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**THE USE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN MARKETING  
STRATEGIES IN CANADA: A CASE STUDY OF TIM HORTONS**

Bachelor's thesis

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I hereby declare that I have compiled the thesis/paper independently and all works, important standpoints and data by other authors have been properly referenced and the same paper has not been previously presented for grading.

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## **ABSTRACT**

It can be said that Canada is somewhat of an outlier compared to other countries, in that its national identity is not entirely organic but rather maintained by a state which emphasizes multiculturalism and the retention of attachment to one's own cultural heritage. In the absence of a clear concept of national identity, some Canadian companies have been able to present themselves as spaces in which an organic sense of national identity can take shape, with the most well-known example of this being the fast-food restaurant chain Tim Hortons. Where existing research speculates that Tim Hortons invokes strong feelings of national identity in consumers, largely on the basis of the company's own advertising, this thesis aims to analyze whether young consumers themselves feel that their own identity as Canadians is linked to their consumption experiences at Tim Hortons, as well as to identify any other aspects of Canadian national identity that may be relevant to companies looking to enter the Canadian market. Through semi-structured interviews with young Canadian consumers, the author finds that familiarity with the brand seems to influence the decision to purchase from Tim Hortons, rather than any strong attachment based on national identity; the author also suggests that companies operating in Canada identify and emphasize ways to support the local communities in which they operate, based on consumer preference to support local businesses rather than showing blind support for Canadian businesses in particular.

Keywords: national identity, consumer identity, consumer behaviour, Canada, Tim Hortons

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## INTRODUCTION

Donald J. Savoie (2019), in his book *Democracy in Canada*, suggests that Canadian political institutions are dysfunctional due to the fact that they were imported from a British socio-political context that did not fit well to the new context forming in Canada, and particularly criticizes the failure of the state to acknowledge the fact that the concept of national identity in Canada comes second to regional identity:

The country's coat of arms, updated in 1994, is revealing. It presents the flag of the United Kingdom, the royal flag of France, symbols of England and Ireland, symbols of the monarchy, maple leaves (a distinctive Canadian symbol), and Latin phrases that mean "They desire a better country" and "From sea to sea." Nothing is said about Indigenous populations. Nothing is said about Canada's regional diversity.

Savoie (2019, p. 87)

Since its foundation, Canada — referred to as a "shell corporation" for resource extraction by an article in *The Outline* in reference to its lack of a common identity or symbols that distinctly set it apart from other nations (Green, 2020) — has struggled with the absence of a clear concept of national identity, instead often conceptualizing its identity as simply "a negation of apparent American characteristics and values" (Cormack, 2008).

Canada, notably, puts a large amount of emphasis on its culture of multiculturalism, defined by the Canadian government as "ensuring that all citizens keep their identities, take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging" (Government of Canada, 2023). This can also be argued to be an example of anti-Americanism as a component of Canadian identity, with the idea of the American "melting pot" society where immigrants are stripped of their cultural background standing in contrast to Canada's "cultural mosaic" (Cormack, 2008; McCullough, 2020). Canada is also home to a number of corporations that seem to give a strong sense of national identity to their consumers, one of the most popular examples being Tim Hortons, a fast-food chain known for its coffee and donuts that is frequently portrayed by media as a national icon (Bell, 2014; Gollom, 2014). Tim Hortons was named as Canada's most trusted brand in 2022, despite a

privacy breach where the company was found to have been tracking consumers' locations through its mobile app (Siekierska, 2022). Cormack (2008) suggests that the strong sense of loyalty that Tim Hortons has been able to foster among its consumers stems from a “hollow” attachment to national identity as it is conceptualized and maintained on a state level, leaving the door open for private companies to position themselves as authentic spaces in which national identity can be generated.

Although some authors have written on the topic of on how Tim Hortons utilizes identity in its branding and helps to solidify the concept of a common national identity in Canada (Cormack, 2008; Foster et al., 2011; Richelieu and Korai, 2014; Abu-Laban, 2020), alongside some additional discussions on how the beer brand Molson Canadian has evoked national identity in its advertising (MacGregor, 2003; Sugars, 2006), none of these studies have utilized direct interviews with consumers, instead focusing on secondary data such as analysis of advertising campaigns or official company documents. Moreover, there are no studies which analyze the implications of using national identity in marketing to Canadians as a general concept, with the vast majority of existing literature only focusing on specific case studies. When it comes to the association between corporate advertising and national identity in general, there is also little research aside from studies which focus on nation branding as advertised by a nation itself. Two studies which can help set the foundations for researching national identity in advertising are by Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver (2010), who found that brand consumption can help to create a sense of national identity through a series of interviews with New Zealanders, and Keillor and Hult (1999), who devise a national identity scale (NATID scale) to measure national identity in market research, for the purpose of adapting marketing activities to different regions according to what each local culture chooses to emphasize as being important to their identity. The **research problem** of the thesis is therefore a shortage of information about the actual attitudes of consumers when it comes to how national identity is portrayed in Canadian advertising (and in the advertising of Tim Hortons specifically).

This bachelor **thesis aims** to find out the validity of previous claims that Tim Hortons helps to foster a strong sense of national identity in Canadians through its advertising, with a focus on the attitudes of young consumers (age 18-34), and to fill the gap in the literature with reference to

how national identity might be used to appeal to consumers in Canada. In order to fulfill this aim, the following **research questions** were developed:

- (1) How do young Canadian consumers experience national identity in relation to Tim Hortons?
- (2) Are there any distinctions of Canadian national identity that should be taken into account when marketing to Canadians?

In order to fulfill the aim of the study and address the research questions, ten semi-structured interviews, ranging from 15-40 minutes in length, were carried out with Canadians in the 18-34 age group (the actual age range of participants was 23-30 years old).

The rest of the thesis is divided into three parts. Following the introduction, the first chapter discusses the theoretical background of identity (and national identity) as it relates to the marketing field, then summarizes the background of existing research on the topic of Tim Hortons and Canadian identity. The second chapter on methodology first provides the pretext for using qualitative methods to conduct the research; it then describes the process of creating the interview guide and collecting the data, including the sampling methods used to select the participants. Additionally, it explains the usage and process of coding as a mechanism for analyzing and interpreting the data. Finally, the third chapter presents the analysis of the data and discusses the results in relation to the research questions.

# 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

## 1.1. Consumer behaviour, identity, and national identity

This sub-section presents the concepts of identity and national identity as they relate to consumer behaviour. Consumer behaviour refers to “mental, emotional, and physical activities” influencing people to select, consume and dispose of products and services following the identification of a need that the product or service can fulfill, such as how information about a product might be obtained or how someone chooses to dispose of a product once they no longer have a use for it (Priest et al., 2013). Identity, as a general concept, refers to “the definitions that are created for and superimposed on the self” (Baumeister, 1997, p. 682), and is related to the idea of self-concept, which is a perception of identity that exists in the mind of an individual, rather than being imposed through external forces (Baumeister, 1997; Campbell, 1990). If identity is a definition of the self, then national identity is a definition based on “the extent to which a given culture recognizes and identifies with its unique characteristics” (Keillor & Hult, 1999, p. 67), or “the idea that the people of each nation have a distinctive, enduring pattern of behavior and/or personality characteristics” (Clark, 1990, p. 1).

### 1.1.1. Identity and consumer behaviour

Studies in consumer research show increasing interest in the idea of self-concept clarity (Chung & Saini, 2022), which implies that higher or lower levels of self-esteem are correlated, respectively, with a stronger or weaker understanding of one’s self (Campbell, 1990). Sirgy (1982; 2018) defines four dimensions of consumer self-concept, in contrast to a more conservative definition of self-concept as a singular perception of one’s self: 1) *actual self-image*, the image one has about themselves; 2) *ideal self-image*, the image one would like to hold about themselves; 3) *social self-image*, the image one believes others hold about them; 4) *ideal social self-image*, the image one would like others to hold about them. Self-concept relates to the theory of self-congruity in consumer behaviour, which states that the greater the match between consumer self-concept and a brand’s personality or projected user image, the greater preference the consumer will show for that brand and the greater the chance of long-term



commitment and loyalty to the brand (Sirgy, 2018). Furthermore, increased identity salience, meaning that a certain identity is more active in the mind of the consumer, increases the sensitivity of an individual to identity-relevant stimuli (Forehand et al., 2002). Oyserman (2007) proposes a theory of identity-based motivation where both personal and social identities separately provide motivations to act (or not act) in a situation, in turn influencing successful (or unsuccessful) self-regulation behaviours. Although personal and social identities, according to the identity-based motivation theory, have essentially the same components (membership, beliefs, action-readiness, and procedural-readiness), they manifest in slightly different ways, as is detailed in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Components of identity-based motivation theory

<b>Component</b>	<b>Personal identities</b>	<b>Social identities</b>
Membership	being or becoming someone who has (or does not have) a given identity	knowledge that one is or could become a member of a given group
Beliefs	norms, values, goals and strategies used to embody (or not embody) a given identity	permeability of group boundaries, how groups fit into society, how group members act and what their characteristics, beliefs, goals and values are, and strategies used to attain goals
Action-readiness	readiness to act in a way that embodies (or does not embody) a given identity	how one moves, dresses and talks
Procedural-readiness	readiness to make sense of the world in a way that is congruent with identity	making sense of the world as it relates to the group

Source: Composed by the author based on Oyserman (2009)

Oyserman (2009), like Forehand et al. (2002), posits that consumers are motivated by identity salience, and identity is less likely to be a factor in purchase if a particular identity is not active in the consumer's mind. Notably, because consumers are more likely to make identity-congruent decisions than incongruent ones, identity can be a stronger motivating factor in consumption choices than any actual proof of the benefits of a product or service, because identity adds an extra dimension of meaning to the choice (Oyserman, 2009). A distinction can be made between

*identity-referencing* messages in advertising, which only indirectly mention the target consumer identity, and *identity-defining* messages, which explicitly suggest that purchasing a given product will strengthen identity expression. Although marketing managers prefer identity-defining messages, consumers with a more salient identity may perceive these messages as limiting their ability to freely express themselves, and will be less likely to make a purchase if they place stronger importance on agency (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014); a similar study found that consumers with higher levels of self-concept clarity are more averse to recommendations for products or services (Lee et al., 2010). The factor of importance of a given social identity to the consumer is also significant — the willingness of someone to make a purchase, when faced with an identity-defining message, increases alongside increased importance of their identity (Reed, 2004). Consumers who feel uncertain about their identities, on the other hand, are more receptive to identity-defining messages that help them develop a better sense of who they are (Bhattacharjee et al., 2014). Other studies support the notion that consumers seek to reinforce an uncertain identity through purchasing products that unambiguously define their identity for them (Gao et al., 2009), and that especially consumers with higher tendencies towards materialism seek to form deeper connections with brands when faced with existential insecurities (Rindfleisch et al., 2009). Increased materialism further manifests in the form of price dependency, where consumers with a weaker self-concept are more likely to judge product quality based on price (Chung & Saini, 2022). Weak self-concept can also cause hesitation in giving up consumption of a product if this would signal a change in identity, even when the product is of little benefit to someone, e.g. a subscription service that is not actively being used (Savary & Dhar, 2020). Additionally, the ability of brands to attract consumers by positioning themselves as lifestyle brands is limited by the presence of other brands in the market engaging in similar tactics, as one purchase can temporarily satiate a consumer's need for self-expression and therefore reduce the capacity of subsequent purchases to fulfill the same need (Chernev et al., 2011).

The effectiveness of signalling identity through marketing messages is not the only area where managers' preferences differ from actual consumer experiences. Fournier (1998) identifies six dimensions of a strong consumer-brand relationship (love and passion, self-connection, commitment, interdependence, intimacy, and brand partner quality). Higher levels of any of these

dimensions indicate a stronger consumer connection to the brand; here the relationship with the brand is likened to a common interpersonal relationship, and consumers derive relationship categories for different brands separately from the intended relationship categories imposed by marketing managers, through interacting with the brand in ways that add meaning to their lives.

### **1.1.2. National identity and consumer behaviour**

The use of media and advertising as a tool of soft power in nation building is frequently discussed (Barr, 2011; Safdar et al., 2018; Prideaux, 2009), especially with reference to events where a country has a chance to promote itself on an international stage, such as the World Expo (Barr, 2011). There is a smaller body of literature, however, on whether advertising can help contribute to a sense of national identity even when it is not being actively promoted by a country. National identity has been found to have relevance to consumer behaviour: Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver (2010), through a series of interviews with New Zealanders, found that brand consumption can also help to create a sense of national identity, with interviewees referencing both local and multinational brands, such as Adidas, as examples of brands that helped them feel a sense of belonging to their country, as well as heritage brands that did not run frequent advertisements but that were recognized as being national icons. Bulmer and Buchanan-Oliver also suggest that age could be a factor in how consumers relate their sense of national identity to brands; another aspect that is not well-explored is whether consumers living in homogenous or heterogenous societies would feel differently about the ability of brands to reinforce their national identity. In a study on how identity is constructed among non-immigrants in a multicultural context, focusing on the case of Luxembourg, Bichler et al. (2020) conclude that multiculturalism does not necessarily result in a loss of identity for the natives of a given country. Significantly, the authors of the study also suggest that younger people, who “grew up in a world where the topic of forming a union across different countries was more relevant and salient” tend towards having a more global concept of their identity that co-exists with the identity of their native country. Research indicates that this theory is relevant to younger Canadians as well; a survey by the Environics Institute (2022) shows a change in the perspectives of young Canadians on what they perceive to be the most important factors or symbols of Canadian identity, with 77% rating multiculturalism as very important in 2022 compared to 53% and 59% in 2012 and 2000, respectively, and the proportion of young

Canadians identifying Indigenous peoples as very important to Canadian identity in 2022 (82%) almost doubling in size from a decade prior. On the other hand, state symbols such as the national anthem or the flag which were seen as important by older generations declined in terms of perceived importance among young people.

Also relevant to the impact of national identity on consumer behaviour are studies on consumer ethnocentrism. Consumer ethnocentrism refers to “beliefs held by [consumers] about the appropriateness, indeed morality, of purchasing foreign-made products” (Shimp & Sharma, 1987, p. 280), and stems from the general concept of ethnocentrism, in which a given ingroup both holds itself in high regard while simultaneously viewing outsiders as inferior to them (Shankarmahesh, 2006). Shimp & Sharma (1987) devise the CETSCALE (consumer ethnocentrism scale), a 17-item list of statements measured on a 7-point Likert scale (where 7 = strongly agree, 1 = strongly disagree), for assessing how appropriate consumers feel it is to purchase foreign products. Statements include, for instance, “It is not right to purchase foreign products, because it puts Americans out of jobs”, and “It may cost me in the long-run but I prefer to support American products” (Shimp & Sharma, 1987, p. 282). Although there is evidence to show that higher ethnocentrism is associated with a greater preference for domestic products, it may also be considered as part of a wider concept, in order to gain more insights into how patriotism affects purchasing behaviour (Josiassen et al., 2011). Keillor & Hult (1999) propose a four-dimensional framework for determining the relevancy of national identity to consumers, with *national heritage* (the country has a strong historical heritage, and important historical events and figures are treated with significance), *cultural homogeneity* (citizens of a country feel that their national identity is culturally unique; they possess attributes that distinguish them from others, feel that they have a common historical background, feel proud of their nationality and frequently engage in activities that reinforce their identity as a member of that country), *belief system* (a specific religious belief is important in defining and possessing a unique national identity and is essential to the given country’s social cohesion) and *consumer ethnocentrism* (similar to the CETSCALE: purchasing local products is the best option, even if it is more costly to the consumer, and importing foreign products allows other countries to take advantage of the given country and is detrimental to local businesses) making up the core concept of national identity. Josiassen et al. (2011), interestingly, suggest that while older consumers are more likely

to be ethnocentric, ethnocentrism is a greater factor in making purchasing decisions for younger consumers than it is for older ones, as younger consumers are more likely to base their decisions on obvious information such as product origin, while older consumers also consider previous experiences with a brand.

## **1.2. The relationship between Tim Hortons and Canadian national identity**

This sub-section will elaborate on the context of using Tim Hortons as the case study for uncovering how national identity might relate to consumer behaviour in Canada, and summarize previous studies which look at the relationship between Canadian national identity and Tim Hortons in particular.

### **1.2.1. Background**

Tim Hortons (known colloquially as “Tims” or “Timmies”), founded in 1964, is a Canadian fast food chain known primarily for serving coffee and donuts. It is also the largest fast food chain in Canada, boasting 4,171 locations across the country and “80% of Canadians visiting a Tims in Canada at least once a month” (Tim Hortons, 2021a; 2023), and a total of 5,352 restaurants including global locations as of 2022 (Restaurant Brands International, 2022). The image of the company’s founder and namesake, National Hockey League (NHL) player Miles Gilbert “Tim” Horton, was removed from promotional materials following his death in 1974, but the brand’s support for sports remained, with Tim Hortons today running its own youth hockey and soccer programmes (Timbits Sports) and sponsoring numerous athletes (Cormack, 2008; Tim Hortons, 2021b). A survey by the research firm BrandSpark shows that Tim Hortons is the most trusted coffee shop chain among Canadian consumers (BrandSpark International, 2022), and a global survey of the most trusted brands in 2022 revealed that Tim Hortons was the most trusted brand in Canada overall, with a net trust score of 52.25 (Morning Consult, 2022); interestingly, this trust did not seem to be affected by the results of a privacy investigation which found that Tim Hortons tracked the geolocation data of its mobile app users through a third-party service from May 2019 to August 2020, with no proven advantage of collecting this data and no valid consent obtained from users to allow for tracking their location as often as every few minutes, even when

they had the app closed (Office of the Privacy Commissioner of Canada, 2022; Siekierska, 2022); the company later offered an apology to “eligible app users” in the form of “a free hot beverage and a free baked good” valued at roughly 8.58 CAD, or 5.85 EUR (Cox, 2022). The fact that the company did not suffer a huge blow to the trust it enjoys from its consumers can be attributed in part to both very few consumers having heard about the privacy breach in the first place, as well as the fact that Canadian consumers show little concern for data privacy in the food and beverage industry; however, higher trust that Canadians feel for Tim Hortons may also be in part because of the brand’s strong reputation as a national symbol (Moquin, 2022).

### **1.2.2. Tim Hortons and Canadian national identity**

Several authors (Cormack, 2008; Foster et al., 2011; Richelieu & Korai, 2014; Abu-Laban, 2020) have identified Tim Hortons’ appeals to Canadian national identity in its advertising as a crucial part of its success, so much so that even its international locations, found in countries such as the United States, England, Mexico, China, and Saudi Arabia, are presented by the company as places Canadians can “visit for a taste of home” (Tim Hortons, 2021d) while travelling. Foster et al. (2011), through an analysis of official company websites and other external communications, suggest that Tim Hortons builds off of the legitimacy of established Canadian institutions (specifically, hockey and the military) to solidify its own legitimacy as a beloved national symbol. Notably, Tim Hortons opened a location in Kandahar, Afghanistan in 2006 to service Canadian troops, and in 2004 was chosen by the Royal Canadian Mint as the exclusive distributor of coins commemorating Remembrance Day, a federal statutory holiday where Canadians honour the memory of past and present soldiers who have fought for the country. Cormack (2008) references an advertisement of an NHL star shown participating in the Timbits Sports programme as a child, noting that “it is almost impossible for a Canadian to become a hockey star — or even participate in mainstream children’s sports — without going through the Timbits system” (p. 371), making it even easier for the brand to position itself as a quintessential part of Canadian life.

Past marketing campaigns, such as the *Every Cup* campaign which encouraged Tim Hortons customers to share their personal stories, drew attention to the brand as a unifying force for Canadians across the country; Richelieu & Korai (2014), in addition to happiness and joy,

identified the theme of Tim Hortons as a familiar travel companion for consumers taking cross-country trips: “in a country with a vast geography, the presence of Tim Hortons in service centres allows Canadians to travel more comfortably and in better humour.” (p. 201). Cormack (2008) similarly draws attention to the significance of travel as a running theme in the *True Stories* campaign (a series of ads which also aimed to showcase the stories of ordinary consumers): “[Tim Hortons] promises a safe, knowable sanctuary that is pre-figured and anticipated in the minds of the travellers” (p. 377). Given the fact that prior exposure to a brand has been shown to increase the rate at which the brand is chosen for consumption, even if the brand is unknown (Coates et al., 2006), and that increased brand familiarity can reduce the impact that negative perceptions of advertisements has on the perception of the brand as a whole (Campbell & Keller, 2003), it is no surprise that the ubiquitousness of Tim Hortons stores across Canada has helped to solidify the brand as a familiar sanctuary in the minds of consumers.

Another factor behind why Tim Hortons has been able to gain such a strong reputation as a Canadian heritage symbol lies in its ability to appeal to a broad group of Canadians. In the wake of Canada’s official policy of multiculturalism, established by then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971 — reinforcing the idea that, in Trudeau’s own words, “although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other” (Trudeau, 1971) — Tim Hortons has been able to “fill the void of organic national symbols by positioning itself as the embodiment of Canadian culture” (Foster et al., 2011, p. 110). This lack of an official national identity in the context of state-endorsed multiculturalism means that the methods used to define something as “Canadian” become somewhat bureaucratic and void of actual meaning; Canadian media content (CanCon), for example, is officially awarded the status of “being Canadian” only by virtue of being created in Canada or produced by Canadians. Although national broadcasters are required by law to give CanCon a predefined quota of airtime, the question can then be raised of whether what is being broadcasted is actually representing distinct Canadian stories and is of value to the country’s cultural heritage. In this sense, Tim Hortons also facilitates an emotional connection to Canadian identity (Cormack, 2008), while the highly technical state definition of “Canadianness” often falls short of representing Canadian identity as is actually experienced by Canadians, as can be seen in current concerns that the recently proposed Bill C-11 (the Online Streaming Act), which seeks to impose

a requirement on international streaming services such as Netflix and YouTube to include a certain amount of CanCon in what they show to Canadians, would be used by the government to censor independent Canadian content creators in favour of content that shows the type of Canadian identity they deem to be correct (Pugh, 2023; Djuric, 2023).

Abu-Laban (2020) discusses how the “pan-class appropriateness” of the Tim Hortons brand — with its plain, red-and-white cups able to blend in as an accessory to any type of consumer, in contrast with a brand like Starbucks which might serve as a symbol of upperclassness — was utilized by Canada’s former Conservative government under Prime Minister Stephen Harper to appeal to a patriotic, militaristic, traditional type of Canadian voter, specifically, as one article in the *Toronto Star* called them, to “Tim Hortons voters”, who “like their politics to be predictable, beige — just like the doughnuts and decor at their national treasure of a food retailer” (Delacourt, 2013). It is important to note that, according to Abu-Laban (2020), Tim Hortons does not necessarily represent a pan-Canadian identity, but rather a specific brand of English settler Canadian identity that is reinforced by consumption choices and fails to reflect the true diversity of the Canadian population, ignoring the more defined identities of stateless Indigenous nations in Canada or the French-speaking Quebecois, both groups who have frequently pushed for more representation in Canadian public discourse.



## **2. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter will justify the choice of qualitative methods to conduct the study, describe the how these methods were applied, and detail the process of using semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection, including the process of identifying the target group, a description of the selected sample group and a description of the interview guide.

### **2.1. Research design and sample**

This thesis uses a qualitative approach to conduct the research, namely a grounded theory approach. Because there is still very little literature on the subject of how national identity can be leveraged in marketing strategies, and even fewer studies which discuss the specificities of how national identity might be used when marketing to Canadians in particular, qualitative methods are well-suited to the topic at hand, as they can help to gain a deeper understanding of a situation before any concrete actions are taken and, especially in the case of a novel situation, to identify any points of interest on the basis of which further research can be conducted (Berkwits & Inui, 1998). The grounded theory approach, which has its origins in the field of sociology, is used to develop theories informed by the analysis and interpretation of data (typically by using axial coding to identify common themes in the data), and has primarily been applied in marketing research when studying consumer experiences (Goulding, 2005).

Data was collected by means of semi-structured interviews (SSIs). Although SSIs can require a large amount of time and effort on the part of the researcher, they can be extremely useful for the purposes of obtaining a more in-depth picture of the thoughts of individuals, for discussing more sensitive topics which may not elicit honest responses if discussed among peers in a focus group, and for supplementing proposals for further research (Adams, 2015). Taking these aspects into consideration, SSIs were deemed the most appropriate method of data collection. After the decision to use SSIs, an interview guide (see Appendix 1) was created according to guidelines set out by Adams (2015): when considering the general flow of questions, the more controversial or sensitive topics (in this case, questions about identity) were placed towards the end, closed-ended

questions were used as “gateways to open-ended probing” (p. 497), and top-priority questions were marked in bold, to prepare for the possibility of interviews running over time. The guide was also periodically reviewed, to note any further discussion topics of interest or relevancy of the initial questions based on previous interviews, and a pilot test was conducted with a family member prior to doing interviews in the field, to check whether there were any questions which might be too confusing to participants. In order to ease the process of interpreting the data obtained from interviews in a way that addresses the research questions, the relevancy of each interview question to each research question was also indicated in the interview guide; the second group of interview questions concerning Canadian national identity are also a modified version of select questions from Keillor & Hult (1999)’s framework for identifying the strength of national identity among consumers in international marketing research; although the aforementioned study uses a quantitative approach to estimating consumer national identity, the original questions were easily adapted for qualitative research by reframing them in a way that aimed to investigate their overarching themes.

Interview participants were identified using a combination of volunteer and snowball sampling methods, consistent with the grounded theory approach where sampling is a “process of talking to those informants who are most likely to provide early information” (Goulding, 2005, p. 296) and not defined beforehand. Volunteer sampling is a type of non-probability sampling whereby potential participants who fit the desired criteria or have experience with the research topic are asked to indicate their ability for an interview, by either broadcasting advertisements for the study through media channels or directly distributing a contact form to a particular group (Morse, 1991). In this case, a link to a Calendly calendar was distributed on Instagram, Twitter, in private messaging channels and by word of mouth, alongside a short description of the research topic and the target group criteria (Canadians age 18-34, as elaborated on in the paragraph below). Calendly is a scheduling tool which allows respondents to select a time for an online meeting from a pre-defined window of availability set by the distributor. Because of the convenience it offers to respondents in terms of both allowing them to choose their preferred meeting time and their preferred channel for conducting the interview (options were given between Zoom, Microsoft Teams and Google Meet), as well as the need to eliminate the issues that come with coordinating meetings between two vastly different time zones, Calendly was

found to be the fastest and most effective way of identifying and connecting with interview participants. At the end of the interview, some participants were also asked to distribute the Calendly link to others they knew. One drawback of using volunteer sampling is that it relies heavily on the own interest of potential participants in the research topic, meaning that only those who have a particular interest in the subject may be inclined to reply (Statistics Canada, 2021). This issue could be identified even in the initial selection stage: several potential participants who were asked about their availability for an interview declined, as they felt they did not have any useful information to give about the topic and would not know what to say.

Following the definition of young Canadians by the Environics Institute (2022) as those in the age group of 18-34, only participants who fit this criteria were considered for the sample. Younger consumers were of particular interest for gaining insights into the research topic, on the basis of two previous studies: first, the study by Bichler et al. (2020) which found that younger people living in a multicultural environment hold a more global concept of their identity which exists alongside national identity. Existing research on themes of nationalism in Tim Hortons' branding identify the presence of strong, stereotypically "Canadian" motifs which do not aim to tell diverse stories but instead appeal to consumers through an inoffensive construct of Canadian identity (Abu-Laban, 2020). This makes the insights of younger people on Canadian identity particularly relevant, as they may have different concepts of their national identity than older generations. Second, Josiassen et al. (2011) suggest that while older consumers may hold more ethnocentric tendencies, the likelihood that ethnocentrism would have an affect on the decision to make a purchase is higher for younger consumers. Again, this implies that younger consumers may be able to give more detailed insights on the role that ethnocentrism plays in their own consumption behaviour.

## **2.2. Data collection and analysis methods**

The first round of distributing the Calendly link for scheduling an interview led to interviews with three participants through Zoom and Microsoft Teams, from April 13th to 15th, 2023. These interviews were taken as the basis for assessing the usefulness of the interview guide in the field,

before carrying out interviews with the remaining seven participants, which took place from April 19th to May 8th, 2023. The interviews ranged from 15 to 40 minutes in length. It is important that the interview guide is able to be changed and is a constant work in progress, as interviews may reveal that some topics need to be presented differently to participants, or that participants bring up previously unplanned for topics that would be relevant to ask about in further interviews; the most important times to review the interview guide are following the first interview, then following the first round, and later on a periodical basis (Adams, 2015). One notable example of a question that was later changed in the interview guide was “What would you say distinguishes someone from Canada from someone from another country?”, from the group of questions on identity. This was initially a difficult question for participants to answer (for example, because of not having much exposure to non-Canadians), but elicited a more detailed response when asking for a comparison between Canadians and Americans; thus, the question was reframed to first ask what would distinguish someone from Canada from someone from the United States, specifically. It should be noted that although Americans, as Canada’s immediate neighbours, were assumed by the interviewer to be the group that the participants would have the most familiarity with, some previous research has shown that Canadians have extremely negative stereotypes of Americans compared to other English-speaking countries (McAndrew et al., 2000), which may have informed the answers of some participants.

During a brief introduction, participants were first told the background of the study and how the interview would be structured. Following ethical guidelines, they were then assured that the data used in the thesis would be anonymized and that they had a right to withdraw their data at any time, and asked for their verbal consent to record the interviews. In order to protect against any potential issues that might arise with the recordings, two simultaneous recordings were produced, one on the interviewer’s phone and one using the recording function within the platform being used to conduct the interview. The first group of interview questions opened a discussion on common symbols used in advertising which identify a product or service as Canadian, with further questions on how Canadian symbols and themes are used in advertising for Tim Hortons, and how accurately participants felt these themes were able to represent Canadians as a whole. The second group of questions aimed to draw out any characteristics of Canadian national identity which might be perceived as distinct from other nations, and discuss the participants’

overall relationship to their identity as Canadians. To conclude the interview, participants were invited to contribute any other thoughts they might have on Canadian identity or marketing in Canada, and finally thanked for their time. The demographic data of the interview participants (sample size, age, gender and province of origin) can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Socio-demographic profile of interview participants

<b>Interview</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Province</b>
1	24	Female	Ontario
2	26	Female	Ontario
3	24	Male	Ontario
4	23	Female	Nova Scotia
5	30	Male	Alberta
6	30	Decline to answer	Ontario
7	24	Non-binary	Saskatchewan
8	26	Female	British Columbia
9	25	Female	Saskatchewan
10	23	Male	Ontario

Source: Composed by the author based on data from Appendix 2

As previously mentioned, this thesis employed coding as a method of analysis. Codes are “one or two-word ideas that cogently and succinctly explain what is happening in the data”, used to draw out concepts from the data which can later be discussed and analyzed (Chametzky, 2016). These concepts, after identifying the core categories to which they connect, can then form the basis for new theory (Goulding, 2005). Following guidelines by Chametzky (2016), the interview transcripts (see Appendix 2) were first typed into a Google Sheets document and separated into individual sentences, with codes for each sentence written to the right of the transcript. Three stages of coding took place: open coding, where all concepts of potential importance are first noted and then compared to each other to identify the broader categories to which they belong;

axial coding, where relationships between the concepts are established; and finally selective coding, where the core category and its relations to other categories are identified (Noble & Mitchell, 2016). In the chapter on analysis, quotes from the interviews are used to illustrate the identified code categories. As demonstrated by Corden and Sainsbury (2006), the use of verbatim extracts in qualitative analysis can improve the readability of a paper and emphasize the importance of certain themes or topics which are identified from coding; thus, the author also chose to use them during the analysis of this thesis.

### 3. ANALYSIS

#### 3.1. Experiences of national identity in relation to Tim Hortons

When asked to name the top three “most Canadian” companies, all participants included Tim Hortons in their lists. The list of companies which were mentioned by interview participants more than once, including the industries those companies belong to, is shown in Table 3:

Table 3. Top Canadian companies named by interview participants

Company name	Company industry	Number of mentions
Tim Hortons	Restaurant	9
Canadian Tire	Retail	4
Hudson’s Bay	Retail	4
CBC	Media	2

Source: Composed by author based on data from Appendix 2

Notably, participants were able to provide the most elaboration on why they perceived Tim Hortons as one of the top three most Canadian companies, while other companies (such as Canadian Tire or CBC) were named simply because could be identified as Canadian through the brand name or packaging. Tim Hortons, however, was not only identified as Canadian, but identified as actively targeting Canadians through their marketing:

*They've created such a market in Canada for, like, "we are the Canadian, you know, company if you want to have coffee," um, whereas I don't see that as much in other countries, um, where Tim Hortons is.*

Participant 2, female

*They definitely cater to Canadians, like, um, like... they identify as a Canadian company...*

Participant 1, female

Some participants struggled to construct a specific image of a typical Tim Hortons consumer in their mind; some common associations were that Tim Hortons consumers were young or working-class, as well as that it would be more stereotypical of white Canadians to buy from Tim Hortons (although this was not necessarily how participants perceived the target consumer). However, some participants gave the complete opposite answer: that they often saw older people buying from Tim Hortons, and that they viewed the clientele as largely office workers. More often than not, Tim Hortons consumers were described as having a specific lifestyle that led them to purchase a cheap, quick meal on the go, instead of belonging to any particular demographic (the demographic was often quoted as “anyone in Canada”):

*The average customer is just, like, literally anyone off the street, like, I usually think, like, working class, like, just going in for a coffee type situation. Not rich people, for sure.*

Participant 3, male

*...there's 24-hour open Tim Horton's by campus at the University of Alberta, and it's right by the hospital, so you see a lot of healthcare workers, a lot of shift workers who are working around the clock, and they know they can get a decent meal from Tim Horton's...*

Participant 5, male

All participants had previously bought from Tim Hortons — one even remarked “Yeah, a Canadian... if they don't know what Tim Hortons is, I wanna know where they live!” (Appendix 3, Interview 10) — and mostly cited some feeling of familiarity with the brand as a reason for repeat visits; a repeated theme was the suggestion that consumers who visit a Tim Hortons know exactly what kind of experience or what kind of food they will get, even if they find themselves in a completely new location. When asked if they would visit a Tim Hortons abroad, trust was cited as a reason for both being willing and not being willing to visit, with one participant who



had visited a Tim Hortons in the United States expressing doubt that the experience would be as reliably consistent as it is in Canada:

*I would probably still go and I would, I think cause they have established that kind of trust that I would, I would trust... I know what I'm getting into when I go to a Tim Hortons, regardless of where it is.*

Participant 2, female

*Would I go to a Tim Hortons abroad? No!...I had a french vanilla at a Tim Hortons in New York once, and it was, like, it was not, it was not a Tim Hortons french vanilla, it was like, vanilla hot chocolate or something....no, I wouldn't. I don't trust that.*

Participant 3, male

Some participants also felt that they would not go out of their way to visit Tim Hortons in another country, due to the lack of novelty. One suggestion was given that foreign Tim Hortons restaurants might be more attractive if they offered some merchandise or menu items which were exclusive to the foreign location and drew inspiration from local cuisines, instead of trying to replicate their Canadian restaurants. The typical experience of participants at Tim Hortons was similar to how they imagined the experiences of a typical customer: they visited Tim Hortons if they were out and needed something quick to eat, but otherwise did not go out of their way to buy there. Some participants suggested that Tim Hortons had become more of a nostalgic experience for Canadians, and was not necessarily a brand that people held in high regard or highly related to:

*I guess it's if, uh, if you grew up on it, I feel like there's kind of no, like, no way not to relate to Tim Hortons, in a way [laughing], it's like, it's just part of the culture at this point, in my opinion.*

Participant 10, male

*[Tim Hortons are] leaning into the image [of being Canadian], but I feel like they're kind of pushing their luck at this point, like, I don't think people really relate to the brand that way like they maybe used to.*

Participant 3, male

Tim Hortons frequently does fundraising for a number of charities; one well-known initiative of the company that was also brought up by participants is their fundraising through Smile Cookies, where 100% of sales from a particular cookie are donated to local charities (Tim Hortons, 2021c). Tim Hortons is not the only Canadian company which participates extensively in charitable giving; many companies frequently promote food bank programs, for example, especially during the Christmas holidays, and Tim Hortons has chosen food banks to be recipients of funds raised by Smile Cookies in the past (Payette, 2022; Brown, 2022). Charity can be viewed as another characteristic of Canadian identity, related to the stereotype of Canadians as helpful and polite (discussed further in section 3.2). One participant noted that Tim Hortons seemed to be somewhat selective with which charities their money went to, and suggested that they could use charity drives as an avenue for appealing to a wider group of Canadians, for instance by giving charities which supported Indigenous peoples:

*I'm not sure how they would go about that, but, um, I have never seen them, like raising money towards, uh, you know, First Nations peoples ever, they usually... if they are doing a charity, it's for like, kids, like they're putting kids, in, like a camp for the summer, or, like, "hey, donate this money to..." whatever, like program for kids.*

Participant 1, female

The mention of Indigenous peoples here is consistent with results from the Environics Institute (2022), which showed that younger Canadians viewed Indigenous peoples as an important component of Canadian national identity; thus, the question of how to better include and support Indigenous peoples through their activities may be an important issue for Canadian companies such as Tim Hortons in the future.

### 3.2. Particularities of Canadian national identity

Canada's historical treatment of Indigenous peoples was also cited by participants as a reason for negative feelings towards Canada's past, especially in light of recent news regarding the true scope of damage caused by residential schools (private schools built for the purpose of forcibly assimilating Indigenous children into Canadian society, where children experienced frequent abuse). Despite some less than positive assessments of Canadian history, participants were also familiar with the concept of Canadian exceptionalism, or the idea that Canada is uniquely progressive (often in reference to immigration policies and strongly welcoming attitudes towards immigrants in society) in ways that other countries are not (Trebilcock, 2019). As one participant compares Canada to the United States:

*I feel like Americans are just very individual-oriented, or very small communities, so, like, they come out of very small communities, they don't know much about, like, Canadians are very educated, I find.*

Participant 8, female

One Indigenous (Mi'kmaw) participant gave the opinion that Canada's actions towards reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, and the ways Canadians treat Indigenous peoples, are somewhat performative:

*...they'd come see, like, cultural performances and stuff, but that's not actually doing anything other than them sitting in a room being like, "wow, Indigenous culture is so beautiful!"...I can't think of anything that Canada has done that actually does anything, other than non-Indigenous people going "yep, they're there!"*

Participant 4, female

The sentiment that many Canadians might not actually believe in the values they claim to was also brought up several times, both in relation to reconciliation with Indigenous peoples and in other contexts. This could be connected to the tendency to present Canadian values as a negation of American values, as one participant mentioned:

*...we're, people say, "oh, we're not as bad as America," which, um [laughs] might be true in some ways, but I feel like there's a lot of stuff that, like, people need to acknowledge that we've done...*

Participant 10, male

*Canada and Canadian people still don't really care about Indigenous issues the way that they kind of pretend to, like that kind of thing. So when I say Canadians feel like they believe, that they believe in this stuff, I don't know. I think they, they believe that they believe it, I don't know if they actually believe.*

Participant 3, male

When it came to their personal identity as Canadians, some participants also expressed the feeling of an identity struggle between calling themselves Canadian (due to being born there) and feeling some simultaneous connection to a different cultural identity. On the other hand, participants who were not born in Canada and instead had moved there at a younger age, or came from recent immigrant backgrounds, were more likely to connect their identity to specific activities or experiences that helped them develop their sense of identity as a Canadian:

*...I speak both national languages fluently, I've lived in four different provinces, um, I work for the government of Canada, so all these experiences make me, yeah, it makes me feel Canadian.*

Participant 5, male

*Like, I can see why you guys wanna go camping, like, you guys go hiking, I understand it, and, like, now I go hiking with my friends [laughing] so before, cause before I didn't, I was like, ah, no... but yeah, um, I guess that's the Canadian part of me, in a way.*

Participant 9, female

In relation to marketing activities, this feeling of being torn between identities, or having a largely experiential sense of identity, seems to be consistent with Cormack (2008)'s theory that

Tim Hortons and companies like it appeal to consumers because they offer a Canadian identity which is rooted in a concrete space, in contrast to an identity which is formed on the basis of simply existing in Canada.

Most participants did not mention that they would strongly prefer buying Canadian products over foreign products; Canadian products were preferred only in situations where buying Canadian might lead to an easier experience for the consumer (for example, when shopping online, where the experience of receiving a package in the mail is more familiar and it would be easier to communicate with the seller) or in the case of buying local produce and supporting local businesses, though it was made clear by several participants that this did not really stem from any ethnocentric sentiments as much as it did from wanting to support their local communities:

*...I live in Canada, I work in Canada, um, local products give local jobs, the people I know and care about are here, so yeah, I always prefer to buy local, um, obviously sometimes not an option.*

Participant 6

This points towards it being advantageous for international companies aiming to sell their products or services in Canada to engage in partnerships with local businesses — and actively draw attention the fact that they support these local businesses — as well as to focus on creating a smooth experience for customers that would not be uncomfortable for them to navigate, especially when making online purchases. Given the fact that several participants also pointed out the tendency for Canadians to not bring up problems they might face with others, this second point seems especially relevant to focus on:

*If somebody's doing something wrong, impolite in public, no one would ever say anything, but you can tell everyone's, like, super mad about it...*

Participant 3, male

*I've also been told by one of my friends who is from the U.K., um, he tells me a lot that, like, Canadians are a bit, of, like, pushovers, so...they kind of, like, grin and bear it when it comes to, you know, issues with one another...*

Participant 1, female

Therefore, companies should take note that Canadian consumers may not be willing to address any issues they experience with products or services, and prepare their strategies for managing customer relationships accordingly.

### **3.3. Discussion**

Although young consumers were able to recognize that Tim Hortons presented themselves as a Canadian company, they themselves did not express any strong sentimental attachment to the brand, even going as far as to say that the company's marketing represented a more stereotyped and outdated version of Canadian identity compared to how Canadian identity is actually experienced today. Convenience and familiarity seemed to be greater motivators than loyalty when it came to making a decision to purchase from Tim Hortons. This contrasts with the results of some previous studies such as the one by Richelieu & Korai (2013), who suggested that nostalgia was a strong motivator for consumers to buy Tim Hortons. Although the majority of interview participants in this thesis expressed feelings of nostalgia for Tim Hortons, many did not consider themselves active consumers of the brand in spite of this; rather, they went to Tim Hortons when they did not want to question what they were going to eat or when it was the best available option based on price and proximity.

When it comes to how Canadian identity might affect the behaviour of young consumers as a whole, several topics came up which may be of interest to marketers. For one, participants expressed that some aspects of Canadian identity or values felt somewhat fabricated such as the emphasis placed on valuing multiculturalism or the overall feeling of attachment to Canada in contrast to identities associated with ethnic background. Young consumers also emphasized the importance of supporting local businesses or of showing concrete support to certain marginalized

groups in Canada, with specific reference to Indigenous peoples. It was also pointed out that Canadians are not very confrontational when faced with issues, which implies that marketers should carefully consider how they interact with consumers and should be more proactive when identifying potential problems with how consumers perceive a brand, to avoid having any issues go unaddressed.

Marketers should note that relying on signals of national identity alone are not enough to foster a sense of brand loyalty in young Canadian consumers; for example, a label that a product is produced locally (in a specific city or region of Canada) might help make a product more attractive than simply labelling the product as “made in Canada”, and advertising should aim to move away from more generic Canadian symbols such as the maple leaf or colours of the flag, and instead try to put greater focus on promoting the fact that a product is connected to a specific local community. Although charity drives can be one way to promote that a company is inclusive (and another way to promote giving back to local communities), the concrete aims and outcomes of charity drives should be clearly stated and the charity drives themselves could be promoted more frequently, so that consumers are able to actually remember them.

## CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, the aim of this thesis was to assess whether young consumers in Canada do feel a strong sense of national identity in relation to Tim Hortons, and to gain insights into how other corporations might be able to use national identity to appeal to Canadian consumers.

Regarding research question (1) — How do young Canadian consumers experience national identity in relation to Tim Hortons? — participants recognized that Tim Hortons heavily leaned on national identity as a part of their brand, but did not express that this significantly affected their decision to purchase from Tim Hortons. Instead, general familiarity with the brand seemed to play a stronger role in consumption habits, as Tim Hortons restaurants were easily accessible to participants when they felt they needed to get something quick to eat, and they were already familiar with the product selection. The fact that this familiarity is important to consumers can be something for Tim Hortons specifically to take note of in regards to their restaurants outside of Canada, as purchasing a product abroad that does not meet preconceived expectations may cause consumers to avoid visiting these restaurants when travelling. Instead, they can consider offering a more unique product selection in non-Canadian restaurants.

Answering research question (2) — Are there any distinctions of Canadian national identity that should be taken into account when marketing to Canadians? — one important distinction is that young Canadians are generally aware of problems faced by Indigenous peoples in Canada and expressed either regret over their historical treatment or a desire for them to receive more support. Not only Tim Hortons, but Canadian companies and any other company wishing to enter the Canadian market in general should consider showing concrete support for Indigenous peoples, as this would be received positively by younger consumers. Young consumers also noted that it was important to them to be able to support local businesses through their consumption habits, and that although Canadians are stereotyped as being kind and polite, this may manifest in ways that can cause friction between companies and their consumers, such as a failure to bring up issues that they face with a company's products or services.



Some limitations of this study are that only ten interviews were conducted with consumers, which might not give the best representation of Canadians as a whole (as participants themselves also noted that a different opinion could be given on Canadian identity for every person that was asked). Although the participants were geographically diverse, it is also a major drawback that no interviews were conducted with subjects from Quebec; if they had been, this might have helped to provide valuable insights on how national identity can be used in marketing to appeal to Canadian consumers, as Quebecers tend to have misconceptions of the rest of Canada (Léger et al., 2016), and that some past advertising campaigns run by Tim Hortons have largely favoured Anglophone Canadians, for example by broadcasting subtitled versions of English-language advertisements rather than creating separate advertising for Quebec (Cormack, 2008), and therefore there is still a significant gap in the literature when it comes to figuring out whether Anglophone and Francophone Canadians differ in their opinions on how national identity is reflected in both advertising by Tim Hortons and advertising in Canada as a whole.

To gain a better understanding of how national identity informs the behaviour of Canadian consumers, it would be advantageous for future research to investigate whether there are any notable differences of opinion between age groups (for example, between different generations), as well as between consumers with different political affiliations or from different regions of Canada (not only between Anglophone regions and Quebec). Using a target group that more accurately reflects the ethnic diversity of Canadians would also be advantageous, in order to gain more diverse perspectives on the subject of Canadian identity; perhaps Canadians with more recent immigrant backgrounds, for example, would see the topic of identity differently compared to Canadians whose families have been in the country for generations. It is also important to point out that although this thesis chose to focus on the perspectives of Canadian consumers, there is a significant lack of studies on the connection between national identity and consumer behaviour in other countries. It may be interesting to find out, for instance, whether consumers in other countries report similar attachments to brands which emphasize national identity in their advertising as Canadian consumers do to Tim Hortons, as well as whether this is affected at all by how strong consumers feel their sense of national identity is (as the participants in this study, for the most part, did not express any strong attachment to feeling Canadian).

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# APPENDICES

## Appendix 1. Interview guide

<p>Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview today. To give some context to the study, the subject is national identity as a factor in marketing to Canadians. During the first part of the interview I'll ask some questions on the topic of marketing to Canadians, and the second part will go a bit more in depth on the topic of national identity. If it would be okay, I'm also going to ask for your consent to make a recording. I want to confirm as well that all data obtained from this interview will be 100% anonymous, and you can reach out to me at any time if you would like to withdraw your data from the study, and also that there is no pressure to answer to any of the questions, if there's something you don't want to answer we can just move to the next one.</p>	
<i>Section 1</i>	
<i>Question</i>	<i>RQ</i>
<b>If someone were to ask you to come up with a marketing strategy for a company which makes it look as Canadian as possible, what elements would you choose to focus on?</b>	2
If I would ask you to name top 3 “most Canadian” companies, which ones come to mind? What makes them the most Canadian?	2
<b>Are you familiar with Tim Hortons, do you buy from them? Why or why not? What is your typical experience there, what do you typically buy, who do you go with?</b>	1
<b>If you think about the marketing that Tim Hortons does, how they present themselves, is there anything that stands out to you?</b>	1
<b>Do you feel that Tim Hortons is representative of all Canadians? Why or why not? If not, what could they do better?</b>	1,2
What does the average Tim Hortons customer look like in your mind?	1
Do they represent you as a Canadian? Why or why not?	1
If you had the chance, would you visit a Tim Hortons abroad?	1
Trust with Tim Hortons - did you hear about their privacy breach, how do you feel about it?	1
<i>Section 2</i>	

<i>Question</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>RQ</i>
<b>Do you consider yourself to be a Canadian? Why do you feel that way?</b>	Keillor & Hult (1999), cultural homogeneity	1,2
<b>What would you say are common beliefs shared by Canadians?</b>	Keillor & Hult (1999), belief system	1,2
<b>When you think of Canada's history, do you see it as more positive or negative? Why do you feel that way?</b>	Keillor & Hult (1999), national heritage	1,2
What would you say distinguishes someone from Canada from someone from another country [America]?	Keillor & Hult (1999), cultural homogeneity	1,2
<b>Is there any context where you would prefer buying Canadian products over foreign products?</b>	Keillor & Hult (1999), consumer ethnocentrism	1,2
<i>Section 3</i>		
Age, gender, province		
Finishing the interview, anything else you want to comment on? Thank you for your time!		

## **Appendix 2. Interview transcripts**

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Po9RvC9uUe8YBBT6Wg8nPwH9UIPHklbH0UbjdvVcxGY/edit?usp=sharing>

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