berry 1980; 1986; 1988; Laroche et al. 1997c; Ting-Toomey 1981; Tomiuk 1993), have primarily argued that acculturation was a more complex process than that suggested by assimilationists. They held that although the concept did refer to the acquisition of cultural traits of a host culture, the retention of traits of the original culture was still possible (Tomiuk 1993). In other words, even though closely tied by their being part of one's cultural change, acculturation and ethnic identification are quite independent constructs since identifying with one's traditional culture can still occur while integrating into the mainstream society (Laroche et al. 1997c; Mendoza 1989; Padilla 1980; Phinney 1990). This modern way of thinking emanated from the realization that ethnicity had survived refuting the assimilation foreseen in previous research (Glazer and Moynihan 1970; Lambert and Taylor 1988).

Thus, as minorities become more integrated, there may be a tendency to progressively adopt the patterns of behaviour of the dominant culture (e.g., Fieldhouse 1995; Laroche et al. 1996a). Otherwise said, level of acculturation of an ethnic group is associated with its buying behaviour; see Faber et al. (1987). Taking for example the case of the Lebanese community living in Quebec, the preceding would mean that, the more this ethnic minority

becomes 'integrated' or 'adapted' (i.e., 'acculturated'), the more it will 'behave' or 'consume' like the French-Canadian majority residing in the Province. Staple foods seem to be appropriate for a test of this proposition because they tend to be specific to each ethnic group (McCracken 1988) or, as Hawkins et al. (1998a) put it, our food consumption may be strongly influenced by our ethnic subculture. Furthermore, food habits are usually well anchored in ethnic groups (Hirschman 1985) and, in the Lebanese case, are of paramount importance in their system of values (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a).

Consumption being a reflexion of culture and ethnicity, Quebeckers, for instance, have a tendency to purchase North American basic foods while Lebanese buy Middle Eastern foods available in major localities across the Province. But when it comes to culture and consumption, the terminology in the literature is abundant. Some researchers for example refer to minorities' basic foods as 'ethnic food' and the mainstream's basic foods as 'North American food' or merely 'basic food' (e.g., Daghfous and d'Astous 1991; Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e; Laroche et al. 1995; Tomiuk 1993). Others talk about 'traditional foods' and 'convenience foods' (e.g., Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c; 1998b). In this study, we will mostly use the terms 'ethnic minority/Lebanese basic foods' and 'ethnic majority/French-Canadian basic foods', with reference to what Lebanese and French-Canadians living in Quebec respectively purchase and eat. Therefore, these arguments and the previous can now be formalized in the following research hypothesis:

HYPOTHESIS 1: *Acculturation, one aspect of culture change, is positively related to the consumption frequencies of ethnic majority basic foods.*

This first hypothesis does not necessarily imply that the more the Lebanese-Canadians are acculturated, the less they will purchase their own foods and products, and vice versa. As we have seen earlier, this approach would correspond to the old assimilationist school of thinking which stresses the replacement of traditional culture traits by those of a dominant culture (Szapocznik et al. 1980) whereas the North American multicultural reality—especially when it comes to a plural society like Canada—suggests that integration into the host society requires no concomitant loss of one's cultural heritage (Keefe and Padilla 1987; Lambert and Taylor 1990; Lee et al. 1991). In fact, as already mentioned, immigrants and ethnic groups may independently retain (or lose) aspects of their culture of origin in a multicultural environment (Mendoza 1989; Padilla 1980).

Integration into the host society not automatically implying a simultaneous decrease in immigrants' identification with their group of origin, which is robust against the acculturating force (Berry 1980), we can still posit that 'belonging to' or 'identifying with' an ethnic minority means behaving like this cultural group, therefore consuming its traditional foods among other things. Going back to the Lebanese-Canadians of Quebec and their consumption habits, the preceding would imply that the more they identify with their roots, the more they will purchase and eat their own basic foods and this, independently of their acculturation process. Otherwise said, Lebanese ethnic identification is to be positively related to the consumption of Lebanese basic foods. Therefore, we also posit the following:

HYPOTHESIS 2: *Ethnic identification, another aspect of culture change, is positively related to the consumption frequencies of ethnic minority basic foods.*

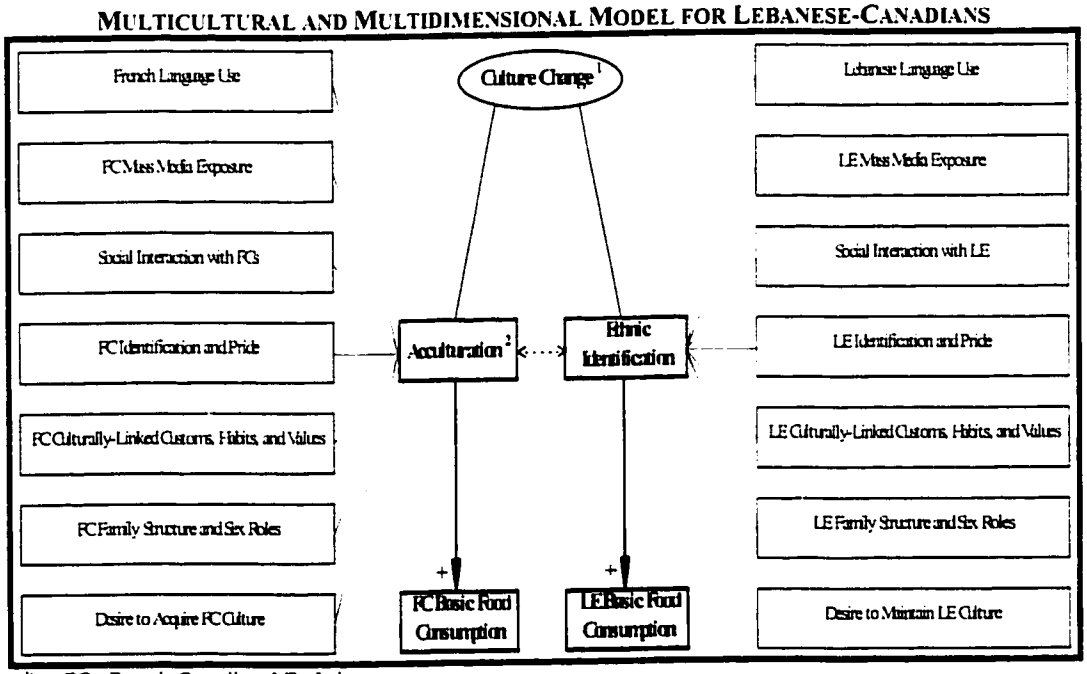
1.4.5 - Culture Change and Multiculturalism: Research Model. Phinney (1990) identifies acculturation as one of the frameworks for studying ethnic identity; which definitely fits the purposes of our study. This perspective is said to apply only to societies which are heterogeneous (i.e., bicultural or multicultural) in nature since it is impossible for ethnic identity to be meaningful in homogeneous societies—that is, without the existence of two or more ethnic groups in touch with one another over a period of time (Phinney 1990; Roosens 1989). In sum, in multicultural environments where many cultural groups are in continuous contact with each other, it is necessary for researchers to incorporate acculturation in their conceptualization of ethnic identification (Phinney 1990; Wallendorf and Reilly 1983) and consider both in their models of culture change (e.g., Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c; 1998b; Tomiuk 1993).

Moreover, when choosing between the assimilationist position and that of the pluralists, which reveal two divergent ways of thinking, it is imperative that the model adopted reflects the societal and cultural reality of the context in which the research takes place (Berry 1986). In our case, the study takes place in Montreal, Quebec, Canada, and it is but too obvious that the pluralistic approach would be more appropriate than the assimilationist one. In fact, as Goldlust and Richmond (1977:140) put it, "given the pluralistic and multicultural character of Canadian society . . . , it is possible for immigrants to maintain their own ethnic identity while at the same time developing a strong sense of belonging permanently in Canada."

The foregoing points clearly reinforce the notion that a model and measure of Lebanese culture change developed for use in the Canadian multicultural climate should

reflect 'multiculturalism' and not 'assimilationism'. Furthermore, it should comprise the consumption of basic foods as an important outcome of cultural change and yet as a reflexion of ethnicity. These arguments and the previous can now be formalized in a conceptual model incorporating the dimensions depicted earlier (see Figure 5 and Figure 6) and the aforementioned research hypotheses (see section 1.4.4); it appears as Figure 7, next. This pictorial summary clearly represents acculturation and ethnic identification as the two distinct yet closely tied principal facets of culture change, with a particular focus on the consumption of ethnic majority/minority basic foods.

FIGURE 7
CULTURE CHANGE AND THE CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS
MULTICULTURAL AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL MODEL FOR LEBANESE-CANADIANS



(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
(2) Toward the French-Canadian culture in the Province of Quebec.

The important point with respect to our model (see Figure 7) is that, again, "culture change occurs at two levels that may or may not be independent" (Tomiuk 1993:159). It is

more complex than the more simplistic model of adaptation known as 'Americanization' (Hraba 1979) or 'Anglo-conformity' (Lambert and Taylor 1990) which implies only one single continuum of change as opposed to the two suggested by our multicultural approach. In fact, Figure 7 represents a second order factor analysis model (e.g., Jöreskog and Sörbom 1993) where 'culture change' is taken to underlie the two factors or levels of the process.

Now that the pertinent literature has been thoroughly reviewed and the research model and hypotheses developed, the remainder of this paper presents an empirical study conducted in order to support or reject these hypotheses and to corroborate or improve our model for future research. But first, the next chapter is concerned with the research method followed including the actual collection of data needed for the various analyses.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

There is no one best research strategy; rather, each is appropriate to different goals of research, as Churchill (1979) and Whitley (1996) point out in their books. Since culture change is a phenomenon that is not easy to manipulate—nobody has yet been able to force respondents to change aspects of their cultural heritage, in order to study the effects on basic food consumption for example—a correlational strategy seems most appropriate in our case because it allows to test hypotheses that are not amenable to the experiment. In addition, it can be used to study phenomena in their natural environments while imposing more control over the research situation (Whitley 1996a). According to the same source, "the correlational strategy looks for relationships between variables that are consistent across a large number of cases" (p.41). With the correlation coefficient, it can for instance give the strength of the relationship between acculturation and the consumption frequencies of certain ethnic majority basic foods. Furthermore, if conducted properly, the correlational strategy allows its user to conclude that the relationships observed could hold for people in general (e.g., the Lebanese-Canadians of all the Province of Quebec and not just the island of Montreal); in other words it has a high external validity; see Whitley (1996a). Finally, if the relationships stipulated in the model were found not to hold, one could conclude that the disconfirmation of the hypotheses is consistent across a number of people (Whitley 1996a).

We therefore devote the first section of our research methodology to the measure of culture change for Lebanese-Canadians with a close look at the questionnaire items used to

tap the acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions proposed in our model (see Figure 7). Consumption frequencies of ethnic majority/minority basic foods, consumer lifestyles, and pertinent demographics are also measured. Secondly, we briefly discuss ethical provisions and language issues regarding the measuring instrument. Thirdly, refinements based on the results of the questionnaire pretest are discussed. Finally, we dwell into the sampling and survey procedures followed.

2.1 - Measuring Culture Change for Lebanese-Canadians

The opinions expressed in the first chapter clearly reinforce the notion that a measure of culture change developed for use in the multicultural climate of Canada should reflect 'multiculturalism' and not 'assimilationism'. Therefore, as Tomiuk (1993) advices, "we should steer clear of mimicking past attempts at measure development that carry definite assimilationist undertones" (p.152).

At this point in our study, a questionnaire measuring Lebanese-Canadian culture change—that is, the multidimensional process by which the ethnic minority acquires majority group cultural traits while retaining aspects of its own culture (Tomiuk 1993)—and its effects on the consumption of basic foods is to be developed. Questionnaire construction is a very complex process and, ideally, one has to find well-validated existing scales and questions—hence highly reliable measurement—rather than coming up with these from scratch; see Whitley (1996b). However, when research articles revolving around the topic of one's study are lacking—as it is the case here with Lebanese-Canadian culture change and basic food consumption—, so are the pre-tested well anchored measures. In such

circumstances where there are not enough specific measures of the construct(s) to assess, the only solution is to come up with your own, or at least adapt some of the existing behavioural measures, while taking care to avoid biased responses as much as possible by properly wording questions and response options in order to protect the validity of the data. The issue of question phrasing is so important that entire books have been written on the topic (e.g., Babbie 1990; Converse and Presser 1986; Dillman 1978; Edwards 1957; Sudman and Bradburn 1982). Finally, data collection should never begin without an adequate pretest of the instrument and refinements must be made based on the outcome (Churchill 1979a).

Keeping all the above in mind, we tackled the task of designing a questionnaire in order to collect primary data on Lebanese residing in Canada. The multi-item measures used in our data collection device represent and span over the dimensions identified and discussed earlier (see sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3). In fact, multi-item measures are strongly recommended by Churchill (1979b:66) who argues that the "specificity of items can be averaged out when they are combined." Thus, relatively fine distinctions can be made among people; distinctions that would be hard to point out if single-item measurement was adopted; see Churchill (1979b). Another advantage of multi-item measures is that "the scale score has greater reliability and validity than does any one of the items of which it is composed" (Whitley 1996b:145). Generally speaking, as the number of items on a scale increases, so does the scale's reliability and measurement error decreases (Churchill 1979b). Finally, according to the same sources, multi-item scales provide more sensitivity of measurement than do single-item scales.

In past studies, multiple items were generated for each of the dimensions discussed previously (see Figure 5 and Figure 6), at least for subcultures other than Lebanese-Canadians (e.g., Italian-Canadians; see Tomiuk 1993). Since our model is primarily concerned with the culture change of Lebanese-Canadians in Quebec, items tapping the dimensions in question are reviewed and adapted in order to adequately capture acculturation toward French-Canadian culture and Lebanese ethnic identification.

Further in this section, the culture change items retained are reproduced by construct (i.e., acculturation toward French-Canadian culture items and maintenance of Lebanese culture items) and by dimension within each construct; these are mostly based on recent studies conducted by Laroche et al. (1997c; 1998b; 1998c) and Tomiuk (1993) and inspired by the works of Bergier (1986), Fakhouri (1989), Gulick (1971), Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a), and Tannous (1944). Next, items that tap the consumption frequencies of specific basic foods are presented: these will allow us to see if and how much Lebanese-Canadians eat Lebanese and/or French-Canadian basic foods/dishes. Finally, questions assessing various lifestyle and demographic issues are discussed. First however, a list of Lebanese and French-Canadian basic food items that fall into the same categories is produced based on what has been reviewed in the first chapter. The final draft of the questionnaire appears as Appendix A.

2.1.1 - A Typology of Lebanese and French-Canadian Basic Foods. The basic food items used in our culture change questionnaire were chosen based on our review of the existing literature on French-Canadian food habits and consumption (see section 1.2.4) and

on the few studies that we were able to find on the food consumption behaviour of people of Lebanese origin (see section 1.3.4). The two cultures are quite different, yet some of their food habits and practices are very much alike. This includes the importance given to cooking and baking. In fact, both Lebanese and Quebeckers see food as one of the good things in life and, despite the ever growing presence of convenience foods and frozen meals, still spend a big portion of their time and income in doing more original cooking.

Following in Table 3 is a summary of the retained Lebanese and French-Canadian food items that can be considered close enough to fall into the same category and yet remain specific to each culture.

TABLE 3
LEBANESE AND FRENCH-CANADIAN BASIC FOODS

Category [1]	Basic Foods [2]	
	Lebanese	French-Canadian [3]
Alcoholic beverages [4]	*Arak*	*Vin*
Bread	*Khibiz arabi*	*Pain tranché*
Breakfast items	*Manakish*	*Céréales froides*
Cheeses	*Halloom*	*Cheddar*
Coffee [4]	*Ahwi turki*	*Café régulier*
Dairy produce	*Labni*	*Fromage à la crème*
Main dishes (meat and vegetables)	*Mehchi*	*Tourtière*
Meat (beef)	*Kibbi*	*Steak haché*
Pastry	*Baklawa*	*Tarte au sucre*
Salads (vegetables)	*Tabbouli*	*Salade de chou*
Sandwiches (chicken)	*Shish tawuk*	*Sandwich au poulet*
Sandwiches (meat)	*Shawarma*	*Viande fumée*
Side dishes (vegetarian)	*Humus*	*Poutine*
Soups (vegetables) [4]	*Shorbit adas*	*Soupe aux pois*
Syrups [4]	*Ater*	*Sirop d'érable*

([1]) For a detailed description (and translation) of the French-Canadian and Lebanese basic food items listed, see sections 1.2.4 and 1.3.4, respectively;
([2]) Basic foods that are or might be common to both Lebanese and French-Canadians (e.g., toasts, olives, and olive oil) were omitted from this list;
([3]) In reference to the mainstream Francophone society in the Province of Quebec;
([4]) Even though a distinction is usually made between 'solid nourishment' and 'liquid nourishment', these items will be considered basic foods in this study.

Source: *Armstrong (1990); Dontigny (1995); Gulick (1971); Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e); Tannous (1944).*

Before going any further, we turn the reader's attention to the fact that the preceding list of food items (see Table 3) was not meant to be exhaustive, in that it only taps a few of the numerous basic foods that can be found in the Lebanese or the French-Canadian repertoires. Moreover, some of the so-called 'typical' French-Canadian basic foods included in the list are more associated with the North American culture as a whole than that of the Francophone residents of Quebec (e.g.. smoked meat and club sandwiches).

2.1.2 - Acquisition of French-Canadian Culture Items. In order to obtain separate attitudinal measures of issues in two cultures, Aboud (1988) recommends the use of '*I like*' statements. In fact, in accordance with the more reliable and up-to-date emic approach, subjects should be classified based on their self-perceptions rather than those of the people conducting the research; see Laroche et al. (1996a). The measure of acculturation toward French-Canadian culture should therefore include items such as: '*I consider myself* to be French-Canadian' and '*I like* to eat French-Canadian foods'.

Furthermore, the food consumption items retained for the measure of acculturation toward the French-Canadian culture should come with *Likert*-type scales ranging from '1' (i.e., 'Strongly Disagree') to '9' (i.e., 'Strongly Agree'). Summated rating scales, or *Likert* scales, are perhaps the most commonly used form of multi-item scale; see Whitley (1996b). With such a format, respondents presented with a set of statements about something or someone are expected to rate their agreement or disagreement with these statements on a numerical scale that is the same for all the statements (Whitley 1996b).

In light of the above and inspired by Bergier (1986), Laroche et al. (1997c; 1998c), and Tomiuk (1993), the French-Canadian oriented culture items were computed for each of the acculturation factors proposed in our culture change model (see Figure 7). This resulted in 69 items designed to tap the seven conceptual dimensions; these are listed in Table 4, next.

TABLE 4
ACCULTURATION TOWARD FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE
BATTERY OF ITEMS

Factor [1]	Statements [1]
1.	**French Language Use**
	1. I always speak French with my spouse [if applicable]
	2. I always speak French with my child(ren) [if applicable]
	3. I always speak (spoke) French with my parents
	4. I always speak French with the other family members
	5. I always use the French language with my friends
	6. I mostly think in French
	7. I mostly speak in French at family gatherings
	8. In general, I speak in French
	9. I mostly carry on conversations in French everyday
	10. French is the first language I learned to speak as a child
2.	**FC Mass Media Exposure**
	11. The TV programs that I watch are always in French
	12. The radio programs that I listen to are always in French
	13. The newspapers that I read are always in French
	14. The magazines/books that I read are always in French
	15. The movies/video cassettes that I watch are always in French
3.	**Social Interaction with FCs**
	16. Most of my friends are FC
	17. Most of the people at the places I go to have fun and relax are FC
	18. Most of the people I go to parties with are FC
	19. I get together with FCs very often
	20. I have many FC friends with whom I am very close
	21. I feel very comfortable dealing with FCs
	22. Most of my neighbours are FC
	23. I often participate in the activities of FC community or political organizations
	24. I like to eat in fast foods or restaurants where most of the people are FC
	25. The grocery stores or supermarkets I shop in are mostly FC
	26. I like to go to places where I find myself with FCs
4.	**FC Identification and Pride**
	27. I consider myself to be FC
	28. My spouse considers himself (herself) to be FC [if applicable]
	29. My parents consider (considered) themselves to be FC
	30. The people whom I admire the most are FC
	31. The FC culture has the most positive impact on my life
	32. I feel very proud of the FC culture
	33. I feel most comfortable in the FC culture
	34. I feel very proud to identify with the FC culture
	35. I consider the FC culture rich and precious
	36. I am very attached to all aspects of the FC culture
	37. I love Canada /...

TABLE 4/CONT.

Factor [1]	Statements [1]
5.	**FC Culturally-Linked Customs, Habits, and Values**
	38. I like to eat FC foods
	39. I like to celebrate birthdays and weddings in the FC tradition
	40. I like to celebrate Christmas and Easter in the FC tradition
	41. I like to listen to FC music
	42. I like to cook FC dishes
	43. In the spring, I like to go to sugaring parties (*cabanes à sucre*)
	44. Religion is not an important aspect of life anymore
	45. It is not necessary for people to get married in church anymore
	46. When married people do not get along, they should divorce
	47. Before anything else, one has an obligation to oneself
	48. I like to celebrate Thanksgiving
	49. I always celebrate Canada and Quebec's national holidays
6.	**FC Family Structure and Sex Roles**
	50. The acquisition of FC family values is desirable
	51. The authority of parents over children is to be limited
	52. It is OK to move out of the parents' home when one turns 18
	53. Parents have nothing to say regarding the choice of a child's spouse
	54. Children should strive to achieve independence from their parents
	55. Every individual should provide for his (her) own well-being
	56. It is OK to put the elderly in nursing homes
	57. It is OK to marry FCs
	58. People don't have to get married anymore
	59. Sons and daughters should be granted the same privileges
	60. It is OK for unmarried girls to date
	61. Marriage is not the best career for a woman
	62. A young woman should not quit her job to get married
	63. Virginity at the time of marriage should not be an issue anymore
	64. Both spouses have an equal right to work if they so desire
7.	**Desire to Acquire FC Culture**
	65. Although I believe that I should retain my LE culture, it is important for me to acquire some FC culture
	66. I want to acquire the cultural characteristics of FCs
	67. I want and need to become more like FCs
	68. In order to have a successful career in Quebec, it is necessary to become more like FCs
	69. It is to the advantage of LCs to adopt some aspects of the FC culture

([1]) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; LC= Lebanese-Canadian;

Source: *Adapted from Bergier (1986); Laroche et al. (1997c; 1998c); Tomiuk (1993).*

It is but obvious that in the preceding battery of items (see Table 4), some of the measures tapping French-Canadian culture acquisition are generalizable enough to have clear analogs in the Lebanese-oriented section which follows. It is the case for dimensions 1, 2, 3, and 4. The only difference is that they will be henceforth directed toward the Lebanese culture. However, major differences will appear between the two sets of items with respect

to dimensions 5, 6, and 7. As Tomiuk (1993:171) argues, these differences are due to the fact that "some items are culture-specific" (see dimensions 5 and 6) and "others are process or level-specific" (see dimension 7).

2.1.3 - Lebanese Culture Maintenance Items. At this point, the culture change questionnaire should be used as an instrument to measure and reflect the degree of 'Lebaneseness' of respondents at the individual level, independently of their acquisition of behaviours or skills characteristic of the French-Canadian society of Quebec (adapted from Garcia and Lega 1979). Moreover, as indicated for the French-Canadian-oriented items, subjects should be classified based on their self-perceptions rather than the researcher's to avoid potential biases (Laroche et al. 1996a). Therefore, the questionnaire should include self-identification statements such as: 'I consider myself to be Lebanese-Canadian' and 'I like to eat Lebanese foods'. This sort of ethnic self-labelling is crucial since it probably has the strongest psychological link to a person's ethnic origin (Gordon 1964; Jun, Ball, and Gentry 1993). Previous studies have already used a similar approach in the measurement of Hispanic ethnic identification (e.g., Webster 1994), Italian culture change (e.g., Tomiuk 1993), or Jewish ethnicity (e.g., Hirschman 1981).

The items selected are mostly adapted from Laroche et al. (1998b) and Tomiuk (1993) who developed multidimensional and multicultural measures of culture change for Italians living in Canada. The lack of relevant material on Lebanese consumption behaviour and measurement in the literature and the similarities that can be easily spotted between the Lebanese and Italian cultures both impelled us to do so. In fact, Lebanese and

Italians being Mediterranean people sharing numerous customs, habits, and values (e.g., Catholicism—at least when it comes to the majority of Lebanese living abroad—and food—with regards to traditional cooking, homemade foods, and basic ingredients), it was not hard to adapt many of the questions intended for use with respondents of the latter subculture to respondents of the former. Nevertheless, we were still able to come up with a few specific Lebanese-oriented items based on the studies conducted by Fakhouri (1989), Gulick (1971), Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a), and Tannous (1944).

Following in Table 5 is a list of the 69 items tapping the seven-dimensional measure of Lebanese culture maintenance identified in our culture change model (see Figure 7). Similarly to the preceding battery of items (see Table 4), *Likert*-type scales ranging from '1' (i.e., 'Strongly Disagree') to '9' (i.e., 'Strongly Agree') are used to adequately capture respondents' replies.

TABLE 5
LEBANESE ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION
BATTERY OF ITEMS

Factor [1]	Statements [1]
1.	**Lebanese Language Use**
	1. I always speak Lebanese with my spouse [if applicable]
	2. I always speak Lebanese with my child(ren) [if applicable]
	3. I always speak (spoke) Lebanese with my parents
	4. I always speak Lebanese with the other family members
	5. I always use the Lebanese language with my friends
	6. I mostly think in Lebanese
	7. I mostly speak in Lebanese at family gatherings
	8. In general, I speak in Lebanese
	9. I mostly carry on conversations in Lebanese everyday
	10. Lebanese is the first language I learned to speak as a child
2.	**LE Mass Media Exposure**
	11. The TV programs that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic
	12. The radio programs that I listen to are always in Lebanese or Arabic
	13. The newspapers that I read are always in Arabic
	14. The magazines/books that I read are always in Arabic
	15. The movies/video cassettes that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic /...

TABLE 5/CONT.

Factor [1]	Statements [1]
3.	**Social Interaction with LE**
	16. Most of my friends are LC
	17. Most of the people at the places I go to have fun and relax are LC
	18. Most of the people I go to parties with are LC
	19. I get together with LCs very often
	20. I have many LC friends with whom I am very close
	21. I feel very comfortable dealing with LCs
	22. Most of my neighbours are LC
	23. I often participate in the activities of LC community or political organizations
	24. I like to eat in fast foods or restaurants where most of the people are LC
	25. The grocery stores or supermarkets I shop in are mostly LE
	26. I like to go to places where I find myself with LCs
4.	**LE Identification and Pride**
	27. I consider myself to be LC
	28. My spouse considers himself(herself) to be LC [if applicable]
	29. My parents consider (considered) themselves to be LC
	30. The people whom I admire the most are LC
	31. The LE culture has the most positive impact on my life
	32. I feel very proud of the LE culture
	33. I feel most comfortable in the LE culture
	34. I feel very proud to identify with the LE culture
	35. I consider the LE culture rich and precious
	36. I am very attached to all aspects of the LE culture
	37. I love Lebanon
5.	**LE Culturally-Linked Customs, Habits, and Values**
	38. I like to eat LE foods
	39. I like to celebrate birthdays and weddings in the LE tradition
	40. I like to celebrate Christmas and Easter in the LE tradition
	41. I like to listen to LE music
	42. I like to cook LE dishes
	43. We make our own homemade *arak* in my family
	44. Religion is an important aspect of life
	45. Church weddings are a must
	46. Divorce is a sin before God
	47. God, the Homeland, and the Family
	48. I like to dance the *dabki*
	49. I always celebrate Lebanon's National Independence Day
6.	**LE Family Structure and Sex Roles**
	50. The preservation of LE family values is important
	51. The authority of parents over children is to be respected
	52. Children should live with their parents before getting married
	53. Parents have to approve of the person their child will marry
	54. Children must have a strong sense of obligation and responsibility toward their parents
	55. Every member of the family must contribute to the family's well-being
	56. Elderly people should live with their families
	57. LE should marry LE
	58. Unmarried adults reflect poorly on their family's reputation
	59. Sons must have more freedom than daughters in the family
	60. Dating is bad for an unmarried girl's reputation and her family's
	61. Marriage is the best career for a woman
	62. It is expected that girls quit their jobs to get married
	63. A young woman should be a virgin at the time of marriage
	64. Husbands should go to work and wives should stay at home to take care of the kids /...

TABLE 5/CONT.

Factor [1]	Statements [1]
7.	**Desire to Maintain LE Culture**
	65. Although I believe that I will acquire some FC culture, it is important for me to hold on to my LE culture
	66. Children of LE descent should learn about LE history from their parents
	67. I want my child(ren) to go to a LE school in Canada
	68. I can prosper in Quebec while retaining my LE identity
	69. FCs would benefit greatly if they adopted some aspects of the LE culture

(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; LC= Lebanese-Canadian;
Source: *Adapted from Fakhouri (1989); Gulick (1971); Jabbra and Jabbra (1987a); Laroche et al. (1998b); Tannous (1944); Tomiuk (1993).*

As indicated earlier (see section 2.1.2), the items tapping dimensions 1, 2, 3, and 4 of the preceding list (see Table 5) are analogs of the ones monitoring the same dimensions in Table 4, with the exception that they are now oriented toward the Lebanese culture. The major differences as to some of the items capturing dimensions 5, 6, and 7 are due to the fact that these are either culture-specific or level-specific; see Tomiuk (1993).

2.1.4 - Consumption Frequencies of Basic Foods. In addition to the items designed to tap the seven-dimensional measures of acculturation toward the host culture and traditional culture maintenance, the respondents will be asked in the third section of the questionnaire to report personal consumption frequencies for a variety of food products identified earlier (see Table 3). This set of items is scaled from '0' (i.e., 'Never') to '5' (i.e., 'Daily') with '1', '2', '3', and '4' as 'Rarely', '1-2 Days per week', '3-4 Days per week', and '5-6 Days per week', respectively. This procedure is inspired by past studies on culture change and its impact on consumption (e.g., Lahaie 1990; Laroche et al. 1991; 1996a; 1997c; 1998b).

The basic food consumption queries are reproduced in Table 6, below, broken down by dependent variable category (i.e., French-Canadian basic food consumption and Lebanese basic food consumption). The food items were chosen from Armstrong (1990), Dontigny (1995), Gulick (1971), Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e), and Tannous (1944).

TABLE 6
BASIC FOOD CONSUMPTION
BATTERY OF ITEMS

Dependent Variable [1]	Statement
	How often do you personally eat/drink the following foods/dishes?
1. **FC Basic Food Consumption**	1. Wine 2. Sliced bread 3. Cold cereals 4. Cheddar 5. Regular coffee 6. Cream cheese 7. Meat pie (*tourtière*) 8. Hamburger steak (*steak haché*) 9. Sugar pie (*tarte au sucre*) 10. Cabbage salad (*salade de chou*) 11. Club sandwich 12. Smoked meat 13. *Poutine* 14. Pea soup (*soupe aux pois*) 15. Maple syrup
2. **LE Basic Food Consumption** [2]	16. *Arak* 17. *Khibiz arabi* 18. *Manakish* 19. *Halloom* 20. *Ahwi turki* 21. *Labni* 22. *Mehchi* 23. *Kibbi* 24. *Baklawa* 25. *Tabbouli* 26. *Shish tawuk* 27. *Shawarma* 28. *Humus* 29. *Shorbit adas* 30. *Ater*

(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
(2) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.
Source: *Inspired by Armstrong (1990); Dontigny (1995); Gulick (1971); Jabbra and Jabbra (1987e); Tannous (1944).*

Before going any further, it is obvious that the battery of items figuring above (see Table 6) along with the two previous (see Table 4 and Table 5) depict the various measurement statements in an orderly fashion which is not necessarily identical to the one adopted in the actual questionnaire (see Appendix A). This will allow us to avoid potentially biased responses as much as possible (e.g., Churchill 1979a; Whitley 1996b).

2.1.5 - Lifestyles and Demographics. Also included as the fourth section of the questionnaire are 43 nine-point *Likert*-type items which measure various lifestyle dimensions, namely: opinion leadership: self-confidence: housework; generic products; cooking and baking; concern for children: fashion consciousness; brand loyalty; attitude toward credit: price consciousness; market maven: and variety seeking. The set of lifestyle items is listed in Table 7, next. These are mainly based on previous studies of culture-related lifestyles (e.g., Hui, Joy, Kim, and Laroche 1993; Laroche, Kim, Hui, and Joy 1993; Laroche et al. 1996a) and on other studies related to market maven, deal proneness, variety seeking, and household attitudes toward sales promotion (e.g., Feick and Price 1987; Laroche, Kim, and Clarke 1997; Mehrabian and Russell 1974; Mittal 1994).

TABLE 7
LEBANESE CONSUMER LIFESTYLES
BATTERY OF ITEMS

Factor	Statements
1.	**Opinion Leadership**
	1. I sometimes influence what my friends buy
	2. People come to me more often than I go to them for information on brands
	3. My friends or neighbours often come to me for advice
2.	**Self-Confidence**
	4. I like to be considered a leader
	5. I think I have a lot of personal ability
	6. I am more independent than most people
	7. I think I have more self-confidence than most people /...

TABLE 7/CONT.

Factor	Statements
3.	**Housework**
	8. I must admit I really don't like household chores
	9. I find cleaning my house an unpleasant task
	10. I enjoy most forms of housework
4.	**Generic Products**
	11. Generics are often as good as advertised brands
	12. Generic products provide good value for what I pay
	13. Generics are not much different from brands except for the packaging
5.	**Cooking and Baking**
	14. I am a good cook
	15. I love to cook
	16. I love to bake and frequently do
6.	**Concern for Children**
	17. My child(ren) is (are) the most important thing in my life [if applicable]
	18. I take a lot of time and effort to teach my child(ren) good habits [if applicable]
	19. I try to arrange my home for my child(ren)'s convenience [if applicable]
	20. When my child(ren) is (are) ill in bed, I drop most everything else to see to his (her) (their) comfort [if applicable]
7.	**Fashion Consciousness**
	21. I usually have one or more outfits that are of the latest style
	22. When I must choose between the two I usually dress for fashion, not for comfort
	23. An important part of my life and activities is dressing smartly
8.	**Brand Loyalty**
	24. I feel there is a risk in choosing a brand other than the one I am familiar with
	25. I do not buy the brands that I have never tried before
	26. If I like a brand, I rarely switch from it to try something different
	27. I usually end-up buying the same brand of packaged goods over and over again
9.	**Attitude Toward Credit**
	28. To buy anything on credit, other than a house or a car, is unwise
	29. I like to pay cash for everything I buy
	30. I buy many things with a credit card or a charge card
10.	**Price Consciousness**
	31. I am willing to spend more time shopping in order to find bargains
	32. A person can save a lot of money shopping around for bargains
	33. I find myself checking the prices in the grocery store for small items
	34. I shop a lot for 'specials'
11.	**Market Maven**
	35. My friends think of me as a good source of information when it comes to new products or sales
	36. People ask me for information about products, places to shop, or sales
	37. I like introducing new brands and products to my friends
	38. I like helping people by providing them with information about many kinds of products
	39. I am a person who has information about a variety of products and I like to share this information with others
12.	**Variety Seeking**
	40. When things get boring, I like to find some new and unfamiliar experience
	41. I sometimes like to do things that are a little frightening
	42. I like continually changing activities
	43. I like to go somewhere different nearly every day

Source: *Feick and Price (1987); Hui et al. (1993); Laroche et al. (1993a); (1996a); (1997a); Mehrabian and Russell (1974); Mittal (1994).*

Again, the statements reproduced in Table 7 above will figure in a random order in the actual questionnaire to avoid biased responses (Churchill 1979a; Whitley 1996b). The validity of the preceding items pertaining to lifestyles was demonstrated in previous studies and their reliability confirmed.

Finally, demographic measures are included at the end of the questionnaire (see Appendix A). Questions 1 to 4, questions 7 to 9, and question 11 ask for gender, marital status, age, gross household income, education level, place of birth, Canadian citizenship, and religious denomination of the respondent, respectively. Questions 5, 6, and 10 ask for the size of the household, the number of adults living with the respondent, and the number of years he or she has lived in Canada, respectively. This information may be used to identify the moderating effect of any of the demographic predictors on the dependent variables.

Now that the data collection device has been drafted, the next section examines relevant ethical issues concerning research dealing with human subjects. The language choice for the final version of the questionnaire is also justified.

2.2 - Ethical Provisions and Language Used

Although the information provided by participants is not very personal nor embarrassing if it were revealed, they have a right to privacy that must be safeguarded by maintaining the data strictly confidential (e.g., American Marketing Association 1996; American Psychological Association 1992; Whitley 1996c). Therefore, respondents are not asked for their names, addresses, or other unique identifiers in our questionnaire. Moreover,

personal questions such as gross household income are designed in such a way that "the respondent is asked to choose the [fixed] alternative that most closely corresponds" to his or her household's financial situation without having to disclose the actual number. In general, the basic rule of professional ethics—"not knowingly to do harm"—was held; see American Marketing Association (1996).

Finally, the measuring instrument was written in French and all the previously mentioned items (see Table 4, Table 5, Table 6, and Table 7) had to be translated. In fact, after examining and correcting an initial English draft of the questionnaire, professor Michel Laroche of the Marketing department at *Concordia University* pointed out the necessity of having all 222 items (including the demographic section) along with the cover letter and the instructions translated into French since they were intended for the measurement of Lebanese culture change in the Francophone Province of Quebec. Indeed, despite the fact most Lebanese are fluent in English and French as well as in Arabic (e.g., Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c), using French questionnaires seemed more logical and valid. Furthermore, it was later noticed that none of the respondents requested an English or Arabic questionnaire or commented about the language used, even though some Lebanese typical words had to be transcribed phonetically (e.g., *humus* or *dabki*). The final (French) version of the measuring instrument can be found in Appendix A.

With the French draft of the questionnaire completed, we are almost ready for the field study. First however, a pretest has to be conducted in order to improve, if necessary, the instrument at hand and make sure it was designed properly and adequately.

2.3 - Pretesting the Questionnaire

Data collection should never begin before an adequate pretest of the instrument is run and refinements made based on the results of this pretest (Churchill 1979a). The questionnaire was therefore administered to eight participants most of whom were either friends or relatives and all with an ethnic (Lebanese) background. The respondents did not know the purpose of the research and were asked to comment on the clarity, simplicity, and flow of the questionnaire. They were also asked if all the questions and possible answers were sensible and whether the answer categories provided were adequate and complete.

The pretest did not identify any major problems with the data collection device. No serious omissions or other shortcomings were spotted. Most of the comments given were criticizing the overall length of the questionnaire and the fact that the first two sections (measuring ethnic identification and acculturation) seemed to contradict themselves. Minor modifications were thus carried out as to the overall layout and question order; see Appendix A for the final draft. The pretest instruments were also used to verify that the answers provided indicated that respondents had clearly understood each question.

In the next section of our research methodology, the survey procedures followed in order to administer the questionnaire are presented and discussed.

2.4 - Survey Procedures

As we know already, the population of this study consists of individuals of Lebanese ethnic origin living in the Greater Montreal. The official count of this population was over

42,000 in the 1996 Census; see Statistics Canada (1998b). A probability sampling procedure was found inadequate to identify and contact people of Lebanese origin. The usual telephone directory method requires the knowledge of the family names of qualified respondents. Some Lebanese last names are identifiable by the way they sound and therefore can be looked up in the phone book. However, a good proportion of names can also be found among the Egyptian, Palestinian, or Syrian communities in Montreal. Moreover, like most Middle Easterners, Lebanese dislike being contacted for research purposes and usually end up refusing to cooperate.

Guaranteeing a high response rate during the coinciding summer season—when most people, especially Lebanese, are out of town (e.g., visiting relatives back in Lebanon) or simply too lazy to read and answer an eight-page questionnaire—with limited resources was another consideration in the sampling procedure. Therefore, only respondents staying in Montreal for the summer period that seemed more or less willing to answer the entire questionnaire as quickly as possible were targeted. Due to time limitations, it was also decided to reach respondents using personal contacts. Others were to be contacted via door-to-door surveys, whenever possible, or approached in public areas such as ethnic supermarkets and churches.

A total of 250 French questionnaires were printed out and distributed during the months of June and July of 1999. Most questionnaires (183 or 73.2 percent to be precise) were handed out through friends and acquaintances or via a third party. Other qualifying respondents willing to participate in the study were given one or more copies of the questionnaire (38 in total) with pre-paid self-addressed envelopes during door-to-door

surveys of a few buildings across municipalities with high Lebanese population like Saint-Laurent and Montreal. This technique was however abandoned at an early stage for the reason evoked earlier (i.e., people resenting to be disturbed in the comfort of their homes for research purposes). The remaining 29 questionnaires were handed out to familiar Lebanese faces at Lebanese supermarkets and churches. The entire procedure is summarized in Table 8 below.

TABLE 8
QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION PROCEDURE SUMMARY

Category	No. of Questionnaires Distributed [1]	
	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Personal Contacts	183	73.2
Door-to-Door	38	15.2
Churches/Supermarkets	29	11.6
Total (Montreal Metropolitan Area [2])	**250**	**100**

(1) Lebanese-Canadian participants, summer 1999;
(2) The various municipalities covered are: Dollard-des-Ormeaux (2.4 %); Lasalle (0.4 %); Laval (1.6 %); Montreal (50.4 %); Outremont (2.0 %); Saint-Laurent (23.6 %); Town of Mount Royal (17.2 %); Verdun (0.4 %); and Westmount (2.0 %).

Source: *Survey log.*

The numbers produced above (see Table 8) are based on a log held during questionnaire distribution. To protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents, only house/building numbers and street names were recorded separately for data validation purposes; a practice recommended by Whitley (1996c).

The next chapter analyses the results of the survey conducted last summer on Lebanese-Canadians residing in the Montreal Metropolitan Area.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Once the data have been gathered, the emphasis in the research process logically turns to the search for meaning in the gathered information (Churchill 1979c). This search for meaning commonly starts with the preliminary analytical steps of editing, coding, and tabulation. Accordingly, the responses were coded and tabulated using *SPSS 8.1 for Windows* (*SPSS*), although no editing was deemed necessary since omissions or inaccuracies in the raw data were not detected during inspection. Questionnaires returned by non qualifying respondents or containing a substantial amount of missing values—only two in our case—were not entered in the data file. After verification and input error correction, the data compilation yielded 166 usable forms out of the 250 distributed and the 168 returned; a 66.4 percent return rate. Table 9, below, summarizes the collection procedure.

TABLE 9
QUESTIONNAIRE COLLECTION PROCEDURE
SUMMARY

Category	No. of Questionnaires Returned [1]		
	Directly	By Mail	Total [2]
Collected Forms	109	59	168
Usable Forms	107	59	166

([1]) Lebanese-Canadian respondents, summer 1999;
([2]) No. of Questionnaires Distributed: 250; Rate of Return: 66.4% (based on usable forms).
Source: *Survey log.*

The rather high rate of return achieved above (see Table 9) is probably due to the survey procedure followed (see section 2.4) in that most participants were either friends and

acquaintances or friends of friends. We therefore devote the first section of this chapter to an analysis of the demographic results. Then, our attention is turned to the factor analyses of the acculturation, ethnic identification, and lifestyle measures to reduce the data into a smaller and more manageable set of components and the reliability analyses of the emerging factors to be used as indices measuring the two separate constructs depicted in the model. In the third section, the retained acculturation, culture maintenance, and lifestyle dimensions are each collapsed into single unweighted average scores. Using stepwise regression, the basic Lebanese and French-Canadian food items are then modelled individually as a function of the final acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions and relevant socioeconomic variables. A regression analysis is also carried out in order to assess the effects of the predictor variables on the consumer lifestyle factors.

3.1 - Descriptive Statistics

The final sample of Lebanese-Canadians consisted of 100 men and 66 women with Lebanese ethnic background; a proportion of 60.2 percent to 39.8 percent, respectively. At the time of the survey, half of the respondents (precisely 50.6 percent) were married or living together, whereas close to the other half (45.2 percent) said they were single. The wide majority were born in Lebanon (147 or 88.6 percent), a smaller group was born outside Lebanon or Canada (17 or 10.2 percent), and only a very few (2 or 1.2 percent) said they were born here. Moreover, almost all respondents turned out to be Canadian citizens (160 or 96.4 percent); in other words first generation Lebanese immigrants.

Most Lebanese in our sample were aged either between 20 and 29 years (38.0 percent) or 30 and 39 years (19.9 percent). The large majority of respondents are likely to hold university diplomas; 47.0 percent wrote they had an undergraduate degree while 31.3 percent had a graduate university degree. Most respondents admitted earning either between 60,000 to 79,999 Canadian dollars (CAD) (37.3 percent) or 80,000 to 99,999 CAD (23.0 percent) as a total gross household income. Moreover, almost all individuals sampled identified themselves as Christians (98.8 percent), while only two respondents (1.2 percent) wrote they had no religious affiliation.

Lebanese in our sample are 3.62 people per household on average with a mean of 3.17 adults. They also declared an average of 11.84 years of residency in Canada. The demographic results pertaining to the three open-ended measures appear in Table 10 below, broken down by independent variable. It is followed by Table 11 which summarizes the results of the eight fixed-alternative demographic measures.

TABLE 10
LEBANESE-CANADIANS IN THE SAMPLE
DESCRIPTIVES

Demographic Variable	Descriptive Statistics [1]			
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Household size	1	8	**3.62**	1.56
No. of adults in household	1	7	**3.17**	1.39
Years of residency in Canada [2]	2	30	**11.84**	5.42

(1) N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents, summer 1999;
(2) Depicted graphically in Figure 8, below, where it is referred to as 'yrsres'.
Source: *SPSS output.*

TABLE 11
LEBANESE-CANADIANS IN THE SAMPLE
FREQUENCIES

Demographic Variable		Statistics [1]	
		Frequency	Valid Percentage (%) [2]
Gender	1 (Male)	100	60.2
	2 (Female)	66	39.8
	Total	166	100.0
Marital status	1 (Single)	75	45.2
	2 (Married or living tog.)	84	50.6
	3 (Separated or divorced)	6	3.6
	4 (Widowed)	1	0.6
	Total	166	100.0
Age (in years)	1 (Under 20)	7	4.2
	2 (20 to 29)	63	38.0
	3 (30 to 39)	33	19.9
	4 (40 to 49)	20	12.0
	5 (50 to 59)	26	15.7
	6 (60 and over)	17	10.2
	Total	166	100.0
Gross household income (in CAD) [3]	1 (Under 20,000)	8	5.0
	2 (20,000 to 39,999)	8	5.0
	3 (40,000 to 59,999)	27	16.8
	4 (60,000 to 79,999)	60	37.3
	5 (80,000 to 99,999)	37	23.0
	6 (100,000 and over)	21	13.0
	Total	161	100.0
Education level	1 (Elementary school)	0	0.0
	2 (High school)	3	1.8
	3 (College or tech. school)	33	19.9
	4 (Undergrad. univ. deg.)	78	47.0
	5 (Graduate univ. deg.)	52	31.3
	Total	166	100.0
Place of birth	1 (Lebanon)	147	88.6
	2 (Canada)	2	1.2
	3 (Other country)	17	10.2
	Total	166	100.0
Canadian citizenship	1 (Yes)	160	96.4
	2 (No)	6	3.6
	Total	166	100.0
Religious denomination	1 (Christian)	164	98.8
	2 (Jewish)	0	0.0
	3 (No religious denom.)	2	1.2
	4 (Muslim)	0	0.0
	5 (Other)	0	0.0
	Total	166	100.0

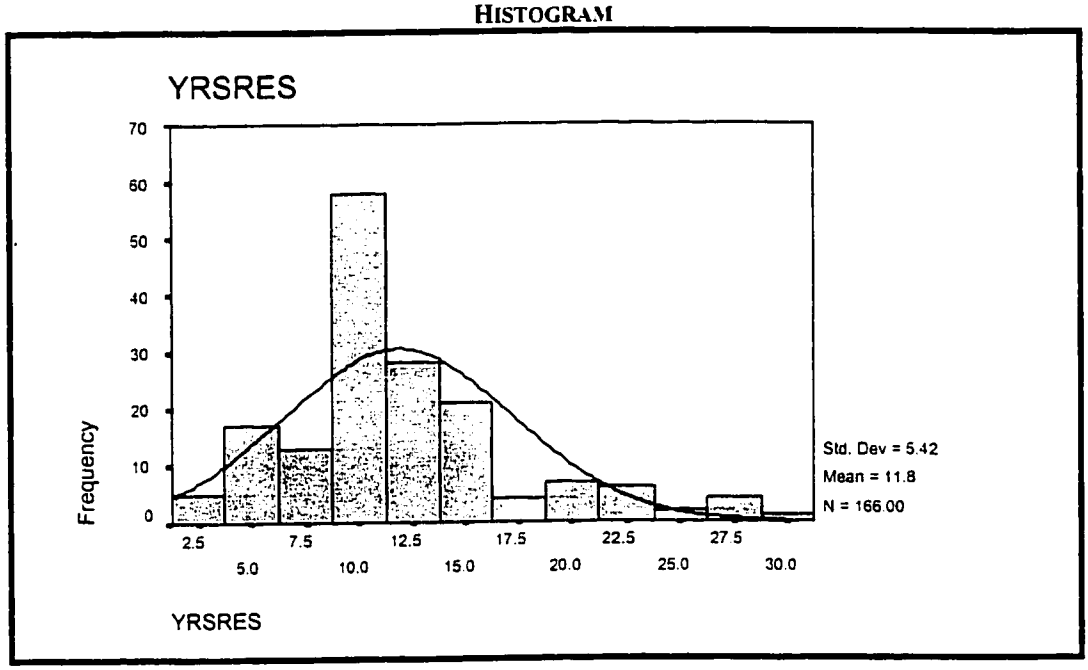
([1]) N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents, summer 1999;
([2]) Excludes missing values when there are;
([3]) Five missing values as to the variable 'income' reported.
Source: *SPSS output.*

The numbers tabulated above (see Table 10 and Table 11) are somewhat reminiscent of the few rigorous studies which have been conducted in the past, except maybe for gross household 'income' (see Table 11). For instance, as discussed in section 1.3.3, Lebanese immigrants are younger than the general population and better educated (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). Yet, according to the same official source, "the incomes of immigrants from Lebanon living in Canada are lower than those of people in other groups" (p.1). In 1990, immigrants from Lebanon had an average income from all sources of 19,000 CAD, compared with 25,300 CAD for all immigrants and 23,700 CAD for those born in Canada; see Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996). Our income brackets differ from government findings because we are dealing with a convenience sample limited to 166 people (164 immigrants) surveyed nine years later with five missing values.

Another demographic measure that particularly yielded results consistent with previously collected official statistics on Lebanese immigrants in Canada is 'years of residency' in the country (see Table 10). As reported in section 1.3.3, the large majority of all immigrants from Lebanon in Canada came during and immediately after the 1975-1990 hostilities (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). Moreover, as depicted by the charts of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (1996), the biggest annual number of immigrants from Lebanon was recorded during the last episode of the civil war, that is between 1987 and 1990. The participants in our study immigrated in Canada 11.84 years ago on average, which falls right into this period mostly marked by the devastating final conflict opposing the Lebanese army with the Syrian forces and their allies, which ended with the total occupation of the country.

Figure 8, next, sheds more light on the Lebanese respondents and the number of years they have spent in Canada.

FIGURE 8
RESIDENCY YEARS OF LEBANESE RESPONDENTS IN CANADA
HISTOGRAM



Source: *SPSS output.*

The previous histogram (see Figure 8) emphasizes the most important wave of Lebanese immigration in Canada which happened in the late 1980's, close to twelve years ago. The demographic results are the object of further discussion in the next chapter.

Now that we have closely examined descriptive demographic statistics pertinent to the convenience sample of research participants, the following section looks at the results of the factor analyses conducted in order to reduce the data collected into a more manageable set of components and see whether or not the dimensions proposed in our model still hold.

3.2 - Acculturation, Ethnic Identification, and Lifestyle Factor Analyses

"The essential purpose of factor analysis is to describe, if possible, the covariance relationships among many variables in terms of a few underlying, but unobservable, random quantities called 'factors' " (Johnson and Wichern 1992:396). Basically, what we do here is grouping variables by their correlations. Thus, all variables within a particular group have high correlations among themselves but are relatively weekly correlated with variables in a different group (Johnson and Wichern 1992). It is conceivable that each group of variables represents a factor—that is, "a single underlying construct" (Johnson and Wichern 1992:397)—which is responsible for the observed correlations. For example, correlations from the group of Lebanese media-related items, measuring ethnic identification (see Table 5), would suggest an underlying 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' factor thus corroborating, *ceteris paribus*, our model.

Thus, the primary question we are asking ourselves with factor analysis is whether the information collected on Lebanese-Canadians is consistent with the structure prescribed by our model after the data have been reduced into a smaller, more meaningful and manageable subset of components. The emerging factors will be subsequently used as indices measuring the two culture change constructs included in our model (see Figure 7). We therefore start this section by determining the acculturation dimensions through a factor analysis of Section II in the questionnaire. Then, the underlying dimensions of the items pertaining to the ethnic identification of Lebanese-Canadians in Section I of the measuring device are drawn. Finally, using the same technique, lifestyle dimensions relevant to our ethnic group are also extracted.

*3.2.1 - **Acculturation Determinants.*** For the exploratory factor analysis, we removed questions 1 and 2, pertaining to dimension 1, and question 28, of dimension 4 (see Table 4), to make the data amenable to further analysis. Since almost half of the respondents were not eligible to answer the items in question because they were either single (45.2 percent) and/or without children, including these three variables would restrict the factor analysis to married subjects with children only.

The factor analysis was run using *principal component* extraction. An oblique rotation was also performed because some significant level of correlation was expected among the factors (Mendoza 1989). Twelve acculturation factors emerged from this first attempt, instead of the seven factors proposed in our model (see Figure 7). Subsequently, a reliability analysis was run for each factor, individual items were purified, and the factor analysis was repeated with the remaining items until reaching a solution deemed satisfactory. After this purification process, only items loading 0.400 and more, with a maximized *Cronbach alpha* of at least 0.50 were kept (e.g., Cronbach 1952). We were thus left with six factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, accounting for 74.6 percent of the total (cumulative) variance in the data. The first factor, 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride', explained most of the variance (43.2 percent). Moreover, out of the 69 items used to measure acculturation of Lebanese-Canadians toward the French-Canadian culture, only 33 were kept.

Thus, we fell one factor short from the number of *a priori* acculturation dimensions proposed in our model (see Figure 7). In fact, dimension 3—'Social Interaction with French-Canadians'—did not emerge. This induced us to slightly modify dimensions 5 and 6 (see Table 4) by renaming them 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' and 'French-

Canadian Sex Roles', respectively. Presented in descending order of importance in Table 12 are the six final acculturation factors with their loadings and *Cronbach alpha* coefficients.

TABLE 12
ACCULTURATION TOWARD FRENCH-CANADIAN CULTURE ITEMS
FACTOR ANALYSIS

Factor [1]	Items [1,2]	Factor Loading	Cronbach Alpha
FC Identification and Pride			**0.94**
	33. I feel most comfortable in the FC culture	.822	
	32. I feel very proud of the FC culture	.798	
	34. I feel very proud to identify with the FC culture	.787	
	36. I am very attached to all aspects of the FC culture	.712	
	35. I consider the FC culture rich and precious	.707	
	31. The FC culture has the most positive impact on my life	.687	
	27. I consider myself to be FC	.552	
FC Sex Roles			**0.88**
	64. Both spouses have an equal right to work if they so desire	.853	
	61. Marriage is not the best career for a woman	.788	
	59. Sons and daughters should be granted the same privileges	.766	
	60. It is OK for unmarried girls to date	.744	
	62. A young woman should not quit her job to get married	.720	
	63. Virginity at the time of marriage should not be an issue anymore	.667	
French Language Use			**0.92**
	7. I mostly speak in French at family gatherings	.819	
	3. I always speak (spoke) French with my parents	.816	
	4. I always speak French with the other family members	.809	
	6. I mostly think in French	.673	
	8. In general, I speak in French	.594	
	10. French is the first language I learned to speak as a child	.574	
	5. I always use the French language with my friends	.544	
FC Culturally-Linked Values			**0.80**
	44. Religion is not an important aspect of life anymore	.822	
	45. It is not necessary for people to get married in church anymore	.805	
	46. When married people do not get along, they should divorce	.537	
FC Mass Media Exposure			**0.93**
	15. The movies/video cassettes that I watch are always in French	.800	
	12. The radio programs that I listen to are always in French	.788	
	13. The newspapers that I read are always in French	.775	
	11. The TV programs that I watch are always in French	.763	
	14. The magazines/books that I read are always in French	.723	
Desire to Acquire FC Culture			**0.88**
	68. In order to have a successful career in Quebec, it is necessary to become more like FCs	.792	
	69. It's to the advantage of LCs to adopt some aspects of the FC culture	.729	
	65. Although I believe that I should retain my LE culture, it is important for me to acquire some FC culture	.639	
	66. I want to acquire the cultural characteristics of FCs	.561	
	67. I want and need to become more like FCs	.503	

(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; LC= Lebanese-Canadian;
(2) The variable nos. are in reference to Table 4.
Source: *SPSS output.*

The final grouping of the items (see Table 12) appears satisfactory, considering that the data came from a field study. The 33 items particularly designed to tap the conceptual acculturation dimension exhibit relatively high loadings on their respective factors with more than half scoring over 0.700. The reliability coefficients computed for all six acculturation determinants are quite high; ranging from 0.80 for the 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' dimension to 0.94 for 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride'. According to Robinson, Shaver, and Wrightsman (1991), the minimum *Cronbach alpha* one must ideally get is 0.70; we fall way beyond that limit. Moreover, correlations between factors were all positive and less than unity thus indicating, according to Laroche et al. (1997c:42), that the (six) extracted acculturation factors "represented distinct yet correlated aspects of acculturation and that they should not be summated into a single acculturation score." Moreover, labelling the factors turned out to be fairly easy.

3.2.2 - Ethnic Identification Determinants. Similarly to section 3.2.1, it was decided to remove questions 1 and 2, pertaining to dimension 1, and question 28, of dimension 4 (see Table 5), from subsequent analysis since these were not applicable to almost half of the respondents who were either single (45.2 percent) and/or without children.

The factor analysis was run using *principal component* extraction and *oblimin* rotation. This attempt yielded fifteen ethnic identification factors instead of the seven proposed in our model (see Figure 7). Subsequently, a reliability analysis was run for each factor, individual items were purified, and the factor analysis was repeated with the remaining items until reaching the final solution. In the end, only variables loading 0.400 and

more, with a maximized *Cronbach alpha* of at least 0.50, were kept. Seven factors with eigenvalues greater than 1, responsible for 73.9 percent of the total variance thus emerged with the first factor—'Social Interaction with Lebanese'—explaining most of it (37.4 percent). Out of the 69 items included as a measure of the construct, only 34 were retained in the final output.

The final seven factors however turned out slightly different from the hypothesized ones (see Figure 7). In fact, while dimensions 1 to 4 were maintained, dimension 5 had to be labelled 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values', dimension 6 was split into two, and dimension 7—'Desire to Maintain Lebanese Culture'—was dropped (see Table 5). Listed in descending order of importance in Table 13, next, are the seven final factors emerging from the analysis conducted on the Lebanese culture maintenance variables together with their loadings and reliability coefficients.

TABLE 13
LEBANESE ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION ITEMS
FACTOR ANALYSIS

Factor [1]	Items [1, 2]	Factor Loading	Cronbach Alpha
Social Interaction with LE			**0.92**
	19. I get together with LCs very often	.801	
	18. Most of the people I go to parties with are LC	.755	
	20. I have many LC friends with whom I am very close	.750	
	16. Most of my friends are LC	.692	
	17. Most of the people at the places I go to have fun and relax are LC	.609	
	21. I feel very comfortable dealing with LCs	.544	
LE Identification and Pride			**0.89**
	34. I feel very proud to identify with the LE culture	.861	
	32. I feel very proud of the LE culture	.837	
	36. I am very attached to all aspects of the LE culture	.819	
	35. I consider the LE culture rich and precious	.749	
	33. I feel most comfortable in the LE culture	.713	
Lebanese Language Use			**0.89**
	4. I always speak Lebanese with the other family members	-.851	
	3. I always speak (spoke) Lebanese with my parents	-.812	
	7. I mostly speak in Lebanese at family gatherings	-.765	
	5. I always use the Lebanese language with my friends	-.652	
	6. I mostly think in Lebanese	-.612	
LE Sex Roles			**0.89**
	61. Marriage is the best career for a woman	.821	
	62. It is expected that girls quit their jobs to get married	.776	
	63. A young woman should be a virgin at the time of marriage	.740	
	60. Dating is bad for an unmarried girl's reputation and her family's	.702	
	58. Unmarried adults reflect poorly on their family's reputation	.670	
	64. Husbands should go to work and wives should stay at home to take care of the kids	.634	
LE Mass Media Exposure			**0.93**
	15. The movies/video cassettes that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic	.831	
	12. The radio programs that I listen to are always in Lebanese or Arabic	.754	
	11. The TV programs that I watch are always in Lebanese or Arabic	.747	
	14. The magazines/books that I read are always in Arabic	.732	
	13. The newspapers that I read are always in Arabic	.654	
LE Family Structure			**0.82**
	55. Every member of the family must contribute to the family's well-being	.792	
	54. Children must have a strong sense of obligation and responsibility toward their parents	.789	
	51. The authority of parents over children is to be respected	.779	
LE Culturally-Linked Values			**0.80**
	44. Religion is an important aspect of life	.825	
	45. Church weddings are a must	.698	
	46. Divorce is a sin before God	.599	
	47. God, the Homeland, and the Family	.584	

(1) LE= Lebanese; LC= Lebanese-Canadian;
(2) The variable nos. are in reference to Table 5.

Source: *SPSS output.*

Considering this was a field study, the final grouping of the items (see Table 13) seems satisfactory. Factor loadings attributed to each of the 34 retained items are high enough with more than half scoring over 0.700. As well, the reliability coefficients computed for all seven emerging culture maintenance determinants are high—in comparison to the minimum *Cronbach alpha* of 0.70 suggested by Robinson et al. (1991)—ranging from 0.80 to 0.93 for the 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values' and 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' dimensions, respectively. Labelling the factors turned out to be relatively easy here.

3.2.3 - Lifestyle Factors. Similarly to the factor analyses conducted for the acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2), a *principal component* (factor) analysis of the 43 lifestyle items with *oblimin* rotation yielded eight interpretable factors with eigenvalues were greater than 1, accounting for 73.6 percent of the total variance at the end of the process. The first factor, 'Market Maven', explained most of the variance (18.4 percent). The reliability analyses revealed that six of these factors had coefficient alpha values above 0.80. Only 28 out of 43 lifestyle items were retained.

Thus, we were four dimensions short from the set of twelve lifestyle dimensions initially postulated (see Table 7). Consequently, 'Opinion Leadership' and 'Self-Confidence', which were collapsed into one dimension by the factor analysis, were renamed 'Leadership and Self-Confidence'. 'Housework' and 'Brand Loyalty' did not emerge, and 'Concern for Children' was purposely dropped because of the restricted number of subjects with children. Listed in descending order of importance in Table 14, next, are the eight final lifestyle factors, their reliability coefficients, and the corresponding factor loadings.

TABLE 14
LEBANESE CONSUMER LIFESTYLE ITEMS
FACTOR ANALYSIS

Factor	Items [1]	Factor Loading	Cronbach Alpha
Market Maven			**0.89**
	37. I like introducing new brands and products to my friends	.823	
	38. I like helping people by providing them with information about many kinds of products	.820	
	39. I am a person who has information about a variety of products and I like to share this information with others	.816	
	35. My friends think of me as a good source of information when it comes to new products or sales	.808	
	36. People ask me for information about products, places to shop, or sales	.770	
Leadership and Self-Confidence			**0.80**
	7. I think I have more self-confidence than most people	.834	
	6. I am more independent than most people	.817	
	1. I sometimes influence what my friends buy	.743	
	4. I like to be considered a leader	.670	
Generic Products			**0.85**
	11. Generics are often as good as advertised brands	-.872	
	12. Generic products provide good value for what I pay	-.838	
	13. Generics are not much different from brands except for the packaging	-.808	
Fashion Consciousness			**0.85**
	23. An important part of my life and activities is dressing smartly	.903	
	22. When I must choose between the two I usually dress for fashion, not for comfort	.891	
	21. I usually have one or more outfits that are of the latest style	.815	
Attitude Toward Credit			**0.67**
	29. I like to pay cash for everything I buy	.827	
	28. To buy anything on credit, other than a house or a car, is unwise	.737	
	30. I buy many things with a credit card or a charge card [2]	.658	
Cooking and Baking			**0.85**
	15. I love to cook	.916	
	14. I am a good cook	.877	
	16. I love to bake and frequently do	.665	
Variety Seeking			**0.78**
	43. I like to go somewhere different nearly every day	.862	
	40. When things get boring, I like to find some new and unfamiliar experience	.786	
	42. I like continually changing activities	.705	
Price Consciousness			**0.83**
	34. I shop a lot for 'specials'	-.869	
	33. I find myself checking the prices in grocery stores for small items	-.753	
	32. A person can save a lot of money shopping around for bargains	-.717	
	31. I am willing to spend more time shopping in order to find bargains	-.707	

(1) The variable nos. are in reference to Table 7;
(2) Statement reversed.
Source: *SPSS output.*

Considering that this was a field study, the numbers yielded above (see Table 14) seem quite satisfactory. Factor loadings attributed to each of the 28 retained items are high enough with the majority scoring over 0.700. As well, the reliability coefficients computed for all eight emerging lifestyles are mostly high; ranging from a *Cronbach alpha* of 0.67 to 0.89 for 'Attitude Toward Credit' and the 'Market Maven', respectively.

In the next section, the final acculturation, ethnic identification, and lifestyle dimensions are each collapsed into single unweighted average scores.

3.3 - Average Scores

Prior to conducting the regression analyses, it was deemed necessary to compute unweighted average scores of the acculturation, ethnic identification, and lifestyle factors. At this stage, the three acculturation items pertaining to married people with or without children and single parents—removed during the acculturation factor analysis (see section 3.2.1)—were included since these have been found to be key ethnicity players in past studies. In fact, it was judged necessary put back questions 1 and 2, and question 28 as measures of 'French Language Use' and 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride' (see Table 4). Their inclusion did not seem to affect the factor structure we had reached earlier (see Table 12) nor significantly decrease the factors' reliability. Likewise, questions 1 and 2 pertaining to ethnic identification (see Table 5)—removed in section 3.2.2—were incorporated in the mean computation as measures of 'Lebanese Language Use'. Question 28—'My spouse considers himself/herself to be Lebanese-Canadian'—was not

included however because it seemed to alter the factor structure achieved earlier (see Table 13). Reproduced in Table 15, next, are the means of the final acculturation, ethnic identification, and lifestyle factors, along with helpful descriptive statistics.

TABLE 15
FACTORS RETAINED IN THE CULTURE CHANGE MODEL
UNWEIGHTED MEANS

Factors [1]	Descriptive Statistics [2]			
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Acculturation				
FC Identification and Pride	1.00	9.00	**5.79**	1.76
FC Sex Roles	1.67	9.00	**6.29**	1.64
French Language Use	1.00	8.29	**4.85**	1.93
FC Culturally-Linked Values	1.00	9.00	**4.05**	2.00
FC Mass Media Exposure	1.00	9.00	**5.87**	2.05
Desire to Acquire FC Culture	1.00	9.00	**6.35**	1.44
Ethnic Identification				
Social Interaction with LE	1.67	8.67	**6.66**	1.46
LE Identification and Pride	3.20	9.00	**7.66**	1.00
Lebanese Language Use	1.17	9.00	**6.80**	1.54
LE Sex Roles	1.00	8.00	**4.38**	1.87
LE Mass Media Exposure	1.00	8.20	**4.09**	2.13
LE Family Structure	4.33	9.00	**7.78**	1.02
LE Culturally-Linked Values	1.00	9.00	**6.83**	1.58
Lifestyles				
Market Maven	1.00	8.80	**5.18**	1.54
Leadership and Self-Confidence	3.25	9.00	**6.57**	1.31
Generic Products	2.67	9.00	**6.16**	1.49
Fashion Consciousness	1.67	9.00	**6.53**	1.74
Attitude Toward Credit	1.33	9.00	**4.99**	1.75
Cooking and Baking	1.00	9.00	**4.86**	2.22
Variety Seeking	1.00	9.00	**5.45**	1.36
Price Consciousness	2.50	8.75	**6.00**	1.58

(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
(2) N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents.
Source: *SPSS output.*

Means computed for the retained ethnic identification factors are above the mid-point of the scale (4.5) except for the 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' and 'Lebanese Sex Roles' dimensions which scored 4.09 and 4.38 out of 9, respectively (see Table 15). For instance, 'Lebanese Identification and Pride' and 'Lebanese Family Structure' got a mean score of

7.66 and 7.78, respectively. Among the emerging acculturation factors, 'French-Canadian Sex Roles' and 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture' scored the highest with 6.29 and 6.35, respectively, while 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' and 'French Language Use' factors got the lowest means of 4.05 and 4.85, respectively. As for the lifestyle dimensions, 'Fashion Consciousness' and 'Leadership and Self-Confidence' scored the highest with 6.53 and 6.57, respectively, while 'Cooking and Baking' and 'Attitude Toward Credit' got only 4.86 and 4.99 out of 9, respectively.

Included separately in Table 16 are the means of the consumption variables along with other pertinent descriptive statistics.

TABLE 16
CONSUMPTION VARIABLES IN THE CULTURE CHANGE MODEL
UNWEIGHTED MEANS

Dependent Variables [1]	Descriptive Statistics [2]			
	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
FC Basic Food Consumption				
Wine	0	5	**1.78**	0.89
Sliced bread	1	5	**3.60**	1.44
Cold cereals	0	5	**3.12**	1.57
Cheddar	0	5	**3.19**	1.61
Regular coffee	0	5	**3.16**	1.81
Cream cheese	0	5	**2.94**	1.58
Meat pie	0	5	**1.82**	1.17
Hamburger steak	0	5	**2.66**	1.20
Sugar pie	0	5	**1.48**	1.09
Cabbage salad	0	4	**2.82**	1.50
Club sandwich	0	5	**2.32**	1.08
Smoked meat	0	5	**1.62**	1.29
Poutine	0	5	**1.64**	1.24
Pea soup	0	4	**1.47**	1.11
Maple syrup	0	5	**1.70**	1.42
LE Basic Food Consumption [3]				
Arak	0	4	**1.25**	0.81
Khibiz arabi	0	5	**4.14**	1.18
Manakish	0	5	**2.68**	1.27
Halloom	0	5	**3.27**	1.52
Ahwi turki	0	5	**2.33**	2.21
Labni	0	5	**3.56**	1.33
Mehchi	0	4	**1.93**	0.90
Kibbi	0	5	**2.42**	1.04
Baklawa	0	4	**1.69**	0.91
Tabbouli	0	5	**2.20**	0.98
Shish tawuk	0	4	**2.66**	1.05
Shawarma	0	5	**2.47**	1.10
Humus	1	5	**2.83**	0.94
Shorbit adas	0	4	**1.82**	1.05
Ater	0	4	**1.63**	1.06

(1) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
(2) N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;
(3) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.
Source: *SPSS output.*

Looking closely at the numbers gathered above (see Table 16), it is obvious that seven ethnic majority basic foods scored above the mid-point, while six ethnic minority food items scored over 2.5 out of 5. In fact, on the French-Canadian side, hamburger steak, cabbage salad, cream cheese, cold cereals, regular coffee, cheddar, and sliced bread got 2.66,

2.82, 2.94, 3.12, 3.16, 3.19, and 3.60, respectively. On the Lebanese side, *shish tawuk*, *manakish*, *humus*, *halloom*, *labni*, and *khibiz arabi* got 2.66, 2.68, 2.83, 3.27, 3.56, and 4.14, respectively.

The following section deals with the regression analysis of the emerging acculturation and ethnic identification factors along with pertinent demographics on the basic food items included in the survey. A regression analysis of the same predictor variables on the retained lifestyle dimensions is also carried out.

3.4 - Regression Analyses

"Regression analysis is the statistical methodology for predicting values of one or more 'response' (dependent) variables from a collection of 'predictor' (independent) variable values" (Johnson and Wichern 1992:285). The authors add that regression analysis can also be used for "assessing the effects of the predictor variables on the responses" (p.285). Stepwise regression is particularly useful when one needs to "circumvent the potential multicollinearity problems" associated with the use of multiple dimensions and other predictor variables (Laroche et al. 1997c:49). Thus, even though its name does not reflect it, this methodology is very important and its application very wide; see Johnson and Wichern (1992). Moreover, it minimizes computational efforts and usually arrives at a better subset of independent variables (Neter, Kutner, Nachtsheim, and Wasserman 1996). Thereby, regression analysis remains the most widely used automatic search procedure; see Laroche et al. (1997c).

In this section, we first discuss the multiple regression model for the prediction of the thirty dependent consumption variables. We thus assess the impact of each acculturation dimension and each ethnic identification dimension along with six pertinent socioeconomic predictors on French-Canadian and Lebanese basic food consumption. Using the same technique, we then examine how cultural change affects consumer lifestyles.

3.4.1 - Culture Change and Basic Food Consumption. As we already know, this study is mainly aimed at examining how the broad process known as culture change—which involves the distinct yet correlated phenomena of acculturation and ethnic identification—impacts the consumption of ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic foods. The thirty basic food products were therefore modelled individually as a function of the six retained acculturation factors (see Table 12), the seven final Lebanese culture maintenance factors (see Table 13), and also six pertinent socioeconomic predictors, namely: gender, marital status, age, gross household income, household size, and education level. Such demographics have traditionally been used as criterion variables involved in the validation of measures of changing ethnicity (e.g., Burnam et al. 1987; Garcia and Lega 1979; Szapocznik et al. 1980). It has even been argued that consumption differences between cultural groups may not lie in different ethnic backgrounds but in socioeconomic factors (Mallen 1973); hence the necessity to include these predictors in the analysis.

Thus, the following regression equations were adopted:

$Y_i =$ f ('FC Identification and Pride', 'FC Sex Roles', 'French Language Use', 'FC Culturally-Linked Values', 'FC Mass Media Exposure', 'Desire to Acquire FC Culture', 'Social Interaction with LE', 'LE Identification and Pride', 'Lebanese Language Use', 'LE Sex Roles', 'LE Mass Media Exposure', 'LE Family Structure', 'LE Culturally-Linked Values', 'gender', 'status', 'age', 'income', 'size', 'school'),

where:

i= 1 to 30 or wine to *ater* (see Table 6);

FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese.

The stepwise regression on basic food consumption was performed using the entire sample of Lebanese-Canadians (N= 166). Due to their large number, the regression estimates were split into Table 17a, Table 17b, and Table 17c, next. The entire regression table is included as Appendix B.

TABLE 17A
CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS
ACCULTURATION FACTORS

Consumption [1]	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]						*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	FIP	FSR	FLU	FCV	FME	DFC		
FC Basic Foods								
1. Wine	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(3.01)[a]	NS	5.49[a]	.140
2. Sliced bread	.13(1.85)[b]	NS	.26(3.72)[a]	NS	NS	NS	12.47[a]	.357
3. Cold cereals	NS	.17(1.97)[b]	.31(5.06)[a]	NS	NS	NS	15.44[a]	.259
4. Cheddar	NS	-.24(-3.07)[a]	.34(5.05)[a]	-.10(-1.80)[b]	NS	.22(2.69)[a]	14.77[a]	.520
5. Regular coffee	NS	NS	NS	NS	.28(3.51)[a]	-.16(-1.49)[c]	6.60[a]	.234
6. Cream cheese	NS	-.16(-1.93)[b]	.39(5.93)[a]	NS	NS	.16(1.91)[b]	13.46[a]	.376
7. Meat pie	.24(4.00)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.36)[c]	16.90[a]	.403
8. Hamburger stk.	.12(2.46)[a]	NS	.15(3.01)[a]	NS	NS	NS	23.15[a]	.518
9. Sugar pie	.08(1.48)[c]	NS	.17(3.41)[a]	NS	NS	NS	14.65[a]	.248
10. Cabbage salad	.29(3.99)[a]	NS	.27(4.02)[a]	-.13(-2.54)[a]	-.09(-1.44)[c]	NS	20.24[a]	.483
11. Club sandwich	.09(1.65)[c]	NS	NS	NS	.07(1.36)[c]	NS	9.99[a]	.276
12. Smoked meat	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.86)[b]	.11(1.96)[b]	.13(1.70)[b]	8.99[a]	.195
13. *Poutine*	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.76)[b]	.10(2.33)[b]	NS	11.47[a]	.241
14. Pea soup	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	8.84[a]	.087
15. Maple syrup	NS	-.29(-2.61)[a]	.27(4.48)[a]	NS	NS	.34(3.94)[a]	9.22[a]	.285
LE Basic Foods [3]								
16. *Arak*	NS	NS	NS	-.05(-1.39)[c]	NS	NS	10.03[a]	.215
17. *Khibiz arabi*	-.20(-3.21)[a]	.13(1.61)[c]	.13(2.26)[b]	-.18(-3.29)[a]	NS	NS	11.97[a]	.399
18. *Manakish*	NS	-.16(-2.47)[a]	27(5.37)[a]	NS	NS	NS	16.56[a]	.361
19. *Halloom*	NS	NS	.29(6.11)[a]	-.13(-2.95)[a]	NS	NS	34.60[a]	.620
20. *Ahwi turki*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	35.19[a]	.509
21. *Labni*	NS	-.15(-2.25)[b]	.32(6.21)[a]	-.09(-1.73)[b]	NS	NS	13.61[a]	.379
22. *Mehchi*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.86)[b]	8.93[a]	.224
23. *Kibbi*	.09(1.63)[c]	-.13(-1.83)[b]	.19(4.16)[a]	-.07(-1.75)[b]	NS	NS	14.40[a]	.394
24. *Baklawa*	NS	NS	.17(5.05)[a]	NS	NS	NS	12.56[a]	.259
25. *Tabbouli*	NS	NS	NS	-.07(-1.80)[b]	NS	NS	6.07[a]	.133
26. *Shish tawuk*	NS	-.07(-1.41)[c]	.18(4.69)[a]	NS	NS	NS	22.61[a]	.396
27. *Shawarma*	NS	NS	.09(2.19)[b]	NS	NS	NS	10.88[a]	.295
28. *Humus*	NS	NS	.17(5.10)[a]	NS	NS	NS	18.31[a]	.344
29. *Shorbit adas*	NS	NS	.11(2.75)[a]	-.14(-3.49)[a]	NS	NS	12.75[a]	.299
30. *Ater*	NS	NS	.10(2.68)[a]	NS	NS	NS	18.11[a]	.172

([1]) FIP= FC Identification and Pride;
FSR= FC Sex Roles;
FLU= French Language Use;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values;
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;
([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

TABLE 17B
CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION FACTORS

Consumption [1]	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1, 2]							*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	SIL	LIP	LLU	LSR	LME	LFS	LCV		
FC Basic Foods									
1. Wine	.17(3.13)[a]	-.20(-2.88)[a]	NS	-.17(-4.01)[a]	NS	NS	NS	5.49[a]	.140
2. Sliced bread	.15(1.94)[b]	-.29(-2.62)[a]	.14(1.78)[b]	NS	NS	.42(3.88)[a]	NS	12.47[a]	.357
3. Cold cereals	.26(2.97)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	15.44[a]	.259
4. Cheddar	.30(3.56)[a]	-.19(-1.76)[b]	.11(1.47)[c]	NS	NS	.27(2.50)[a]	NS	14.77[a]	.520
5. Regular coffee	NS	-.20(-1.47)[c]	.28(2.83)[a]	-.38(-4.57)[a]	NS	NS	NS	6.60[a]	.234
6. Cream cheese	.20(2.25)[b]	-.24(-2.03)[b]	.15(1.82)[b]	NS	NS	.28(2.47)[a]	NS	13.46[a]	.376
7. Meat pie	.19(2.80)[a]	-.14(-1.72)[b]	NS	.20(3.92)[a]	.08(1.65)[c]	NS	-.16(-2.98)[a]	16.90[a]	.403
8. Hamburger stk.	.23(4.09)[a]	NS	NS	.20(4.34)[a]	NS	.23(3.20)[a]	NS	23.15[a]	.518
9. Sugar pie	.17(2.75)[a]	NS	NS	.08(1.66)[b]	NS	NS	NS	14.65[a]	.248
10. Cabbage salad	.20(2.46)[a]	-.18(-1.72)[b]	NS	.26(4.49)[a]	NS	.24(2.39)[a]	NS	20.24[a]	.483
11. Club sandwich	.21(3.43)[a]	NS	NS	.11(2.17)[b]	NS	.16(2.08)[b]	NS	9.99[a]	.276
12. Smoked meat	NS	NS	.10(1.60)[c]	NS	NS	NS	NS	8.99[a]	.195
13. *Poutine*	.21(3.19)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	.14(1.55)[c]	NS	11.47[a]	.241
14. Pea soup	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(2.54)[a]	NS	NS	8.84[a]	.087
15. Maple syrup	.17(2.13)[b]	-.38(-3.35)[a]	NS	-.16(-1.86)[b]	NS	16(1.40)[c]	NS	9.22[a]	.285
LE Basic Foods [3]									
16. *Arak*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.05(1.69)[b]	NS	.07(1.40)[c]	10.03[a]	.215
17. *Khibiz arabi*	.15(2.13)[b]	-.30(-3.68)[a]	.18(2.72)[a]	.18(2.66)[a]	NS	NS	-.14(-1.85)[b]	11.97[a]	.399
18. *Manakish*	.13(1.68)[b]	-.18(-2.10)[b]	.22(3.06)[a]	NS	.07(1.30)[c]	NS	NS	16.56[a]	.361
19. *Halloom*	.40(5.77)[a]	-.13(-1.70)[b]	.19(3.04)[a]	.17(3.37)[a]	NS	NS	NS	34.60[a]	.620
20. *Ahwi turki*	NS	NS	.40(4.11)[a]	NS	.12(1.59)[c]	NS	NS	35.19[a]	.509
21. *Labni*	.16(2.11)[b]	-.34(-3.46)[a]	.19(2.81)[a]	NS	NS	.14(1.42)[c]	NS	13.61[a]	.379
22. *Mehchi*	.20(3.79)[a]	-.26(-3.40)[a]	NS	.08(1.89)[b]	NS	.10(1.43)[c]	NS	8.93[a]	.224
23. *Kibbi*	.13(2.18)[b]	-.12(-1.69)[b]	NS	.09(1.54)[c]	NS	NS	NS	14.40[a]	.394
24. *Baklawa*	.17(3.41)[a]	-.17(-2.64)[a]	NS	.09(2.38)[a]	NS	NS	NS	12.56[a]	.259
25. *Tabbouli*	.17(2.99)[a]	-.11(-1.52)[c]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	6.07[a]	.133
26. *Shish tawuk*	.34(5.98)[a]	-.19(-2.75)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.97)[b]	22.61[a]	.396
27. *Shawarma*	.28(4.26)[a]	-.12(-1.50)[c]	.12(1.89)[b]	.12(2.28)[b]	NS	NS	NS	10.88[a]	.295
28. *Humus*	.24(4.50)[a]	-.11(-1.71)[b]	.08(1.62)[c]	.07(1.71)[b]	NS	NS	NS	18.31[a]	.344
29. *Shorbit adas*	.25(4.47)[a]	-.20(-2.80)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	12.75[a]	.299
30. *Ater*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.19(5.40)[a]	NS	NS	18.11[a]	.172

([1]) SIL= Social Interaction with LE;
LIP= LE Identification and Pride;
LLU= Lebanese Language Use;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
LME= LE Mass Media Exposure;
LFS= LE Family Structure;
LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;
([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

TABLE 17C

CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS SOCIOECONOMIC PREDICTORS

Consumption [1]	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]						*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
FC Basic Foods								
1. Wine	.31(2.28)[b]	NS	NS	NS	.06(1.45)[c]	NS	5.49[a]	.140
2. Sliced bread	-.38(-1.98)[b]	NS	-.17(-2.50)[a]	NS	NS	NS	12.47[a]	.357
3. Cold cereals	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.22(1.43)[c]	15.44[a]	.259
4. Cheddar	-.28(-1.44)[c]	.72(2.85)[a]	.18(2.16)[b]	.19(2.16)[b]	-.12(-2.09)[b]	NS	14.77[a]	.520
5. Regular coffee	NS	-.73(-2.22)[b]	.29(2.57)[a]	.20(1.80)[b]	-.12(-1.45)[c]	NS	6.60[a]	.234
6. Cream cheese	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.18(-1.29)[c]	13.46[a]	.376
7. Meat pie	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.90[a]	.403
8. Hamburger stk.	NS	.42(2.68)[a]	NS	.13(2.07)[b]	NS	.14(1.54)[c]	23.15[a]	.518
9. Sugar pie	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	14.65[a]	.248
10. Cabbage salad	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	20.24[a]	.483
11. Club sandwich	NS	.37(1.94)[b]	-.13(-2.07)[b]	NS	NS	NS	9.99[a]	.276
12. Smoked meat	NS	.62(3.23)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	8.99[a]	.195
13. *Poutine*	NS	.97(5.24)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.47[a]	.241
14. Pea soup	NS	NS	NS	.18(2.54)[a]	NS	NS	8.84[a]	.087
15. Maple syrup	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.09(-1.39)[c]	NS	9.22[a]	.285
LE Basic Foods [3]								
16. *Arak*	.52(4.26)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	.14(1.73)[b]	10.03[a]	.215
17. *Khibiz arabi*	.52(3.39)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.97[a]	.399
18. *Manakish*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.56[a]	.361
19. *Halloom*	-.21(-1.33)[c]	NS	NS	.14(2.11)[b]	NS	NS	34.60[a]	.620
20. *Ahwi turki*	NS	-.96(-3.09)[a]	.39(3.45)[a]	NS	NS	-.58(-3.38)[a]	35.19[a]	.509
21. *Labni*	NS	-.45(-2.46)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	13.61[a]	.379
22. *Mehchi*	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.85)[b]	NS	NS	8.93[a]	.224
23. *Kibbi*	NS	NS	NS	.13(2.20)[b]	NS	NS	14.40[a]	.394
24. *Baklawa*	.24(1.82)[b]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	12.56[a]	.259
25. *Tabbouli*	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.53)[c]	.06(1.39)[c]	NS	6.07[a]	.133
26. *Shish tawuk*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	22.61[a]	.396
27. *Shawarma*	NS	.44(2.77)[a]	NS	NS	NS	.15(1.46)[c]	10.88[a]	.295
28. *Humus*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.31[a]	.344
29. *Shorbit adas*	NS	NS	NS	.13(2.15)[b]	-.06(-1.38)[c]	NS	12.75[a]	.299
30. *Ater*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.11[a]	.172

([1]) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$; ([b]) $p < .05$; ([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

In the three preceding tables (see Table 17a, Table 17b, and Table 17c), all the reported *F*-statistics are significant with *p*-values lower than 0.01. Adjusted R^2s appear mostly quite high (e.g., cheddar cheese and *halloom* cheese), sometimes relatively moderate (e.g., smoked meat and *arak*), and low in the case of pea soup, *tabbouli*, wine, and *ater*.

On the acculturation side (see Table 17a), 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride' (FIP) exhibits significant coefficients for six of the fifteen French-Canadian basic foods and two Lebanese basic food items. 'French-Canadian Sex Roles' (FSR) impacts the consumption of four French-Canadian basic food items and five Lebanese basic foods. The effects of 'French Language Use' (FLU), when significant, can be felt on the consumption of eight French-Canadian and eleven Lebanese items. 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' (FCV), for its part, impacts the consumption of four ethnic majority basic foods and seven ethnic minority basic foods. 'French-Canadian Mass Media Exposure' (FME) affects the consumption of six French-Canadian basic foods but exhibits no significant coefficients across the Lebanese items. Finally, 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture' (DFC) impacts the consumption of six French-Canadian basic foods and the consumption of one Lebanese item. The specific foods related to each of the six acculturation factors as well as the sign of the relationships with these factors are reproduced in Table 18 below; these are based on the *SPSS* regression outputs.

TABLE 18
ACCULTURATION FACTORS AND CONSUMPTION VARIABLES
THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Factor [1]	Relationship to Basic Food Consumption [1,2]		Factor [1]	Relationship to Basic Food Consumption [1,2]	
	FC Basic Foods	LE Basic Foods [3]		FC Basic Foods	LE Basic Foods [3]
FIP	→ Sliced bread → Meat pie → Hamburger steak → Sugar pie → Cabbage salad → Club sandwich	. . > *Khibiz arabi* → *Kibbi*	FSR	→ Cold cereals . . > Cheddar . . > Cream cheese . . > Maple syrup	→ *Khibiz arabi* . . > *Manakish* . . > *Labni* . . > *Kibbi* . . > *Shish tawuk*
FLU	→ Sliced bread → Cold cereals → Cheddar → Cream cheese → Hamburger steak → Sugar pie → Cabbage salad → Maple syrup	→ *Khibiz arabi* → *Manakish* → *Halloom* → *Labni* → *Kibbi* → *Baklawa* → *Shish tawuk* → *Shawarma* → *Humus* → *Shorbit adas* → *Ater*	FCV	. . > Cheddar . . > Cabbage salad → Smoked meat → *Poutine*	. . > *Arak* . . > *Khibiz arabi* . . > *Halloom* . . > *Labni* . . > *Kibbi* . . > *Tabbouli* . . > *Shorbit adas*
FME	→ Wine → Regular coffee . . > Cabbage salad → Club sandwich → Smoked meat → *Poutine*		DFC	→ Cheddar . . > Regular coffee → Cream cheese → Meat pie → Smoked meat → Maple syrup	→ *Mehchi*

(1) FIP= FC Identification and Pride;
FSR= FC Sex Roles;
FLU= French Language Use;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values;
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

(2) → = Positive significant relationship;
. . > = Negative significant relationship;

(3) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output; Table 17a.*

Obviously, the acculturation factor significantly influencing the consumption of the largest number of ethnic majority basic foods is FLU (see Table 18). In fact, we can clearly see that this factor positively impacts eight out of the fifteen French-Canadian basic foods in the list (sliced bread, cold cereals, cheddar, cream cheese, hamburger steak, sugar pie, cabbage salad, and maple syrup). On the other hand, the factor associated

with the least number of impacts on French-Canadian basic food consumption seems to be FSR. Indeed, out of the four significant relationships reported in this case, only one item is positively affected (cold cereals).

Looking at the regression coefficients resulting from the effect on basic food consumption of the seven culture maintenance factors (see Table 17b), it is obvious that 'Social Interaction with Lebanese' (SIL) has a significant impact on the consumption of twelve out of fifteen Lebanese basic foods and another twelve out of fifteen French-Canadian items. 'Lebanese Identification and Pride' (LIP), the second ethnic identification, significantly impacts twelve Lebanese basic food items and eight French-Canadian items. 'Lebanese Language Use' (LLU) exhibits significant coefficients in the case of seven ethnic minority basic foods and five ethnic majority foods. The 'Lebanese Sex Roles' (LSR) dimension impacts the consumption of seven Lebanese and eight French-Canadian basic foods. 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' (LME) is significantly related to the consumption of four Lebanese items and two French-Canadian items. The 'Lebanese Family Structure' (LFS) dimension, for its part, displays significant coefficients when it comes to only two items in the Lebanese list and eight items in the French-Canadian list. Finally, 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values' (LCV) is associated with three significant regression coefficients in the Lebanese basic foods group and one in the French-Canadian group. Table 19, next, gives specific details as to the relationships between the seven ethnic identification factors and the food items each impacts.

TABLE 19
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION FACTORS AND CONSUMPTION VARIABLES
THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Factor [1]	Relationship to Basic Food Consumption [1,2]		Factor [1]	Relationship to Basic Food Consumption [1,2]	
	FC Basic Foods	LE Basic Foods [3]		FC Basic Foods	LE Basic Foods [3]
SIL	→ Wine → Sliced bread → Cold cereals → Cheddar → Cream cheese → Meat pie → Hamburger steak → Sugar pie → Cabbage salad → Club sandwich → *Poutine* → Maple syrup	→ *Khibiz arabi* → *Manakish* → *Halloom* → *Labni* → *Mehchi* → *Kibbi* → *Baklawa* → *Tabbouli* → *Shish tawuk* → *Shawarma* → *Humus* → *Shorbit adas*	LIP	.. > Wine .. > Sliced bread .. > Cheddar .. > Regular coffee .. > Cream cheese .. > Meat pie .. > Cabbage salad .. > Maple syrup	.. > *Khibiz arabi* .. > *Manakish* .. > *Halloom* .. > *Labni* .. > *Mehchi* .. > *Kibbi* .. > *Baklawa* .. > *Tabbouli* .. > *Shish tawuk* .. > *Shawarma* .. > *Humus* .. > *Shorbit adas*
LLU	→ Sliced bread → Cheddar → Regular coffee → Cream cheese → Smoked meat	→ *Khibiz arabi* → *Manakish* → *Halloom* → *Ahwi turki* → *Labni* → *Shawarma* → *Humus*	LSR	.. > Wine .. > Regular coffee → Meat pie → Hamburger steak → Sugar pie → Cabbage salad → Club sandwich .. > Maple syrup	→ *Khibiz arabi* → *Halloom* → *Mehchi* → *Kibbi* → *Baklawa* → *Shawarma* → *Humus*
LME	→ Meat pie → Pea soup	→ *Arak* → *Manakish* → *Ahwi turki* → *Ater*	LFS	→ Sliced bread → Cheddar → Cream cheese → Hamburger steak → Cabbage salad → Club sandwich → *Poutine* → Maple syrup	→ *Labni* → *Mehchi*
LCV	.. > Meat pie	→ *Arak* .. > *Khibiz arabi* → *Shish tawuk*			

([1]) SIL= Social Interaction with LE;
LIP= LE Identification and Pride;
LLU= Lebanese Language Use;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
LME= LE Mass Media Exposure;
LFS= LE Family Structure;
LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) → = Positive significant relationship;
.. > = Negative significant relationship;

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output; Table 17b.*

Clearly, SIL is the culture maintenance dimension which most often has a significant impact on basic food consumption (see Table 19). It seems also to be the cultural factor that is responsible for the largest number of significant impacts in comparison to the other 18

independent variables (see Appendix B). In fact, the consumption of 24 out of thirty basic food items is positively affected by SIL. On the other hand, LCV emerges as the dimension which is associated with the least number of significant coefficients in its own group and *vis-à-vis* all the predictors. In fact, only three of the regression coefficients are significant in the Lebanese basic foods group and one in the French-Canadian group. Specifically, LCV positively impacts the consumption of *arak* and *shish tawuk* while *khibiz arabi* is negatively affected. On the other hand, LCV negatively impacts French-Canadian meat pie. Moreover, LFS is also positively associated with only two Lebanese food items (*labni* and *mehchi*) and LIP exhibits negative coefficients for both ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic foods.

As for socioeconomic predictors, these are associated with coefficients which are positive more often than not (see Table 17c). This is especially true of gross household 'income' which, when significant, is also always positive. Moreover, together with marital 'status', these appear as the demographic variables which most often carry a significant impact on basic food consumption; nine items to be precise. Specifically, 'status' impacts the consumption of cheddar, hamburger steak, club sandwich, smoked meat, and *poutine* positively, and regular coffee negatively. On the other hand, the predictor affects the consumption of Lebanese *shawarma* positively, and *ahwi turki* and *labni* negatively. As for 'income', it positively impacts the consumption of French-Canadian cheddar, regular coffee, hamburger steak, and pea soup. It also exhibits positive coefficients as to the consumption of *halloom*, *mehchi*, *kibbi*, *tabbouli*, and *shorbit adas*. The effect of 'gender', for its part, is significant in seven cases. Its impact emerges as positive for one French-Canadian basic food item (wine) and negative for two other items in that same category (sliced bread and

cheddar). In the Lebanese basic foods group, the coefficients due to this socioeconomic predictor are positive when it comes to *arak*, *khibiz arabi*, and *baklawa*, and negative in the case of *halloom*. As for 'age' of the respondent, the consumption of only five basic food items seems to be affected making it the variable with the least significant impact on food consumption in its kind. In fact, in the French-Canadian group, cheddar and regular coffee exhibit significant positive coefficients while sliced bread and club sandwich are negatively affected. On the other hand, *ahwi turki* is the only Lebanese item to be affected (positively) by this socioeconomic predictor. The effects of household 'size' and 'school' level are each simultaneously positive and negative when it comes to the consumption of basic French-Canadian and Lebanese foods. Specifically, 'size' positively impacts the consumption of wine, and negatively impacts cheddar, regular coffee, and maple syrup in the French-Canadian group. As for Lebanese basic foods, the variable affects *tabbouli* positively and *shorbit adas* negatively. Meanwhile, 'school' exhibits positive significant coefficients in the case of cold cereals and hamburger steak, and a negative coefficient for cream cheese. On the other hand, the predictor positively affects *arak* and *shawarma* and negatively *ahwi turki*.

The relevant regression results analysed in this section and their implications to marketers are the main topic of discussion in the next chapter. A complete table comprising the regression estimates from Table 17a, Table 17b, and Table 17c figures as Appendix B.

3.4.2 - Culture Change and Lifestyles. Likewise, we are now interested in the effects of culture change and demographic characteristics on lifestyles. The acculturation and ethnic identification final dimensions along with the pertinent socioeconomic variables named in

section 3.4.1 were again used as the independent variables in a stepwise regression on the eight consumer lifestyles emerging from the study (see Table 14).

Our second group of regression equations was formulated as follows:

$Y_j = f$('FC Identification and Pride', 'FC Sex Roles', 'French Language Use', 'FC Culturally-Linked Values', 'FC Mass Media Exposure', 'Desire to Acquire FC Culture', 'Social Interaction with LE', 'LE Identification and Pride', 'Lebanese Language Use', 'LE Sex Roles', 'LE Mass Media Exposure', 'LE Family Structure', 'LE Culturally-Linked Values', 'gender', 'status', 'age', 'income', 'size', 'school'),

where:

j= 'Leadership and Self-Confidence', 'Cooking and Baking', 'Generic Products', 'Fashion Consciousness', 'Attitude Toward Credit', 'Market Maven', 'Variety Seeking', and 'Price Consciousness' (see Table 14);

FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese.

Due to their large number, the stepwise regression estimates on Lebanese consumer lifestyles (N= 166) follow in Table 20a, Table 20b, and Table 20c. The entire regression table is included as Appendix C.

TABLE 20A
LIFESTYLES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS
ACCULTURATION FACTORS

Dependent Variable	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]						*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	FIP	FSR	FLU	FCV	FME	DFC		
Lifestyles [3]								
1. MAM	.25(2.83)[a]	NS	-.37(-4.54)[a]	NS	.20(2.48)[a]	NS	5.78[a]	.188
2. LSC	NS	.16(2.34)[b]	NS	NS	NS	.12(1.81)[b]	11.06[a]	.268
3. GEP	NS	NS	NS	NS	.15(2.43)[a]	.28(3.25)[a]	7.61[a]	.265
4. FAC	-.17(-1.65)[c]	.34(3.58)[a]	NS	NS	.17(2.34)[b]	-.15(-1.33)[c]	10.35[a]	.405
5. ATC	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.29(-3.25)[a]	7.30[a]	.103
6. CAB	NS	NS	NS	-.19(-2.31)[b]	.26(3.39)[a]	NS	16.78[a]	.365
7. VAS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	6.64[a]	.170
8. PRC	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.25(3.15)[a]	7.67[a]	.267

([1]) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; FME= FC Mass Media Exposure;
FLU= French Language Use; DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture;
FC= French-Canadian; NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$; ([b]) $p < .05$; ([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit;
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking;
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking;
FAC= Fashion Consciousness; PRC= Price Consciousness.

Source: *SPSS output.*

TABLE 20B
LIFESTYLES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS
ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION FACTORS

Dependent Variable	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]							*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	SIL	LIP	LLU	LSR	LME	LFS	LCV		
Lifestyles [3]									
1. MAM	NS	.23(1.71)[b]	.21(2.21)[b]	NS	NS	-.32(-2.55)[a]	-.27(-2.95)[a]	5.78[a]	.188
2. LSC	.14(1.86)[b]	.23(2.43)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.12(-1.83)[b]	11.06[a]	.268
3. GEP	-.29(-3.10)[a]	NS	NS	NS	.22(3.13)[a]	NS	.21(2.62)[a]	7.61[a]	.265
4. FAC	.21(2.21)[b]	.40(3.35)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	.20(2.42)[a]	10.35[a]	.405
5. ATC	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.41)[c]	NS	NS	NS	7.30[a]	.103
6. CAB	NS	NS	.20(1.93)[c]	NS	NS	-.43(-2.85)[a]	NS	16.78[a]	.365
7. VAS	.19(2.25)[b]	NS	-.15(-1.91)[b]	.15(2.29)[b]	NS	NS	NS	6.64[a]	.170
8. PRC	-.21(-2.12)[b]	.33(2.47)[a]	NS	NS	.30(4.16)[a]	-.27(-2.15)[b]	.17(2.07)[b]	7.67[a]	.267

([1]) SIL= Social Interaction with LE; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure;
LIP= LE Identification and Pride; LFS= LE Family Structure;
LLU= Lebanese Language Use; LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;
([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit;
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking;
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking;
FAC= Fashion Consciousness; PRC= Price Consciousness.

Source: *SPSS output.*

TABLE 20C
LIFESTYLES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS
SOCIOECONOMIC PREDICTORS

Dependent Variable	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]						*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
Lifestyles [3]								
1. MAM	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.31(-2.05)[b]	5.78[a]	.188
2. LSC	1.20(6.57)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.06[a]	.268
3. GEP	.38(1.69)[b]	-.56(-2.53)[a]	NS	-.25(-2.66)[a]	NS	.20(1.35)[c]	7.61[a]	.265
4. FAC	-.87(-3.58)[a]	NS	-.37(-4.53)[a]	.15(1.56)[c]	-.22(-3.08)[a]	-.53(-3.20)[a]	10.35[a]	.405
5. ATC	NS	-.60(-2.20)[b]	NS	NS	NS	NS	7.30[a]	.103
6. CAB	-2.29(-7.79)[a]	-.93(-3.02)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.78[a]	.365
7. VAS	NS	.72(2.84)[a]	-.15(-1.74)[b]	.16(1.90)[b]	NS	NS	6.64[a]	.170
8. PRC	NS	NS	NS	-.26(-2.73)[a]	-.11(-1.60)[c]	-.25(-1.61)[c]	7.67[a]	.267

([1]) NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;
([c]) $p < .10$;

([3]) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit;
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking;
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking;
FAC= Fashion Consciousness; PRC= Price Consciousness.

Source: *SPSS output.*

Looking at the results computed above (see Table 20a, Table 20b, and Table 20c), we can see that all the reported *F*-statistics are significant at the 0.01 level. Adjusted R^2s seem mostly high enough (e.g., 'Fashion Consciousness' and 'Cooking and Baking') and low only when it comes to 'Attitude Toward Credit' and 'Variety Seeking'.

Examining the coefficients resulting from the regression of the acculturation factors on consumer lifestyles (see Table 20a), it is obvious that FIP and FSR each have a significant impact on two lifestyle dimensions. In the meantime, FLU and FCV affect one lifestyle each. FME, for its part, is associated with four out of the eight lifestyle dimensions. The sixth acculturation factor, DFC, exhibits significant coefficients across five lifestyle dimensions.

As for the coefficients resulting from the regression on lifestyles of the culture maintenance factors (see Table 20b), we can clearly see that SIL and LCV account for five significant coefficients each. Meanwhile, LIP exhibits four significant coefficients. LLU and LFS significantly impact three lifestyle dimensions each. As for LSR and LME, they each affect two out of the eight lifestyle dimensions included in the regression.

Table 21, next, reproduces the regression relationships between culture change factors and consumer lifestyles in a simpler yet meaningful manner.

TABLE 21
CULTURE CHANGE FACTORS AND CONSUMER LIFESTYLES
THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Acculturation		Ethnic Identification	
Factor [1]	Relationship to Consumer Lifestyles [2]	Factor [1]	Relationship to Consumer Lifestyles [2]
FIP	→ Market Maven . . > Fashion Consciousness	SIL	→ Leadership and Self-Confidence . . > Generic Products → Fashion Consciousness → Variety Seeking . . > Price Consciousness
FSR	→ Leadership and Self-Confidence → Fashion Consciousness	LIP	→ Market Maven → Leadership and Self-Confidence → Fashion Consciousness → Price Consciousness
FLU	. . > Market Maven	LLU	→ Market Maven → Cooking and Baking . . > Variety Seeking
FCV	. . > Cooking and Baking	LSR	→ Attitude Toward Credit → Variety Seeking
FME	→ Market Maven → Generic Products → Fashion Consciousness → Cooking and Baking	LME	→ Generic Products → Price Consciousness
DFC	→ Leadership and Self-Confidence → Generic Products . . > Fashion Consciousness . . > Attitude Toward Credit → Price Consciousness	LFS	. . > Market Maven . . > Cooking and Baking . . > Price Consciousness
		LCV	. . > Market Maven . . > Leadership and Self-Confidence → Generic Products → Fashion Consciousness → Price Consciousness

([1]) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; SIL= Social Interaction with LE;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; LIP= LE Identification and Pride;
FLU= French Language Use; LLU= Lebanese Language Use;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure;
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure; LFS= LE Family Structure;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture; LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) → = Positive significant relationship;
. . > = Negative significant relationship.

Source: *SPSS output; Table 20a; Table 20b.*

Of the significant regression coefficients tabulated above, it is obvious that DFC is the acculturation factor that carries the most impact (see Table 21). Specifically, DFC positively affects three lifestyle dimensions, namely: 'Leadership and Self-Confidence' (LSC), 'Generic Products' (GEP), and 'Price Consciousness' (PRC). Moreover, the predictor is responsible for two negative coefficients associated with 'Fashion

Consciousness' (FAC) and 'Attitude Toward Credit' (ATC). FLU and FCV emerge as the dimensions associated with the least number of significant coefficients. In fact, the two acculturation predictors appear to negatively impact only one lifestyle dimension each, namely: 'Market Maven' (MAM) and 'Cooking and Baking' (CAB), respectively. On the other hand, the two ethnic identification factors that account for the highest number of significant coefficients—precisely five each—are LCV and SIL. In fact, while the latter positively impacts LSC. FAC, and 'Variety Seeking' (VAS), and negatively impacts GEP and PRC, the former positively affects GEP. FAC. and PRC, and negatively affects MAM and LSC. Meanwhile, the ethnic identification dimensions with the least number of (positive) significant coefficients are LSR (ATC and VAS) and LME (GEP and PRC).

As for the socioeconomic predictors included in the regression on lifestyles (see Table 20c), 'gender', 'status', 'income', and 'school' exhibit both positive and negative significant coefficients across half of the lifestyle dimensions each. Specifically, 'gender' positively affects LSC and GEP while it negatively impacts FAC and CAB. Moreover, it is the predictor which tends to display relatively large *beta* coefficient estimates in absolute value in comparison to the other independent variables in the regression. Marital 'status' positively affects VAS and negatively impacts GEP, ATC, and CAB. Gross household 'income' positively affects FAC and VAS while it negatively impacts GEP and PRC. As for 'school', it positively affects GEP and negatively impacts MAM, FAC, and PRC. Finally 'age' of respondent and household 'size' both exhibit significant coefficients as to two lifestyle dimensions. Specifically, 'age' negatively affects FAC and VAS while 'size' negatively affects FAC and PRC.

The pertinent regression results figuring in this section are further discussed in the following chapter along with some implications relevant to marketers. A complete stepwise regression table grouping Table 20a, Table 20b, and Table 20c can be found under Appendix C.

Now that the final results have been computed, the next chapter is devoted to a thorough discussion of the outputs in order to see whether or not the hypotheses posited early in our exploratory study still hold within the culture change model we have proposed for Lebanese-Canadians.

DISCUSSION

The relationship between cultural change and marketing-related phenomena has drawn considerable attention from researchers and marketers over the last decade. This surge of interest has never been so much felt as in North America and most particularly Canada which is today a multicultural society: a society formed of people from various backgrounds and origins with a wide variety of needs and behaviours. In fact, the aboriginals, who lived in Canada for centuries, are themselves a diversity of cultural groups. So are the new arrivals who added more to this diversity (Secretary of State Canada 1987). The two founding cultures, French and English, still represent the most important markets, but ethnic groups today present marketing challenges and opportunities that cannot be overlooked.

Despite the fact that the development of most measures of ethnic change is "grounded in multiple conceptual domains" (Laroche et al. 1997c:51), measure developers have used to propose summative indices of the phenomena involved in this broad process, namely acculturation and ethnic identity (e.g., Burnam et al. 1987; Cuellar et al. 1980; Deyo et al. 1985; Olmedo and Padilla 1978), thus reflecting a dependence on unidimensional approaches and operationalizations (Felix-Ortiz de la Garza et al. 1995).

The way acculturation and ethnic identity have been approached herein does not reflect unidimensionality. Inspired by recent research undertaken by Laroche et al. (1996a; 1997c; 1998b; 1998c) and the complete review of literature conducted by Tomiuk (1993), we have proposed a culture change model for Lebanese-Canadians quite consistent with

previous studies which have stressed the multidimensional nature of acculturation and ethnic identification and the primacy of language in both constructs for a variety of ethnic groups (e.g., Aboud and Christian 1979; Bergier 1986; Christian et al. 1976; Felix-Ortiz de la Garza et al. 1995; Laroche et al. 1995; Olmedo 1979; Phinney 1990; Valencia 1985).

For Lebanese in Canada—especially in the Province of Quebec where the biggest group resides (see Table 1)—, culture change involves the acquisition of French-Canadian culture traits and the maintenance of culture of origin. Cross-cultural adaptation is thus seen as a more complex multicultural and multidimensional process than the unidimensional 'keep it or lose it' old approach. In fact, given the pluralistic and multicultural character of Canada, it is easy for immigrants to maintain their own ethnic identity and simultaneously develop a strong sense of belonging permanently here (Goldlust and Richmond 1977).

The results analysed earlier in our study are further discussed throughout this chapter along with implications of potential relevance to marketers. First, we take another look at the descriptive statistics gathered in the previous chapter and discuss their representativeness. Next, the culture change model adapted to Lebanese-Canadians is reviewed and improved based on the factor analyses conducted in the previous chapter. Then, findings as to the relationship between culture change and basic food consumption are closely examined. Specifically, the effects of acculturation and ethnic identification on basic foods of French-Canadian and Lebanese origins are studied and implications are drawn. Next, we take a closer look at the lifestyle dimensions retained and the way these are affected by the two culture change constructs and the relevant socioeconomic predictors. Finally, the chapter ends with global analyses in an effort to synthesize the results into a clearer picture.

4.1 - The Lebanese Participants

Keeping in mind that this study is quite exploratory in the sense that it is the first ever with an empirical character to be conducted on Lebanese-Canadians, the basic demographic results yielded in the previous chapter are more or less representative of the Lebanese community based in Montreal. For instance, according to Statistics Canada (1998b), the Lebanese ethnic community in Canada (and Montreal) counts more men than women; we had a close to 40 percent female proportion (see Table 11). Our demographic results are also congruent with statistics collected a few years ago showing that Lebanese immigrants are somewhat younger than the general population and better educated (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). In addition, the participants in our study immigrated into Canada almost twelve years ago on average (see Figure 8), which falls right into the 1975-1990 civil war period during and immediately after which the biggest wave of Lebanese immigration was recorded (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b).

However, the fact that close to half of the subjects are single (50.6 percent) and the largest group is aged 20 to 39 (57.9 percent) is probably due to survey procedures whereby, for instance, personal contacts were used more often than random door-to-door sampling of participants (see Table 8). Moreover, the fact that most Lebanese in our sample have a high household income (see Table 11) whereas official sources assert that "the incomes of immigrants from Lebanon living in Canada are lower than those of people in other groups" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996:1) is perhaps due to our sample encompassing ethnic Lebanese—that is both immigrants and Canadian-born—but mostly because ever since the 1991 Census, on which the report is based, Lebanese newcomers have

had enough time to settle-down and acquire their Canadian citizenship, refugees from the civil war to become landed immigrants, and both to have survived the recession and benefited from the recent revival of the Canadian economy and the higher employment rate that followed. In almost a decade, some Lebanese-Canadians have also had the time to graduate or earn higher degrees thus opening additional doors to financial success.

The effects of culture change and their implications are discussed below in order to support or reject our research hypotheses. First however, we take a close look at the culture change dimensions that emerged from our analyses and the subsequent adjustments our model had to incur.

4.2 - Culture Change Modelled for Lebanese-Canadians

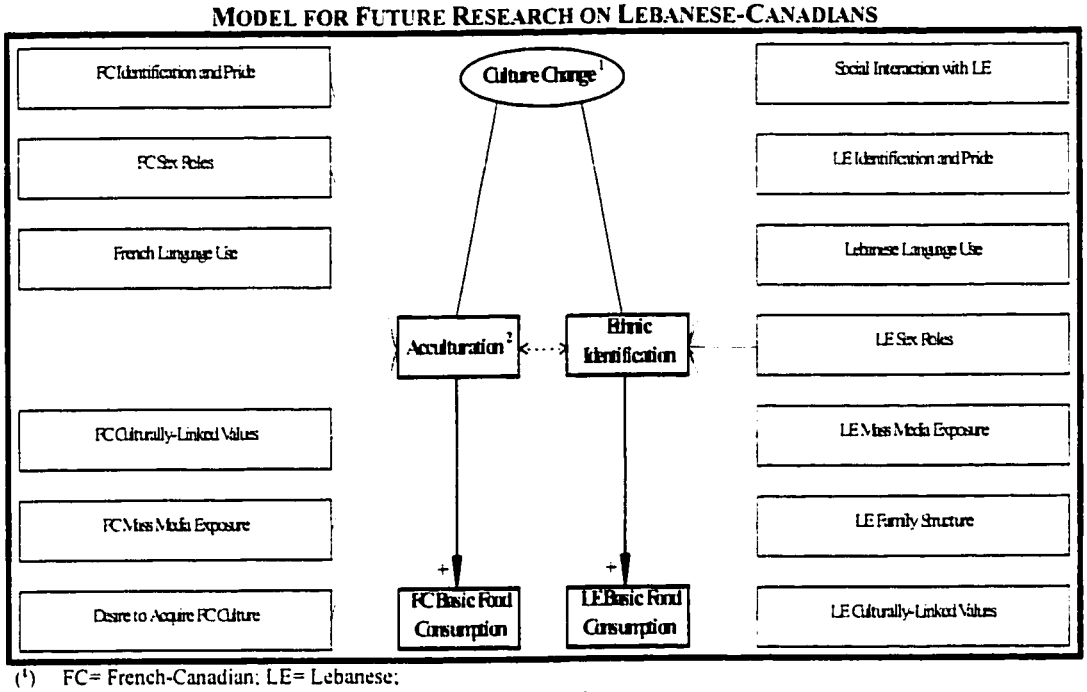
Reminiscent of previous findings in the field (e.g., Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c; 1998b), the results obtained in the third chapter seem to reinforce the notion that both acculturation and ethnic identification are multidimensional and, even though these processes represent distinct yet correlated phenomena involved in a broader process known as culture change, the occurrence of one does not result in equivalent adaptation across dimensions of the other. When one takes a closer look at the coefficients relating culture change (i.e., acculturation and ethnic identification) dimensions to consumption variables, the inadequacy of a unidimensional perspective becomes more evident (see Table 17a and Table 17b). Similarly to Laroche et al. (1998b:143), sometimes coefficients "have signs which are reversed yet these dimensions are supposed to reflect different aspects of the same concept."

This is particularly apparent for 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride' (FIP), 'French Language Use' (FLU), 'French-Canadian Mass Media Exposure' (FME), and 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture' (DFC) on one hand, and 'French-Canadian Sex Roles' (FSR) and 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' (FCV) on the other. In fact, the former group of four acculturation dimensions is, more often than not, significantly associated with positive regression coefficients while the latter two dimensions tend to be involved in a greater number of negative significant relationships (see Table 18). In addition, on the ethnic identification side, 'Social Interaction with Lebanese' (SIL), 'Lebanese Language Use' (LLU), 'Lebanese Sex Roles' (LSR), 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' (LME), and 'Lebanese Family Structure' (LFS) are mostly significantly associated with positive coefficients while 'Lebanese Identification and Pride' (LIP) impacts basic food consumption only negatively and 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values' (LCV) is evenly divided (see Table 19).

In multicultural environments like Canada, a nation in which immigrants and ethnic diversity are a major reality (e.g., Secretary of State Canada 1987), it is necessary to incorporate acculturation with culture maintenance in the conceptualization of ethnic change (e.g., Laroche et al. 1998b; Tomiuk 1993). Based on our review of the extant literature, acculturation coupled with ethnic identification produced an initial model of Lebanese culture change emphasizing the effects on ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic food consumption (see Figure 7). Yet, after collecting and analysing data from a convenience sample of Lebanese Montrealers, some factors had to be removed, renamed, or split in two. The data reduction process yielded six acculturation and seven culture maintenance

dimensions. Hence the improved version of our initial model, which is yet to be tested in future studies involving Lebanese-Canadians and their cultural change; it appears as Figure 9.

FIGURE 9
CULTURE CHANGE AND THE CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS
MODEL FOR FUTURE RESEARCH ON LEBANESE-CANADIANS



([1]) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
([2]) Toward the French-Canadian culture in the Province of Quebec.

The dimensions proposed above appear in descending order of importance for both culture change constructs (see Figure 9); this ranking is based on the factor analyses conducted in the previous chapter (see sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Moreover, our enhanced multicultural model of ethnic change is consistent with rigorous measure development studies which have focused on similar dimensions for a variety of ethnic groups such as Koreans, Greeks, and Italians (e.g., Huhr and Kim 1984; Nagata 1969; Tomiuk 1993). It is reminiscent of previous reports stressing that cross-cultural adaptation is by far more complex than the processes intimated by assimilation and Americanization (e.g., Keefe and

Padilla 1987; Mendoza 1989). It also conceives of ethnic identification as simultaneous "attempts to maintain ties and identify oneself with one's culture of origin" (Laroche et al. 1997c:52); which corroborates previous operationalizations reviewed by Phinney (1990).

Although more testing needs to be conducted to obtain acceptable levels of fit and prove the two facets of ethnic change to be discriminant of each other, one implication of our factor analyses and the improved model these yielded is that the Lebanese-Canadians sampled do reside in at least a two-culture world. In fact, they do adopt the behaviours of the French-Canadian majority and yet somewhat retain aspects of their original culture. Similar conclusions were reached for other ethnic groups such as the Italian-Canadians, although the latter generally acquire English-Canadian culture traits (e.g.. Laroche et al. 1997c; 1998b).

The complexity of the multicultural or bi-level adaptation process our improved model seems to lend credence to is even more striking when the effects on basic food consumption are examined, which is the object of the next section.

4.3 - Consumption of Ethnic Majority and Ethnic Minority Foods

Considering that the two constructs making culture change are each distinct and multidimensional in nature, it is but obvious that the relationships with consumption differ in many ways. Table 22, next, further shows how the acculturation and culture maintenance dimensions along with relevant socioeconomic predictors have differing impacts across basic food items from the two food groups; it reproduces the regression results yielded in Table 17a, Table 17b, and Table 17c in a simplified more intelligible way.

TABLE 22
PREDICTING BASIC FOOD CONSUMPTION
THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Consumption [1]	Independent Variables [1, 2]		
	Acculturation Factors	Ethnic Identification Factors	Socioeconomic Predictors
FC Basic Foods			
1. Wine	FME	SIL, (LIP, LSR)	Gen, siz
2. Sliced bread	FIP, FLU	SIL, LLU, LFS, (LIP)	(Gen, age)
3. Cold cereals	FSR, FLU	SIL	Sch
4. Cheddar	FLU, DFC, (FSR, FCV)	SIL, LLU, LFS, (LIP)	Sta, age, inc, (gen.siz)
5. Regular coffee	FME, (DFC)	LLU, (LIP, LSR)	Age, inc, (sta, siz)
6. Cream cheese	FLU, DFC, (FSR)	SIL, LLU, LFS, (LIP)	(Sch)
7. Meat pie	FIP, DFC	SIL, LSR, LME, (LIP, LCV)	
8. Hamburger steak	FIP, FLU	SIL, LSR, LFS	Sta, inc, sch
9. Sugar pie	FIP, FLU	SIL, LSR	
10. Cabbage salad	FIP, FLU, (FCV, FME)	SIL, LSR, LFS, (LIP)	
11. Club sandwich	FIP, FME	SIL, LSR, LFS	Sta, (age)
12. Smoked meat	FCV, FME, DFC	LLU	Sta
13. *Poutine*	FCV, FME	SIL, LFS	Sta
14. Pea soup		LME	Inc
15. Maple syrup	FLU, DFC, (FSR)	SIL, LFS, (LIP, LSR)	(Siz)
LE Basic Foods [3]			
16. *Arak*	(FCV)	LME, LCV	Gen, sch
17. *Khibiz arabi*	FSR, FLU, (FIP, FCV)	SIL, LLU, LSR, (LIP, LCV)	Gen
18. *Manakish*	FLU, (FSR)	SIL, LLU, LME, (LIP)	
19. *Halloom*	FLU, (FCV)	SIL, LLU, LSR, (LIP)	Inc, (gen)
20. *Ahwi turki*		LLU, LME	Age, (sta, sch)
21. *Labni*	FLU, (FSR, FCV)	SIL, LLU, LFS, (LIP)	(Sta)
22. *Mehchi*	DFC	SIL, LSR, LFS, (LIP)	Inc
23. *Kibbi*	FIP, FLU, (FSR, FCV)	SIL, LSR, (LIP)	Inc
24. *Baklawa*	FLU	SIL, LSR, (LIP)	Gen
25. *Tabbouli*	(FCV)	SIL, (LIP)	Inc, siz
26. *Shish tawuk*	FLU, (FSR)	SIL, LCV, (LIP)	
27. *Shawarma*	FLU	SIL, LLU, LSR, (LIP)	Sta, sch
28. *Humus*	FLU	SIL, LLU, LSR, (LIP)	
29. *Shorbit adas*	FLU, (FCV)	SIL, (LIP)	Inc, (siz)
30. *Ater*	FLU	LME	

([1]) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; SIL= Social Interaction with LE; Gen= gender;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; LIP= LE Identification and Pride; Sta= status;
FLU= French Language Use; LLU= Lebanese Language Use; Age= age;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure; Inc= income;
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure; LFS= LE Family Structure; Siz= size;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture; LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values; Sch= school;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) ( ) = Negative significant regression coefficient;

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output; Table 17a; Table 17b; Table 17c.*

Clearly, for most cases listed above (see Table 22), consumption of basic foods appears as a bicultural phenomenon. In fact, except for pea soup and *ahwi turki*, which are both a function of ethnic identification dimensions and demographics, all basic food items—whether French-Canadian or Lebanese—are influenced by at least one dimension from each culture change construct. In other words, emphasized is the fact that consumption is indeed a function of acquisition of host/dominant culture traits and maintenance of culture of origin (e.g., Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c; 1998b).

As we have mentioned earlier in our study (see section 3.4.1), 'French Language Use' (FLU) is the acculturation factor which significantly impacts the consumption of the largest number of ethnic majority basic foods (see also Table 18). In fact, we can clearly see that the consumption of eight French-Canadian items (sliced bread, cold cereals, cheddar, cream cheese, hamburger steak, sugar pie, cabbage salad, and maple syrup) is positively influenced by the dimension in question. These findings seem to somewhat support past studies which have stressed the primacy of language in the process of acquiring a second culture (e.g., Kim 1977; Olmedo 1979; Phinney 1990), at least as means to facilitate the consumption of its basic foods. For Lebanese-Canadians, speaking French in order to consume French-Canadian basic foods is not a difficult task since most of them are at least bilingual, as we have seen in our literature review (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c). The consumption of eleven Lebanese items is also positively affected by FLU, namely: *khibiz arabi*, *manakish*, *halloom*, *labni*, *kibbi*, *baklawa*, *shish tawuk*, *shawarma*, *humus*, *shorbit adas*, and *ater*. From a personal experience, ordering *manakish* in French over the counter of bakeries in Montreal or in Beirut is not a rare

phenomenon; Lebanon after all was put under French mandate for 25 years (1918-1943) and ties with France have existed since the Crusades (e.g., Hitti 1957; Vallaud 1996). Moreover, the fact that food items from both groups are concerned with FLU stresses one more time the bicultural character of consumption, at least when Lebanese Montrealers are involved.

On the other hand, 'Social Interaction with Lebanese' (SIL) appears again above as the culture maintenance dimension which most often has a significant impact on basic food consumption whether the items came from the Lebanese list or the French-Canadian (see also Table 19). In fact, the consumption of 24 out of thirty basic foods is positively and significantly related to SIL; exactly twelve items from each group. Specifically, wine, sliced bread, cold cereals, cheddar, cream cheese, meat pie, hamburger steak, sugar pie, cabbage salad, club sandwich, *poutine*, and maple syrup are the French-Canadian basic foods affected by SIL. Meanwhile *Khibiz arabi*, *manakish*, *halloom*, *labni*, *mehchi*, *kibbi*, *baklawa*, *tabbouli*, *shish tawuk*, *shawarma*, *humus*, and *shorbit adas* are the items from the Lebanese food group. Again, this supports the bicultural nature of consumption in the case of Lebanese-Canadians. It also somewhat corroborates the importance of interacting with other Lebanese and getting together with them (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a)—this dimension accounted for the largest variance in the exploratory factor analyses run in the previous chapter (see section 3.2.2)—at least when it comes to inducing the consumption of basic foods. In other words, Lebanese-Canadians seem to regard eating more as a social activity than a cultural one. This finding somewhat supports Vallaud (1996) who describes having a meal in Lebanon as a privileged moment spent with family or friends; "*le repas est une fête*," the author adds (p.34).

Still with the consumption results summarized in Table 22, we can clearly see that three French-Canadian items (meat pie, sugar pie, and cabbage salad) and four Lebanese items (*manakish*, *shish tawuk*, *humus*, and *ater*) do not show significant links with any of the six socioeconomic predictors included in the regression. This seems to partially contradict the arguments put forward by Mallen (1973) suggesting that consumption differences between cultural groups may not lie in different ethnic backgrounds but in socioeconomic factors. On the other hand, this study does not demonstrate the more important impact of ethnicity on consumption behaviour. To paraphrase Laroche et al. (1998b), the results yielded only point to the more important impact of aspects of ethnic change rather than such variables as gender, marital status, age, household income, household size, and education.

The rest of this section deals with the relationships with consumption of ethnic majority and ethnic minority basic foods hypothesized in our model (see Figure 7) individually. This will enable us to see whether the two research hypotheses proposed in the first chapter (see section 1.4.4) are supported by the regression results or not.

4.3.1 - French-Canadian Basic Food Consumption. Our first hypothesis was that acculturation, one culture change construct, is positively related to the consumption frequencies of ethnic majority basic foods (see section 1.4.4). Fifteen French-Canadian basic foods appear in Table 22. For each item except pea soup—which is not affected by acculturation at all—, consumption is a positive function of at least one acculturation dimension. In the case of wine, sliced bread, cold cereals, meat pie, hamburger steak, sugar pie, club sandwich, smoked meat, and *poutine*, acculturation dimensions carry only positive

significant impacts. Smoked meat, for instance, accounts for the largest number of positive relationships with acculturation dimensions. Specifically, this consumption variable is affected by 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' (FCV), 'French-Canadian Mass Media Exposure' (FME), and 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture' (DFC). It also appears that single Lebanese respondents eat more smoked meat than married respondents. Wine, for its part, is significantly linked to FME only, among the acculturation dimensions, and 'gender' and 'size'. This could for instance mean that the more Lebanese are exposed to French-Canadian wine advertisements and commercials, the more they will drink it, particularly men with large households. As for the seven other consumption variables (i.e., sliced bread, cold cereals, meat pie, hamburger steak, sugar pie, club sandwich, and *poutine*), these are positively related to two acculturation determinants each (see Table 22).

Yet, in the case of cheddar, regular coffee, cream cheese, cabbage salad, and maple syrup, at least one significant negative relationship with acculturation is also reported. Specifically, while positively related to FLU and DFC, cheddar seems to be negatively affected by 'French-Canadian Sex Roles' (FSR) and FCV. Regular coffee is positively tied to FME but negatively related to DFC. The impact of acculturation on cream cheese is also both positive (FLU and DFC) and negative (FSR). Cabbage salad, for its part, is positively related to acculturation when it comes to 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride' (FIP) and FLU, and exhibits negative coefficients when FCV and FME are concerned. As for maple syrup, it is positively affected by FLU and DFC and negatively by FSR.

One French-Canadian food item seems misplaced here since it is a function of ethnic identification and not acculturation. In fact, according to the regression results summarized

earlier (see Table 22), pea soup is only affected by 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' (LME)—a culture maintenance dimension—and gross household 'income'. The fact that the Lebanese cuisine includes many grain soups made of similar ingredients can be one reason for the positive link with ethnic identification. Moreover, like the traditional *shorbit adas* (i.e., lentil soup), the French-Canadian *soupe aux pois* does not contain milk (e.g., Armstrong 1990; Dontigny 1995). Thus, Lebanese could easily have pea soup instead of lentil soup, while watching the news or listening to the radio on a typical winter day. Yet, the fact that 'income' is the only socioeconomic predictor to impact this French-Canadian food item seems to indicate that the more money they make, the more our Lebanese respondents would eat pea soup. Ironically, this item is not considered an expensive or luxurious product, which makes a positive link with income questionable.

Therefore, our first hypothesis appears to be corroborated by our Lebanese-Canadian respondents when it comes to the consumption of such French-Canadian basic foods as wine, sliced bread, cold cereals, meat pie, hamburger steak, sugar pie, club sandwich, smoked meat, and *poutine*. Partial support can be argued for cheddar, regular coffee, cream cheese, cabbage salad, and maple syrup. Thus, pea soup is the only basic food item in the French-Canadian list not to be affected by acculturation at all.

4.3.2 - Lebanese Basic Food Consumption. Our second hypothesis suggested a positive relationship between ethnic identification, another culture change construct, and the consumption frequencies of ethnic minority basic foods (see section 1.4.4). Fifteen Lebanese basic food items appear in Table 22. In each case, consumption emerged as a positive

function of at least one culture maintenance dimension. As for *arak*, *ahwi turki*, and *ater*, culture maintenance determinants carry positive significant coefficients in every instance. Specifically, *ater* is affected by LME only, *arak* by LME and 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values' (LCV), and *ahwi turki* by LME and 'Lebanese Language Use' (LLU). Interestingly, the consumption of *arak* is negatively affected by the respondents' acquisition of French-Canadian values (FCV). Thus, *arak* seems to emerge as the alcoholic beverage drank by highly-educated Lebanese men who are more conservative when it comes to cultural values (LCV).

Furthermore, for *ahwi turki*, the only significant impact of "ethnically-laden variables," as Laroche et al. (1998b:144) refer to cultural factors, was that of ethnic identity (LLU and LME). In other words, consumption of this product was not related to acculturation. In fact, even though this item is Turkish in origin (see section 1.3.4), Lebanese adults religiously drink it many times a day and first thing in the morning (e.g., Gulick 1971; Tannous 1944; Vallaud 1996) while listening to the radio, watching television, or simply reading the newspaper. It is also taken more often than milk or tea (Tannous 1944). The fact that Turkish coffee is thus an integral part of the Lebanese culture and diet—and perhaps even an aspect of Lebanese identity—is not so surprising since, after all, Ottoman Turks have occupied Lebanon for more than four centuries (e.g., Hitti 1957; Vallaud 1996). In addition, drinking coffee seems a positive function of 'age' and a negative function of 'school' meaning that the older the respondents, the more Turkish coffee they drink. Yet, the higher their education, the more aware they probably are of the health hazards related to regular consumption of strong coffee, therefore the less coffee they drink.

As for the twelve remaining Lebanese basic foods, they are all negatively tied to 'Lebanese Identification and Pride' (LIP) (see Table 22). *Khibiz arabi* is also negatively affected by LCV. In other words, had LIP not been included in the regression, all but one Lebanese item would be positively linked to ethnic identification, therefore corroborating our second hypothesis. Yet, the results seem to indicate that the more Lebanese respondents identify with their roots and are proud of their heritage (LIP), the less they consume their own basic foods or any other food for that matter. One possible explanation could be the fact that Lebanese people do not associate higher pride and patriotism with an increase in food consumption. Puritans could also argue that most of the food items listed as Lebanese are actually of foreign (mostly Turkish) origin and are more considered as junk foods than pure Lebanese basic foods.

Therefore, our second hypothesis appears supported when it comes to the consumption of *arak*, *ahwi turki*, and *ater*. It seems however only partly supported for the following Lebanese basic food items: *khibiz arabi*, *manakish*, *halloom*, *labni*, *mehchi*, *kibbi*, *baklawa*, *tabbouli*, *shish tawuk*, *shawarma*, *humus*, and *shorbit adas*.

The next section further discusses the regression analyses conducted in the previous chapter by closely examining the relationships established between the various lifestyle dimensions that emerged and the ethnically-laden variables and socioeconomic predictors.

4.4 - Lebanese Consumer Lifestyles

Considering the distinct and multidimensional characters of the constructs forming culture change (i.e., acculturation and ethnic identification), it is again predictable that differing relationships with lifestyle dimensions would result. Table 23, below, further facilitates the interpretation of the regression results on lifestyles, yielded in Table 20a, Table 20b, and Table 20c by clearly showing how acculturation and culture maintenance dimensions along with pertinent socioeconomic variables impact consumer lifestyles.

TABLE 23
PREDICTING CONSUMER LIFESTYLES
THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables [1, 2]		
	Acculturation Factors	Ethnic Identification Factors	Socioeconomic Predictors
Lifestyles [3]			
1. MAM	FIP, FME, (FLU)	LIP, LLU, (LFS, LCV)	(Sch)
2. LSC	FSR, DFC	SIL, LIP, (LCV)	Gen
3. GEP	FME, DFC	LME, LCV, (SIL)	Gen, sch, (sta, inc)
4. FAC	FSR, FME, (FIP, DFC)	SIL, LIP, LCV	Inc, (gen, age,siz,sch)
5. ATC	(DFC)	LSR	(Sta)
6. CAB	FME, (FCV)	LLU, (LFS)	(Gen, sta)
7. VAS		SIL, LSR, (LLU)	Sta, inc, (age)
8. PRC	DFC	LIP, LME, LCV, (SIL, LFS)	(Inc, siz, sch)

(1) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; SIL= Social Interaction with LE; Gen= gender;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; LIP= LE Identification and Pride; Sta= status;
FLU= French Language Use; LLU= Lebanese Language Use; Age= age;
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure; Inc= income;
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure; LFS= LE Family Structure; Siz= size;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture; LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values; Sch= school;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

(2) ( ) = Negative significant regression coefficient;

(3) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit;
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking;
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking;
FAC= Fashion Consciousness; PRC= Price Consciousness.

Source: *SPSS output; Table 20a; Table 20b; Table 20c.*

In the previous list (see Table 23), seven out of eight lifestyle factors are affected by at least one acculturation dimension. Moreover, all eight factors are function of at least one

culture maintenance determinant. 'Market Maven' (MAM) is positively influenced by two acculturation factors, namely 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride' (FIP) and 'French-Canadian Mass Media Exposure' (FME), and two ethnic identification dimensions namely 'Lebanese Identification and Pride' (LIP) and 'Lebanese Language Use' (LLU). In addition, MAM is negatively tied with 'French Language Use' (FLU) and two culture maintenance dimensions, namely 'Lebanese Family Structure' (LFS) and 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Value' (LCV). It also seems that the higher their education level, the less Lebanese respondents are market mavens.

'Leadership and Self-Confidence' (LSC) is positively related to 'French-Canadian Sex Roles' (FSR) and 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture' (DFC) on the acculturation side, and to 'Social Interaction with Lebanese' (SIL) and LIP on the ethnic identification side. Also, LSC is negatively linked to LCV and 'gender' displays a positive impact. This can possibly mean that whether they acculturate—by increasingly adopting French-Canadian attitude toward sex roles and by desiring to do so—, identify with their roots—through social interaction with other community members and pride—, or do both, Lebanese-Canadians sampled will always experience increasing levels of leadership, independence, and self-confidence, especially the men. Yet, one factor seems to go against this logic. It in fact appears that stronger (religious) values (LCV) are associated with a decrease in LSC, which is debatable.

'Generic Products' (GEP) emerges here as another lifestyle dimension that is common to both French-Canadian and Lebanese cultures. In fact, regression outputs summarized in Table 23 seem to indicate that higher levels of acculturation with the

host/dominant group (FME and DFC) are associated with higher tolerance of generic goods versus advertised brands. Moreover, it seems that the more there is 'Lebanese Mass Media Exposure' (LME) and the more respondents abide by their (religious) values (LCV), the better their attitude toward generics on the market. Yet, social interaction with other Lebanese seems to have negative effects on their perception of generic products. Interestingly however, the higher the household income, the less attractive generics seem, and the more educated the respondents are, especially men, the more they realize that after all, you are only paying more for the brand name, which sounds logical.

'Fashion Consciousness' (FAC) is positively and negatively related to acculturation, yet only positively affected by culture maintenance dimensions. It therefore seems that the more our subjects identify with their roots (LIP), the more they enter in contact with other members of their community (SIL), and the more their values are ethnically-linked (LCV), the more fashion conscious they are. Owning outfits that are of the latest style and keeping up with European fashion trends appears to be ingrained in Lebanese (e.g., Gulick 1971). Yet, as we know, the more up-to-date the outfits are, the higher these climb on the price scale; hence the positive link with gross household 'income'. Gulick (1971) adds that fashion consciousness is even more pronounced among younger people; this is supported by the negative relationship with 'age'. Even more logical is the tendency for women to be more fashion-oriented than men, which is also supported by the negative impact 'gender' exhibits.

The negative coefficient which relates 'Attitude Toward Credit' (ATC) to DFC (see Table 23) implies that as Lebanese become more acculturated, they tend to pay cash less and use credit cards instead, which seems logical. In fact, in the traditional Lebanese culture,

buying anything on credit is still thought of as unwise whereas in North America, it is common practice. This is further reinforced by the positive coefficient obtained for ethnic identification ('Lebanese Sex Roles' or LSR). Moreover, compared to married respondents, single respondents seem more in favour of buying things on credit.

'Cooking and Baking' (CAB), for its part, is both positively (FME) and negatively ('French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values' or FCV) related to acculturation. Likewise, the lifestyle dimension is positively and negatively linked to ethnic identification through LLU and LFS, respectively. This seems to imply that the more the respondents are exposed to the French-Canadian media, the more they will enjoy cooking and baking. This is somewhat consistent with the fact that French-Canadians in general are more oriented toward the kitchen than others (e.g., Lahaie 1990; Léger 1995; Mallen 1973). However, we can also deduce that the more exposed to the dominant group's values (mainly the religious liberalism), the less kitchen-oriented they are. One plausible explanation could be that ever since the 1960's and the so-called '*révolution tranquille*', religion does not play a crucial role in the daily life of Quebeckers and with the emancipation of women, kitchens are nowadays less busy. Yet, Lebanese have maintained their attachment to homemade cooking and the kitchen (e.g., Fakhouri 1989) hence the positive coefficient obtained for LLU. The effects of the socioeconomic variables are more easily interpreted. In fact, both 'gender' and marital 'status' exhibit negative coefficients. This simply means that Lebanese women cook and bake significantly more than men, which corroborates past research (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Gulick 1971). Moreover, compared to married Lebanese, single respondents seem less prompt to cooking and baking probably because it is cheap and easier to eat out or order in.

'Variety Seeking' (VAS) appears to be significantly linked only with ethnic identification. This perhaps points to the attraction toward variety and the continual need for change felt by the immigrant Lebanese which is grounded in his or her ancestral roots; after all, Lebanese are the descendants of the Phoenician merchants and explorers (e.g., Durant 1949; Harden 1963; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987c; Sarkis 1980; 1994; Vallaud 1996). Hence the positive links with SIL and LSR. This love of change and variety seems also to be further supported by the possible use of language other than Lebanese, hence the negative coefficient obtained for LLU. Moreover, the older the Lebanese sampled are, the less variety and unfamiliar experience they seek. Conversely, the richer they are, the more variety they can afford. These latter two findings as to socioeconomic predictors seem quite logical.

Finally, 'Price Consciousness' (PRC) seems to be positively affected by acculturation (DFC) and by three culture maintenance dimensions (LIP, LME, and LCV). This lifestyle can therefore be regarded as common to both French-Canadian and Lebanese cultures. In other words, higher propensity toward the acquisition of French-Canadian culture (DFC) is associated with more bargain hunting. Also, the more they identify with and are proud of their roots (LIP), the more they are exposed to Lebanese media (LME), and the more their (mostly religious) values are in accordance with their traditional culture (LCV), the more time they will spend shopping around for 'specials'. Yet, two culture maintenance dimensions (SIL and LFS) seem to contradict this finding, thus creating some confusion. Nevertheless, the more money they make and the more educated they are, the less Lebanese respondents shop around for bargains, which seems logical.

In order to clarify the results, the acculturation and ethnic identification factors along with the consumption variables are further analysed and regrouped into superfactors and consumption factors in the next section.

4.5 - Global Analyses

The results of the previous regressions did not provide us with a clear pattern from which we could confirm or reject our two hypotheses. In an effort to have a clearer picture, we therefore decided to further reduce the data by submitting the acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions to another factor analysis using *principal component* extraction and *oblimin* rotation. After item purification, the analysis yielded two aggregate factors or superfactors—each reflecting one of the culture change constructs (i.e., acculturation and ethnic identification)—that explained 60.3 percent of the total variance in the data. These two superfactors were labelled 'Acculturation Toward French-Canadian Culture' and 'Lebanese Ethnic Identification'.

Similarly, the food consumption variables were submitted to a factor analysis and, after removing the four beverages included in the food list (i.e., wine, *arak*, regular coffee, and *ahwi turki*), which had low reliabilities, a three-factor structure was reached accounting for 61.9 percent of the total variance. The three factors reflect the following underlying aggregate food categories: 'French-Canadian Foods', 'Lebanese Foods', and 'International Foods'.

The results of the two factor analyses along with the factor loadings and the *Cronbach alpha* coefficients are presented in Table 24, next.

TABLE 24
CULTURE CHANGE SUPERFACTORS AND CONSUMPTION FACTORS
FACTOR ANALYSIS

Superfactor/ Factor [1]	Dimensions [1]	Factor Loading	Cronbach Alpha
Acculturation Toward FC Culture			**0.87**
	FC Identification and Pride	.889	
	FC Mass Media Exposure	.859	
	FC Culturally-Linked Values	.820	
	French Language Use	.801	
LE Ethnic Identification			**0.84**
	LE Sex Roles	.786	
	LE Mass Media Exposure	.784	
	Lebanese Language Use	.765	
	Social Interaction with LE	.762	
	LE Culturally-Linked Values	.748	
	LE Identification and Pride	.551	
	LE Family Structure	.550	
FC Foods			**0.76**
	Smoked meat	.808	
	Poutine	.697	
	Sugar pie	.501	
	Maple syrup	.457	
	Pea soup	.388	
LE Foods [2]			**0.93**
	Shorbit adas	.747	
	Mehchi	.746	
	Tabbouli	.743	
	Khibiz arabi	.725	
	Ater	.709	
	Baklawa	.698	
	Kibbi	.693	
	Manakish	.674	
	Humus	.670	
	Shish tawuk	.634	
	Labni	.617	
	Shawarma	.603	
	Halloom	.596	
IN Foods			**0.89**
	Sliced bread	-.851	
	Cabbage salad	-.748	
	Cream cheese	-.733	
	Cheddar	-.732	
	Cold cereals	-.666	
	Hamburger steak	-.594	
	Meat pie	-.475	
	Club sandwich	-.419	

([1]) FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; IN= International;
([2]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

The final groupings of the acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions into two superfactors and the consumption variables into three food categories (see Table 24) appear satisfactory. Factor loadings are high enough and all reliability coefficients are above 0.70 (e.g., Robinson et al. 1991) ranging from 0.76 to 0.93.

Unweighted mean scores were then computed for each of the emerging consumption factors and culture change superfactors in order to have a proper index for each construct. Next, regression analyses were run with these new factors and the same socioeconomic predictors used previously (see section 3.4). As for the variables measuring consumption of wine, *arak*, regular coffee, and *ahwi turki*, these were treated individually as dependent variables. Table 25 presents the results of the stepwise regression analyses for these four variables and the three consumption factors at the 0.05 significance level; standardized regression coefficients are reported to help evaluate the relative weight of the predictors.

TABLE 25
CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS SUPERFACTORS AND SOCIOECONOMIC PREDICTORS

Consumption [1]	Standardized Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]								*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	AFCC	LEEI	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
FCF	.40(5.88)[a]	.22(3.13)[a]	NS	.26(3.57)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.53[a]	0.242
LEF	NS	.52(7.52)[a]	NS	.15(2.18)[b]	NS	.25(3.65)[a]	NS	NS	26.25[a]	0.315
INF	.47(7.75)[a]	.48(8.10)[a]	NS	.19(3.14)[a]	NS	.16(2.55)[a]	NS	NS	40.60[a]	0.49
Beverages [3]										
Wine	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.18(2.41)[a]	5.80[b]	.028
Arak	NS	.24(3.38)[a]	.36(5.06)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	21.31[a]	.197
Regular coffee	NS	NS	-.18(-2.40)[a]	NS	.33(4.55)[a]	NS	NS	.24(3.24)[a]	9.70[a]	.137
Ahwi turki	NS	.32(5.01)[a]	NS	-.16(-2.24)[b]	.30(4.04)[a]	NS	NS	-.20(-3.36)[a]	39.85[a]	.485

([1]) AFCC= Acculturation Toward FC Culture; FCF= FC Foods;
LEF= LE Foods;
LEEI= LE Ethnic Identification; INF= IN Foods;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; IN= International;
NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;

([3]) For a translation of the Lebanese items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

As we can see above (see Table 25), reported *F*-statistics are significant at the 0.01 level except for one beverage item (wine). Adjusted R^2s are mostly high enough (e.g., 'International Foods' or INF and *ahwi turki*) and low only in the case of wine and regular coffee. On the culture change side, the 'Acculturation Toward French-Canadian Culture' (AFCC) superfactor positively and significantly affects 'French-Canadian Foods' (FCF) and INF. Meanwhile, the 'Lebanese Ethnic Identification' (LEEI) superfactor positively impacts 'Lebanese Foods' (LEF), FCF, INF, and the two Lebanese beverages (*arak* and *ahwi turki*). As for the socioeconomic predictors, marital 'status' seems responsible for the most significant impact (FCF, LEF, INF, and *ahwi turki*) while household 'size' carries only non-significant coefficients.

Likewise, regression analyses were run on the lifestyle factors using culture change superfactors and demographics as independent variables; the results follow in Table 26.

TABLE 26
LIFESTYLES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS SUPERFACTORS AND SOCIOECONOMIC PREDICTORS

Dependent Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]								*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	AFCC	LEEI	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
Lifestyles [3]										
LSC	.20(2.83)[a]	NS	.44(6.21)[a]	NS	-.13(-1.82)[b]	NS	NS	NS	15.42[a]	.208
GEP	.43(5.49)[a]	.14(1.88)[b]	.19(2.58)[a]	-.26(-3.27)[a]	NS	-.23(-2.90)[a]	NS	NS	8.42[a]	.183
FAC	NS	.32(4.47)[a]	-.33(-4.95)[a]	NS	-.42(-5.80)[a]	.12(1.68)[b]	-.19(-2.83)[a]	NS	14.09[a]	.284
ATC	-.19(-2.45)[a]	NS	NS	NS	.19(2.53)[a]	NS	NS	NS	7.57[a]	.074
CAB	NS	NS	-.48(-7.37)[a]	-.21(-3.24)[a]	NS	NS	NS	NS	35.59[a]	.295
VAS	NS	.21(2.73)[a]	NS	.25(2.59)[a]	-.21(-2.16)[b]	.18(2.41)[a]	NS	NS	7.35[a]	.133
PRC	.21(2.73)[a]	.32(4.04)[a]	NS	NS	NS	-.21(-2.73)[a]	-.12(-1.69)[b]	-.15(-1.96)[b]	7.21[a]	.158

([1]) AFCC= Acculturation Toward FC Culture; LEEI= LE Ethnic Identification;
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese;
NS= Non-significant coefficient; N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents;

([2]) One-way significance at: ([a]) $p < .01$;
([b]) $p < .05$;

([3]) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit;
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking;
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking;
FAC= Fashion Consciousness; PRC= Price Consciousness.

Source: *SPSS output.*

In the previous table (see Table 26), we can see that all the reported *F*-statistics are significant at the 0.01 level. Adjusted R^2s seem fairly high (e.g., 'Fashion Consciousness' or FAC and 'Cooking and Baking') and low only when it comes to 'Attitude Toward Credit' (ATC), 'Variety Seeking' (VAS), and perhaps 'Price Consciousness' (PRC). On the culture change side, the AFCC superfactor is positively and significantly tied to 'Leadership and Self-Confidence', 'Generic Products' (GEP), and PRC, and negatively linked to ATC. Meanwhile, LEEI carries positive coefficients only (GEP, FAC, VAS, and PRC). At the 0.05 level of significance, there are no standardized regression coefficients linking 'Market Maven' to any of the independent variables. As for the socioeconomic predictors included in the regression on lifestyles, household 'size' and 'school' exhibit the least number of significant coefficients.

CONCLUSION

> "*Without consumer goods, modern, developed societies would lose key instruments for the reproduction, representation, and manipulation of their culture*"
>
> (McCracken 1988:xi)

Culture exerts a significant influence on the way individuals behave as consumers. Unfortunately, researchers in the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, and consumer behaviour have been hesitant to show an interest in examining the cultural aspects of consumption or the importance of consumption to culture. As Wells and Prensky (1996b) remind us, culture provides guidelines for consumers to use in deciding how to think, feel, and act. Because it permeates our daily lives, its profound effects go on usually unnoticed (Daghfous and d'Astous 1991). We are thus, on the whole, unconscious of our culture since it is ingrained so that "most of our routine behaviours are done unthinkingly, simply because that's how they are done" (Fieldhouse 1995:2). The author goes on to say that "we internalize cultural traditions so that they become an inseparable part of our self-identity, and few of us realize to what extent we are creatures of the cultural traditions in which we were raised" (p.2).

Yet, culture is not static; it evolves slowly over time (Berkman et al. 1997a; Fieldhouse 1995; Tse, Belk, and Zhou 1989). In fact, culture preserves traditions and values but also "builds in mechanisms for change" (Fieldhouse 1995:2). Food habits are part of this dynamic process in that whereas they are basically stable and predictable, they are

paradoxically undergoing constant and continuous change. Change takes place over time and generations because of evolution in ecological and socioeconomic environments "leading to altered availability, discovery or innovation of foods, and diffusion or borrowing of food habits from others" (Fieldhouse 1995:2). Rao (1986) coins the term 'gastrodynamics' to refer to such changing dietary styles and food behaviour.

Notwithstanding this, every culture resists change; food habits, though far from fixed, are also far from easy to change (e.g., Fieldhouse 1995; Hirschman 1985). They are usually acquired early in life through socialization—that is, the process by which cultural norms and values are passed on from one generation to the next—and, once established, are likely to be stable and long-lasting (Fieldhouse 1995). In a comparison of ethnic Swiss living in Switzerland and Brazil, Uhle and Grivetti (1993) demonstrate how food often contributes to creating ethnic unity in culturally isolated population groups, to the extent that common ethnic food practices can still be seen after a century of geographic and cultural removal from the homeland.

Rather than using the outdated American 'melting pot' approach whereby newcomers to a foreign culture learn to adapt to their new environment and progressively abandon their traditional ways, this study viewed the culture change process as multicultural and multidimensional encouraging the simultaneous maintenance of ethnic ties while acquiring new cultural traits. This is of paramount importance in the context of Canada, a nation in which immigrants and ethnic diversity are a major reality and an issue of serious concern (e.g., Lambert and Taylor 1990; Porter 1965; Secretary of State Canada 1987). Thereby, it was more appropriate to define Lebanese cultural change in the Province of

Quebec as acculturation toward the dominant French-Canadian culture with a Lebanese ethnic identification rather than assimilation.

Seven conceptual dimensions were consequently posited for each of the two culture change constructs in a model designed for Lebanese-Canadians (see Figure 7). We also hypothesized a positive relationship between acculturation toward the majority culture and the consumption frequencies of its basic foods. Our second hypothesis suggested a positive relationship between ethnic identification and the consumption frequencies of ethnic minority basic foods.

Major Contributions of Study

Although a convenience sample limited to 166 people residing in Montreal was used to test and validate the theoretical predictions, this study is first in its kind to combine acculturation, ethnic identification, and basic food consumption while introducing an ethno-cultural group neglected in the literature despite more than a century of presence in Canada: the Lebanese. Constituting a major subculture in the country today (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998b), Lebanese-Canadians are on their way to attaining what Ramirez (1989:20) calls an "institutional completeness." In order to properly grasp the major characteristics of Canada's cultural markets, marketers must understand basic facts about such important ethnic groups in Canadian society (adapted from Kindra et al. 1989).

In accordance with the few reliable statistics available, our demographic results portrayed Lebanese respondents as mostly men, somewhat younger than the general

population, and better educated (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Statistics Canada 1998b). In addition, the results seemed to support the official charts locating the biggest wave of Lebanese immigration to Canada during and immediately after the 1975-1990 period marked by political turmoil in the Middle East and the Lebanese civil war (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987b). However, the fact that most Lebanese in the sample declared a high household income contradicts immigration statistics gathered in the early 1990's (e.g., Citizenship and Immigration Canada 1996). It seems that in almost a decade, these immigrants have had the time to settle-down, earn higher degrees, and benefit from the recent revival of the local economy. This study thus paves the way for a variety of future conceptual and empirical research potentially capable of yielding a more precise understanding of culture change and finding additional idiosyncrasies among Lebanese-Canadian consumers that would benefit marketers.

Exploratory factor analyses were conducted on responses to various items designed to tap acquisition of French-Canadian culture and Lebanese culture maintenance. These analyses revealed that acculturation and ethnic identification are indeed multidimensional constructs (e.g., Giles et al. 1976; Laroche et al. 1998b; Phinney 1990; Richmond 1974; Tomiuk 1993). Specifically, six acquisition of French-Canadian culture dimensions emerged: 'French-Canadian Identification and Pride', 'French-Canadian Sex Roles', 'French Language Use', 'French-Canadian Culturally-Linked Values', 'French-Canadian Mass Media Exposure', and 'Desire to Acquire French-Canadian Culture'. Seven Lebanese culture maintenance dimensions were also identified: 'Social Interaction with Lebanese', 'Lebanese Identification and Pride', 'Lebanese Language Use', 'Lebanese Sex Roles', 'Lebanese Mass

Media Exposure', 'Lebanese Family Structure', and 'Lebanese Culturally-Linked Values'. These results further hint to take a multidimensional perspective on acculturation and ethnic identity in marketing studies and regard these two phenomena as separate yet intimately related aspects of culture change.

Our initial model was thus enhanced for future research on culture change involving Lebanese-Canadians (see Figure 9); it is consistent with rigorous measure development studies which have focused on similar dimensions for a variety of other ethnic groups (e.g., Caetano 1987; Laroche et al. 1996b; Nagata 1969; Tomiuk 1993). Our multicultural model also supports previous research stressing that cross-cultural adaptation is by far more complex than the processes intimated by assimilation and Americanization (e.g., Keefe and Padilla 1987; Laroche et al. 1996a; 1997c; 1998b; Mendoza 1989; Mendoza and Martinez 1981). Although further testing needs to be conducted, there was additional evidence that Lebanese Montrealers reside in at least a two-culture world. In fact, they seem to acquire French-Canadian characteristics and yet maintain ties with their culture of origin. This study therefore challenges the notion that assimilation is occurring among Lebanese-Canadians of Montreal by partly lending credence to a multicultural or bi-level adaptation process for this ethnic community (adapted from Laroche et al. 1997c).

The results computed throughout the empirical portion of this study suggest that acculturation and ethnic identity are involved in a complex ethnic change phenomenon. This complexity partly rests on the way its aspects impact basic food consumption. In fact, differential consumption patterns were reported (see Appendix B) implying that acculturation and ethnic identification are indeed related to consumption. In other words, "consumption

is culturally bound" (Laroche et al. 1997c:52). In our study, consumption also surfaces as a bicultural phenomenon, at least when it comes to the array of products included in the survey. In fact, out of the 30 French-Canadian and Lebanese basic foods in the questionnaire (see Appendix A), 28 items seemed to be influenced by one dimension or more from each culture change construct. In other words, marketers should sometimes consider consumption as a function of acquisition of host/dominant culture traits and maintenance of culture of origin.

Moreover, 'French Language Use' appeared as the acculturation factor which positively and significantly impacts the consumption of the largest number of ethnic majority basic foods, thus partly corroborating previous studies stressing the importance of language in the process of acquiring a second culture (e.g., Kim 1977; Olmedo 1979; Phinney 1990). On the other hand, 'Social Interaction with Lebanese' not only emerged as the culture maintenance factor that positively and significantly affects the largest number of ethnic minority basic foods, but also as the ethnically-laden variable responsible for the largest number of significant impacts on product consumption as a whole. This finding gives credence to works stressing the importance to Lebanese of interacting with other members of their community and participating in their associations (e.g., Fakhouri 1989; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987a), at least in order to consume basic foods.

Looking at the individual impact of each of the six final acculturation dimensions, the hypothesized positive relationship with the consumption frequencies of ethnic majority basic foods seemed overall partly confirmed. In fact, it was corroborated by Lebanese-Canadian respondents for such French-Canadian food items as wine, sliced bread, cold

cereals, meat pie, hamburger steak, sugar pie, club sandwich, smoked meat, and *poutine*. Both positive and negative relationships were reported for cheddar, regular coffee, cream cheese, cabbage salad, and maple syrup. Marketers therefore ought to consider the latter more as international foods today, or at least North American, but not purely traditional French-Canadian items. Pea soup, for its part, was not affected by acculturation at all; one possible reason is its similarity to Lebanese lentil soup.

As for the positive relationship hypothesized between ethnic identification—measured by seven dimensions—and the consumption frequencies of ethnic minority basic foods, it also appeared partly supported overall. In fact, the second hypothesis was corroborated for consumption of *arak*, *ahwi turki*, and *ater*. The remaining Lebanese food items only lent their partial support; these are: *khibiz arabi*, *manakish*, *halloom*, *labni*, *mehchi*, *kibbi*, *baklawa*, *tabbouli*, *shish tawuk*, *shawarma*, *humus*, and *shorbit adas*. Marketers therefore should regard the former group as deeply rooted in Lebanese culture and the latter items more as Mediterranean and Middle Eastern foods and fast foods that are nowadays within everybody's reach, ethnic minorities and Quebeckers alike, especially in Montreal. In fact, despite trends toward greater homogeneity of food supply, there are also signs of increasing interest in and acceptance of ethnic foods (Fieldhouse 1995). According to the author, the "tremendous mix of ethnic and cultural groups each with its own particular foodways" (p.10) accompanied by a growing interest in cultural heritage and self-identity has boosted the popularity of ethnic foods, some of which have become North American staples. Thus, Canadians nowadays are becoming interested in Lebanese cuisine (Fakhouri 1989) and, as an example, often make *tabbouli* and *humus* at home (Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e).

When regrouped into superfactors (see section 4.5), the effects on consumption factors of acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions were relatively easier to interpret. The results seemed to support both hypotheses in that acculturation—represented by the 'Acculturation Toward French-Canadian Culture' (AFCC) superfactor—was positively related to the consumption frequencies of French-Canadian basic foods—captured by the 'French-Canadian Foods' factor. In addition, ethnic identification—represented by 'Lebanese Ethnic Identification' (LEEI)—was positively related to the consumption frequencies of Lebanese basic foods—captured by 'Lebanese Foods'. Moreover, at this aggregate level, AFCC positively affected the third consumption factor, namely 'International Foods', which happens to encompass items initially included in the French-Canadian basic food list (see Table 3). On the other hand, LEEI positively impacted the consumption of *arak* and *ahwi turki*, the two Lebanese beverages previously categorized as Lebanese basic foods (see Table 3). Interestingly, LEEI was also positively linked to 'French-Canadian Foods', but with half the impact of AFCC.

Eight consumer lifestyle factors emerged from the regression using the six acculturation and seven culture maintenance dimensions as independent variables; these are: 'Market Maven' (MAM), 'Leadership and Self-Confidence' (LSC), 'Generic Products' (GEP), 'Fashion Consciousness' (FAC), 'Attitude Toward Credit' (ATC), 'Cooking and Baking' (CAB), 'Variety Seeking' (VAS), and 'Price Consciousness' (PRC). As expected, differing relationships with culture change resulted (see Appendix C). Specifically, MAM and CAB emerged as bicultural with positive and negative relationships with acculturation and ethnic identification determinants. LSC, GEP, and PRC were

positively related to acculturation suggesting to marketers that the more Lebanese respondents acquire French-Canadian traits, the stronger their leadership and self-confidence as individuals and consumers, the higher their tolerance of generic goods versus advertised brands, and the more time they are willing to spend hunting for bargains. The latter three lifestyle dimensions were also bicultural. As for FAC and ATC, the positive links with ethnicity seemed to imply that the more the respondents identify with their Lebanese roots, the more they keep up with fashion trends and the higher their tendency to pay cash rather than use credit cards. In fact, the Lebanese culture traditionally associates credit with risk and fashion consciousness is quite typical of Lebanese consumers (e.g., Gulick 1971). Finally, VAS was only related (positively and negatively) to ethnic identification and demographics.

When the acculturation and ethnic identification dimensions were reduced to two superfactors (see section 4.5), LSC, GEP, and PRC were positively related to acculturation, represented this time by the AFCC superfactor. FAC was positively linked to ethnic identification, represented by LEEI, and ATC revealed a negative relationship with AFCC suggesting that the more our Lebanese respondents acquire French-Canadian culture traits, the less reluctant they are to buy on credit. As for MAM and VAS, the latter was related to ethnicity and demographics while the former did not show any significant coefficient.

Limitations and Future Research

Marketing to ethnic groups like the Lebanese-Canadians is not an easy task and much still needs to be learned about this subculture. In its attempt to redress the imbalance due to the lack of documentation on Lebanese and their consumer behaviour and lifestyles in

Canada, this volume provides a well researched preliminary investigation for both the general and student reader. However, as for all forerunner essays, some flaws and gaps were inevitable. Our study relied on data gathered from a convenience sample of 166 Lebanese respondents residing in the Montreal Metropolitan Area. In fact, because of time limits, most participants were reached through personal contacts rather than using randomized survey procedures (see Table 8). Nonprobability sampling can have a serious impact on the quality of statistical inferences (Johnson and Wichern 1992) thus threatening the study's internal validity (e.g., close to half of the subjects being single and the other half married). The results of our investigation may therefore not generalize across other settings or populations (e.g., Lebanese-Canadians living outside Montreal). Further research with Lebanese-Canadians will have to address the problem of sample representativeness by perhaps relying more on random door-to-door data collection despite the costs and numerous difficulties associated with such a technique. Ultimately, a more homogeneous segment would be targeted with respect to such criteria as age and marital status, among others.

Ethnic identity when coupled with acculturation produced a multidimensional model of culture change (see Figure 7) which was later improved using factor analysis (see Figure 9). Nevertheless, as Laroche et al. (1998b) remind us, these two constructs should represent correlated yet distinct phenomena. Although there was some evidence of ethnic minorities going through a multicultural or bi-level adaptation process—at least in the case of Lebanese-Canadians living in Montreal—"a more rigorous examination of the relationship between ethnic identity and acculturation rests in an assessment of the discriminant validity of one construct *vis-à-vis* the other" (Laroche et al. 1998b:138). To be more specific, future

research involving Lebanese-Canadian ethnic change should seek to generate acceptable levels of fit through confirmatory factor analysis of the model proposed and test whether the correlations between the acculturation and ethnic identification final dimensions are significantly different from unity (±1) therefore constituting separate constructs (Bagozzi, Yi, and Phillips 1991; Widaman 1985).

Moreover, missing in our study is the possibility of increased identification with the culture of origin; a problem raised in the past by researchers like Hansen (1937) and Ramirez (1989). Lebanese-Canadians—especially the generations born in Canada—might experience an identity crisis and feel uncomfortable at being just Canadians. The heterogeneity of this country, coupled with the political instability that results from the many constitutional debates that take place, might not provide an adequate structure for a stable or secure identity. Therefore, second generations could be simply going back to a form of pluralism whereby ethnic boundaries are reinstated and ethnic identities reestablished. Referring to the majority of Italians who participated in the first wave of emigration, Ramirez (1989:16) for example points out that "acquisition of a national sentiment was a process that occurred not in Italy but in Canada." A more elaborate model of Lebanese-Canadian culture change should be developed in future studies to take into account the possibility of increased identification with the traditional culture and explore other plausible relationships among the different constructs. Time, generation, and other potentially significant intervening variables could be somehow incorporated into the model in order to test for "length of time in a host culture" (Laroche et al. 1998b:145) and its effects on acculturation and ethnic identification.

Another major limitation resides within the design of the measuring device itself. Due to the lack of research articles dealing with Lebanese-Canadian culture change and consumer behaviour, we had to adapt existing measures and scales primarily developed for use with Italian-Canadians (e.g., Laroche et al. 1998b; Tomiuk 1993). Despite the numerous similarities between the Italian and Lebanese cultures, questions designed to tap the different dimensions assessing acculturation and ethnic identification could be improved to take into account other religious denominations (e.g., Muslims) and more peculiarities unique to Lebanese. Moreover, it seems that the term 'Lebanese-Canadian' should be avoided in future measures of Lebanese ethnic identification because it has some acculturation connotation that might be altering results. By using 'Lebanese' only instead, a lot of pertinent items that were removed during data reduction and factor analysis (e.g., 'My spouse considers himself/herself to be Lebanese-Canadian') could be recuperated. Eventually, Arabic questionnaires should also be made available; this would allow researchers to take into account 'language of returned questionnaire' (e.g., use of Italian and English forms in Laroche et al. 1998b).

It has been argued that consumption differences between subcultures may not lie in different ethnic backgrounds but in socioeconomic predictors (e.g., Mallen 1973). Looking at the consumption frequencies of an array of French-Canadian and Lebanese basic foods (see Appendix B), it is obvious that this study did not demonstrate the more important impact of ethnicity nor the more significant effect of demographics on consumption behaviour. It only emphasized the more important impact of aspects of culture change rather than such variables as gender, age, marital status, household income, education, and household size. Further research should address the issue more properly by directly

comparing the effects of ethnic change on consumption with those of socioeconomic variables instead of just including the latter in the analysis.

More generally, with a six-dimensional measure of acculturation and a seven-dimensional measure of ethnic identification, it seems that no clear pattern emerged which would lead to the deduction or formulation of a fundamental tenet pertaining to the impact of culture change on basic food consumption. Similar conclusions were reached by Laroche et al. (1997c; 1998b) who point out that the question still remains as to what underlies the relation between ethnically-laden variables and consumption. The answer might partly rest within product attribute evaluation (Faber et al. 1987) and "the congruence of that evaluation with one's level of ethnic identity and/or acculturation" (Laroche et al. 1998b:145). Similarly to Laroche et al. (1997c), aspects of both culture change constructs appeared to be confounded within particular basic foods. For instance, *tabbouli* is Lebanese. However, with the growing popularity of ethnic (and healthy) foods, some of which have become North American staples (Fieldhouse 1995; Jabbra and Jabbra 1987e), this salad seems less Lebanese at that point. To paraphrase Laroche et al. (1998b), marketers must look at a product and try to determine whether that product and its various attributes are congruent with ethnic minority consumption patterns or whether they are a hybrid of such patterns (e.g., 'International Foods') or whether they are completely foreign to such patterns.

In conclusion, the influence of culture resembles the air we breathe; it is everywhere and is generally taken for granted unless there is a fairly rapid change in its nature. When it comes to consumer behaviour and consumption, it could have the soothing effect of a cool

summer breeze or the devastating impact of a tornado. As McCracken (1988:xi) puts it so well in his book, "culture and consumption have an unprecedented relationship in the modern world[;] no other time or place has seen these elements enter into a relationship of such intense mutuality[;] never has the relationship between them been so deeply complicated." Marketing managers must therefore understand both the existing cultural values and the emerging cultural values of the societies they serve. Canadian society has often been described as a 'mosaic' or a 'salad bowl' in which cultural groups cohabit in harmony and where government policies are aimed at encouraging cultural diversity. It is therefore impossible to generalize about a single 'cross-cultural picture' for most marketing situations and marketers must approach each ethnic subculture individually to undertake effective and efficient marketing techniques. Part of the Canadian multicultural landscape are the Lebanese. Descended from an ancient trading people, these immigrants came to Canada to seek better life opportunities and to succeed. In the main, they have done so, but they have benefited not only themselves. Like many other ethno-cultural groups, they have provided job opportunities for Canadians, contributed tax revenues to government, given of their personal incomes to community projects and worthy causes, and have provided Canadians with a wide range of goods and services. In part because they are still ignored by the larger society, attention to the unique traditions and behaviours of this community can pay large dividends as we start the New Millennium.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CULTURE CHANGE QUESTIONNAIRE
FRENCH FINAL DRAFT

UNIVERSITÉ
Concordia

Faculté de Commerce et d'Administration
Département de Marketing

Montréal, juin 1999

Madame,
Monsieur,

Je m'appelle Rony Kastoun. Je suis étudiant à la Faculté de Commerce et d'Administration de l'*Université Concordia* au programme de Maîtrise en Sciences de l'Administration (M.Sc.A.). Dans le cadre de ma thèse, je mène un sondage sur le mode de vie et la consommation d'aliments des Canadiens d'origine libanaise.

Comme cette étude est nécessaire pour que je complète avec succès mon programme de maîtrise, j'espère sincèrement que vous accepterez d'y participer en répondant au questionnaire ci-joint. Cela ne vous prendra qu'environ vingt minutes et votre participation est entièrement anonyme et volontaire. De plus, demeurez assuré(e) que vos réponses resteront strictement confidentielles. L'analyse statistique sera basée uniquement sur les réponses de l'ensemble des participants à cette étude. Veuillez s'il vous plaît retourner le questionnaire rempli dans l'enveloppe prépayée ci-jointe, adressée à mon directeur de thèse.

Au cas où vous auriez besoin de plus amples informations concernant la nature de ce sondage, n'hésitez pas à me contacter au (514) 344-4426, ou mon directeur de thèse, le professeur Michel Laroche, au (514) 848-2942.

Je vous remercie d'avance pour votre collaboration et vous prie d'agréer, Madame, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

Rony Kastoun
Etudiant au M.Sc.A.

Dr. Michel Laroche
Professeur de Marketing

1455, boul. de Maisonneuve ouest
Montréal (Québec) H3G 1M8

QUESTIONNAIRE

INSTRUCTIONS

Merci d'avance pour votre collaboration; vos réponses à ce questionnaire nous seront extrêmement utiles. Nous avons essayé de rendre ce questionnaire aussi facile à remplir que possible. Dans les parties I, II et IV, tout ce que vous avez à faire c'est encercler un chiffre de 1 à 9 pour indiquer le degré auquel vous êtes en accord ou en désaccord avec l'énoncé. A la partie III, vous aurez à encercler un chiffre de 0 à 5 indiquant ainsi votre fréquence de consommation personnelle de certains produits alimentaires. Finalement, à la partie V, vous aurez à cocher certaines cases ou inscrire des numéros en réponse à quelques questions démographiques. Il est très important que vous répondiez à TOUTES les questions. Si, à un moment donné, vous ignorez la réponse exacte, veuillez faire une estimation au mieux de vos connaissances. Nous vous rappellons que ce sondage est anonyme et que vos réponses demeureront confidentielles.

PARTIE I

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Je parle toujours en libanais avec mon (ma) conjoint(e) [repondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle toujours en libanais avec mon (mes) enfant(s) [repondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle (parlais) toujours en libanais avec mes parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle toujours en libanais avec les autres membres de la famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'utilise toujours la langue libanaise avec mes amis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je pense pour la plupart du temps en libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle pour la plupart du temps en libanais lors de réunions familiales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
En général, je parle en libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je mène pour la plupart du temps mes conversations en libanais tous les jours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le libanais est la première langue que j'ai appris à parler étant enfant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les programmes de TV que je regarde sont toujours en libanais ou arabe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les émissions que j'écoute à la radio sont toujours en libanais ou arabe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les journaux que je lis sont toujours en arabe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les revues et livres que je lis sont toujours en arabe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les films de cinéma et vidéos que je regarde sont toujours en libanais ou arabe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart de mes amis sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart des gens aux endroits que je fréquente pour m'amuser et me détendre sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart des gens avec qui je me rends à des soirées sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me tiens très souvent avec des Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'ai beaucoup d'amis Libano-Canadiens avec qui je suis très proche	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Je me sens très à l'aise dans mes relations avec des Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart de mes voisins sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je participe souvent aux activités des organisations communautaires ou politiques libano-canadiennes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime manger dans des fast-foods ou restaurants où la plupart des gens sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les épiceries ou supermarchés où je fais mes courses sont pour la plupart libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime aller aux endroits où je me trouve en compagnie de Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me considère Libano-Canadien(ne)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mon (ma) conjoint(e) se considère Libano-Canadien(ne) [repondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mes parents se considèrent (considéraient) Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les gens que j'admire le plus sont Libano-Canadiens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La culture libanaise a l'impact le plus positif sur ma vie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très fier (fière) de la culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me sens le plus à l'aise dans la culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très fier (fière) de m'identifier avec la culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je considère la culture libanaise riche et précieuse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très attaché(e) à tous les aspects de la culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime le Liban	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime manger des aliments libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime célébrer les noces et anniversaires selon la traditon libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime célébrer les fêtes de Noël et Pâques selon la tradition libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime écouter la musique libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime cuisiner des mets libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Nous faisons notre propre *arak* dans ma famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La religion est un aspect très important de la vie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le mariage à l'église est obligatoire	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le divorce est un péché devant Dieu	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Dieu, la Patrie et la Famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime danser la *dabki*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je célèbre toujours la Fête d'Indépendance Nationale du Liban	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La préservation des valeurs familiales libanaises est importante	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
L'autorité des parents envers leurs enfants doit être respectée	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les enfants doivent vivre avec leurs parents avant le mariage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La personne qu'un(e) fils (fille) compte épouser doit plaire à ses parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les enfants doivent avoir un bon sens de l'obligation et de la responsabilité envers leurs parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chaque membre de la famille doit contribuer au bien-être de la famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Les personnes âgées devraient vivre avec leur famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les Libanais devraient épouser des Libanais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les adultes non-mariés nuisent à la réputation de leur famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les fils doivent avoir plus de liberté que les filles dans la famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Sortir avec un garçon est mauvais pour la réputation d'une fille et de sa famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le mariage est la meilleure carrière pour une femme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
On s'attend à ce que les filles quittent leur emploi pour se marier	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Une jeune-femme devrait être vierge au moment du mariage	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les maris devraient aller travailler et les femmes devraient rester à la maison pour s'occuper des enfants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bien que je crois que je vais acquérir une certaine culture canadienne-française, il est important pour moi de m'accrocher à ma culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les enfants d'origine libanaise devraient apprendre l'histoire libanaise de leurs parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je veux que mon (mes) enfant(s) aille(nt) à une école libanaise au Canada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je peux prospérer au Québec tout en gardant mon identité libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les Canadiens-Français auraient grand avantage à adopter plusieurs aspects de la culture libanaise	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

PARTIE II

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Je parle toujours en français avec mon (ma) conjoint(e) [répondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle toujours en français avec mon (mes) enfant(s) [répondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle (parlais) toujours en français avec mes parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle toujours en français avec les autres membres de la famille	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'utilise toujours la langue française avec mes amis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je pense pour la plupart du temps en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je parle pour la plupart du temps en français lors de réunions familiales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
En général, je parle en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je mène pour la plupart du temps mes conversations en français tous les jours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le français est la première langue que j'ai appris à parler étant enfant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les programmes de TV que je regarde sont toujours en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les émissions que j'écoute à la radio sont toujours en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les journaux que je lis sont toujours en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les revues et livres que je lis sont toujours en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les films de cinéma et vidéos que je regarde sont toujours en français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
La plupart de mes amis sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart des gens aux endroits que je fréquente pour m'amuser et me détendre sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart des gens avec qui je me rends à des soirées sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me tiens très souvent avec des Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'ai beaucoup d'amis Canadiens-Français avec qui je suis très proche	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me sens très à l'aise dans mes relations avec des Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart de mes voisins sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je participe souvent aux activités des organisations communautaires ou politiques canadiennes-françaises	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime manger dans des fast-foods ou restaurants où la plupart des gens sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les épiceries ou supermarchés où je fais mes courses sont pour la plupart canadiens-français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime aller aux endroits où je me trouve en compagnie de Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me considère Canadien(ne)-Français(e)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mon (ma) conjoint(e) se considère Canadien(ne)-Français(e) [si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mes parents se considèrent (considéraient) Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les gens que j'admire le plus sont Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La culture canadienne-française a l'impact le plus positif sur ma vie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très fier (fière) de la culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je me sens le plus à l'aise dans la culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très fier (fière) de m'identifier avec la culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je considère la culture canadienne-française riche et précieuse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis très attaché(e) à tous les aspects de la culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime le Canada	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime manger des aliments canadiens-français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime célébrer les noces et anniversaires selon la traditon canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime célébrer les fêtes de Noël et Pâques selon la tradition canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime écouter la musique canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime cuisiner des mets canadiens-français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Au printemps, j'aime aller aux cabanes à sucre	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La religion n'est plus un aspect important de la vie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il n'est plus nécessaire pour les gens de se marier à l'église	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Quand les personnes mariées ne s'entendent plus, elles devraient divorcer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Avant tout, l'on doit avoir une obligation envers soi-même	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime célébrer la fête de l'Action de Grâces	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je célèbre toujours les fêtes nationales du Canada et du Québec	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
L'acquisition des valeurs familiales canadiennes-françaises est désirable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
L'autorité des parents envers leurs enfants doit être limitée	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il est normal de déménager de la maison parentale lorsqu'on a 18 ans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les parents n'ont rien à dire concernant le choix d'époux(se) de leur enfant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les enfants devraient s'efforcer de devenir indépendants de leurs parents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Chaque individu devrait assurer son propre bien-être	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il est normal de placer les personnes âgées dans des maisons de retraite	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il est normal d'épouser des Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les gens n'ont plus à se marier de nos jours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Fils et filles devraient se voir accorder les mêmes privilèges	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il est normal pour les filles célibataires de sortir avec des hommes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Le mariage n'est pas la meilleure carrière pour une femme	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Une jeune-femme ne devrait pas quitter son emploi pour se marier	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La virginité au moment du mariage ne devrait plus être une question importante de nos jours	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les deux époux ont le même droit de travailler s'ils le désirent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bien que je crois que je devrais maintenir ma culture libanaise, il est important pour moi d'acquérir une certaine culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je veux acquérir les caractéristiques culturelles des Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je veux et ai besoin de devenir plus comme les Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Afin d'avoir une carrière réussie au Québec, il est nécessaire de devenir plus comme les Canadiens-Français	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les Libano-Canadiens auraient grand avantage à adopter plusieurs aspects de la culture canadienne-française	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

PARTIE III

A quelle fréquence mangez-vous/buvez-vous personnellement les aliments/mets suivants?

	JAMAIS	RAREMENT	1-2 JRS./SEM.	3-4 JRS./SEM.	5-6 JRS./SEM.	TOUS LES JOURS
Arak	0	1	2	3	4	5
Vin	0	1	2	3	4	5
Khibiz arabi	0	1	2	3	4	5
Pain tranché	0	1	2	3	4	5
Manakish	0	1	2	3	4	5
Céréales froides	0	1	2	3	4	5
Halloom	0	1	2	3	4	5
Cheddar	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ahwi turki	0	1	2	3	4	5
Café régulier	0	1	2	3	4	5
Labni	0	1	2	3	4	5
Fromage à la crème	0	1	2	3	4	5

	JAMAIS	RAREMENT	1-2 JRS./SEM.	3-4 JRS./SEM.	5-6 JRS./SEM.	TOUS LES JOURS
Mehchi	0	1	2	3	4	5
Tourtière	0	1	2	3	4	5
Kibbi	0	1	2	3	4	5
Steak haché	0	1	2	3	4	5
Baklawa	0	1	2	3	4	5
Tarte au sucre	0	1	2	3	4	5
Tabbouli	0	1	2	3	4	5
Salade de chou	0	1	2	3	4	5
Shish tawuk	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sandwich au poulet (*club sandwich*)	0	1	2	3	4	5
Shawarma	0	1	2	3	4	5
Viande fumée (*smoked meat*)	0	1	2	3	4	5
Humus	0	1	2	3	4	5
Poutine	0	1	2	3	4	5
Shorbit adas	0	1	2	3	4	5
Soupe aux pois	0	1	2	3	4	5
Ater (sirop de sucre)	0	1	2	3	4	5
Sirop d'érable	0	1	2	3	4	5

PARTIE IV

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Parfois j'influence les achats de mes amis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis plus indépendant(e) que la plupart des gens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je dois admettre que je n'aime pas vraiment les tâches ménagères	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime être considéré(e) comme un(e) *leader*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les produits de marque maison (marque de distributeur) représentent une bonne valeur pour le prix que je paie	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les gens viennent me demander des renseignements sur les marques plus souvent que je vais leur demander des renseignements	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je pense que j'ai plus de confiance en moi que la plupart des gens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mes amis et voisins me demandent souvent des conseils	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis un(e) bon(ne) cuisinier (cuisinière)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
La plupart des travaux ménagers me sont agréables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les produits de marque maison (marque de distributeur) sont souvent aussi bons que ceux de marque nationale (marque de fabricant)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je pense être une personne très habile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mon (mes) enfant(s) est (sont) ce qu'il y'a de plus important dans ma vie [si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je trouve que faire le ménage à la maison est une tâche désagréable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je préfère payer tous mes achats en argent comptant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

	ENTIEREMENT EN DESACCORD								ENTIEREMENT D'ACCORD
Je dédie beaucoup de temps et d'effort à apprendre à mon (mes) enfant(s) de bonnes habitudes [répondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Si je dois choisir de m'habiller, soit à la mode, soit pour le confort, je choisis plutôt de m'habiller à la mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
A part l'emballage, il n'y a pas une grande différence entre les produits de marque maison (marque de distributeur) et ceux de marque nationale (marque de fabricant)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis prêt(e) à magasiner davantage afin de trouver des aubaines	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je sens qu'il est risqué de choisir une marque différente de celle que je connais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Habituellement, j'ai au moins un costume à la toute dernière mode	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime faire de la pâtisserie et j'en fais fréquemment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Quand mon (mes) enfant(s) est (sont) malade(s), je m'occupe en priorité de son (leur) confort [répondre seulement si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
M'habiller élégamment constitue un aspect très important de ma vie et de mes activités	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je n'achète pas de marques que je n'ai jamais essayées auparavant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Souvent je vérifie les prix de menus articles dans les épiceries	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'achète toujours, par habitude, la même marque de produits courants	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Il n'est pas sage d'acheter à crédit, sauf quand il s'agit d'une maison ou d'une voiture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Les gens me demandent de l'information au sujet de divers types de produits, d'endroits où magasiner et des soldes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'essaye de rendre ma maison commode à mon (mes) enfant(s) [si applicable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Si j'aime une marque, je vais rarement en acheter une autre juste pour l'essayer	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
On peut épargner beaucoup d'argent si on recherche des aubaines	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime parfois faire des choses qui sont un peu effrayantes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Mes amis me considèrent comme une bonne source d'information au sujet de nouveaux produits et des soldes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime changer d'activités continuellement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'achète beaucoup de choses avec une carte de crédit ou une carte de détaillant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime faire connaître de nouveaux produits ou nouvelles marques à mes amis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je recherche beaucoup de produits à prix réduits (en spécial)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Je suis une personne qui a beaucoup d'informations sur une variété de produits et j'aime les partager avec les autres	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lorsque je m'ennuie, j'aime rechercher des expériences nouvelles et peu familières	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime cuisiner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime aider les gens en leur fournissant de l'information sur plusieurs types de produits	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
J'aime aller à un endroit différent presque chaque jour	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

PARTIE V

1. Etes vous? |__| Homme |__| Femme

2. Veuillez indiquer votre statut matrimonial:
   - |__| Célibataire
   - |__| Marié(e) ou vivant avec conjoint(e)
   - |__| Séparé(e) ou divorcé(e)
   - |__| Veuf (Veuve)

3. Veuillez indiquer l'intervalle dans lequel se situe votre âge (en années):
   - |__| Moins que 20
   - |__| 20 à 29
   - |__| 30 à 39
   - |__| 40 à 49
   - |__| 50 à 59
   - |__| 60 et plus

4. Veuillez indiquer l'intervalle dans lequel se situe le revenu total brut de votre foyer (en $CAN):
   - |__| Moins que 20,000
   - |__| 20,000 à 39,999
   - |__| 40,000 à 59,999
   - |__| 60,000 à 79,999
   - |__| 80,000 à 99,999
   - |__| 100,000 et plus

5. Incluant vous-même, combien de personnes vivent dans votre foyer? _____

6. Incluant vous-même, combien d'adultes (18 ans et plus) vivent dans votre foyer? _____

7. Veuillez indiquer le plus haut niveau d'éducation que vous avez atteint:
   - |__| Ecole primaire
   - |__| Ecole secondaire
   - |__| Baccalauréat libanais/français, Cegep ou école technique
   - |__| Premier cycle universitaire
   - |__| Second cycle universitaire

8. Veuillez indiquer votre lieu de naissance:
   - |__| Liban
   - |__| Canada
   - |__| Autre pays

9. Etes-vous Citoyen(ne) Canadien(ne)? |__| Oui |__| Non

10. Combien d'années avez-vous vécues au Canada? _____

11. Veuillez indiquer votre appartenance religieuse:
   - |__| Chrétien(ne)
   - |__| Juif (Juive)
   - |__| Je n'ai pas d'appartenance religieuse
   - |__| Musulman(e)
   - |__| Autre

Merci encore pour votre collaboration.

APPENDIX B
CONSUMPTION OF BASIC FOODS AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS: THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Consumption [1]	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1, 2]																			*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	Acculturation Factors						Ethnic Identification Factors							Socioeconomic Predictors							
	FIP	FSR	FLU	FCV	FME	DFC	SIL	LIP	LLU	LSR	LME	LFS	LCV	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
FC Basic Foods																					
1. Wine	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(3.01)*	NS	.17(3.13)*	-.20(-2.88)*	NS	-.17(-4.01)*	NS	NS	NS	.31(2.28)b	NS	NS	NS	.06(1.45)c	NS	5.49*	.140
2. Sliced bread	.13(1.85)b	NS	.26(3.72)*	NS	NS	NS	.15(1.94)b	-.29(-2.62)*	.14(1.78)b	NS	NS	.42(3.88)*	NS	-.38(-1.98)b	NS	-.17(-2.50)*	NS	NS	NS	12.47*	.357
3. Cold cereals	NS	.17(1.97)b	.31(5.06)*	NS	NS	NS	.26(2.97)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.22(1.43)c	15.44*	.259
4. Cheddar	NS	-.24(-3.07)*	.34(5.05)*	-.10(-1.80)b	NS	.22(2.69)*	.30(3.56)*	-.19(-1.76)c	.11(1.47)c	NS	NS	.27(2.50)*	NS	-.28(-1.44)c	.72(2.85)*	.18(2.16)b	.19(2.16)b	-.12(-2.09)b	NS	14.77*	.520
5. Regular coffee	NS	NS	NS	NS	.28(3.51)*	-.16(-1.49)c	NS	-.20(-1.47)c	.28(2.83)*	-.38(-4.57)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.73(-2.22)b	.29(2.57)*	.20(1.80)b	-.12(-1.45)c	NS	6.60*	.234
6. Cream cheese	NS	-.16(-1.93)b	.39(5.93)*	NS	NS	.16(1.91)b	.20(2.25)b	-.24(-2.03)b	.15(1.82)b	NS	NS	.28(2.47)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.18(-1.29)c	13.46*	.376
7. Meat pie	.24(4.00)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.36)c	.19(2.80)*	-.14(-1.72)b	NS	.20(3.92)*	.08(1.65)c	NS	-.16(-2.98)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.90*	.403
8. Hamburger stk	.12(2.46)*	NS	.15(3.01)*	NS	NS	NS	.23(4.09)*	NS	NS	.20(4.34)*	NS	.23(3.20)*	NS	NS	.42(2.68)*	NS	.13(2.07)b	NS	.14(1.54)c	23.15*	.518
9. Sugar pie	.08(1.48)c	NS	.17(3.41)*	NS	NS	NS	.17(2.75)*	NS	NS	.08(1.66)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	14.65*	.248
10. Cabbage salad	.29(3.99)*	NS	.27(4.02)*	-.13(-2.54)*	-.09(-1.44)c	NS	.20(2.46)*	-.18(-1.72)c	NS	.26(4.49)*	NS	.24(2.39)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	20.24*	.483
11. Club sandwich	.09(1.65)c	NS	NS	NS	.07(1.36)c	NS	.21(3.43)*	NS	NS	.11(2.17)b	NS	.16(2.08)b	NS	NS	.37(1.94)b	-.13(-2.07)b	NS	NS	NS	9.99*	.276
12. Smoked meat	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.86)b	.11(1.96)b	.13(1.70)b	NS	NS	.10(1.60)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.62(3.23)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	8.99*	.195
13. *Poutine*	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.76)b	.10(2.33)b	NS	.21(3.19)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.14(1.55)c	NS	NS	.97(5.24)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.47*	.241
14. Pea soup	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(2.54)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.18(2.54)*	NS	NS	8.84*	.087
15. Maple syrup	NS	-.29(-2.61)*	.27(4.48)*	NS	NS	.34(3.94)*	.17(2.13)b	-.38(-3.35)*	NS	-.16(-1.86)b	NS	.16(1.40)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.09(-1.39)c	NS	9.22*	.285
I.E. Basic Foods [3]																					
16. *Arak*	NS	NS	NS	-.05(-1.39)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.05(1.69)b	NS	.07(1.40)c	.52(4.26)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.14(1.73)b	10.03*	.215
17. *Khibiz arabi*	-.20(-3.21)*	.13(1.61)c	.13(2.26)b	-.18(-3.29)*	NS	NS	.15(2.13)b	-.30(-3.68)*	.18(2.72)*	.18(2.66)*	NS	NS	-.14(-1.85)b	.52(3.39)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.97*	.399
18. *Manakish*	NS	-.16(-2.47)*	.27(5.37)*	NS	NS	NS	.13(1.68)b	-.18(-2.10)b	.22(3.06)*	NS	.07(1.30)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.56*	.361
19. *Halloom*	NS	NS	.29(6.11)*	-.13(-2.95)*	NS	NS	.40(5.77)*	-.13(-1.70)b	.19(3.04)*	.17(3.37)*	NS	NS	NS	-.21(-1.33)c	NS	NS	.14(2.11)b	NS	NS	34.60*	.620
20. *Ahwi turki*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.40(4.11)*	NS	.12(1.59)c	NS	NS	NS	-.96(-3.09)*	.39(3.45)*	NS	NS	-.58(-3.38)*	35.19*	.509
21. *Labni*	NS	-.15(-2.25)b	.32(6.21)*	-.09(-1.73)b	NS	NS	.16(2.11)b	-.34(-3.46)*	.19(2.81)*	NS	NS	.14(1.42)c	NS	NS	-.45(-2.46)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	13.61*	.379
22. *Mehchi*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.86)b	.20(3.79)*	-.26(-3.40)*	NS	.08(1.89)b	NS	.10(1.43)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.85)b	NS	NS	8.93*	.224
23. *Kibbi*	.09(1.63)c	-.13(-1.83)b	.19(4.16)*	-.07(-1.75)b	NS	NS	.13(2.18)b	-.12(-1.69)c	NS	.09(1.54)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.13(2.20)b	NS	NS	14.40*	.394
24. *Baklawa*	NS	NS	.17(5.05)*	NS	NS	NS	.17(3.41)*	-.17(-2.64)*	NS	.09(2.38)*	NS	NS	NS	.24(1.82)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	12.56*	.259
25. *Tabbouli*	NS	NS	NS	-.07(-1.80)b	NS	NS	.17(2.99)*	-.11(-1.52)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.09(1.53)c	.06(1.39)c	NS	6.07*	.133
26. *Shish tawuk*	NS	-.07(-1.41)c	.18(4.69)*	NS	NS	NS	.34(5.98)*	-.19(-2.75)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.97)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	22.61*	.396
27. *Shawarma*	NS	NS	.09(2.19)b	NS	NS	NS	.28(4.26)*	-.12(-1.50)c	.12(1.89)b	.12(2.28)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	.44(2.77)*	NS	NS	NS	.15(1.46)c	10.88*	.295
28. *Humus*	NS	NS	.17(5.10)*	NS	NS	NS	.24(4.50)*	-.11(-1.71)b	.08(1.62)c	.07(1.71)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.31*	.344
29. *Shorbit adas*	NS	NS	.11(2.75)*	-.14(-3.49)*	NS	NS	.25(4.47)*	-.20(-2.80)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.13(2.15)b	-.06(-1.38)c	NS	12.75*	.299
30. *Ater*	NS	NS	.10(2.68)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.19(5.40)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.11*	.172

([1]) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; SIL= Social Interaction with LE;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; LIP= LE Identification and Pride;
FLU= French Language Use, LLU= Lebanese Language Use,
LSR= LE Sex Roles,
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure,
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure; LFS= LE Family Structure;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture, LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values,
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient, N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents,

([2]) One-way significance at: (*) $p < .01$, (b) $p < .05$, (c) $p < .10$,

([3]) For a translation of the items listed, see section 1.3.4.

Source: *SPSS output.*

APPENDIX C
LIFESTYLES AS A FUNCTION OF CULTURE CHANGE AND DEMOGRAPHICS: THE CASE OF LEBANESE-CANADIANS

Dependent Variable	Regression Coefficients (& *t*-values of the Estimates) [1,2]																			*F* Stat. [2]	R^2 Adj.
	Acculturation Factors						Ethnic Identification Factors							Socioeconomic Predictors							
	FIP	FSR	FLU	FCV	FME	DFC	SIL	LIP	LLU	LSR	LME	LFS	LCV	Gender	Status	Age	Income	Size	School		
Lifestyles [3]																					
1. MAM	.25(2.83)*	NS	-.37(-4.54)*	NS	.20(2.48)*	NS	NS	.23(1.71)b	.21(2.21)b	NS	NS	-.32(-2.55)*	-.27(-2.95)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.31(-2.05)b	5.78*	.188
2. LSC	NS	.16(2.34)b	NS	NS	NS	.12(1.81)b	-.14(1.86)b	.23(2.43)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.12(-1.83)b	1.20(6.57)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	11.06*	.268
3. GEP	NS	NS	NS	NS	.15(2.43)*	.28(3.25)*	-.29(-3.10)*	NS	NS	NS	.22(3.13)*	NS	.21(2.62)*	.38(1.69)b	-.56(-2.53)*	NS	-.25(-2.66)*	NS	.20(1.35)c	7.61*	.265
4. FAC	-.17(-1.65)c	.34(3.58)*	NS	NS	.17(2.34)b	-.15(-1.33)c	.21(2.21)b	.40(3.35)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	.20(2.42)*	-.87(-3.58)*	NS	-.37(-4.53)*	.15(1.56)c	-.22(-3.08)*	-.53(-3.20)*	10.35*	.405
5. ATC	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.29(-3.25)*	NS	NS	NS	.10(1.41)c	NS	NS	NS	NS	-.60(-2.20)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	7.30*	.103
6. CAB	NS	NS	NS	-.19(-2.31)b	.26(3.39)*	NS	NS	NS	.20(1.93)b	NS	NS	-.43(-2.85)*	NS	-2.29(-7.79)*	-.93(-3.02)*	NS	NS	NS	NS	16.78*	.365
7. VAS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.19(2.25)b	NS	-.15(-1.91)b	.15(2.29)b	NS	NS	NS	NS	.72(2.84)*	-.15(-1.74)b	.16(1.90)b	NS	NS	6.64*	.170
8. PRC	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	.25(3.15)*	-.21(-2.12)b	.33(2.47)*	NS	NS	.30(4.16)*	-.27(-2.15)b	.17(2.07)b	NS	NS	NS	-.26(-2.73)*	-.11(-1.60)c	-.25(-1.61)c	7.67*	.267

(1) FIP= FC Identification and Pride; SIL= Social Interaction with LE;
FSR= FC Sex Roles; LIP= LE Identification and Pride,
FLU= French Language Use; LLU = Lebanese Language Use,
LSR= LE Sex Roles;
FCV= FC Culturally-Linked Values; LME= LE Mass Media Exposure,
FME= FC Mass Media Exposure; LFS= LE Family Structure;
DFC= Desire to Acquire FC Culture; LCV= LE Culturally-Linked Values,
FC= French-Canadian; LE= Lebanese; NS= Non-significant coefficient, N= 166 Lebanese-Canadian respondents,

(2) One-way significance at: (*) $p < .01$; (b) $p < .05$, (c) $p < .10$;

(3) MAM= Market Maven; ATC= Attitude Toward Credit,
LSC= Leadership and Self-Confidence; CAB= Cooking and Baking,
GEP= Generic Products; VAS= Variety Seeking,
FAC= Fashion Consciousness, PRC= Price Consciousness

Source: *SPSS output.*

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