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# Food consumption of Middle Easterners in Sweden

*- A study regarding food consumption habits of Middle Easterners that can be targeted by marketers in Sweden.*

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### **Abstract**

This paper gives the reader an opportunity to explore new grounds regarding a relatively new field that has opened in Sweden. The result is based on an explorative research conducted by us, with starting point whether immigrants, consisting of Middle Eastern ones, can be seen as an attractive target group for big grocery shops. In order to understand whether they are attractive to target, we need to grasp underlying factors such as our research question: “What are the habits of Middle Eastern consumers regarding food that marketers from Sweden can target?” To do so we were forced to investigate what kind of lifestyle an immigrant from the Middle East has, since the immigrant’s lifestyle influences what sort of food he/she will consume. When investigating the lifestyle we were able to concentrate on certain areas that we saw had a clear relation in influencing immigrants’ food choices, such as religion, acculturation and so forth. Our method was built on six qualitative interviews with immigrants coming from Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine. The selection of these countries was based on the similarity of food habits. Our theoretical section was constructed to help us answer our research question through determining certain parts in an immigrant’s life. We combined several theories revolving around the subject due to lack of research in our field. This resulted in an empirical analysis where we concluded that different parts in our interviewees’ lives affected their choice of food. In this sense we also were able to answer our research question regarding the food habits a Middle Eastern person has with respect to our interviewees’ answers. We were able to follow the purpose of our work to get an insight in an unexplored field.

**Key Words:** Immigrants, Food Consumption, Middle Eastern, Food Habits.

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Best Regards

Mira Haddad

Tomasz Rajca

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# 1. Introduction

*The following chapter starts with stating the background of the research to be conducted. Following that we will discuss and expose our research area as a problematic one that needs further exploration. At the same time we will expose some relevant previous researches that were done in nearby areas due to lack of research in our field. After stating our research question we will expose the delimitations that faced us while trying to answer that question.*

## 1.1 Background

Sweden has been named an immigration country, part because Swedes have emigrated away from Sweden in search for fortune in 1869 and part because Sweden has welcomed huge numbers of immigrants since 1880 (SCB, 2005). This has resulted in major cultural blends since Swedes brought back home with them new food ingredients, spices and habits while immigrants came to Sweden with their cultural differences, different languages, tastes and looks. This fact has provided the Swedish market with new nutrition products that are used both by immigrants and by the Swedes who adapted food to their own culture. Immigrants that come from the Middle East, more specifically from Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine have different gastronomy habits than the Swedes (Livsmedelsverket, 2002). Their meals are formed differently in comparison to Swedish cultural food habits, which give rise to new needs. Iraqis, Lebanese and Palestinians share almost exactly the same breakfast, lunch and dinner. In short breakfast constitutes of tea, cooked eggs, bread and cheese. Lunch meals are the main meals in all three countries and they are consisted of mainly rice, meat and vegetables. These are considered as the main dish of the day. Dinners are mostly remains from lunch and/or bread and cheese (Livsmedelsverket, 2002). This is not the same case compared to Swedish food habits. In Northern Europe and in particular Sweden, it is common to eat 4 to 6 times a day which means that 2 to 3 of these meals are main meals. (Domnauer & Riserus, 2006). Salad dishes are not essential with every meal and in general vegetables are not served in a rich manner with Swedish food. Moreover cooking in Sweden is done with margarine and/or butter while Middle Eastern and south European countries use olive oil instead. The third main difference is that Swedes eat more sweets than other cultures according to a study done by Livsmedelsverket (Aronsson, 2006).

There we see a common difference between the northern Europeans and the Middle Easterners in terms of food preferences and cooking. Immigrants coming from Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine, as other immigrants have brought with them types of food that did not exist in Sweden before (Livsmedelsverket, 2002). In order for these people to get their own products they either open small shops or resort to small shops opened by other immigrants. According to a study made at Uppsala University, four out of five new established companies in Sweden year 1997 were in the services sector (Bassam, 1999). 20% of those new started companies in the services sector are owned by immigrants or people with immigrant parents (SCB, 1998). At this point we think in terms of either letting small grocery shop owners take advantage of the present market or open up the market to bigger players such as ICA.

## **1.2 Problem Discussion**

*In this section, we would like to clarify earlier made research in related fields. Since very little has real relevance in comparison to our work, it's difficult to state any examples, we asked therefore the curious reader to look up the references.*

The positioning of this work is based on a new ongoing trend affecting the consumers' choices in various ways. There is a lot of research done regarding the Swedish food culture, as well as how it's integrated through school menus, allowing children the freedom of choice between for instance kebab and meatloaves (Mjölkrämmandet, 2003). The existence of Kebab as a meal choice for children in their school menus reflect to which extent non-Swedish food is integrated in private and public organizations such as schools. There have also been written books and articles regarding different kinds of foreign food, what differences exist between them and what kind of different sorts have been adopted in Sweden (Wirgin, 2002). It's also recognized that food trends such as increased consumption of meat, foreign dishes, vegetables and organic food have braced off on the Swedish society. Another nuanced perspective regarding this area is the comfort we humans seek in our food habits (Shanahan, 2002). This participates in pointing out the Swedish approach to immigrants' choice of food, confirming the attachment the latter have for consuming their own food.

Swadian & Vitell (2006) have conducted a research close to our field regarding consumer Ethics. It talks mainly about the acculturation immigrants walk through when living in the United States. The way the acculturation process shapes consumers' views of ethics is

brought up and examined. We believe it's interesting since the two measured population groups that are examined are Middle Eastern and Asian immigrants. We see a potential possibility of using their results in explaining the perspective regarding the reason for immigrants being attached to their own culture and not willing to change. Berry et al (2006) bring up the same perspective as Swadian & Vitell (2006) but from a recent perspective, classifying people into groups such as the level of integration reached by the individual, his/her ethnicity, his/her nationality and diffuse where the person's classification is still unclear. This is based on which way the process of acculturation was handled by each immigrant. Classifications were based on a quantitative study which later determined where the person was placed. There is also a bit written about specific cultures such as the Turkish culture, and how this group of foreigners behave when being in Sweden. More is discussed regarding Turkish traditions, why they cook for an entire week ahead instead of cooking each and every day and so forth (Hanns & Bennerstam 1990). This is related to immigrants' behaviour and perception of food and the cooking. It also explains the choices that immigrants make as consumers. We will gradually expose in our research as well the reasons behind immigrants' choices of food consumption.

Research has also been done with respect to how foreigners in general behave in the labour market, without specifying any direct information intertwined with a specific group of foreigners. This study has a wider historical perspective regarding what kind of immigrants came in the 70', 80's and 90's, and what economical situations they were put in. It also talks about what achievements the foreigners made as well as what constitutes obstacles for some immigrants along the way (Ekberg & Gustafsson, 1995). This research explains how the economical perspective may explain purchase of products, why people buy known products instead of unknown due to economical restrictions.

Very little has been researched regarding what kind of consumption power foreigners have on various food products they would normally buy back home, with respect to the Swedish market. Since foreigners clearly unify themselves with their own food, even though they are in a new country, we see an interesting and arising subject that should be investigated more thoroughly. We strongly believe that this trend can lead to benefits for the bigger grocery chains, but before such conclusion can be drawn we need to begin a research within this area.

### **1.3 Purpose and research question**

Our study's purpose is to gain an insight regarding the food consumption that immigrants from the Middle East have in Sweden in order to open new horizons for marketers in Sweden to target this group. This will be done through researching their lifestyles. Due to lack of research regarding this subject our group thought it could be an interesting highlight to massive Swedish grocery chains. It is worth mentioning that there have been articles written around foreigners' food consumption habits in Sweden. These studies cannot be seen as research papers, but more informative guidance for people interested for example in cooking. As a result our research question for the purpose of the study is:

- *What are the habits of Middle Eastern consumers regarding food that marketers from Sweden can target?*

As this question poses itself we do not aim at investigating all possible food products, however the purpose is as claimed above, to get a thorough understanding of the reasons that are behind those consumers' decisions of food consumption.

### **1.4 Delimitations**

We aim at answering our research question throughout this essay regarding certain countries that are located in the Middle East. The following selections of these countries are Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine. The reason why we are limiting this study to just those three countries is because of the vast common products that they use in their cuisine (Livsmedelsverket 2002).

Some of the common products that are found in all these countries are: yoghurt, Arabic coffee, bread, sweets of all kinds and different kinds of spices. We are however aware that all the food is not the same in all these countries, but the main eating habits are very similar. Additionally as stated above they more or less have the same eating times and so forth. We have to mention that a lot of the food eaten in these countries is very much similar to Egypt, Iran, Turkey, Greece and other countries located in the Middle East but the differences in this case grow. An example of those differences is the consistency of the bread or yoghurt. Another reason for our narrowed selection is the fact that we would like to take advantage of



the third biggest immigrant group in Sweden which comes from Iraq with a total of 70 117 individuals year 2004 (Immigrant-institutet, 2005). Adding Lebanese and Palestinian immigrants to this group serves as well in increasing our target market, which in terms of profitability may be exactly what we are searching for.

Our second delimitation is that this study will only be done in one city in Skåne region, Lund. Not to mention that a more inclusive study will be more accurate but due to the fact that we would like to have credibility in our work we will focus our efforts and resources on just this city, performing only a qualitative study.

A third delimitation is regarding our analysis and how we walked through it. We considered using only relevant data from each interview in order to avoid data masses. We believe that doing so will help the reader follow our reasoning.

A fourth point that we faced as delimiting our work is the fact that we were not able to interview any male volunteers. They simply didn't agree to be interviewed especially when they heard that the subject was about food so they related it to cooking and refused to be associated with that idea. We therefore turned to females who were more than happy to volunteer to us and give us their time.

A fifth delimitation is the way we consider our respondents' lifestyles, however we do not intend to do that through typing theories about lifestyle. It's rather to understand circumstances such as religion, integration, assimilation to the society, segregation within the society and so forth to receive a glance of factors affecting lifestyle which may be reasons for determining food consumption. This choice has been made due to lack of considerable theory relating directly to the research at hand. Regarding the topic attitudes we have stated theories that treat attitude in many different contexts and hence did not find any need to state any further specific theory.

A last point that may be considered as a delimitation is the fact that this study turns mostly to the supermarket chain ICA. The reasoning behind the following is that there are already other supermarkets in Lund that do sell food products that are used by our target group, such as Willy's supermarket. On the other hand this study is actually being conducted in one city (Lund), but there is a possibility with further research, that the findings of this study may be

applied on a national level. Hence we turn to ICA supermarket chain since it is a national chain and not like AGs which is only found in the southern part of Sweden. Note that generalizing a qualitative study might be impossible but research has to start at some level.

## **1.5 Disposition**

The disposition of this work has been constructed according to how we have proceeded, it's almost chronologically constructed. As the reader already encountered, we chose to begin developing a research question and a purpose with this work. The next stage was to find theory related to this subject, getting a clear picture, what has been studied and what is missing. It should be added that the process between reading theory and modifying the research question occurred more than once. We decided therefore to have an impending transition between chapter 1 and 2, where in chapter one we stated work that already exists and informed the reader that there is very little written about our field. After theory had been selected to enhance our work we decided to do our own research through our method, in respect to follow our purpose of this work. Another reason for structuring the work like this, is that it follows the logical working process, also described to be chronological as above.

After conducting our methodological part, we decided to mesh the empirical findings with a direct analysis. The direct analysis will be posed in each interview, with direct connection to our theoretical part through stating references. After that an analysis is done to clarify patterns throughout all interviews, also in relation to our theoretical base. Finally a summary or a discussion is written, putting certain aspects together answering our research question.

## **1.6 Our Definitions**

We decided to refer this section as an enclosure at the end of the paper in order not to disturb the reader's flow. We have defined all the words according to how we used them in our text. The second reason behind providing such definitions is in order to avoid controversiality or unclearness.

## **2. Understanding Immigrants: the forces that affect their food consumption**

*In this chapter, the reasons behind why immigrants are tightly attached to their food culture will be exposed. This will be supported by economical and emotional perspectives behind this attachment. Furthermore, the topic of acculturation will be discussed separately, which will clarify how learning a culture takes place. The purpose, as well, is to expose the phases that immigrants go through which affects the decisions they make in their life including which food to eat. At the end we motivate or choice of theory in a form of a summary.*

*Immigrants' behaviour regarding their choice of food habits is widely researched. We will represent those divided into two major perspectives:*

- *Emotional perspective*
- *Economical perspective*

### **2.1 Emotional perspective**

A view that food is directly related to family and even sets roles and relationships in a family materialistically is one that we share as well (Bourdieu, 1990). A point of interest to us lies in the statement that food cooked at home is filled with symbolic meaning (Bugge, 2003; Petridou, 2001). In addition home cooked food refers to the authenticity of a family (Groves, 2001), it validates a sense of family. Charles and Kerr (1988) share the point of view that the interpretation of food and the practices related to it strengthen the identity of a family. The consumption of food in a familial sense is strongly tied up to moral values, obligations and experiences that are considered valuable (Gullestad, 1995). It can be said that food is a determining factor in a family and its members' identities (Moisio et al. 2004). Homemade food creates an emotional relation between the person that is preparing the food and the person that is eating it (Moisio et al. 2004). Moreover it refers to family traditions and it enhances solidarity feelings (Lupton, 1994). Food can act as a medium that promotes intimacy in expressions in a family (Arnould, 1991).

Interesting to point out is that the younger generation shows less and less attachment to traditions as role played in food and food making. To the younger generation, food does not play the same role in life the way it did for their grand parent's generation (Moisio et al. 2004). The older generation believes that continuity occurs as a form of food recipes passed down to the younger generation (Moisio et al. 2004). Food is widely more accepted from people who are considered close to one (Moore, 1957). Moreover there is a tendency to refuse food that comes from strangers. It's even at some point considered as hostile and undesirable.

### **2.1.1 The meaning of food**

The meaning of food is exactly what we have been taught to understand (Moore, 1957). Children are educated to like certain foods and dislike others based on which culture they come from (Moore 1957). For example children growing up in Italy do not dislike olives as much as children who are brought up in parts of the world where olives aren't very popular. Same example applies for sugar snacks or candies. Children are taught to view candy as a prize, moreover to view those as a rare resource which they are not able to get hold of at all time (Moore 1957). This gives the candies its overrated meaning in children's perception. In sum as Moore (1957) puts it the meanings that are adopted by individuals to food are learned and not innate. Same thing can be said about feelings towards different kinds of food.

Food could in religious contexts imply rules. As Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) reveal the strong attachment that Muslim Turkish immigrants put on which kind of food that is allowed for them to consume. For them food reflects religion and measures their faith. Their choice of which kind of food they choose or don't choose to eat identifies their identity. Muslim children in schools are offered the ability to choose what they eat. Since it became widely accepted in Sweden that Muslim children do not eat pork meat they are allowed to replace the pork-based meal with some other meal that has a different kind of meat that is religiously accepted according to them (Baysan & Bennerstam 1990).

### **2.1.2 Postmodernism**

When it comes to consumer research for the past five years the term postmodernism a term has been widely disputed over and discussed (Fuat Firat et al. 1993; Fuat Firat et al. 1994). "Chronology" which is a feature of postmodernism is used in order to refer to one's search for

one's identity or even origins through food (James, 1996). People have a tendency to become attached to their country of origins once they are away from it (Moss, 1996). As the article exposes how two Lebanese girls had to immigrate to Canada and they found themselves in a constant struggle between adapting the new culture and longing back to their old Lebanese culture and land.

## **2.2 Economical Perspective**

From the economical perspective immigrants choose to consume their own food due to several reasons. First the time it takes an immigrant here in Sweden to get a job is relatively long which results in two things, the immigrant becomes somehow dependent on social welfare and it takes him/her a longer time to get introduced into the Swedish society (Ekberg and Gustafsson 1995). Immigrants who arrived to Sweden during the 70s were relatively able to support themselves better than those who arrived 1988-90 (Ekberg and Gustafsson, 1995). Among the latter group of immigrants, 20-30% are considered poor (Ekberg and Gustafsson, 1995).

Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) exposed how a Turkish family cooks food in order to save money. Cooking in large portions saves money since it allows the family to eat the same kind of food for several days. Even in their shopping the poor Turkish families aim at buying large sized packages because they cost less. Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) point out that the children do not get money spent on them and moreover the family saves money by not buying candy or too many toys for the children.

Another study done by Bevelande (2004) at Malmö University focused on the economical situation with respect to immigrants. Included in the study were; the immigrants' level of education and the unemployment level that faces them. Moreover the reality of unemployment faced immigrants harshly between 1993 – 1995 where immigrants faced three times as much unemployment as Swedish citizens (Lundh et al. 2002).

A very interesting turning point that took place in 1960 when a solution taken by the Confederation of Trade Unions back in order to resolve employee shortages in the Swedish industrial and services sector through job opportunity offers to immigrants. Immigrants from Turkey, Greece, Italy and Yugoslavia came to Sweden in search for work. However a

remarkable turn of events occurred in February 1972 when the Confederation of Trade Unions (CTU) again decided to put a stop to the immigration waves that arrived to Sweden. At that time it was mostly refugees from Mediterranean countries and other non-Nordic labour force. The CTU started focusing more on hiring Swedish citizens instead (Knocke 2000). This affected mostly the group of refugees who arrived to Sweden after the 80's and who were not given a proper chance to step into the labour market since priority was given to natives. Moreover Knocke (2000) claimed that immigrant workers were rarely given promotions in the job and even rarely were considered for training programs. Hence making their economical situation hard and forcing them to be dependent on the welfare system.

### **2.2.1 Globalization**

A British study in anthropology regarding developments related to food cultures state that a “self-identity is created through food” (James, 1996). As Solomon (2002) calls it “nostalgic food”, which is inherited food from a culture and which due to globalization is on its way to extinct. Another term that is used by Solomon (2002) is “creolization” this term means that food coming from one culture is modified in order to suit better the tastes of the culture it is present in. A good example of this would be the modifying of Turkish “Kebab sandwiches” to suit better the German taste (Caglar et al. 1995). Solomon (2002) explains that these two terms out of four he discussed are part of globalization that is facing the world. Moreover Solomon (2002) argues that with the globalization phenomenon that is dominating over the world, the majority of people are being more and more aware of their cultural traditions and habits and they are having a harder time adopting habits and traditions that are not their own.

Globalization is as well responsible for the increase of high tech methods and specialized expertise when it comes to international trade and industry which acts against people with a low level of education (Cars et al. 1999). This makes it harder for immigrants who have not pursued a high level of education to compete in the labour market (Martinson, 2001). In other words globalization leads to segregation since unfortunately the widespread of a highly specialized labour demand in the market, results in the isolation of a large group of unspecialised immigrants and keeps them from integrating correctly in the Swedish society.

### **2.2.2 Segregation**

Segregation by definition is the separation of people physically due to certain features such as religion, ethnicity, race, sex and even economic and social status (Wikipedia encyclopedia, 2006). There have been countless definitions of segregation and even attempts to join different kinds of segregation in order to find out which social group is widely affected by those. Cars et al. (1999) mean that social and economical segregation usually refer to the segregation of immigrants. By this is meant the phenomenon of immigrants' concentration in metropolitan areas who are suffering from difficulties finding jobs (Martinson 2001). This results in a vicious circle for immigrants who are segregated because of their incompetence in the Swedish job market and their incompetence is a result of the socio-economical segregation.

An important phenomenon that is extracted from a study done on several countries pointed out that Sweden was the leading country when it comes to socially excluding immigrants who did not succeed in coming into the Swedish labour market. The study states that this socially excluded group is found mostly in the outskirts of big cities where infrastructure and communication are worst (SOU 1997:118). Therefore this group of people has a hard time taking themselves up the socio-economical ladder and integrating in the Swedish society.

### **2.3 Acculturation**

*This section of the theoretical guide is very much related to the section above. Although it includes and leads to economical and emotional factors we decided it would be best if we separated it from the above division of theories. The reason behind our decision is to give this part the importance it deserves in relation to our research which investigates immigrants as a consumer power.*

Whenever a person arrives to a new country a process begins in researching the natives' attitudes, values and the cultural behaviour. Collisions of these terms may occur between what has been learned since before with respect to the current situation. Solomon (2002) calls it to be or not to be! This is the question a foreigner or an immigrant is asked, when experiencing unfamiliar situations in a new location. This could be anything from choosing a substitute product to what the person is used to back home or when he is being confronted with questions that are not commonly asked back home (Baysan & Bennerstam, 1990). In the end

how well the person will accept and adopt these kinds of unfamiliarities is referred to as acculturation. Solomon (2002) refers to it as the process of movement and adoption made by a person to a country's environment. While movement refers to physical change of location, adoption is referred to whenever a new consumption pattern is established (Penaloza, 1994). With acculturation comes integration where exhaustive terminologies are brought along; integration, separation, assimilation and so forth. Our objective is to introduce a handful of these terms to the reader with the aim to widen the understanding of how each state (term) influences the individual/immigrant. That is, each state will have certain consequences which accordingly will result in certain behaviour patterns, adopted by the immigrant. The immigrant can therefore choose a lifestyle which we think is highly correlated with whether he adopts or rejects the acculturation process. We should also mention that sometimes the immigrant will not have the luxury of choice but the consequences will shape the persons lifestyle (Penaloza, 1994).

### **2.3.1 What is Acculturation?**

Acculturation is the procedure of both cultural and emotional changes made when intercultural contact occurs (Berry, 2003). Phinney (2003) explains the cultural changes as the alternation that happens to an individual/group regarding his/its economical and political life, while the psychological changes refer to the individual's acculturations process. This includes the person's attitudes overall to the acculturation's process as well as the social behaviour that is established.

Berry (1997) continues this reasoning by telling us what happens with people when they are being affected by the acculturation process. The possible outcome for people is that they want to keep their cultural inheritance and individuality, but at the same time the individual may look for association with the society or with a group (Berry, 1997). When this happens acculturation space is created. The four sectors that arise due to this crossing are assimilation, separation, marginalisation and integration. Since acculturation is a process that is stagnated over time, it means that these four sectors also take place over a certain amount of time (Berry et al 2006).

Armstrong and Sweeney (1994) clearly state that when making a decision, the culture has a huge and significant effect of the perceived problems from an ethical point of view. This also



affects the behaviour of a consumer, when for instance choosing which type of product he/she wants among others. Since this has a huge impact on consumers' behaviour we will introduce each sector below. The model consists of four parts created by John Berry, from a social – psychological model regarding immigrant acculturation.

### **2.3.2 Assimilation & Separation**

The first sector, or orientation as it may also be referred to, is the assimilation sector. The assimilation process occurs when the individual strives to adopt the dominant culture (Berry, 1998). It simply processes to which extent each immigrant wants to accept the host culture. Berry et al. (2006) explain further the assimilation as the way when little interest exists in maintaining the cultural preservation with an inclination for communicating with the society.

As it comes to the separation it may occur when the immigrant believes that his recent culture is better and therefore values it more. In short the person keeps his original culture while at the same time he tries to work adequately to maintain those norms and values (Berry, 1997; Ziad & Swaidan et al 2006). Berry et al (2006) add to this with the explanation that it's the way when one's culture is a centre to uphold with avoidance of other social groups/societies.

In simple words Ziad & Swaidan et al (2006) manage to explain both terms in its intrinsically representative meanings. While both are extreme opposite terms they can be seen as adoption versus rejection of the dominant culture. Through understanding both of these propensities we will gain knowledge of how they will affect the results for an immigrant. The immigrant will experience therefore different experiences, goals and most importantly different styles of living (Ziad & Swaidan et al, 2006).

Since different styles of living will face the immigrant with respect to his/her choices they will combine two forms of change, superficial and relatively deeper changes. Superficial changes include more daily habitual changes such as schooling, housing and food choices (Ziad & Swaidan et al, 2006). Deeper changes are more radical changes in a person's life, these can consist of language shifts, religious conversations and so forth (Ziad & Swaidan et al, 2006). We believe that an immigrant's positioning perspective towards acculturation in relation to a new culture will determine his choices of living as phrased above. Therefore we conceive this is as an essential part to talk about before analysing later on. Additionally what

should be added, even though superficial changes are easier to fulfil for an immigrant. It can also take an amount of time before the changes really are appreciated and adopted by the immigrant (Berry , 1997).

### **2.3.3 Marginalisation & Integration**

Marginalisation can be explained as an abstract state for the immigrant. The immigrant might be confused or found in an “in-between” phase. The immigrant does not really spend any energy on trying to adopt the new culture or reject the old one. No interaction is being done with the society of the host culture or maintenance of his old culture (Berry, et al 2006). The opposite of this stage is the integration. The immigrant is aware of the difficulty he is put against, and therefore tries to anchor both his own culture with the host culture. With other words, maintenance of his/her culture is done as well as involvement in society is being accomplished through learning the new phenomenon.

Other factors that can have a noteworthy effect on an immigrant’s choice of whether integrating or marginalising are demographic factors such as age, sex and religion. For us religion can be a very interesting factor in respect to integration since Islam is the fastest growing religion in Europe and the majority of inhabitants in the Middle East are Muslims (Solomon, 2002). Even though there exist big groups of Christian believers in that region (National Encyclopaedia, 1992). The religion may affect certain behaviours and influence whether the person will integrate smoothly with the new society or not (Berry et al 2006, Figure 4a). Baumann (2002) and Warner (1998) especially scrutinize the central or main factors influencing the integration process, with the conclusion of it being religion in many cases. Both state that this feature persists even with time without being decreased and therefore the immigrant keeps this property long after other important features have been adopted, such as a the language and so forth.

Castles & Miller (2003) continue this discussion by letting us know the motivation for immigrants to move to a new country may plausibly be due to different reasons. One could be to earn money, another to avoid war or oppression. The reasons may be many and therefore also affecting the gratitude of being in a new country, affecting the motivation for an immigrant to acculturate and later to integrate (Castles & Miller, 2003).

But regardless of religion Berry et al (2006) illustrate in their research that regarding youth immigrants, integration increases the longer the person lives in the country. Therefore diffusion or marginalisation often decrease with time. This may seem contradicting in relationship to what is written above stating that religion has such a big effect on an immigrant's life style, but we humans have a large sense of adaptability to new environments and therefore even the middle aged immigrants will adapt with time to new circumstances or environments (Vygotskij, 1995).

### **2.3.4 Other factors affecting acculturation**

It's not in all cases that the acculturation is decided only by the immigrant, for instance which kind of food he wants to buy or from which shop, much is also decided by the society the immigrant has arrived to (Baumann, 2002). Martikainen (2005) talks about the facts or circumstances that some societies do not allow immigrants to become full members of the society. The immigrants are seen as guest labours or from a more radical point of view they may be seen as slaves. This can in short be a result of a political, structural or cultural values system regarding integration.

Hofstede (2001) brings up another theme regarding the terminology of individualism versus collectivism. These both phenomena are closely related to acculturation. Hofstede (2001) explains individualism where individuals in the society have loose ties in between one another. Each individual looks after himself which can be correlated to how the person proceeds with his acculturation process. It may be harder for an immigrant to do everything on his own without any instant help, leaving the person with his old cultural beliefs and not wanting to change (Hofstede, 2001).

Collectivism on the other hand stands for a society that is incorporated into a strong, consistent group. With incorporated we mean integrated. The people within this group are loyal and protected, which makes it easier to adopt the acculturation process. In some cases this might be negative as well, which we will discuss in more details later on (Hofstede, 2001).

The individual that is becoming a member of a culture may start to feel threatened. Hofstede (2001) describes it as meeting unknown situations. As stated before the unknown may be scary and may cause uncertainty regarding decision making. This is defined as uncertainty

avoidance (Hofstede, 2001). Immigrants who respond to uncertainty avoidance are concerned with security in life, feeling good and the need to follow written rules. Especially as an immigrant is new to things, written rules may help him/her follow a certain guideline making it easier for him/her to integrate. In difference to high uncertainty avoidance, the low uncertainty avoidance are people that are less concerned with security and rely less on the written rules that are supposed to work as guidelines.

Both terms of individualism and collectivism can be related to how segregation has arisen in Sweden. In Malmö there are three main areas such as Rosengård, Krocksbäck and Lindängen where foreigners were placed and therefore isolated away from the Swedish society, affecting the acculturation process for each immigrant (Journath, Gjörtler, 2005). Similar areas can be found in Lund, Helsingborg, Göteborg and Stockholm.

This segregation could have had two effects on the immigrants. The first one is that when people first arrive to Sweden they become uncertain of how things work (Popoola, 2001), especially when they don't have any relatives or friends living in Sweden. This clearly can lead to individualism (Ziad & Swaidan et al., 2006). We think that the state individualism can lead the immigrant to keep their own culture and also avoid the acculturation process. Especially due to the fact that these individuals show less tolerance for unknown behaviour and new situations (Ziad & Swadian et al, 2006).

Additionally individualism can therefore lead to collectivism since people that feel, or share the same experiences will interact and get together (Poola, 2001; Vygotskij, 1995). This explains why new arrived immigrants choose areas where segregation has evolved (Journath, Gjörtler, 2005). Since collectivism is a strong character, the new arriving immigrant might find it easier to adopt his personal norms, values and attitudes towards this society group and therefore decline the acculturation process towards the host culture (Berry 1997; Berry 2006; Ziad & Swadian et al 2006).

## **2.4 How are the Theories Chosen, Related to Our Research?**

*As the title states it, this section will discuss the reasoning behind our choice of the theories above. At the same time of it being a theory supporting section, this part is as well a summary*

*of all the theory that was written, hence why we located it at the end of the theoretical chapter. We will attempt to enlighten the reader so that the latter can follow the reasoning through out the work and get a more thorough understanding as to what it is we are trying to accomplish with our text.*

Since the subject we are typing about is not researched yet we had to, with the help of several theories approach our subject. Our purpose was to expose immigrants and their habits regarding food in order to explain the reason behind why they eat the food that is from their homeland. Moreover we attempted to expose the attitudes of immigrants that are directly related to their food consumption habits (Solomon 2002). The attitudes however are themselves affected by many factors which relate to a person's socio-economical situation.

The emotional perspective was brought up for the purpose of giving the reader an insight of how important food is to people, the meanings that food conveys and how people perceive food made by loved ones. Food is important for people since it acts as an identity giver not only to the individual but also to the family or group. This provides the individual with a sense of belonging to the group. Directly related to the first paragraph is the second one which states that food is as well used differently in each context it is put in. For instance food that is used in family, religious or holidays carries this meaning with it in the mind of the person that consumes it. The last paragraph in the emotional perspective that we chose to include was an explanation of the term "Postmodernism". This term refers to the fact that people tend to search for their identity in food. This term takes us back to the first paragraph and confirms the strong role that food plays in a person's life and which is not limited to pure consumption of products in order to satisfy one's hunger.

The second part is the economical perspective which is a huge factor in determining which kind of food one consumes and in which quantities. In that paragraph we chose to present the reasons behind an immigrant's choice of choosing his/her food over the host culture's food. Some Turkish families had the conviction that Turkish food was cheaper since they could cook one big meal and eat it for two days in a row. We continued explaining the economical situation of an immigrant as being tight on money and gave the reasons behind this tight economy the immigrants and their families have to live with. The theories that backed up the immigrant's situation are "globalization" and "segregation" as reasons that come between an

immigrant and him/her bettering his/her situation through possibly getting a well-paid job.

The third big part of the theoretical guide that we chose to include was “acculturation”. We are well aware of that acculturation also responds to a person’s economical and emotional sides but we decided to include it as a somewhat independent title because we wanted to stress its importance. The reason behind this is to clarify for the reader how important acculturation is as a process for an immigrant and to which extent this process is responsible in determining which choices an immigrant will be making throughout his/her life. Then we decided to sub-divide the theory in terms such as “assimilation”, “separation”, “marginalization” and “integration”. These four terms are stages in the acculturation process and these stages are not mutually exclusive i.e. an immigrant may experience all of them at different times or just get attached to one stage and feel comfortable living in that stage for the rest of his/her life. We end this section by acknowledging that there are as well other factors that affect “acculturation” and which are related to the host culture’s characteristics, values and traditions.

#### **2.4.1 Now What?**

At this point after stating our theory and explaining why we selected this theory over other we would like to set the plan for the empirical analysis section, chapter four, in relationship to chapter three, our method. What we are searching to find out from our primary data are certain patterns of behaviour and beliefs that affect consumption. This will be done in two sections, through analysing the data individually and in group. That is, each respondent will be analyzed at first only from a theoretical perspective, underlying patterns between the individual answers, versus what theory says. The next section is correlating patterns in between the interviewees in respect to what we have already analyzed in the individual analysis. Since we would like to understand further what causes our respondents to consume the food they do, we have tried to use all theory when constructing our questions (method) and of course when analyzing the answers. Such analysis can be to clarify further the strong/weak existent link between food consumption and religion, economy and the level of acculturation. Hence our aim will be to understand better the mentality as well as the inner and outer environment behind the choice of food being done. By inner environment we mean family and by outer one we mean society and culture.

### **3. Method**

*In this chapter we will declare the method that has been used throughout this research paper. We want to state the factors that have determined our choice of method with respect to gaining a better understanding of our intentions with this study. Therefore our views, motives as well as our choices for the method will be described below. Additionally we have decided to use a series of methodology authors with the purpose of strengthening our paper. Each qualitative researcher has his own view; therefore we decided to gain a broad perspective by referring to more than one author.*

#### **3.1 Research approach**

The research approach for this study may differ from the regular bachelor thesis approach since the background for this thesis has displayed remarkable lack of direct scientific information or research conducted within this topic. We have not been able to find any significant information why and to what extent foreigners buy their native food. At the same time we see a trend of exotic Middle Eastern food such as kebab, falafel and so forth served in corners around cities in Sweden. Recently a bigger food chain in Lund called Willis started to offer Middle Eastern products, while Sweden's as well as Skåne's biggest food chains ICA, AGs favour as well as Coop Forum have not started to offer these kinds of products and therefore perhaps missing out a big target group. Please keep in mind that we are talking about the city of Lund.

Even though material exists regarding what kind of food Middle Eastern immigrants eat and what affects immigrants to become integrated within the society and so forth. We have realized that there is no direct link to our subject. The lack of scientific information about this problem space has made us define the subject as unexplored. While the subject is unexplored it's partly why we decided to use somewhat an explorative approach. Patel & Davidson (1991) define such approach regarding research as investigating the nature of the problem through collecting knowledge around the subject so that the research can be enlightened. The reason for it being an explorative approach is due to the fact that there has been research done in areas nearby and which we are able to use in order to conduct this research paper. The description of the sub areas are the non explorative part for our study.

Through partly conducting an explorative study we decided to do a qualitative study (Yin, 2002). To sum up this paragraph the study will be a combination of two approaches, theoretical and explorative and through conducting a qualitative study.

### **3.2 The implementation for this study**

Our study will be structured by relating existing theories within different areas in relation to the results we receive from our own study. After receiving the data from our participants, we will try to verify the relation between our theory and the result. For collection of empirical data we choose to use semi structured interviews. The reason for conducting semi structured interviews is to avoid too narrowed information, which can be defined as structured interviews, but also with the purpose to avoid an extravagant gathering of information (Preece, 2002).

Furthermore Patel & Davidson (1991) state that the respondent should have the freedom to talk and associate around the theme without being too fuzzy, which is another reason for this choice. In this way it also opens the possibility for us to ask the respondent new upcoming questions with respect to the interviews.

### **3.3 Asking the right type of research question**

To perform a qualitative study, many authors proclaim different ways to ask a correctly posed research question. Since this is a central part of the work, a diffused question would interfere with our study, while a too specific question might on the other hand create a so called too narrowed perspective (Maxwell, 2005; Miles & Hubermann, 1994). This can affect the study, making the authors miss out on important data.

How should the question be posed? We have looked at several researchers' recommendation. Beginning with Yin (2002) he claims that when performing a case study, the researcher can use five different ways to formulate his research questions (who/which, what, where, how and why). However he doesn't criticise other researchers' claims of using only "what" questions. Methodological researchers such as Crewell (1998), Maxwell (2005) and Miles & Hubermann (1994) claim that the best way to centralize and to work from a well formulated research



question is by posing it through a “what” statement. However Creswell doesn’t neglect the fact that how questions might be used, he also recommends what questions.

### 3.4 Why performing a qualitative study

The main reason with performing a qualitative study is due to the way our research question is posed. This had a big effect on the choice of methodology. Another reason for doing a qualitative research is the fact that no earlier research has been conducted regarding this topic, but only in areas nearby.

Since this is our base we have gone with Miles & Hubermann’s (1994) recommendation regarding how a work can be established. As it clearly shows, “way” number one is done either through a strict qualitative or quantitative study. We chose qualitative. We did so with the perspective of in-depth understanding of the ad hoc to see what really makes people want their own cultural food. This will be depicted on the result whether it may be interesting for huge grocery shops to

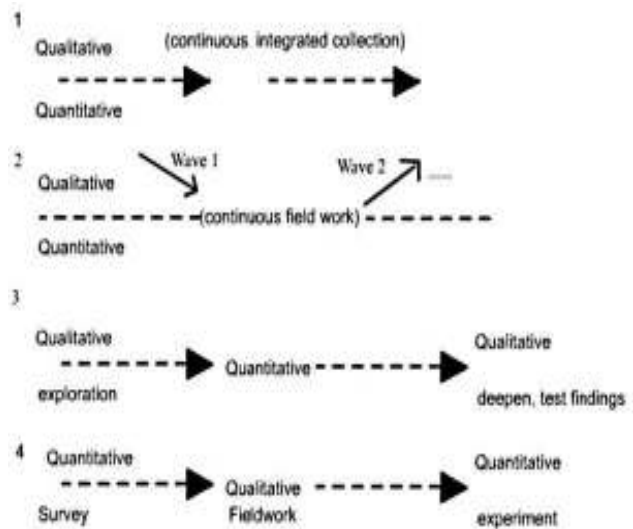


Figure 1. Miles & Hubermann (1994), pg. 41

consider this group or not but also make way for doing a quantitative study in the future and combine the two in respect to “way” number three (Kvale , 1997 ; Miles & Hubermann, 1994). The proclaims made by Creswell (1998) are imminent with enforcing a qualitative study. He states that a qualitative study should be performed when social and human issues are being researched. Creswell (1998) claim that this method is an appropriate way to study such complex problems especially when the researcher builds complicated and holistic pictures, studying information in detail while also analyzing sentences stated.

### 3.5 Data gathering

Our data gathering will consist of two types of data. Beginning with the primary data, it will consist of six qualitative interviews, each country will be represented by two members. The

primary data which is collected will be used as information to verify the relationship to our theory.

Our secondary data will consist of literature, i.e. theory that we collected from scientific journals and various studies. Our secondary data is a helpful mix of information that was studied over an elongated time line so we made sure we had up-to-date journals and somewhat older ones. These two sources will hopefully help us get a better and clearer picture to answer our research question. According to Maxwell (2005) a variety of sources will help the researcher in gaining a broader view of the topic investigated and in reducing the risk of missing valid and important data.

### **3.5.1 How we used the literature**

The literature used by us in this study is mostly gathered from scientific articles but also from books, journals and so forth. As mentioned previously, the areas were not covered totally in prospect with the marketing field but mainly due to the reason that there doesn't exist any solid material that could be much of help for us. Our reasoning when gathering material was to collect the latest most up-to-date information mostly through our own accessible database library ELIN (Electronic Library Information Navigator) but also through scientific search engines such as the search engine google for scholars.

### **3.5.2 Respondents**

We have conducted interviews with six different individuals; each person was from the Middle East. Two persons represent each country, i.e. Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine, in order for us to see if there are differences between them or not. We are aware of that we cannot generalize our result, since we are not performing a quantitative research. However the picture regarding this subject will be enhanced, as well as giving a primary result. Our demand from the respondents was only that they are earlier citizens of these countries or that they are born to parents who are Arabic in origin. Regarding gender, our aim was not to get an equal allotment between the genders although it's always better to have such representation. We, however were only able to interview females since we couldn't find any male that would volunteer to take the interview. We did not see any prevention in age, as long as the interviewee was able to answer our questions. We as well tried to see it from the positive side and apply the belief that women are of more value to our study since according to Baysan &

Bennerstam (1990) they take care of the cooking and shopping most of the time. Just to clarify this statement, we do argue that it would be preferable to have both genders included to gain a wider perspective.

When it comes to age, we don't have any restrictions here either, regarding religious belief, this might be sensitive but also worthy to bring up when doing comparisons. Especially since each religion has certain beliefs, which might affect the acculturation process and therefore lead to an interesting result.

### **3.5.3 Constructing the interview**

When we created our interview questions, we developed an interview guide to gain a better perspective of what questions were posed within the guide. The interview guide was put together from our theoretical reading, to be later applied on our respondents. Moreover Kvale (1997) as well as Creswell (1998) claim that an interview guide will work as an overview manual regarding the subjects that need to be covered at each interview. This guide is also used to gain a certain type of results. Of course some questions were asked spontaneously, due to the fact that we used a semi-structured interview but it's of importance to have a base of questions to fall back on.

Our questions were of course pilot-tested by three colleagues at the University. Two of these colleagues were from the department of informatics and one from the department of economics. After modification we enhanced the reliability of the question by letting a colleague at Hi-Q test walk through our questions' outline (Yin, 2002).

### **3.5.4 Data analysis: Registration & Preparation of the Material**

Preece (2002) explains that when observing users, different techniques will eventually accomplish different information levels when it comes to registration. Our reasoning revolved around making sure that no important information would be missed, one of us took notes, while the other one asked the questions. Additionally we used a voice recorder to record all information since each interview took around an hour. The voice recorder consisted of a video camera but we put the lock over the lens. Kvale (1997) talks about factors that are related to the oral answers such as facial expressions and body reactions when hearing the question and answering it. We believe though that the amount of stress the respondent will go

through when posed in front of a camcorder, is not worth the small amounts of reaction that can be interpreted through body expressions. We focus rather on having a calm respondent that with each and every minute will open up for us more and more and in this way receive equally amount of information (Patel & Davidson , 1991).

Since our approach to gather primary data was semi-structured, there were times we needed to “lead” the respondent to stay within the boundary of each question (Kvale, 1997). The aim of doing so is not to steer the interview but to keep the reliability of the answers given our research area. In this way we reduce information overflow, which is easy to occur with unstructured interviews, as well as narrowing down answers to become consistent. We also tried to observe and perform a follow-up of what the respondent really thinks and feels when answering a question, aiming at understanding attitudes towards each question. This was especially important when interviewing younger respondents, since they could give short answers without developing the reasons behind them. Without too much influence from our side as researchers, our objective was to gain as much accurate information as possible, making semi-structured interviews the most suitable for this kind of research. Finally it also minimizes the risk for making assumptions when analyzing the interviews (Kvale, 1997).

When registration is completed another important part needs to be done and that is transcription of the recordings. Each interview is unique in itself, where only the main questions are related, this enhances the quantity of information (Yin, 2002). To be able to draw patterns out of this kind of information, organization needs to be accurate, placing each answer within each category, developing in this way a structure for all the interviews (Yin, 2002).

Data analysis should be an ongoing process from the early beginning when conducting the interviews (Miles & Huberman, 1994). When transcription occurs from the interviews while keeping in mind the analysis, it will result in reduced amount of time when analyzing (Kvale, 1997). In this way, unexpected surprises will be reduced when gathering data. This will also ease the display of information and verify patterns.

We choose to analyze each interviewee as a unique person, with the reasoning that since each interview took its own shape it will be hard to mesh two or three interviews together. In order to provide a structure to ease the reading, we decided to divide answers into three categories.

The categories consisted of *correlations* between headings. The data was categorized accordingly to:

*I1. Introduction of the person*

*C1. Religion and food consumption*

*C2. Reasons of coming to Sweden and acculturation, how it effects food consumption*

*C3. Attitudes regarding food and acculturation*

*C4. Acculturation versus place of living affecting food consumption*

Therefore, after analyzing each interview we decided to draw correlations between the interviews, stating similarities and differences, ending with a small summary. In this way we believe we are able to capture both patterns and other similarities that can enhance our findings. Since there is no right or wrong when doing a qualitative study, only recommendation, this is our preferred way (Miles & Hubermann, 1994).

### **3.6 Validity versus Reliability & Generalization**

Before entering one of the most essential parts within a research, we would like to bring up the topic generalization. We do not aim to generalize our answers. Our result will lead to suggestions of how it may look like on the market. To verify our results, as we suggested earlier a quantitative study needs to be performed. We also will not relate any statistics to try to make a generalization in relation to such figures, since there is not enough solid statistical information that allows us to do so.

Leaving the topic of generalization, validity refers to what we really want to investigate (Kröner & Wahlgren, 2002). Svenning (1999) tells us that this includes everything from gathering data through interviews, to choice of theory and so forth. Djurfeldt et al. (2003) claim that validity verifies whether we as researchers have been able to transform our theoretical understanding, assumptions and research questions to something measurable. In short, is what we measure valid (Djurefeldt et al. 2003)? Djurfeldt et al. (2003) see it from a quantitative view which is applicable to a qualitative research.

Maxwell (2005) discusses that a qualitative research refers validity to the accuracy or trustworthiness of a description, conclusion and explanation. Our interpretation of Maxwell

(2005) to achieve validity is to take away any threat for the study. These threats are divided into two parts, the researchers' bias and their reactivity. Miles & Huberman (1994) explain that one threat is the selection of data made by the researcher in order to draw valid qualitative conclusions. This is mostly due to the researcher's bias or preferences that might interfere with selection of data.

Svenning (1999) continues explaining that there are different types of validity. The two are *inner* and *outer validity*. To avoid going in depth about these theoretical terms, *inner* validity is the way in which we present our work and what choices we make. *Outer* validity deals with the outer factors affecting the research in itself (Svenning, 1999). This is of course significant for our study since the *outer* factor may affect the interviews that are performed by us. There could be disturbances and so forth while doing the interview. Maxwell (2005) calls this the second threat of reactivity. To avoid this we have scheduled a room in Komvux where only the three of us sat in. When we interviewed the teenage girls we had as well scheduled a room in their respective schools in order for the interview quality not to be compromised. Since the *inner* validity or the threat of *bias* is based on subjective choices, the reader can see the results while reading this paper. It should be added that choices were made at all times to benefit our research, and each choice is hopefully explained to such extent that no questions will rise regarding whether it's valid or not. In short both qualitative and quantitative research has imminent opinions of defining validity.

While validity deals with one significant part of this work, reliability deals with another. Djurfeldt et al. (2003) explain reliability as whether the research is relevant, that is the answers and the information gained, but also if it's trustworthy (Kvale, 1997). It's a measurement whether the same method would gain the same result (Kvale, 1997).

This is the huge issue with conducting a qualitative study. Foremost detractor has been pointed out whether qualitative studies bring adequate validity and reliability (Kvale, 1997). In our case as well as in any other qualitative study, external factors may enhance the level of difficulty of gaining the same result. It's important to point out that our views as humans change each and every day, making it therefore almost impossible to gain the same information from the same respondents. On the other hand this is also the beauty with qualitative research. This issue is also related to quantitative studies since each person may answer differently each and every time. Although a quantitative research is easier to set up to

be replicable, we are not concerned with the fact that we chose a qualitative approach, due to the fact that we are contributing towards a new research area, in a very early stage. We also explained each and every choice in our paper making it easy for our reader to attend to our choices.

We would like to inform the reader that our interviews were made in three different languages. The majority were able to answer in English, sometime a Swedish word came up or an Arabic word. Since all languages are mastered fluently we see no problem with the transcription being in English.

### **3.7 Criticism**

We believe that criticising our own research is a way to communicate with the reader that we are very aware of that the process of conducting research could be done differently and in other ways. From our own experiences, these appearances often occur when the work has been fully conducted and published, resulting in it being too late to modify the paper. We as two marketing researchers believe that even though such critic is posed after a paper has been published it just enhances the possibility of renewing or altering the paper's result in future studies through comparing, discussing, neglecting results and so forth, but perhaps most importantly adding new findings to the subject. Since we are writing within an unexplored field we can already state that it would be more appropriate to have males included within the study to see eventual differences. Since we are writing a thesis on the bachelor level it's difficult to treat all preferences to make a perfect study. Of course we would like to compare a quantitative study to our research findings but that will have to be a recommendation for future studies. As the reader can understand from our own criticism is that these acknowledgements would be less difficult to do if there were guidelines within the area of research. Since we are first to conduct such research we are aware of certain weak points like with any other research. The purpose however is still to give a better understanding regarding the area and not to stagnate any consistent results, at this stage.

## **4. Empirical Analysis**

*This section of our research has an impending merge of two parts, our empirical findings with our analysis. We chose to work in the following manner since we believe, as authors of our work, that it will simplify the process of understanding our results. Additionally the reader will only be exposed to the same information at one place, since a separation by two headings might be experienced as redundant information, confusing the reader. This is the main purpose of constructing this chapter in this way. We always give the reader the possibility to judge the findings from his/her own perspective by including our primary data as enclosure. Moreover, as stated in the methodological part of this paper, we will divide each interview, analysing it according to what the interviewee has stated in respect to our own analytical capacity. These interviews' analysis will be followed up by a section where we correlate patterns in between the interviewees and at the end summarizing the findings. Finally we have assigned fake names to each respondent to make the reading more personal and pleasant.*

### **4.1 Interviews**

*To be able to determine and understand the habits of Middle Eastern consumers regarding food, we need to investigate their lifestyles, in order to grasp how they are living. In order to understand how they are living we need to, as researchers, see and understand what underlying and external factors play for an essential role in order to shape a Middle Eastern person's lifestyle. As the reader can right now realize, the lifestyle can be viewed as the key to affecting the food habits, which marketers can draw conclusions from and in best case target. Note to avoid making our reader confused only certain aspects of each interviewee's lifestyle will be considered.*

#### **4.1.1 Interview Analysis 1**

##### **I1. Introduction of Personal Details**

To make the reading a bit easier we will call the first respondent Rana. She is 15 years old, a teenager, studying for the moment in primary school, grade nine. She has been in Sweden for almost four years and her origin is Iraqi. When we spoke to her she talked almost fluent Swedish without any refraction. It was hard to tell that she was a first generation immigrant. Finally she moved to Sweden with her family consisting of five people.



## **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

In Rana's case this correlation has a huge impact on her life. She is a strong believer of Islam. As Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) claim, food could in religious context imply rules, which it certainly does in Rana's life. Religion controls Rana, by telling her what she is allowed to eat and what is prohibited. While foreigners apply the religious belief to different extents, it has become widely accepted in Sweden that Muslims do not eat pork (Baysan & BennerStam, 1990). We believe that this acceptance has beneficial consequences on the acculturation for Muslim immigrants, such as in Rana's situation. In some situations, religion dominates certain values, making the meaning of food a very special occasion. Moore (1957) explains it that we as children are brought up with certain foods, mostly based on culture like in Rana's case, affecting what we appreciate and what we dislike. This concludes that Rana has a positive attitude for food that represents home for her (More about this in C3), but simultaneously causing her to distance herself from Swedish food. Already at an early stage with this respondent the religion seems to have a strong connection with food consumption.

Since religion plays a big role in Rana's life, it evolves in making it impossible for her to taste and acculturate fully with Swedish food. She eats for instance only vegetarian dishes in school which she is not fond of. Since all kinds of meat need to be butchered in a special Muslim way, this way is called Halal. It has a significant importance since neither chicken nor beef is eaten, due to the "incorrect" way of butchering the animal. Of course this is a respectable question of choice that Rana makes. She assured us that no one is forcing her to live the way she is living, and her choices are only made by her. However consumption at home is mostly Middle Eastern food; especially the meat creates the need to buy their food from Islamic Butcheries in Malmö, making it appropriate to do other grocery shopping there as well. This results in special behaviour that is learned from home, depicting a need. The need consists of eating special butchered food. Therefore the food has a symbolic meaning in Rana's family's case, tying as illustrated above moral values and obligations to it. Rana is only able to eat meat if butchered the correct way (Bugge, 2003; Gullestad, 1995).

Regardless, we see a clear pattern between how religious belief affect food consumption in Rana's case. This coalescing relationship is very interesting and since it clearly steers the choice of food that an immigrants makes, at least in Rana's and her family's situation.

## **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption?**

We find it also very essential to understand the reason of moving. In Rana's case it was political tyranny or instability in Iraq. Rana's family didn't have a one way ticket to Sweden, they fled firstly to Liberia and then when her mother was accepted to Sweden, the family was able to move as well. The reason why we believe that it's important to know the underlying factor of movement is because it in some sense determines the immigrant's choice of lifestyle since movement and adoption will affect the acculturation process (Penaloza, 1994; Solomon, 2002). It's all correlated, and the reason for moving can affect the mental preparation of accepting the physical move, determining whether the person wants to adapt to the new country or not. In Rana's case it affects five people, which are the members of the family. It's hard to analyze how it influenced each and every person, but from the information we received from Rana it seems that they have a similar view of how to adapt themselves to Sweden.

Since there are different stages of adaptation and other factors that are playing a role within this process, the immigrants will pose questions regarding to what extent their lifestyle should be the same as earlier or modified, affecting of course in the long run their choice of food and the food consumption. Having this in mind, it's not sure that their move to Sweden, to make a better life will necessarily mean that they are willing to associate, assimilate or even integrate with the new society (Berry, 1996; Berry, 2006). As Solomon (2002) explains it, collisions arise between what has been learned, in respect to what is at the very moment experienced. Rejecting these psychological changes can involve that old behaviour will be preferred, meaning that the food which Rana is used to, will continue to be eaten (Phinney, 2003). Since she has only been to Sweden for a short time, consisting of four years, we believe her acculturation process is still undergoing changes, resulting in separated behaviour regarding certain aspects of life such as cultural changes and food consumptions (Berry, 1998; Ziad & Swaidan et al 2006). For instance Rana claimed that her adaptability to Swedish culture was six to seven on a scale from one to ten (where one represents the least and ten the most). She found her acculturation as very quick in comparison to her family members, but felt at the same time that the hardest thing to adapt to was/is the fact that her religious beliefs don't fit in the same context as it did back home, affecting her food consumption as we talked about in C1. This causes Rana to consume even more Iraqi food, according to her. We allege that this issue will not be resolved within the nearest time since Iraqi culture and Swedish culture are

simply different, regardless of globalization (James, 1996). The mental separation will cause Rana to believe that her recent culture is better and therefore value it more, which also leads us back to the same topic of thoughts that it's very likely that she will continue consuming her recent culture's food. She stated: "Yes it makes me want to consume Iraqi food". This quotation is withdrawn from question four under the topic acculturation. At the same time it leads us as researchers to ask whether the gap that exists between being able to acculturate, and experience differences or difficulties when integrating can lead to separation (Castel & Miller, 2003). That is having different beliefs when coming to Sweden while trying to acculturate to the new culture, can be an obstacle to integrate fully and cause separation leading in Rana's case to wanting to consume her own food to a greater extent.

### **C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

Rana's food habits are advocated by the influence of what she eats at home. This can as written above be correlated to religious beliefs, although they are in some sense ephemeral in respect to what certain traditions exist and that are followed. She claimed for instance that she didn't understand her parents' ways of seeing certain things, such as becoming sad the day when Mohammad the prophet died. She explained her feelings as being a little sad, which we didn't find as convincing when we did the interview, both body language and tone of voice were covering up something else. Nevertheless if the attitudes regarding tradition are as we think they are, slightly different, then perhaps her attitude could also be slightly different than what she was brought up with. Nonetheless, Rana will intrinsically not be exposed to such opportunity due to religious beliefs, therefore she has a hard time giving an objective opinion about the real Swedish food in comparison to her origin food, since she is not allowed to try it. Therefore it's only natural for her to have a preference for Arabic food. Any other objective would be detrimental for her lifestyle. Another reason for having such a "patriotic" attitude is the fact of being away from the country of origin brings the person closer to everything that has to do with the native country (Moss, 1996). We believe that such source can also cause the eagerness of wanting your own home products and not the native Swedish products (James, 1996; Moss, 1996). If this is the situation of Rana, it's hard to tell and perhaps unimportant due to the fact that Rana's situation is more controlled by the religion she practices and her recent cultural beliefs.

Rana's attitude to food in relation to her acculturation process is perhaps more interesting, because of the limitation she has regarding exploring her food attitude storage. This inhibits or

even restrains her from fully acculturating. Regarding the acculturation, separation occurs clearly and she is satisfied with having things according to what they are (Berry, 1997; Ziad & Swadian et al 2006). One could say that integration is impossible here, but we do not believe this is completely true, since the respondent is aware of the difficulties and tries to resolve them in the best manner. Concerning Rana and her family this is solved through buying Halal meat and Middle Eastern food that her mom cooks. This behaviour makes it possible to integrate and manage everyday life, but from a social perspective this kind of integration could be seen as a failure due to the fact that the immigrant becomes unacquainted with the Swedish culture. At the same time immigrants cause a demand for special kinds of food. If such kinds of food would be offered in all big grocery shops we find it impending that any type of integration will be possible. Finally what we believe should be mentioned is the approximation of Swedish crowns spent on Middle Eastern food. Rana tells us that shopping is made around three to four times a week, spending around a 1000 SEK on such food. The spending could be even more. Since Rana integrates with her family in a different way, the bigger grocery shops shouldn't impede such integration but facilitate it, because now the only benefits gained from this integration are the small boutiques, by targeting families like Rana.

#### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

Rana has not been influenced by the topic of segregation; on the contrary, she chose a "normal" neighbourhood to live in without any deviant circumstances. This helps her and her family integrate through being around Swedish natives and using the language everyday. It helps them accumulate. In addition, Rana exposed that her family doesn't want to live around other Iraqis due to several reasons, such as, that they are very loud and that they always cause trouble. We believe this is a very vague reason but still an adequate explanation. It is of importance to bring up as well that although segregation hasn't been a determining factor for Rana, living in a native Swedish area has helped the acculturation process but still separation has occurred. Using her own native language at home has ensured that identity has been kept and some cultural values as well.

### **4.1.2 Interview Analysis 2**

#### **I1. Introduction of Personal Details**

The next person that we interviewed was a Lebanese woman. In this paper we will call her Hanna. She wasn't comfortable about giving her real age but by looking at her we would like

to mention that she is middle aged. Hanna is born in Beirut to a Lebanese mother and an Armenian father. She is married to a Swedish person and has two grown up sons. She lived in Lund while she was single but as soon as she got children, Hanna and her husband felt that they needed a bigger house so they moved to Hjärup. Hanna is a “mother tongue” teacher of Arabic.

### **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

Hanna is Armenian Christian. It’s almost the same as catholic Christian, she explained to us. We posed several questions to Hanna in order to point out to which extent she considers herself to be a believer and whether her faith affects in any way her consumption of food. Hanna considered that she was never a deep believer. When we asked her whether her values and traditions were the same as her parents’ including religious traditions, Hanna answered that her parents have always been much more of believers than she was even when she still was living with them in Beirut. We then continued to pose the question whether Sweden played a role in this gradual detachment of her religious practices, to which Hanna answered that after coming to Sweden she became more open minded and flexible in her way of thinking. She stated that she got a new mentality when she came to Sweden.

Our second set of questions started with whether Hanna’s religious belief affects her consumption of food. Hanna sees no relationship between her belief and the food she eats. She states furthermore that her religion has absolutely nothing to do with what she chooses to eat on a daily basis. We do agree with Berry (et al 2006, Figure 4a) that religion affects integration and we can clearly see that religion is not acting as an obstacle keeping Hanna from experiencing the Swedish culture through food as well.

### **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption?**

Hanna Left her home country Lebanon and came to Sweden 33 years ago due to feminine issues as she explained to us. She wanted to continue her studies and we asked her why has she specifically chosen Sweden to which she replied that she felt that Sweden was a country that applied fairly the principle of equality between men and women and this was exactly what she was searching for. Hanna explained to us that she came to Sweden solely based on her own decision and none whatsoever due to any political situation or war in Lebanon. According to Castles and Miller (2003) the reason behind moving to a country affects the

amount of gratitude a person develops towards the host country and hence plays a big role in the acculturation process. Hanna in this case showed a lot of gratitude because she felt taken care of in Sweden. She left Lebanon willingly, searching for a better social policy suiting her as a woman and she felt that she found it in Sweden. From Hanna's answers we were able to deduce that she came to Sweden prepared for the acculturation process and almost happy to make the crossing between her mother culture and the host culture. This fact is related to which kind of food she consumes since she is not facing separation which according to (Berry, 1997; Ziad and Swaidan et al 2006) makes the person maintain his/her original norms and values. Hanna cooks Swedish food and moreover she celebrates Swedish as well as Lebanese holidays by baking the appropriate cakes for each occasion.

So in short Hanna has integrated well in many aspects, but still she has some preferences of Lebanese food, whenever possible. We see a tendency of her assimilating to the Swedish culture in many ways affecting her food consumption, through being more Swedish, but separation is also occurring through holding back certain values and living by them, making her a customer to the small shops that sell Middle Eastern food (Bauman & Warner, 1998).

### **C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

Attitudes affect the acculturation process says Solomon (2002). Attitudes affect as well a person's choice between products that are meant for consumption (Solomon 2002). Moreover studying a person's attitude towards the host culture clarifies which position the immigrant is in and allows researchers to understand which behaviour that will be dominant. We asked Hanna whether she liked Swedish food and she answered that she does and that she cooks Swedish meals to her family and herself more often than she cooks Lebanese food. She clarified as well that she has reservations towards Swedish food. She doesn't feel that all the food is tasty since she misses the tastes of spices and herbs that are found in the Lebanese food. Hanna hangs on to Lebanese-Swedish identity as she explained to us.

Berry (et al 2006) stated that integration occurs when the person is aware of the difficulties found when facing a new culture and tried to find a balance between the mother culture and the host one. This is clearly the case with Hanna since she doesn't apply one cultures' habits and traditions in a mutually exclusive way over the other. Hanna made it clear to us that she likes Swedish food and that she raised her children on it which made us understand that she appreciates the benefits found in this food. Her present state is acceptance of the host culture

however this wasn't the case forever. Hanna experienced in her early stages of arrival separation since she wasn't able to accept the sweet taste that is found in the Swedish food (Berry, 1997; More , 1957). She explained to us that 33 years ago the Arabic shops did not exist and she had to find a way to survive and get used to an extremely different taste than she was used to in Lebanon. Berry (1997) and Ziad & Swadian (et al 2006) mean by separation that the immigrant believes that his/her mother culture is the best and stay attached to it. Hanna struggled to detach from her culture in the beginning since she wasn't able to find anything resembling her taste in food in Sweden. Time played an essential factor in the process of adaptation and Hanna proved that as time passed she was able to accept more and more the Swedish taste and even to an extent that her consumption changed from unwilling to very willing. Hanna remains however preferring Lebanese food since for her it's based on vegetables which she prefers over meat and potatoes.

The issue of identity is explored by many researchers who linked which kind of food a person chooses to eat to his/her identity. As Moisiu (et al. 2004) puts it food reflects not only the family's but the individuals' identity as well. Hence we posed the question whether Hanna feels that the food she eats represents her identity or not and to which she answered that the food she eats is mostly Swedish and after 33 years of living in Sweden she believes that it represents the Swedish side that she embraced and accepted. Hanna's answer and feeling of belongingness to the Swedish culture reflects the level of not only acculturation but integration as well. This tells that Hanna adopted the Swedish culture while maintaining her mother culture since she prefers Lebanese food and has a very positive attitude to the Swedish food. We asked Hanna how often she shopped for Lebanese food in order to determine her consumption patterns regarding products that are coming from Lebanon and she answered once every two weeks. She added that she spends around 200 SEK whenever she shops in the Arabic shop in Malmö. We linked her answer to the one of the previous question when she explained to us that she only cooks Lebanese food whenever she has time since she considers it time consuming and we deduced that the fact that she is a working woman keeps her from maybe investing more time, energy and money in preparing Lebanese meals.

#### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

Acculturation is related in the first place to the place of living and to a large extent to the amount of time a person spends in the host country. Berry et al (2006) confirm that the longer a young person lives in the host culture the easier the acculturation hence the integration

process becomes. Hanna came as a young lady to Sweden and she has been living here for 33 years which tells us that she has had a long time to integrate, acculturate and adapt to her host culture.

Berry (2003) explains acculturation as the procedure of cultural and emotional changes made when intercultural contact occurs. We believe that the contact occurs mostly in the beginning in the place of living. It's important that the place of living that the individual chooses satisfies the needs for acculturation and does not promote any environment for segregation. According to SOU (1997:118) the socially excluded groups are mostly found in the outskirts of big cities where infrastructure and communication are worst. This was not the case of Hanna since she came directly to Lund as a student and she lived for a long time in Lund. She was herself a student and she lived among students hence this eased the integration process for her. Hanna moved to Hjärup when she became a mother of two since she needed a bigger house for her family. She wanted to stay in Lund but wasn't able to get an apartment in time. We then asked Hanna if she believed that her place of living affected at any point of time her integration process. She answered that it had no negative effect at all but that it helped that she lived among students as a student and among families as a family. She added that she is married to a Swedish man and this in itself is a ticket to integrate in the Swedish society. Berry (1998) refers to Hanna's integration process as assimilation since she strived to accept the host culture by being an open minded academic person and by marrying a Swedish man.

Hanna was lucky as well to have faced true elements that facilitated her acculturation process. She stated that it was easy for her to fit-in in Sweden since everyone was extremely nice to her the entire way. Hanna stated as well that the level of her acculturation hence integration has no effect whatsoever over her food consumption. In Hanna's case her place of living became her home and she doesn't have any plans for returning to her country of origin. She has settled down completely.

### **4.1.3 Interview Analysis 3**

#### **II. Introduction of Personal Details**

This lady will be named Yara, she is 35 years old, and has already lived in Sweden for almost 10 years. She moved here with her family, which consists of four people, due to the difficult situation in Iraq. They moved at first to Malmö, but live today in Staffanstorps.



## **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

Yara is a Muslim believer which she states has an influence on her choice of food. She clearly agrees that her religion tells her what food is allowed to be consumed and which is prohibited. The food consumption is therefore from a religious context followed by rules (Baysan & Bennerstam, 1990). On the discrepancy level she agrees that although the religion claims certain living ways that a human being should follow, she has an open mindedness refuting this perspective. Yara has the attitude that the religion is something that is within each human being, and only should be a guidance throughout life, letting the person himself choose how to live. For Yara this means that she celebrates different traditions such as Ramadan, but at such occasions the food doesn't change only the time of eating and perhaps the amount. Moreover this tradition might enhance the family's belief or work as an expressive way for keeping a special identity (Arnould, 2000;Lupton, 1994). This can be seen as the emotional perspective for Yara and her husband. The children do not follow the Islamic rules to such extent (Bourdieu, 1990). So where is the limit? For Yara it's separating between sorts of meat, while at Ramadan it's not eating between certain hours. But the meat does not have to be butchered in a special way, but it shouldn't be pork (Baysan & Bennerstam, 1990). We believe that Yara's interpretation of food from an Islamic point of view can be a way of strengthening her moral values and her earlier obligations that she lived by in Iraq (Gullestad, 1995). These have simply followed along to Sweden when she immigrated. For Yara it's not only about religious food but also keeping her inherited food that she was brought up with (More, 1957). While religious beliefs can be a foundation that she wants to keep her native food, consumption, passing this tradition to some extent to her children (Mosisio, et al, 2004). She claims to cook Iraqi food everyday for the entire family, and only occasionally cooking Swedish food whenever her children ask for it. Therefore Yara is perhaps not very influenced by her religion, letting her kids eat Swedish food (including pork), and can therefore perhaps be classified as a neutral believer. In this way she may be targeted for both Swedish food, for her children and for Middle Eastern products. This perspective will be discussed more forward in C2 and C3.

## **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption?**

Yara came to Sweden with her husband and her two children due to the rough conditions they were living in, in Iraq. They decided to move so that they are able to give their children a

better life. Since Yara has been in Sweden for 10 years, the acculturation process is perhaps non-existent any more. She has integrated to a level where she is comfortable with herself and her environment. She clearly stated that the environment cannot affect her, probably due to the fact that it already has influenced her to a large extent. We believe she has already experienced the difficulties between her recent culture and the Swedish one (Berry et al. 2006). Even though she might have experienced some marginalisation in the beginning of her stay in Sweden, we can almost assume that she has assimilated herself, by adopting the new culture. This might be a result that her religious belief is only neutral, allowing her children to eat Swedish food whenever they want it. At the same time she has separated cooking, being mostly dominant by Iraqi food during the week (Berry, 1997; Berry et. al , 2006; Ziad & Swaidan, 2006). As claimed earlier it's only her children that can affect her to cook something else, meaning that as claimed in C1 she is a potential consumer for both kinds of food.

### **C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

To point out, Yara is very patriotic regarding her native food, she definitely prefers Middle Eastern food, if she is not asked something else by her children. As the reader by now can understand she has a neutral attitude to the Swedish food, but doesn't believe that the taste fits her. So is it necessary to like Swedish food to integrate fully? We don't believe so and neither does Yara. She has tried it and she just doesn't find it tasty. As Moore (1957) explains it she is brought up with other spices and therefore perhaps has a preference of Middle Eastern food. Rice, meat stew and vegetables represent a dish that takes her back to her home country. Actually if the reader notices there are no specific ingredients in relation to Swedish dishes. Yara explains that she can find all the products in a Swedish grocery shop. The difference is probably the sort of rice and the taste of the vegetables and meat. Middle Eastern meals have a strong identification role with Yara. She stated that food is an important factor because it says a lot about her and where she comes from (Groves, 2001). It resembles or identifies her (Bourdieu, 1990). This has of course an imminent coalescing relationship with her religious belief, setting a sort of identification by consuming some kind of food.

Since the food is now-a-days more and more offered in bigger grocery shops, it's easier for Yara to buy the things she like, that are similar to Middle Eastern food. It's the way of thinking, that we believe as researchers, will for one stimulate a need that Yara has, appreciating and liking the taste of her origin food. A second reason could be that she feels identification when buying her native food sorts. She estimates spending around 500 SEK on

products from the Middle East per week, and she doesn't really see the necessity of changing these habits. The choice variation of products is becoming more frequent according to her, especially in bigger grocery shops. Smaller shops are still dominant in offering Arabic food. Globalization is a fact, that more and more grocery shops offer various food but not to the extent that she would like to. As James (1996) and Solomon (2002) claim, Yara thinks that it's only a matter of time before bigger grocery shops will offer such food as the smaller shops do. Her economy allows her to plan her expenses, and we got the impression that she would want to buy everything from one shop, instead of spreading her shopping.

#### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

Since Yara has been to Sweden for a while, it's hard to determine which psychological stages she has experienced and at what time. We can say that she has integrated to a level of being able to live in Sweden, as well as accumulated and accepted that there are differences between cultures, and therefore assimilating and separating herself towards situations and things such as food consumption. We know that she lived in the beginning in Malmö (Rosengård) which had its pros and cons. As always it's hard to move to a new country she claimed, since it's a new culture and the people have different mentalities. Malmö, she said was a place where we could recognize certain behaviour from back home, making the shock less. This can be classified or viewed as a marginalisation stage (Berry, 2006). The reason for this was probably that in Malmö there are areas that are very segregated, making it easier for the immigrant to adapt to the environment. At the same time the acculturation process is slow. Yara and her husband were affected by segregation. As Martikainen (2005) talks about that there are circumstances in which society doesn't allow immigrants to become full members, which we believe happened to Yara. We think that there is a strong connection between segregation and how well an immigrant integrates. As in Yara's case and her family's, they were exposed to an abstract state, mentioning that acculturation process was slow, making therefore a desired integration impossible. The confusing side of using the term integration is that an immigrant can integrate in Sweden through segregation but still not be a part of the society as a native Swedish person is. The immigrant can be fully functional in the segregated area, working, eating and enjoying life, not using even the Swedish language, making him/her integrate in the society but separating from the native Swedish ideology of how integration should take place. A lot of this has to do with collectivism, as Yara was mentioning that there were a lot of Iraqi people within the same situation, making communication easier (Hofstede, 2001). A turning point according to was when she got a job outside the consisted (collected)

group, outside the segregated area, into a full society membership. When she got to this stage they broke loose physically from the collectivism and from the segregated area.

The fact we see is that when an immigrant is posed to such environment as Yara and her family, there is no reason to change their recent culture, confirming that separation occurs, especially when it comes to certain issues as food consumption that are not needed to be changed. Yara was very aware of which Arabic shop had what kind of products in Malmö, making the barrier between moving and adopting new culture small when it comes to segregated areas. The barrier becomes bigger when advancing out of the segregated area into a more native Swedish one. The first difference that Yara saw after moving to Staffanstorp was the factor of individualism. This is of course the interpretation of her saying that everybody keeps for themselves over there, and each person minds his/her own business. There are simply loose ties (Hofstede, 2001). For Yara and her family the place of living we believe has affected food consumption. In the beginning when staying in a segregated area it was alright to get hold of all familiar products that exist back home. When moving to Staffanstorp the difficulty of having to eat the same thing as before increased. Having to go 20 km to buy Arabic food (the distance between Staffanstorp and Malmö) is time consuming but necessary, due to their need. Although they see an increasing department of Arabic food in bigger grocery shops, it is still not at the level they would want to. Finally a last observation that was made was that they began to cook Swedish food at home due to their children. The children are in an integrated place bringing home new ideas and inspirations, probably from school and from their friends' houses. This speculation is not certain but we believe that it may be a reason why Yara and her family have assimilated more with the Swedish culture (Berry, 1997; Berry, 2006). So clearly in Yara's case the environment of living is affecting their choice of food to a certain degree, but as Moore (1957) claims that what we are brought up with is what we like. We would also add that what is available around us will also affect how much we are willing to change, which clearly simulates to Yara's family's situation.

#### **4.1.4 Interview Analysis 4**

##### **II. Introduction of Personal Details**

Pia is a 14 year old girl, born in Sweden to parents who immigrated from Palestine. She is a young teenager that has been affected by the separate cultures, trying to dig out the best out of

each and create a personality, through belonging to one of them. Right now she is still in grade nine and has relatively a big family consisting of six people.

### **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

Pia is brought up with vague religious beliefs and therefore she doesn't practice any sort of religion. Her father has also abandoned the religious belief leaving her mom practicing Islam, but not forcing her children to do so. Her family has clearly assimilated to the Swedish food culture, through eating pork and so forth. It's only her mother who avoids eating pork, but she buys it for her children. There are no religious restrictions that are practiced in her family and therefore in short does not affect their food choice, nor where they buy it from (Baysan & Bennerstam, 1990). They buy their food from the normal big grocery shops as ICA and AGs and so forth. Since tradition involves religion and culture, in Pia's case they have adopted Christmas as being their special holiday tradition. Lucia, Easter and so forth are also celebrated which are more Christian traditions. Since Sweden is a Christian country to a certain extent, we can clearly see that Pia as second generation immigrant has integrated fully when it comes to food traditions in comparison to her parents. We will talk a bit more about this in the heading here under. To sum up this paragraph, we couldn't find any relationship between Pia, her religious belief and her food consumption.

### **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption? C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

Pia is born in Sweden so this topic maybe isn't appropriate as the reader might think. Since she still lives with her parents it might be interesting to understand why Pia answered as she did. Her parents escaped Palestine due to war and political instability. They chose to live in a non-segregated area in Lund, mostly due to the calm environment. Even though Pia is born here she was probably brought up with Palestinian values. Due to the fact that her parents have a bond with their native country and it's only natural to try to pass certain traditions on. This causes a bit of separation for the child from his/her Swedish learning process (Berry, 1997; Moisiu et al, 2004; Moss, 1996). This may explain why she prefers to eat occasionally, perhaps more than one time per week Arabic food. Therefore shopping for such products is also approximated to be done one time per week. It's what More (1957) talks about as educated values that we are brought up with. But still, on week days she eats Swedish food which her mom cooks or that she eats in school. Again this proves that she has been raised and exposed to certain behaviour, making it easy for her to associate with food that she feels

emotionally close to (Bugge, 2003; Pertidou, 2001). Therefore she makes a statement that she prefers Swedish food in general but a mixture could be considered with Arabic food. However the food she eats at home does not represent Pia's identity according to her. Perhaps she is ashamed for some uncertain reasons to admit it or just haven't realized it due to still being young? These are severe speculations and a correct answer would be received if another interview was made with her in a couple of years.

#### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

As we were saying earlier Pia believes she is more Swedish than Palestinian, making her choice of food as the native Swede. She is a bit affected by her mom who cooks an Arabic meal per week but other than that she very little in touch with her parent's recent culture (Moisio et al, 2004). Since the acculturation process is almost fulfilled for Pia, the affection comes more from the Swedish food. Factors such as believing that she is Swedish, speaking mostly Swedish and hanging out with native Swedes influence her towards this direction. Finally we can determine that she hasn't been affected by segregation but proves that the environment, home traditions and so forth yet again affect us humans very intensively and deeply. In this case towards a Swedish perspective.

### **4.1.5 Analysis of Interview 5**

#### **I1. Introduction and Personal Details**

Our 5<sup>th</sup> interviewee is a woman born in Palestine and who will be referred to as Nour. Nour is married to a Palestinian man and has two children with her husband. She has moved to Lebanon as a child and lived there until she moved to Sweden. She is 32 years old and she spent 17 years in Lebanon however she considers that Palestine is her home land as she explained to us.

#### **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

Nour lives by her Muslim faith. Her case is an example of what Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) referred to as reflecting the religious identity through the kind of food a person eats. Nour told us that she truly follows her religion when it comes to which kind of food to and not to eat. She also believes that following certain food consumption patterns says which kind of believer she really is. She goes to a shop in Malmö and she buys the meat and other products from there. She explained to us during the interview that the meat she buys is the so called

“halal” meat which refers to the fact that the meat was butchered according to the Islamic recommendation. She also told us that she does not eat pork meat nor drink alcohol. Nour’s lifestyle and consumption habits are dominated by her Islamic beliefs and her actions are affected by that as well. Nour told us that she does not buy meat from any shop if she is not sure that the meat is “allowed” by her religion. Her religion has a clear association with her food consumption, making her a loyal customer to boutiques that offer Middle Eastern food. Baumann (2002) and Warner (1998) explore which role religion has when it comes to integration and the transition to the host culture. They explain that religion is a factor that does not decrease over time and hence it’s a persistent factor affecting the immigrant’s behaviour in general, let alone his/her consumption behaviour. Nour has been living in Sweden for 15 years and she still eats the same kind of food that she grew up in Lebanon with. Although she has a positive attitude towards the Swedish food she believes that following Islam’s recommendations is more important.

## **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption?**

Nour moved to Sweden alone because she was engaged to a Palestinian who is a resident in Sweden. After coming to Sweden for a personal relationship that didn’t become functional Nour, stayed in Sweden and eventually married another Palestinian man who is as well a Swedish resident. Nour decided to stay in Sweden hoping for a better life but she was not convinced that she will find it here. She expressed in her way that she was pressured to move to Sweden and she didn’t accept that fact very well. After the interview Nour tried to communicate in Swedish language on a more open level, and as in the interview we noticed that her Swedish was very poor, which led us to switch to the Arabic language which is her mother tongue. This convinced us that she is not properly acculturated and moreover that she is alienated from the Swedish culture.

All the facts above relate to Nour’s food consumption in a way that she cooks Lebanese/Palestinian food which she was brought up with (More, 1957; Phinnery, 2003). She cooks that everyday for herself and her family as well. She told us that she cooks Swedish food once in a while for her children’s sake but mostly she believes they are very comfortable with eating Lebanese food. Nour feels that she is not acculturated at all socially and that she cooks what she knows best which is, Lebanese food.

### **C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

Nour said that she doesn't have a negative attitude towards Swedish food but she doesn't believe that it measures up to the Lebanese food. We believe that Nour is having a hard time accepting the host culture since she is still at the separation stage. She is however attached to the Lebanese food emotionally because she relives her past through it (Moss, 1996). Lebanese food reminds her of her childhood and family and she identifies with her past instead of her present (Bourdieu, 1990). We continued posing questions to Nour about Lebanese/Palestinian food and what it means for her and she said that this is the food that she will be eating for the rest of her life and she doesn't see why she should change to anything else.

Nour only shops for meat and the majority of her food only from one shop in Malmö that sells arabic food and "Islamic allowed" meat. She said that occasionally she buys food from ICA and COOP in order to refill milk and cheese. Nour even buys ingredients such as meatballs for the Swedish meals that she cooks once in a while from the same shop in Malmö. She mentioned that she spends weekly around 1500 SEK. We believe that this makes Nour into a loyal customer to the small shop in Malmö which satisfies her needs.

### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

Nour and her family live in Lund now more specifically in Värpinge. She had lived in Malmö for 5 years after she got married but decided to move to Lund for her children's sake. She told us that her oldest son wasn't able to talk proper Swedish in his school in Malmö even though he is born in Sweden (Cars et al. 1999). Therefore she took the decision with her husband that the entire family should move to Lund in order to have access to better schools. Nour felt that the area she was living in in Malmö was almost secluded from other Swedish residents. She was mostly surrounded by other immigrants and that reflected on her son and his ability to learn the national language. Nour added that in Malmö she wasn't integrating in the Swedish society since she was constantly living among Palestinians and Lebanese who were friends and family. She felt satisfied by the company and did not seek any kind of life outside her circle of neighbours and family who all came to Sweden from the same place (Martinson 2001). However ever since she moved to Lund she started going to Komvux and taking Swedish courses as well as mathematics and computer lessons. She started meeting other students from all over the world and some from Sweden as well (Penaloza, 1994). Nour's move from Malmö to Lund affected her integration process. She still is very well surrounded



by her family and relatives from Malmö but she feels that there is a difference in her social circle.

When we asked Nour the question whether it was easy for her to fit-in in Sweden she answered that she doesn't feel like she fits in the Swedish society. She blames herself for that because she says that she is not a very social person and she doesn't like to make a lot of effort to meet people. We believe that the Swedish language is a barrier for Nour since she seems to be pretty social when she is communicating in Arabic however she avoids meeting Swedish people. In this case adaptability to the host culture is almost non-existent since Nour expressed several times during the interview that she feels as if she still was living back home. She eats the same food, talks the same language and is surrounded by all her relatives and friends. She even stated that she has not adapted to the Swedish culture. In addition to the above Nour talks Arabic all the time except for the time when she goes to school.

#### **4.1.6 Analysis of Interview 6**

##### **II. Introduction and Personal Details**

Interviewee 6 is a young lady from Lebanon. She is 23 years old and she came to Sweden 2 years and around 3 months ago. Maria is the pseudo name that we will use for this interviewee. She moved to Sweden alone in order to join her partner who is Swedish and living in Lund. Maria is living with her partner at the moment and they are only 2 persons in the household.

##### **C1. Religion and Food Consumption**

Maria is a Greek Orthodox Christian. She explained in the interview that we conducted with her that her religion does not play a big role in her food consumption although she avoids eating meat on Fridays. Maria buys her food from ICA mostly and sometimes AGs and Willy's. ICA and AGs are in the picture since they are closest to where Maria lives and that's why she shops there but she added that she goes intentionally to Willy's since he has food from Lebanon.

We moved to the question of religious traditions in order to find out how these affect Maria's consumption. During special religious holidays Maria eats special sweets. She used to do that

in Lebanon and she tries to continue doing that here in Sweden since she finds them ready made in Malmö. Moreover some non-religious but traditional meals are eating

Tabboulé (Lebanese national salad) on Sundays. Maria also makes a point of buying Baklawa whenever there are good news to celebrate whether religious or none. The food habits as the reader can notice are pretty exact to what the respondent was eating earlier (More, 1957). Moreover this strong connection might be a separating factor regarding other food consumption, making Maria an easy target for the small shops that sell Arabic food.

In order to compare how Maria was affected by her move to Sweden we asked her if her values and traditions are the same as her parents'. Maria answered that even before she moved to Sweden her attachment to old values and traditions were looser than her parents'. She as well made it clear that her move to Sweden did not affect the values and traditions that she carried with her from Lebanon. We believe that due to globalization and the time that Maria grew up in Lebanon had a big effect to the similarities of mentality that she shares with the Swedes as she puts it.

## **C2. Reasons for Coming to Sweden and Acculturation; how does it affect Food Consumption?**

Maria moved to Sweden alone in order to join her partner and continue her studies in Lund's University. She came here predetermined and she understood to the fullest what she was doing according to her statements. She wanted to come hence was not pressured by any party or situation being political or war. Moving alone plays a role against predetermined identity that a person gets when he/she moves to a new place with his/her family (Charles and Kerr, 1988). The family determines to a large extent who a person is and hence moving alone gives the individual a better chance of possibly adopting a new identity over time instead of being stuck with one that is constantly reinforced by the family (Moisio et al. 2004). In Maria's case the move has though clearly affected her in two different ways. The first influence is that she feels a strong bond to her origin food, letting such food be considered as a special meal. At the same time the integration and acculturation has opened up a new segment of products for her everyday cooking (Berry, 2003).

## **C3. Attitudes Regarding Food and Acculturation**

We asked Maria if she liked Swedish food and additionally which kind of attitude she had towards it. Maria answered that she liked Swedish food fairly and that she had a positive

attitude towards it. We asked her what makes her have a positive attitude and she answered that it's practical and fast to make. She also added that she can find all products as light products and that was important for her since she likes to eat "more healthy food" as she puts it. We found it interesting that Maria preferred a mix of Lebanese, international and Swedish food. Hofstede (2001) claims that positive attitude works against individualism, which we totally agree with since it is part of the willingness to accept the host culture.

Maria had also a special emotional attachment to Lebanese food. She explained to us that she ate many dishes simply cause they reminded her of her family and of the good times they shared by the lunch table. This point is imminent with Moisio (et al. 2004) who stated that homemade food creates an emotional relation between the person who prepares it and the person who consumes it. It is also referring to the same theoretical principle that Lupton (1994) stated that it refers to family traditions and solidarity feelings. Maria told us that every Sunday she used to sit around the lunch table with her family and eat. She stated that they ate always the national Lebanese salad (Tabboulé) and ever since she feels that this salad takes her back to all the nice memories. We asked Maria which attitude she has towards Lebanese food, she answered that even if it might be unrealistic, she thinks that "it's the best food in the world". This is part of the separation that the person undergoing an acculturation process often faces in the early stages.

#### **C4. Acculturation versus Place of Living; how does it Affect Food Consumption?**

Maria came to Sweden two years ago. She has been in Sweden for a relatively short time which according to Berry (et al 2006) is not enough to become "fully" integrated (see explanation in earlier correlations) in the Swedish society. This does not mean that Maria is not integrated since she herself answered that she believes that she is but not totally that is.

Maria lives in Lund, more specifically in Gunnesbo. She said that when she moved to Sweden to join her boyfriend she moved in to his apartment and he already lived there so it was no decision made by her. Maria added that Gunnesbo had a certain effect on her integration process in a positive way since she was able to become friends with two of her neighbours. What she also thinks is very beneficial with her place of living is the fact that it's calm and nice and even spacious compared to Lebanon. She thinks the colours of nature are very fascinating in the summer when the vision is clear and she perceives the environment as friendly and not the least bit threatening. We believe it's important that a person enjoys both

mentally and physically their environment since it keeps it from becoming a barrier to acculturation and integration.

The shops that sell Lebanese food and which Maria goes to in order to purchase her Lebanese products are not in Gunensbo as she explained to us. This means that she needs to do an extra effort in order for her to purchase and consume Lebanese food. This fact pushes Maria to settle down more or less for Swedish food since sometimes she has no time to go to town and so forth. This turns into acceptance. Moreover we believe that since Maria consumes sometimes Lebanese food it eases up the transition to the host culture. Penaloza (1994) means that the process of adoption begins when the person moves to a new country. Baysan & Bennerstam (1990) talk about replacing products, habits and mentalities with the one's of the host culture. Maria has something from home to identify with and food that she consumes when she feels that she missed Lebanon or her family. This makes her feel better than if she had to eat only Swedish food because then she might refuse the Swedish food only because it's obligatory. We wanted to know how often Maria cooked Lebanese food and she answered once a week because she is a student and she has no time to spend in the kitchen. Lebanese cooking is time consuming she added.

Regarding Maria's acculturation process, she said that it was hard to fit-in in Sweden when she still was learning the Swedish language but that afterwards, it became better. She saw that the language what an obstacle keeping her from integrating. After learning Swedish Maria joined Lund's university and got as well engaged in many social activities that were organized by her university. This helped Maria in many ways since not only was she getting integrated in the Swedish society she participated in many typical Swedish dinners which allowed her to experience native Swedish food and many Swedish traditions. Maria's university was the agent that helped her "crossing" to the host culture and pushed her acculturation process to the maximum. Maria told us as well that she uses the Swedish language at home with her boyfriend and that the majority of her friends are Swedish. This proves to us the extent to which Maria was able to integrate in the Swedish culture and even adopt the Swedish food as part of her daily consumption. Maria said that she felt good in Sweden. Feeling good in a country, results in an acculturated person who takes from the society and gives back. This state does not lead to marginalization or segregation by the self or by the society.

## 4.2 Patterns

*This chapter is written to confirm different patterns between the respondents. The reader should be aware of that we have never the intention of generalizing our result. The correlations here will not be similar to our interview analysis. We will not refer here to any new theory that hasn't been introduced in our theory section. In addition, no references will be given in this section due to the following reasons:*

*It gives us the freedom to spin around this subject a bit more openly.*

*The reader is kindly referred to our theoretical chapter and to our analysis above.*

*In order to avoid redundant information and going around the same theme. These themes and the risk of redundant information are already introduced in our analysis.*

Starting with the patterns that we were able to find in correlation (C 1) *Religion and food consumption* we are able to state the following recurrent information retrieved from our interviews. Religion played a big role in the level of integration, lifestyle and food consumption adopted by each individual. We found a clear pattern that differentiated Christians from Muslims. Christians were integrated food-wise i.e. they consumed Swedish food on a more daily basis without any restrictions regarding which kind of meat to eat or similar. In comparison our Muslim interviewees are restricted food-wise and lifestyle-wise due to their religion. We got the information from our Muslim interviewees that they do not lead the same life as Swedes. Although religion is the biggest factor that affects our interviewees' food consumption and lifestyle we found a common agreement over that traditions are also decisive. While not everyone follows all kinds of holidays' traditions, our Muslim interviewees all followed Ramadan feasts. This leads us to see another pattern that links traditions and religion together. Even our Christian respondents celebrated certain holidays by eating certain kinds of food. What also should be said is that regardless of strength the believer has, these factors are still very significant in each respondents life.

Another pattern that is worth mentioning is the relation between the age of arrival to Sweden and the level of integration that is reached. Our interviewees that arrived to Sweden at a relatively young age were able to learn the Swedish language, both faster and in a better way. Moreover they showed more sign of open mindedness and acceptance towards Swedish food. While those who came a bit older had a harder time with the acculturation process and it was more complicated to let go of their previously acquired habits.

On the other hand we were not able to see any clear relationship between the time a person spends in Sweden and the level of integration among our interviewees, relating to food consumption. We had a mix of people who have been in Sweden for a relatively shorter time and still managed to acculturate and reach an acceptable level of integration. While the rest have been in Sweden for a longer time and are still struggling with the Swedish language and living among other immigrants. We believe that all these factors revolve around why some people insist more on consuming their own food than others.

We were able as well to extract a clear recurrent pattern among our interviewees that reflected their food consumption and integration in relation to the reasons that drove them to come to Sweden. The respondents that were forced by some circumstances to come to Sweden have a longer acculturation process than those who came free willing. This is due mostly to the fact that mental preparedness among those obliged here is very low since they do not believe they are in control of their fate, possibly leading to a state of marginalisation and separation. This in turn leads to withdrawal at the early stages which may or may not evolve slowly into acceptance. While those who chose Sweden, were more or less aware of their decision. Another dominant factor that we became aware of was that the people who came to Sweden and were/are not able to go back to their home country whenever they want to have a tougher time adjusting to the Swedish culture. We have to clarify that those who escaped their countries due to what we called as political tyranny or war did/do not have the freedom of travelling freely back to their country. Those who have the freedom to travel back and forth showed more willingness to adapt to the host culture and that speeded up the integration process.

Moving on to attitudes a clear pattern that was there was that among all interviewees those who belong to the first generation of immigrants all preferred their native food regardless of which kind of food they actually consume daily. While our interviewee who was born in Sweden to Palestinian parents showed less attachment to her parents' native food. One common point between the two groups is that they all had a positive attitude to Swedish food however the majority had reservations towards it. The entire first generation expressed an emotional attachment to their native food and moreover believed that they could identify best with it, moreover the attitude that was positive could be defined as a respectable attitude,

especially our Muslim respondents that are not allowed to try Swedish meat, chicken and so forth.

We were not able to find any clear patterns between food consumption and the household economy. No relation found there. All our interviewees consumed exactly what they wanted and were not restricted by money. This made it even more interesting to see them as potential customer groups for smaller shops that sells Middle Eastern food and for bigger super markets.

It is worth pointing out that the kind of occupation a person has affects which kind of food this same person consumes. We found a pattern in that those individuals who worked or studied full time were not able to cook every day their native food since it's considered to be more time consuming than Swedish half-ready food. Those of our interviewees who are freer during their days cook on a daily basis their native food without having the time barrier.

Among the last patterns that our interviews revealed was that those who experienced segregation went hand in hand with collectivism and it was hard for them to break out from this circle. They were socialising all the time with the same kind of people who themselves were not so much integrated in the Swedish society. This led to that this group of people did not proceed with the acculturation process and maintained the same food habits they had back in their home country which lead to separation.

Last but not least the place of living affects a person's well-being and emotional state. A person may refuse the acculturation process if he/she is struggling daily in an unsuitable environment. Those who lived in those "unsuitable" environments in the beginning had a harder time learning about their host culture in comparison to those who claimed that they have a very nice and comfortable environment.

### 4.3 Summary Discussion

In this paper we have focused on immigrants and what affects their lifestyles, in order to understand what food consumption they have. We conducted six qualitative interviews with the purpose to get the first overview of this topic. The results that we achieved were not totally surprising. We had some expectations that Middle Eastern people will in general be attached to their native food habits. More unanticipated was the strong connection that existed in our respondents' behaviour to their recent culture, regardless of the level of acculturation. Despite religion, all interviewees felt emotionally attached to their food, while it being to elucidate their identity or to relive certain perspectives of earlier life is various and unconfirmed in this thesis. Even Pia felt an overwhelming feeling towards consuming Arabic food every now and then. Moreover, religion showed clear differences in control of our interviewees' lifestyles, affecting them in what they may do and eat. However the control varied to different extents. The main difference existed between Rana, Yara and Nour, where Rana and Nour only could eat Halal meat, Yara distanced herself by allowing herself to eat all kinds of meat except pork. While Christian Middle Easterners like Hanna and Maria are not that much affected by their religion. Their tradition is of more importance, where celebration of Christmas and other big holidays may imply certain food habits.

We also evidently can say that reasons for coming to Sweden do affect acculturation process and determine whether the person will assimilate with the culture or separate the lifestyle. Being mentally prepared for a new environment, including new people, new life perspective, new mentality, new food, new tastes and new languages might simply be overwhelming even when a person is prepared for meeting all these factors and dealing with them. Not mentioning that the psychological shock a person might experience while moving from a hectic and chaotic environment to a "problem-free" life. We believe simply this might control the human being in choosing and doing things that are familiar, such as eating the same kind of food and talking the native language. Of course these emotional feelings might change with time, but why change a food habit when it's still offered in the shops. Is it to suddenly integrate fully? To what extent we wonder. We have already mentioned in the analysis what integration means. How much does a person need to integrate to be able to function? Our respondents have experienced different sorts of integration, from very low one (Nour) to almost a maximum integration (Pia), but they all function within the society. This is strongly related to keeping one's culture, but only to some extent. Nevertheless, food has a clear



function and meaning for our interviewees. Since we cannot generalize our result, we are very curious to know how a quantitative study might reveal how groups think and behave, that is what their lifestyle looks like and how it influences their choice of food. Despite reasons of moving it will still be interesting due to the fact that the cultures our respondents have are dissimilar from the way people are raised in Sweden, making also this segment of people interesting to target.

Another reason to target this group is due to the amount of segregation that exists, especially in cities like Malmö, Göteborg and Stockholm. We also can confirm that our respondents that were affected by segregation are either keeping strong food habits or as in Yara's case modified them slightly. Additionally we did not see any economical reasons for not targeting such groups. They spend from 300 – 1500 SEK per week purchasing Arabic food, which is still relatively much. The amount of SEK spend has to do with family sizes. The average is somewhat between four to six people in a household, making it even profitable to consider targeting these consumers. However what are the habits of Middle Eastern consumers regarding food that marketers from Sweden can target? We believe that marketers could target these groups through emotional bounds, so that they relive their "happy" memories from the past. Knowing later that such section or shelf of products exists in a mixed environment with other sorts food might embrace the shopping tour and the motivation for grocery shopping at that place. There is though a problem which could be butchering the meat in the Islamic correct way. Since our Muslim respondents clearly stated that they buy this meat from a special shop in Malmö, they have to ensure the consumer that the animal was butchered according to the way for it being classified as Halal. Furthermore, this doesn't have to be the case, we believe that it might be enough for big grocery shops like ICA to invest in Arabic products without meat, due to reasons that the customer can not be assured that the meat is Halal if he/she do not see it butchered. Either ways, most of our respondents claimed making regular purchases in such grocery shops. Regular purchasing consisted of rice, fruits, vegetables, drinks such as milk, cola and so forth, making it impossible to avoid totally big grocery shops, at least according to our respondents. Having this in mind it's even easier for ICA to target Arabic people who buy their groceries from smaller shops, through attracting them with the help of their home-country's products. When it comes to attitudes, we didn't see any difference between, Iraqi Lebanese and Palestinians. We discovered more common attitudes, which was the positivism towards eating their own food regardless of country. We also suppose that the Christian Middle Easterners could change their food habits, if Middle

Eastern products were more available in the shops. An obvious pattern was that they ate their native food whenever such possibility existed, even though one of them commented that it was time-consuming. However Hanna still spent every second weekend cooking such food. We question if she wouldn't increase this habit and do such food on a weekly basis as Pia's mother. We are aware of that such confirmation has to be done through other studies, yet letting this field still new but finally explored.

#### **4.4 Future study**

The result of our paper has only fulfilled the objective that was stated for this paper, giving a view of what attributes lay in this field. Uncovering a relatively new area of research, is only natural that our result gave us a small piece of what information can be received within this scope. Therefore we suggest strongly that research needs to be performed further to strengthen our result or to neglect them. We recommend that Miles & Hubbermans (1994) model, found above will be followed, that is, a quantitative study is the next phase to continue with. After this quantitative study is performed, confirmed through being statistically significant (Djurfeldt et. al, 2003), another qualitative study can be considered, to discover hidden parts of this field. The next qualitative study can be an observational study, following immigrants from Middle East on their shopping or approaching them through a focus group (Marknadsföringboken). The methods can vary and at this early stage we do not have any preferred recommendation exactly to which method should be used more than doing first a quantitative study, followed by another qualitative study.

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## Enclosure 1

A **native Swede**, is a person who is born in Sweden, to Swedish parents.

A **native country**, is the country that the referred to individual is born in.

**ELIN**, Electronic Library Information Navigator

**Halal**, is what is allowed (National Encyclopaedia, 1992). Halal meat is meat that is accepted for a Muslim person to eat. According to Habeeb (2003) there are three conditions for the meat to be Halal, otherwise it's Haram (forbidden) (National Encyclopaedia, 1992).

The following is directly quoted from the site where Habeeb (2003) published an article:

- “The first is that the animal in itself is Halal. That means no pork, for instance.
- The second, is that the food the animal consumes does not contain any blood or meat. Sakr explains that the animal has to be herbivorous to be Halal, and adds that an animal becomes Haram if it consumes blood and/or meat.
- The third condition Sakr lists for an animal to be Halal is that it should not be given any hormones”.

For further declaration regarding this subject please look at Hwaa Irfan (2002) or Wikipedia (2003), addresses are given in the references.

**Immigrant**, is a person that has moved from his/her native country to host country in order to settle down.

**Native food**, is food coming from the country that the referred to individual is born in.

**Ramadan**. This is a feast for Muslims around the world, where they fast. Although there are some differences in time and place between Muslims around the world (Wikipedia, 2007). There are different meanings with this feast, which will all not be explained in this paper only some. Ramadan in general is one of the secret pillars in Islam. It's claimed that during this month there exists a night that is better than a thousand nights (Al-Munajjid, translation made by Sulayman, page published is unclear, therefore we write 2007). Al- Munajjid (2007), continues that during Ramadan Heaven's gates open and the doors of Hell close.

The true Muslim should end his fast when the sun sets, and not take into consideration the red light still up on the horizon. This is where the Muslim eats and breaks free from the fast. At dawn, when the light comes up from east on the horizon the fast should begin again (Al – Munajjid, 2007) .

**Second generation immigrant**, are the children of immigrants who are born in Sweden.

## **Enclosure 2: Interview Guide**

The purpose with our interview guide was to cover the theoretical areas to be able to have a clear imminent transition between the two stages of theory and method, hopefully resulting in a strong analysis that can determine a better overview of research scope. We tried to have equal amount of men and women in our interviews but unfortunately we did not get hold of any male volunteers.

The first thing we did was introducing our self and identifying our self's through the university ID card so that the person gain faith towards us. The second thing we always brought up was that no reward would be given for letting us interview them, more then helping us in our research. The next step was to tell that everything was anonymous and no names would be given at any stage. The fourth stage was to ensure that the interviewee understood that the recorded material was only for our own use, meaning that no other researcher would be able to listen or get hold of the material recorded. When the material has been listened through it will be destroyed.

As a final step we gave our names and contact information for the person to reach us if they want to see the papers result. We stated clearly that we will not contact them to confirm what has been recorded.

The interview guide can be found below, but the reader needs to keep in mind that each interview had its own structure. The structure could differ due to the age of the respondent or hers comfort of talking in front of two students and so forth. Questioned marked with red were unanswered questions.

### **Interview 1.**

#### **Introduction & Facts**

**Male /Female?**

Female

**Age?**

15

**Where do you come from?**

Iraq

**How long have you been in Sweden?**

Almost 4 years.

**Did u move here with your family or alone?**

I moved here with my dad and siblings, my mom moved two years earlier.



**How many are you in the family?**

We are 5 people in the family

**Why did you come to Sweden?**

We came to Sweden because of the political tyranny in Iraq.

**Where do you live?**

We live in Klostergården in Lund

**Why do you live there?**

We live there because my parents believe it's a good place for us children to have good contact with Swedish neighbours where we can develop with our Swedish language. I personally believe that it's the best place, since we avoid those heavy immigrants ruining it for us.

**Do you think your place of stay affects your integration?**

I believe it affected my siblings and I in a positive way since it's calm and it offers us the chance to go to such good schools here in Lund. Additionally we are forced to use the Swedish language which helps us accumulate in the society.

**In what way?**

Answer above

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

I think the most beneficial thing is that we don't live around Iraqis since they are very loud and they always tend to cause problems. I like where I live since it's calm and civilized.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

Yes my environment affects my food consumption at home. My parents cook Iraqi food and this is what I eat. At school however my parents do not allow me to eat meat so I only eat vegetarian food and fish.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

Only home.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

Yes my parents cook Iraqi food every day.

**How often?****Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

My mother's food influences what I consume since she decides what I should eat.

**Education & Consumption****What occupation do you have?**

I am a student

**Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

I had to work hard for it. I came to Sweden I had not been in school for 2 years and suddenly I had to come here and work hard to learn Swedish and directly jump into school.

**How does this occupation influence you?**

It is a positive influence with time.

**Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

It affects my choice of food in school as mentioned. I can not eat like the other students.

**Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?****Religion & Tradition****What religious belief do you have?**

I follow Islam, it's my religion.

**Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

Yes it does. I can not buy or eat meat of all kinds in school and my parents make sure to buy

meat from Islamic Butcheries from Malmö.

**Does it always affect your food choice?**

**Does it affect from where you buy your food? Why?**

Yes we do not buy our meat or chicken from regular shops we buy them from special butcheries where they are butchered in the "halal" way.

**Where do you buy your food from ? Why?**

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

Not really we eat everyday food everyday.

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

Almost although I don't understand some of their ways for ex. They become really sad the day Mohammad our prophet died while I just feel a little bit sad. I can not get myself to see things from their perspective.

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

Maybe I am not sure.

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

Yes I am very well aware of it.

## **Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

I haven't tasted the real Swedish food since I am not allowed to eat meat outside my house. The Swedish meat that I have eaten is the vegetarian food I eat in school and which I think is disgusting.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

I have a more negative attitude towards Swedish food since I have only tasted vegetarian dishes.

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

I prefer Arabic food.

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

Kebab and Falafel they taste great.

**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

Yes a little bit maybe but I am not so sure.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

I have a very positive attitude towards the food from my home country I like to eat it very much.

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

My parents shop 3-4 times /week from Malmö.

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

A lot I think we buy food for 1000 SEK/week.

**How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

We mostly buy Arabic food.

## **Economic perspective**

**Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

I don't know my parents take care of that.

**Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

## **Acculturation**

**Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

I believe it was easy for me to start my acculturation process since I was 11 years when we moved here and I managed to learn Swedish very quickly and better than anyone in my family since they are all older than me.

**How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

If I can manage my adaptability to Swedish culture on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 I am not adapted at all and 10 I am very well adapted I would say at the moment I am around 6-7.

**What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

Hardest thing for me was religion since it felt that it doesn't fit in the same context as it did back home and I think the weather is much colder and the food is very different and it isn't tasty.

**Do these affect your food choice?**

Yes it makes me want to consume more Iraqi food.

**Has this affected your acculturation process?**

No not really.

**To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?**

I mentioned that I am on a scale of 1 to 10 around 6-7

**Does this affect your food consumption ?**

Yes I do not eat real Swedish food that contains any kind of meat except for fish.

**Final questions****Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

Both Swedish and Arabic, Arabic home and Swedish in school.

**Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

From both countries.

**Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

Stay here definitely

**Interview 2.****Introduction & Facts****Male /Female?**

Female

**Age?**

Not specified, refused to answer the question.

**Where do you come from?**

Lebanon

**How long have you been in Sweden?**

Almost 33 years

**Did u move here with your family or alone?**

I travelled alone as a student without any pressure from my country.

**How many are you in the family?**

At the moment we are 4 in the family. I have two sons.

**Why did you come to Sweden?**

I came to Sweden in order to study and I chose Sweden because it's the country of equality between men and women.

**Where do you live?**

I lived in Lund of a long while but then I had to move to Hjärup

**Why do you live there?**

I live there because I waited for 10 years in queue in Lund and I had already two babies so I needed a bigger house and therefore I moved to Hjärup.

**Do you think your place of stay effects your integration?**

Not at all, I am already fully integrated in the Swedish society being that I am married to a Swedish man.

Did marrying a Swede help you to integrate?

Well I am an academic person, I love to study , but marrying a Swede helped to develop my Swedish even further, since we use the Swedish all the time at home.

**In what way?**

Not- applicable

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

The most beneficial thing was the fact that they had place and space for the children to grow up in peace. For the moment they are used to it so the most beneficial thing is that they feel comfortable living there.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

I believe that I affect my environment and not vice versa. I mean I affect what my husband and children eat.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

Yes I find all the vegetables that I am used to eating in Lebanon here in Malmö more specifically.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

Yes I do.

**How often?**

Whenever I have time since it's complicated and it takes a lot of time.

**Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

Yes it does, that is one of the reasons that affect my family's and my consumption.

## **Education & Consumption**

**What occupation do you have?**

I am a teacher of mother tongue language.

**Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

Yes it was very easy for me, I already was a teacher when I came from Lebanon and therefore it made things easier.

**How does this occupation influence you?**

In the beginning the job was challenging because there were many bad examples in the teaching sector in Lund so I felt like I needed to prove myself and try to reverse the pre judgements so that part affected me in a way, it made me more motivated to prove myself.

**Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

My job takes a lot of my time so it does affect my choice of which kind of food I should cook. I believe that cooking Swedish meals is not time consuming and hence prefer cooking it whenever I am stressed or don't have a lot of time.

**Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

## **Religion & Tradition**

**What religious belief do you have?**

I am Armenian Christian.

**Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

Not at all.

**Does it always affect your food choice?**

**Does it affect from where you buy your food? Why?**

No, my religion does not affect where I buy my food from.

**Where do you buy your food from ? Why?**

I buy my food from regular Swedish shops such as ICA and COOP. Every once in a while I go to Malmö if I am searching for something specifically Lebanese.

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

Yes we do have Swedish food traditions such as baking Lucekatter for Lucia day and eating Baklawa whenever we need to celebrate good news.

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

My values and traditions were never like my parents' to a 100% since I always saw them as too much of "believers" in their religion. The values and traditions that I came with to Sweden I believe have been modified. I feel that I follow more Swedish values and traditions than I do Lebanese.

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

My values and traditions became more open and flexible in a way. I do believe it's due to Sweden and due to the new mentality that I acquired here in Sweden and that had the biggest effect on me.

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

Yes I am very well aware of that. I have mentioned earlier that my favourite shop is in Malmö and I always go there whenever I want to cook something specially Lebanese.

## **Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

Yes, I like Swedish food and I cook it to my family more often than I do Lebanese food. On the other hand I have reservations towards the Swedish food, I don't like to eat everything. I miss the herbs and taste that I get from the Lebanese food.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

I have a positive attitude to it and I raised my children on Swedish food so I am pretty satisfied with it. In the beginning however I had a problem with getting used to how sweet the food is. I must say that when I was here as a student there were no Arabic shops not imported Lebanese food which caused me to starve since I disliked to a large extent the sweet taste in the Swedish food in general.

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

I prefer Lebanese food.

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

Tabboulé (the Lebanese national salad)

**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

Well I do eat Swedish food most of the time and I believe it does represent the person I became.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

I have a very positive attitude, it's the food I seek most to eat.

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

Every two weeks or something.

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

Around 200 SEK

**How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

More than 400 SEK/week. I am not sure I never count really.

## **Economic perspective**

**Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

Not really it's not.

**Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

## **Acculturation**

**Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

Yes I believe it was very easy to fit in Sweden everyone was extremely nice to me the entire way.

**How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

Pretty well I am married to a Swedish man so I am very well adapted to the culture.

**What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

The sugar in the food that was present everywhere and the weather.

**Do these affect your food choice?**

The sweetness in the food especially in the bread does affect my choice of living. These days its much easier to find something that fits my taste cause of the wide presence of all kinds of food but earlier in the days it was a big problem for me..

**Has this affected your acculturation process?**

No it had no relation with my acculturation process, at least not that I can think of.

**To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?**

I believe I have 100% acculturated to the Swedish culture to an extent that consider Sweden as my home and not Lebanon anymore

**Does this affect your food consumption ?**

No I wouldn't say that. I do not see a relationship there.

## **Final questions**

**Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

The language that dominates in use here in Sweden for me is Swedish. I talk Swedish at home and at work.

**Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

The majority of my friends come from all over the world. I think it is so interesting I have access to the entire world in my place of work.

**Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

I plan on staying in Sweden since as I have mentioned earlier, I feel Sweden is my country now after 33 years of being here.

## **Interview 3.**

### **Introduction & Facts**

**Male /Female?**

Female

**Age?**

35 years old

**Where do you come from?**

I am from Iraq

**How long have you been in Sweden?**

I have been here for almost 10 years now

**Did u move here with your family or alone?**

I have moved to Sweden with my children and with my husband

**How many are you in the family?**

We are four people in the family

**Why did you come to Sweden?**

Because the situation was difficult over there and we wanted better life's for our children.

**Where do you live?**

We live right now in Staffanstorp

**Why do you live there?**

We live there due to our children's sake, it's much calmer there for our children. Its smaller and we get a better overview and control of them.

In comparison to Lund?

No in comparison to Malmö, where we lived earlier in the days!

**Do you think your place of stay effects your integration?**

I don't have time for this really (to integrate), but during the summer the neighbours are nice and we talk and we see each other. I don't isolate myself, I can integrate if I want to, but in most cases I don't have time to integrate to an higher extent since I have school, I got to take care of the kids and I have much to do at home.

**In what way?**

See question 10.

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

It's calm, people know one another. Additionally you know who is who.

Do you have many people from your home country in Staffanstorp?

Only a small amount of people came from my country of origin, so there are not that many at the place we are living at right now.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

My children can affect me, but not my environment, so again my children can affect me but the environment not at all, since they don't want our traditional food. Sometimes when I make rise and vegetables and so forth, they ask me to cook something Swedish such as meatloaf's with macaroni.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

Yes I do find the food I m searching for here in Sweden.

Oh so you find it in Staffanstorp?

No not really , when I shop I go to Malmö

In small shops?

Actually in some bigger shops!

But it's not the typical Swedish boutiques?

Well no, but in AG's favör in Staffanstorp they have introduced a shelf with foreign food, we can find there different type of spices and so forth.

But is it exactly the same food you buy in Malmö?

Actually they are no that "extreme" in AG's in Staffanstorp. But they have improved much, while if I need rice I can settle down with normal Swedish standard rice.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

I cook almost each and every day at home.

**How often?**

I buy both sorts of food, but mostly Middle Eastern food of diverse food. I don't determine what day I buy Swedish food and what day Arabic.

Do you buy in large quantities the food?

Yes normally I buy the Arabic food in large quantities, it's often one time per week since I don't have time. Regarding the Swedish food I buy it when ever my children ask for it

## **Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

### **Education & Consumption**

#### **What occupation do you have?**

I am educated in the field of nursing assistant since three years back. I have been working in the neurological section in the hospital. Right now I am back to Komvux upgrading my grades so that I can apply to the university, I want to read sociology

#### **Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

It was easy to become a nurse assistant. I accomplished it four years ago.

#### **How does this occupation influence you?**

When I was reading in the beginning everything was good, but when I started working it became boring. It was hard to work with people, because I brought work along with me home. I saw sick people and so forth and that's a reason why I needed to change.

But how did you feel when you came here? Was it easy to start off?

In the beginning I read SFI. This went fast, I read it for approximately five and a half month. After that I got a child and I stayed home for one and a half year. After this I started reading at Komvux to improve my grades. At that point economical problems arose. So I had to work in between. At that moment it was tough

Do you feel that your occupation suited to what you really wanted to do? That is were you satisfied with choice of country in respect to what job you were offered?

Both yes and no, I needed the job so it was important at that time. The job didn't fit me and neither did the country in respect to what I did earlier. I had to start over again from scratch. In my country education is highly valued and this is something I have brought along.

#### **Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

Not really, since I can get the food I like, so no.

#### **Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

My salary doesn't affect my food consumption. My culture or my food is very important for me so I will spend the amount of money needed to this kind of food. Today I know exactly what budget we have and therefore I can plan the food consumption for the entire month.

But since you do make big purchase of food, do you also cook for the entire week?

No I don't cook for an whole week, I prefer cook bit by bit, that is, each and everyday.

### **Religion & Tradition**

#### **What religious belief do you have?**

I am Muslim.

#### **Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

Yes of course it affects my choice of food. Since my religion states what kind of food is allowed and prohibited.

#### **Does it always affect your food choice?,**

It doesn't really affect me period wise, as I was talking about earlier the religion is something that is within a human being, guiding him/her throughout the life. My period is my life.

Therefore I eat accordingly to what I believe in. Regarding the tradition we have different feasts that we celebrate like Ramadan and so forth. The choice of food maybe doesn't change, but the amount of food we eat after the sun goes down or according to the clock, is huge. Most probably due to the fact that the human being becomes hungry during the day and therefore eats more during the night.

Regarding my values they are the same. My children do not have to follow them. The



traditions maybe are a bit lighter here in Sweden, but not much.

**Does it affect from where you buy your food? Why?**

Well I don't really separate between meat sorts more than selecting beef instead of pork.

So you don't eat pork at all?

No?

But do you need to have the beef to be slaughtered in a "correct" way according to Islam?

No, there goes my limit. I eat chicken, lam and so forth.

**Where do you buy your food from? Why?**

See question 4.

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

See question 3

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

See question 3

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

I cannot give you a clear answer here but as I was saying above (see question 3), they are a bit lighter, not that strict. Perhaps it's due to the fact that we are a minority here doing such festivities and so forth.

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

I am very aware of that there are Arabic food sold all over Sweden. Malmö is a place where we range of choice is huge. We can almost find everything that we need to a dinner, party or feasts. I also start to notice that bigger "Swedish" companies started to invest in middle eastern products, which is good in the sense of making my own life easier. Perhaps in a couple of years I will stop going to Malmö and buy everything that I'm buying today in Malmö, in Staffanstorp.

**Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

I don't necessarily like to eat Swedish food. I prefer the food that is coming from Iraq although I have to sometimes cook Swedish meals for my children whenever they ask for it.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

I have a neutral attitude towards it. It's nothing I would choose to cook for myself. I don't think the taste fits me since I am used to loads of spices in my food.

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

Iraqi food is the kind I prefer to eat at all times

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

Rice and either meat stew or vegetable stew. For me when I eat this in Sweden it directly takes me back home cause of the eccentric taste.

**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

Of course. I believe that food is important because it tells people where I come from and what my tastes are all about.

Do you apply this mentality in Sweden

Yes I do, I cook Iraqi food every day for my family and I.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

I guess this question is pretty obvious since I prefer to eat my origin food, I have a great positive attitude towards my own food..

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

See earlier answers

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

Oh, it's really hard to do an estimation.

Around, is it close to 500 kr or more to a 1000 kr per week?

Well it's closer to a 500 kr per week for the three of us.

### **How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

Well a bit more, because all the other products are often Swedish, such as Milk, Juice and so forth.

### **Economic perspective**

#### **Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

Yes of course, we can not eat everyday at restaurants or get food for an entire month ahead. After ten years of living here in Sweden I know that around 1200 kr will be spent per week on food and beverage.

#### **Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

Well we always get a great price in the groceries stores in Malmö, especially when we buy a bit more, then they always give us something for free or give us a bit of discount. But we mostly choose the grocery shops due to the fact that we love eating our own food, regardless of price.

Would you continue eating Arabic food if the prices would be radically higher then for Swedish food?

Well then we would have to reconsider, but right now there are a lot of small boutiques in Malmö offering Arabic food so we don't fear that. If the bigger super market chains would start investing in such food we would wouldn't even discuss this theme.

### **Acculturation**

#### **Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

Well, both yes and no. It's always hard to move to a new country under such circumstances that we were experiencing, but we did it mostly for our children which made the adoption a bit easier, because in the end it was our goal/decision to move for them. At the same time Swedes are much more different then us Iraquis, therefore was Malmö an in between phase for us, to adopt slowly.

Why slowly?

Mostly due to the fact that there are many Iraquis in Malmö, making it easier to live there, but at the same time the adoption process is often slower when it's like this.

#### **How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

Pretty well, but it think I great turning point was when I got a job and we moved to Staffanstorp. There we really got the opportunity to become closer to the Swedish "standard" living. Additionally our 10 years in Sweden has also had its affect on us.

#### **What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

That people are much by themselves here. In Iraq people have more life in themselves, and more open to talk. While here everyone mind their own business.

#### **Do these affect your food choice?**

Not really

#### **Has this affected your acculturation process?**

As I said earlier, we lived in Malmö and it made a huge difference , because there we were able to use both languages. Its hard to say if this would have affected our acculturation as equally, more or less if we would move directly to for instance Staffanstorp.

#### **To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?**

I believe I have acculturated well with the Swedish culture. I speak the language and I use it everyday. I m familiar with how things works and so forth.

#### **Does this affect your food consumption?**

No, because they haven't changed much.

### **Final questions**

**Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

In school Swedish and of course at work. At home my own language.

**Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

Mostly from Iraq although our neighbours are mostly Swedish

**Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

We plan to stay here, we moved here for our children.

## **Interview 4.**

### **Introduction & Facts**

**Male /Female?**

Female

**Age?**

14 years old

**Where do you come from?**

I am born in Sweden , but my parents are Palestinians

**How long have you been in Sweden?**

Since I am born in Sweden I have been here for 14 years.

**Did u move here with your family or alone?**

**How many are you in the family?**

We are six people in our family

**Why did you come to Sweden?**

My parents escaped Palestine mostly due to the that there was political instability in the country, but also due to Israel making huge occupations in my parents country..

**Where do you live?**

Right now I live in Sweden, Lund.

Where in Lund do you live?

I live in with my family in Nöbbelöv.

**Why do you live there?**

I live there due to the fact that my parents chose this place and I have little to say about this. It's a nice environment and I think it's therefore we live there. Its pretty calm during the day's and night's so it's a good family area!

**Do you think your place of stay effects your integration?**

Yes it influences me in a positive way, since there live a lot of Swedish people there. But I have not had any issue with the integration myself. At least I haven't experienced any, probably mostly due to the fact that I am born here.

**In what way?**

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

I think the most beneficial preference with Nöbbelöv is that I have my friends close by and that it's calm and close to school. It safes time for me, having everything nearby.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

Yeah a bit, I eat more Swedish food.

Can this be a result of living in a Swedish environment?

Yeah perhaps, I don't know!

Do you associate with native Swedish born friends or more with Middle Eastern friends?

Yes I do hang out with Swedish friends mostly

Can you perhaps relate this reason that you prefer Swedish food more?  
Well that could perhaps be a reason, but I have never thought about it such way.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

Well that would probably be Swedish food that we mostly eat in School.  
So you cannot relate really with Middle Eastern food?

Hmm... I can perhaps relate to Kebab and Falafel when I m down town in Lund, but it's something that has been acclimated into our ever day life, so it's nothing I think about.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

No , but Mom cooks Arabic food on the weekends, but nothing during the week days. Most probably due to the time consumption it takes to do such food.

**How often?**

**Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

Not really.

## **Education & Consumption**

**What occupation do you have?**

Student

**Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

Yes, I have not experienced any discrimination in school or so forth

**How does this occupation influence you?**

Never

**Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

**Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

## **Religion & Tradition**

**What religious belief do you have?**

I personally do not have any strong belief and neither does my father. All family except my mother are non believers. My mom is a Muslim.

How does this contrast affect the family structure?

It doesn't, we all get along, and mom follows her belief accordingly as much as she can, while the rest of us get along without any collisions.

**Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

No, but my mother doesn't eat or buy pork for herself, but we manage to eat pork at home to other Swedish dishes.

**Does it always affect your food choice?,**

Not at all.

**Does it affects from where you buy your food? Why?**

No, we mostly buy our food from the ordinary big grocery shop like all others.

That is?

ICA and AG's favör

Would you prefer having Arabic in these shops as well, even though you favour Swedish food?

Of course, such mix would ease my moms life a lot

**Where do you buy your food from ? Why?**

See previous question

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

No

Non at all?

We celebrate Christmas , Lucia and so forth but nothing else. Mom follows the Muslim

traditions.

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

I have perhaps more similar values and traditions to my father, while this naturally results in that me and mom have different opinions.

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

Yes of course, we have some down town in Lund.

## **Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

Yes.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

Positive, maybe because I was brought up with it? I don't know!

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

It depends on occasion, as I said my mom cooks at the weekends Arabic food which I like when the occasion is right. But Swedish food is also in general very tasty

What do you classify as Swedish food?

Spaghetti Bolognese, Fish with potato and vegetables.

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

Hard to say, I prefer both.

**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

No it does not have any effect on my identity.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

No effect here either.

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

If my mom shops it's one time per week

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

Perhaps 200 – 300 kr approximately.

**How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

The rest of the week we eat Swedish food so we spend it on "Swedish" food

## **Economic perspective**

**Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

**Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

## **Acculturation**

### **Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

As I said earlier I feel that I am mostly Swedish, in behaviour, when I act and think, but I do have Arabic tendencies, since my family come from the Middle East.

### **How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

Well I am born here so I have adapted pretty well, not met any bigger obstacles.

### **What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

Nothing really.

### **Do these affect your food choice?**

No.

### **Has this affected your acculturation process?**

I feel that I am fully integrated and acculturated with the Swedish culture so I do not have a need to prove my self at this very moment.

### **To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?.**

### **Does this affect your food consumption?**

## **Final questions**

### **Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

Swedish!

At home as well?

At home we speak Arabic but in school , with friend it's the Swedish language that dominates the mostly

### **Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

The majority of my friends are Swedish.

### **Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

No I plan to live my life here in Sweden , because I am Swedish and this is my country.

## **Interview 5.**

### **Introduction & Facts**

#### **Male /Female?**

Female

#### **Age?**

32 years old

#### **Where do you come from?**

I have lived in Lebanon for 17 years but I am originally from Palestine.

#### **How long have you been in Sweden?**

I have been in Sweden for 15 years.

#### **Did u move here with your family or alone?**

I have moved to Sweden alone based on my relationship with my ex-finance.

#### **How many are you in the family?**

For the moment we are four people in our family

#### **Why did you come to Sweden?**

A personal relationship was what drove me to Sweden.

#### **Where do you live?**

I live in Lund more specifically in Värpinge.

#### **Why do you live there?**

I have lived in Malmö for about 5 years but decided to move to Lund mostly because of the

education possibilities that I believe Lund offers in a more efficient way than Malmö did to my family and me!

**Do you think your place of stay effects your integration?**

While I was living in Malmö I didn't integrate myself socially in the Swedish society because I felt satisfied with living with my family and relatives and friends who all came from the same country. When I moved to Värpinge, Lund however, I admit that I am not a sociable person, but everyone who lives in my neighbourhood are older people who are retired and whom I believe do not share much in common with me. On the other hand I don't believe that it's my place of stay that affects my integration.

**In what way?**

I believe that my neighbours are not of interest to me and I think they lacks the "neighbour visiting" culture that I experienced back home or even still experience with my relatives here in Sweden.. Back in Lebanon and Palestine all the neighbours especially the women, since their men are working while they are housewives, spend the majority of their time drinking coffee and performing domestic visitation.

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

The most beneficial thing that I believe exist in my present place of living is the school for my children. My son went to school in Malmö and during one year he wasn't able to learn more than a couple of sentences in correct Swedish. While since we have moved to Lund I have seen much improvement with my son's Swedish language.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

My environment does not affect the choice I makes for food consumption at all. I believe strongly in my decisions and choices and moreover my decisions and choices are well supported by the wide existence of products coming from my home country which enable me to cook exactly what I want.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

As mentioned earlier I am clearly satisfaction with the fact that I can find all the ingredients that make it possible for me to cook the food that I grew up with back in Lebanon and Palestine.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

I made it clear throughout the interview that I cook Lebanese/Palestinian food.

**How often?**

I cook Lebanese food everyday but every once in a while I cook something Swedish for my children's sake such as meat balls or hot dogs... My children are very comfortable with eating the Lebanese food that I cook so I don't see a reason why I should change.

**Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

The cooking influences mine and the family's consumption in a way that the money for food shopping ends up in Abdo's shop.

## **Education & Consumption**

**What occupation do you have?**

I am a student at Komvux studying various subjects in order to complete high school since I have not had the occasion to do so yet. Among the subjects that I am studying is Swedish language, mathematics and computer lessons. I am a full time student.

**Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

I felt that it was pretty easy to get to school and start studying. I did not believe that my first days in Sweden were hard since I knew already how to talk English and to my luck, my husband was a translator so he helped me in all the important and official matters that needed Swedish knowledge.

**How does this occupation influence you?**

Being a student has given me the opportunity to meet new people both from Sweden and coming from abroad as well. I enjoy being in Komvux since it gives me the opportunity to integrate and socialize and it gives me a feeling of satisfaction and in a way belongingness.

**Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

**Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

## **Religion & Tradition**

**What religious belief do you have?**

I am Muslim.

**Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

My belief plays a big role in what kind of food I buy and what I eat. Due to my religion I buy all my meat from a shop in Malmö ( the earlier stated Abdos) where I make sure that the meat is butchered in the Islamic “correct” way which is called (Halal meat). My belief is responsible as well for my non-consumption of pork meat. My belief dictates my food shopping when it comes to meat.

**Does it always affect your food choice?,**

Look at answer 2.

**Does it affect from where you buy your food? Why?**

My religious belief does affect where I buy my food from. I don't buy meat from ICA but from a shop in Malmö where I know exactly how the meat is butchered.

**Where do you buy your food from ? Why?**

Look at answer 4.

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

My family and I have no special traditions regarding food. We eat everyday food, everyday except for certain occasions when we buy special sweets.

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

My values and traditions are the same since I moved to Sweden. I believe that I grew up in Lebanon and I already got my education from there which I still hold on to.

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

I believe that Sweden had no effect on changing my traditions and values since I moved here as an adult and hence kept a strong attachment to the values I learned in Lebanon.

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

I'm very well aware of the presence of Arabic food in shops both in Lund and Malmö more specifically. I believe that the food from my country gives a feeling of warmth and a link to my past. I insist on eating this food here in Sweden since it makes me feel as if I still were home.

## **Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

Regarding Swedish food I think that some is good. I don't feel that at any point it could replace Lebanese food but she at the same time I have nothing against eating it every once in a while.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

I have a somehow positive attitude towards Swedish food, some of it is good!

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

I prefer Lebanese food because I grew up with it and because it represents much to me more than the food itself?

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

My favourite dish is Taboulé the national Lebanese salad.



**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

Lebanese food has a meaning to me whenever I am sharing it with someone who is non-Lebanese. For example eating my food in school or when inviting some non-Lebanese friends over for a meal. In general when I eat that food alone at home or with my family then it doesn't have any special meaning to me.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

I have a positive attitude to the food that comes from Lebanon/Palestine. This is the food I want to eat for the rest of my life and I don't see a reason why it should be otherwise.

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

I shop for food once a week from my favourite store Abdos where all the meat is butchered according to the Islamic recommendation. I occasionally use ICA and COOP in order to refill milk and cheese. Even if I decided to cook "Swedish meat balls" then I buy that from Abdos as well who makes sure in that way that meat is "halal".

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

We spend 1500 SEK on Lebanese food products from Abdos. I don't count the milk and cheese refill that I get from ICA or COOP.

**How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

I have no control over the Swedish products such as milk or cheese that I buy from Swedish supermarkets since I don't have a budget for this daily consumption. My shopping is mostly impulsive when it comes to those products.

**Economic perspective****Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

My economy does not affect my consumption or my choice of meals or even the choice of products that I make. However if I were to go through a rough time then I would decrease the house's consumption of meat and replace it with lentils or some similar products

**Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

I never had to think about which kind of food I have to buy due to my economy and that I have always bought exactly what I wanted regardless of my economy.

## **Acculturation**

### **Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

I don't believe I fit in the Swedish society but I blaim myself regarding this issue. I believe that I am not a social person and I don't like to integrate and meet new people. I prefer to be home instead of being out there making any kind of effort to integrate socially or in any other form.

### **How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

I don't believe that I adapted to the Swedish culture in any way possible since I am surrounded all the time by my relatives and friends who are Palestinians/Lebanese and whose majority came form the same area.

### **What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

The hardest thing to adapt to in Sweden according to me was the weather since it's relatively colder than where I come from.

### **Do these affect your food choice?**

No.

### **Has this affected your acculturation process?**

No.

### **To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?.**

I would like to experience that "visiting culture" with my neighbours in Värpinge (the ones I believe have the same age as me).

### **Does this affect your food consumption?**

No.

## **Final questions**

### **Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

The language that I use daily is Arabic except for the time when I'm in school. I talk Arabic at home constantly and even when I go shopping for food in Malmö I use the Arabic language.

### **Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

The majority of my friends and relatives are Palestinians/Lebanese.

### **Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

My life time wish is to go back to Palestine my country of origin.

## **Interview 6.**

### **Introduction & Facts**

#### **Male /Female?**

Female

#### **Age?**

23 years old

#### **Where do you come from?**

Lebanon.

#### **How long have you been in Sweden?**

2 years and around three months.

#### **Did u move here with your family or alone?**

I moved alone.

**How many are you in the family?**

We are two.

**Why did you come to Sweden?**

Family reasons.

**Where do you live?**

I live in Lund more specifically in Gunnesbo.

**Why do you live there?**

I don't have a great reason why we live there, it just happened!

**Do you think your place of stay affects your integration?**

It has affected my integration a little bit.

**In what way?**

I have made friends with some of my neighbours.

**What do you find as most beneficial from the area you live in?**

It's calm and nice, very spacious with nice colours of trees and sky especially in the summer.

It's also a place for the families to live in so the environment is very friendly.

**Does your environment affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

Yes, in a way it does because there are no shops around me that sell Arabic food or products so I have to go to the shop that is located in the city center and which by the way is owned by a Lebanese family.

**Do you find any food over here that resembles food from home?**

I find all the food and products I am used to consume back home here. It's very amazing because it helps me deal with the fact that I am away from home and it makes Sweden a less of a foreign land with me.

**Do you cook food from your home country?**

Yes I do.

**How often?**

Once a week since I don't have time to cook I consume mostly ready made food, being a student and all.

**Does your own cooking influence your food consumption?**

My own cooking does influence my food consumption since I then have to go to special places other than ICA which I am used to buy food from. Other than my shopping tour it increases my weekly food budget whenever I decide to go to the Lebanese food since I always end up with food that I don't really need.

## **Education & Consumption**

**What occupation do you have?**

I am a student.

**Was it easy to achieve this occupation?**

Yes, it was easy. I knew exactly from the beginning the steps I had to go through in order to get into the system and I put my heart into achieving my status here in Sweden.

**How does this occupation influence you?**

My full time studies open huge opportunities for me when it comes to meeting new people and be involved in social activities and get help in all kind of ways. I even was picked to have a mentor which was organized by my university. I believe if I weren't a student, I wouldn't have the same opportunities as I do right now.

**Does it affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

Unfortunately being a student does affect which food I consume at home since I do not have time to cook. I believe that Lebanese food takes double as much time to make than Swedish food and other half made Chinese, Mexican and more international plates.

**Does your occupation affect the choice of food consumption at home?**

See previous question!

## **Religion & Tradition**

**What religious belief do you have?**

I am a Greek Orthodox Christian.

**Does this religious belief affect what you eat and buy?**

No, although it should during the period around easter and fasting, but I do not follow the recommendations regarding not eating meat and dairy products during the 40 days fasting period.

**Does it always affect your food choice?,**

No it doesn't although every once in a while I avoid eating meat on Fridays.

**Does it affects from where you buy your food? Why?**

No.

**Where do you buy your food from ? Why?**

I buy my food form ICA mostly and sometimes AGs and Willys. ICA and AGs are closest to me while Willys I go intentionally to buy Lebanese bread and other products that are imported form Lebanon.

**Do you have any special food traditions?**

Yes, on Sunday I am used to eating the national salad Taboulé and on other religious occasions such as Christmas the tradition is to eat Turkey and on Easter it's very common with boiled eggs as a side dish. The for every Saint's day or other occasion we have special sweets that are only made on that day. We also eat Baklawa when we want to celebrate some good news. The Arak (alcoholic drink made of grapes) is a must to all celebrative meals, it's even common when the family gets together.

**Are your values and tradition the same as your parents or they have changed?**

My values and traditions are a bit more loose than my parents' but that was the case even before I came from Lebanon.

**In what way have they changed? Is it due to Sweden?**

They actually didn't change it's the fact that me and my parents grew up in different times. My parents grew up during the war so they were in a way living in the dark not knowing much how societies around the world are developing. While I grew up in the era of globalization which allowed me to be influenced by societies from all over the world not to forget American movies which was a consistent element in my growing up process. So I wouldn't say that my values have changed due to Sweden. My values have not changed at all, they are just not the same values to some extent as my parents have.

**Do you know there is Arabic food that is being sold in the shops?**

Oh yes, I am very well aware of that.

## **Food & Attitude**

**Do you like Swedish food?**

Yes, I can't say that I don't.

**What kind of attitude do you have for Swedish food? Positive, negative? Why?**

I have a positive attitude towards Swedish food because its practical and fast to make and because it has developed into including everything in the "light food meny".

**What kind of food do you in general prefer?**

I actually prefer a mix of Lebanese, international, and Swedish food?

**Which dish do you feel represents home most for you? Why?**

Tabboulé because it's the national salad and it reminds me of my family since this dish

was/is always present on the Sunday table which is the day when the family makes sure to eat lunch together.

**Does the food you eat represent your identity here in Sweden?**

Not really, I mostly eat Swedish food and it doesn't mean I am Swedish. I do feel a bit special though when I eat Lebanese in public or when I go with my Swedish friends to a Lebanese restaurant in Malmö. It feels like this is my territory and now I am going to teach the Swedes something about my country.

**What attitude do you have for food from your home country?**

I have an unrealistic attitude maybe since I feel that it is the most nutritious food in the world.

**How often do you shop for Middle Eastern products? From where?**

Once a week, from Willys or from the shop in Lund's city center.

**How much do you spend /week on food products from your home country?**

Around 500 SEK a week.

**How much do you spend on food products from Sweden?**

1000 SEK a week.

## **Economic perspective**

**Is your food choice affected by your economy?**

Not really, although I am more aware of how to make cheaper meals when it comes to Lebanese food rather than Swedish food.

**Do you choose certain groceries due to your economic status?**

Before the 25<sup>th</sup> of the month I try to limit my shopping of "unnecessary" products. I can for instance make dishes that are super tasty and extremely cheap, such as lentils and rice or eggs and potato...

## **Acculturation**

**Was it easy to fit in, in Sweden?**

It was hard when I was still learning the language but afterwards it just went upwards for my sake.

**How well do you think you have adopted yourself to Sweden's culture?**

Pretty well I am involved in many social activities that my university organizes and I have Swedish friends as well.

**What are the hardest things to adapt to in Sweden?**

The weather is annoying for me since we rarely see the sun here while I am not used to it. Another thing that is hard to adapt to in Sweden is understanding the body language of Swedes since they are very discrete when it comes to body language and it makes it harder for me to understand the person in front of me.

**Do these affect your food choice?**

No really.

**Has this affected your acculturation process?**

No, I guess it only motivated me to socialize more and more with Swedes in order to come over the misunderstandings that I was facing in my communication and I believe I did so.

**To what extent have you/ do you want to acculturate and integrate with Swedish culture?.**

I believe to a large extent I have a very busy life which I accomplished in only 2 years time and in addition I have Swedish friends and friends coming from all over the world as well; latin America as well as eastern Europe and the Far East. I can talk the Swedish language

fluently and can write fluently as well.

**Does this affect your food consumption?**

No not really. For me food consumption is solely related to emotional issues.

### **Final questions**

**Which language dominates in use here in Sweden for you?**

Swedish.

**Where are the majority of your friends from? Sweden or Arabic countries?**

Sweden.

**Do you plan to stay here or to return home?**

I don't have any plans regarding this subject yet.

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