

CUISINE AS AN AGENT OF ACCULTURATION: MEXICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL AND
CULINARY INCORPORATION AND ACCEPTANCE

by

PAUL JOSEPH SCANLON, JR.

(Under the direction of Brent Berlin)

ABSTRACT

Culinary acculturation is the process by which members of groups adapt their cuisines to their social, cultural and physical situations. The current wave of Mexican immigration, particularly to areas of the United States that have been relatively untouched by former waves, provides an excellent opportunity to observe culinary acculturation at work in the public sphere, and in doing so better understand its correlation to cultural incorporation and cross-cultural acceptance. The purpose of this project is thus to determine whether and how Mexican American cuisine acculturation, acceptance and popularity relates to cultural incorporation and acceptance.

This project focuses on self-classified Mexican restaurants, their restaurateurs, and the restaurants' customers. In particular, it attempts to answer why and how individuals in Houston, Texas and Atlanta, Georgia choose to eat various types of Mexican cuisine, and how this changes over time. These two sites were selected for a comparative study based on their dramatically different histories of Mexican immigration. It was assumed therefore that people in Houston—which sits on land that used to belong to Mexico and has had a

long history of Mexican immigration and Hispanic/non-Hispanic contact and integration—will have more experience with Mexican cuisine than Atlantans.

The data collection of the proposed project was divided into exploratory and explanatory phases, and an observational survey of all 1058 restaurants across both cities was conducted. In addition to interviews with restaurateurs and customers, similarity data was collected and the customer respondents were asked to complete a survey about their culinary and cultural experiences.

The results of the various data analysis steps confirmed that Houston and Atlanta treat Mexican food differently from one another. Business strips that serve only Hispanics, stark in Atlanta, are largely absent from Houston; fewer restaurants serve only Hispanics or only non-Hispanic in Houston than they do in Atlanta; the menu items in Houston more closely resemble traditional Mexican cuisine than those in Atlanta. Significant differences between how non-Hispanic customers in Houston and Atlanta were also observed. Specifically the amount of interactions with Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and the frequency an individual eats at Mexican restaurants, appear to have a strong relationship with the breadth and depth of an individual's knowledge about Mexican cuisine. I posit that Mexican cuisine acculturation is due to the conflicting influences of the popular culture and of culinary/cultural experience. I furthermore find that eating ethnic cuisines, dishes, and flavors becomes normative when an individual or group has enough knowledge to challenge their previous understandings of the cuisine that was dictated by the pop culture and media.

INDEX WORDS: Mexican cuisine, culinary acculturation, food studies, anthropology of food, anthropology, assimilation, acculturation, cultural incorporation, translationalism, migration studies, residential segregation, dissimilarity index, contact index, urban studies, restaurants, ethnic cuisine, nationalization of cuisine, cognitive anthropology, similarity data, embodied memory, food and memory, cognitive domain analysis, free-listing, pile-sorting, Mexican immigration, Mexican diaspora, The United States of America, Mexico, Georgia, Texas, Atlanta, Houston, Southeastern United States

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Dedication:

To my family. Thank you for everything.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1: Why Study Cuisine and Immigration?

People migrate. That they do has impacted every aspect of human history and social life. And when people migrate, they bring their culture and their food with them. In the current political climate, where the issue of Latin American immigration into the United States is such a powerful and polemic issue, it is more important than ever to see dispassionate, concise, and empirically grounded research into the impacts of immigration on the people involved.

Of course, as a country the United States is no stranger to immigration or waves of new immigrants arriving *en masse* to new cities—in fact part of America’s mythos is that it is an immigrant country. However, since the end of the *Bracero* Program in 1964 that allowed seasonal Mexican migration to the US for agricultural labor, the pace of immigration from Mexico to America has grown at a fast rate. In the last two decades this wave of immigration has moved beyond the traditional gateway cities of the Southwest and Chicago to urban centers in the Midwest and Southeast of the United States. These new locations, with their entrenched cultures and ethnic divisions, are sites of a new form of cross-ethnic cultural incorporation—transnationalism—which permits the maintenance of sociocultural ties across borders due largely to the technological innovations of the late

20th century. If cultural assimilation is no longer a forgone conclusion, the question of why and how ethnic groups acculturate to one another in America is extremely important.

That food is necessary for life is universally understood; the knowledge that it is vital to social life as well is less universal. Though the importance of food has been gaining in prominence throughout the social sciences in the last two decades, its potential as a locus for social research is unmet. How foods move and adapt because of migration—in both symbolic meanings and content—is particularly interesting in that the study of it can provide a meaningful and accessible window into the social, psychological, and cultural mechanics of immigration and cultural incorporation in this new, transnational world. The purpose of this project is to do just that: to explore whether and how Mexican cuisine acculturation, acceptance and popularity relates to cultural incorporation and acceptance in the American South.

To do this, a multi-sited ethnography of Atlanta, Georgia and Houston, Texas' Mexican restaurants and their restaurateurs and customers was completed over the course of nearly two years. The research focused on how Atlantans and Houstonians perceived Mexican and Mexican American cuisine, as well as the people who cook, serve, and consume it.

The analysis of this data was designed to fill a variety of gaps in the literature that I present throughout this report. Primarily, I place this study alongside other works dealing with culinary tourism, whereby consumers use their experiences with another culture's cuisine to obtain a glimpse of that culture's way of life and worldview. One of the key concepts of this school of thought is that foods and culinary experiences are negotiated between the presenter (the restaurateur in this case) and the consumer. This process is

designed to allow consumers a chance to see and experience another's cuisine in a way that is both familiar and palatable to them. The actual processes behind this culinary acculturation are largely unstudied, particularly in the Western context. By trying to explain why and how consumers of Mexican restaurant cuisine in the American South choose the culinary experiences in which they engage—and how this changes for individuals or segments of the population over time—I hope to fill in this vital hole in the scholarship. The following chapters and appendices present the results, analysis, and findings of this study.

1.2: A Preview of this Report

Chapter 2 presents literature reviews on the scholarship of food studies and cultural incorporation and acculturation. In reviewing the anthropology of food, I focus on those studies that explore concepts of social change through food, food and identity, and ritualistic eating. Additionally, I present the small literature on Mexican cuisine and restaurants in the United States. During my review of the literature on sociocultural incorporation I explore the history of assimilation studies in the United States that eventually brought the field to the idea of transnationalism. I focus on the changes to social identities due to immigration and incorporation, and how the hybridity of identities is achieved and managed. Chapter 2 ends with a presentation of the three research questions that specifically guided the fieldwork and data analysis phases.

Chapter 3 takes a detailed look at the two fieldsites and their demographic history. I present the relevant histories of Atlanta and Houston and then explore the urban studies

literature and its elements dedicated to ethnic segregation. To do this I first go through the history of the modern conceptions of the city, and how the various models have explained ethnic residential and business segregation and succession. I present a series of demographic measures that use socio-demographic census data, and then apply these measures to the Atlanta and Houston metropolitan study areas. The analysis of these measures is used to show the differences between the two study sites that will inform the comparative analysis.

Chapter 4 details the methodology used to collect the data for this analysis. This project, as noted above, is a multi-sited ethnography between the restaurateurs, customers and Mexican restaurants in Atlanta, Georgia and Houston, Texas. To best answer the research questions posed in Chapter 3, and the serve the purposes listed above, the methodology is two-phased—with both an exploratory and an explanatory data collection and analysis phase. The exploratory phase involved an observational survey of all the Mexican restaurants in both the study areas and interviews with restaurateurs. These results, along with preliminary interviews with customers, were used to inform the customer interviews during the explanatory phase. Chapter 4 also briefly outlines the analysis procedures used in the following chapters.

Chapter 5 presents the data and analysis surrounding the Mexican restaurants themselves. I first go through an analysis of the restaurants' names. Using this nomenclature analysis, I speak on the history of Mexican restaurants in Atlanta, and suggest a series of significant symbolic naming elements that can be used to predict whether a restaurant serves mostly Hispanic or non-Hispanic customers. Following the nomenclature analysis I explore the restaurants' locations in the urban landscape, relating

this back to the ideas of ethnic segregation presented in Chapter 2. I particularly focus on clusters of restaurants that cater to mostly Hispanic clientele and how the shapes and distributions of these clusters vary across the two fieldsites.

Chapter 6 focuses on the restaurateurs who run the Mexican restaurants in Atlanta and Houston. I first briefly review the literatures on culinary tourism and authenticity in order to situate the restaurateurs' actions in the scholarship. I then look at how the restaurateurs respond to their customers' demands using the five culinary experience negotiation strategies as suggested by Lucy Long (2004) when she delineated the idea of culinary tourism. I explore these five strategies—framing, menu selection, naming/translation, explication, and recipe adaptation—through both quantitative and qualitative data in an attempt to get inside the process of culinary acculturation. The chapter concludes by presenting and analyzing the restaurateurs' own views of Mexican cuisine and the potential for cuisine to act as an acculturating medium and force.

Chapter 7 deals with the Mexican restaurants' customers, and how they view, perceive, and understand Mexican cuisine. I first present the customers' responses to two free-list exercises on Mexican and American cuisines. These free-lists are analyzed for both the knowledge of individual respondents or groups of respondents, as well as for the salience of individual items. A list of suggested "marker dishes," which have the potential to direct customers towards or away from a specific restaurant, is presented. The customers' responses to a pile-sort activity of Mexican dishes is then reported and analyzed for prototypical groupings. I show that the differences between various subgroups of customers are likely due to culinary or cultural experience. To add more weight to this theory, the results from both the Mexican free-list and pile-sort activities are analyzed in

relation to a series of experiential questions I asked each customer respondent. From this analysis two mathematical models that predict breadth and depth of knowledge of the domain of Mexican cuisine are developed and presented. Finally, the customers' qualitative responses to the five negotiation strategies are examined.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings and presents an overall analysis. An argument for these findings place within the culinary tourism literature is made, and Long's model of culinary experiences is adjusted to show a proposed process of culinary acculturation. Finally, some methodological issues are explained and suggestions for future studies are given. I conclude the report by going through the three research questions presented in Chapter 2 and showing whether or not the findings from the project answer them sufficiently.

1.3: Notes on Terminology and Restatement of the Problem

Throughout this report I use a number of terms repeatedly, and in order to prevent confusion, I will lay down some definitions here. First of all, I take the term "culinary acculturation" to mean the process by which groups adapt their cuisines according to their social and physical situations. In the context of this project I use the term "receiving group" to mean the established population of the United States, regardless of their ethnicity; and the terms "leaving groups" or "immigrants" to refer to individuals who have migrated from Mexico to the United States during their lifetime. Lastly, unless I note otherwise when I use the terms "Atlanta" or "Houston" throughout the paper, I am speaking not of the cities proper, but rather of my study areas that include those cities as they are laid out in Chapter 3.

This research deals with ethnicity in the United States and how various ethnic groups interact and perceive each other's cultures and cuisines. Throughout this project I break ethnicity down largely along Hispanic and non-Hispanic lines. While certainly there is a lot of variation within each of the groups, it was the most accurate division I could use when doing the restaurant survey as described in Chapter 4. More precise data was of course collected during the restaurateur and customer interviews and surveys. Furthermore, while I certainly understand that all Hispanics in the United States are not Mexicans or Mexican Americans, census and other demographic reports (presented in Chapter 3) show that the vast majority of Hispanics in the two study areas are indeed of Mexican origin.

This project also makes a few major assumptions, beyond the demographic one surrounding Hispanics I just noted. First of all, as I detail in Chapter 4, this project assumes a distance-for-time proxy. By this I mean that because of the two study areas' widely divergent Mexican immigration histories, I am assuming that the business climate and the population of Houston are more accustomed to Mexican and other Hispanic culture, people, and cuisine. Though my findings will support this proxy, it was a major assumption when choosing the sites for this comparative study. I have furthermore assumed that the populations of the two cities are comparable in their responses to cultural stimuli such as cuisine. In other words, I am employing the *ceteris paribus* assumption between the populations of the cities. Thus, when analyzing the differences between the restaurants, restaurateurs, and customers, I am assuming that any difference is due to this distance-for-time variable, and nothing else unless otherwise noted.

Once again, the purpose of this project is to explore whether and how Mexican cuisine acculturation, acceptance and popularity relates to cultural incorporation and acceptance in the American South. I am specifically interested in why and how individual diners choose to eat various types of Mexican cuisine, and how they change those preferences over time. This project aims to determine the procedural pathway by which cuisines, dishes, and flavors from one culture are acculturated into a new situation. This process is expected to mirror cultural incorporation. As such the findings of this project hope to contribute social data that will be useful in the current political climate surrounding the issue of immigration to the United States. In such a heated debate—where the people on opposites sides of the issue are more concerned with polemic than with pragmatic outcome—the importance of solid empirical evidence from the social sciences, such as what this project hopes to contribute, cannot be overstated.

Chapter 2: The Research Questions and their Place in the Literature

Given that the purpose of the research is to investigate whether and how Mexican cuisine acculturation, acceptance and popularity relate to cultural incorporation and acceptance, it is necessary to ground this problem in the literature, and from there explore what theoretical and methodological tools are available for translating this purpose into pragmatic research questions. To do this, two groups of literature—those surround the anthropology of food, and the pathways of cultural assimilation and acculturation— will be explored and presented below. Following this, the three research questions that direct this project will be presented.

2.1: The Anthropology of Cuisine

The anthropology of eating and food is a broad and wide-ranging field that borrows from the anthropology, sociology, social psychology, history, consumer studies, hotel and restaurant management, and nutrition literatures. Known alternatively as ethnogastronomy or food studies (MacBeth and MacClancy 2004), the field was reviewed exhaustively by Mintz and DuBois (2002) who divided the literature into seven subsections—classic food ethnographies, single commodity reports, food insecurity, instructional materials, food and social change, eating and identity, and eating and ritual.

This review will focus on the latter three of these sections, which come together in what I term the anthropology of cuisine.

2.1.1: *Culinary Change; Social Change*

When considering how social change, identity and ritual interact with food we must first consider what indeed a cuisine is and how various cultures come to theirs. A cuisine can be defined as a culture's normative and ritualistic food dishes: In other words, it is the food habits of a given culture or sub-culture. Food habits are the way a group of people or individuals select and use portions of the available food stuffs (deGariné 2004), and it is the dual biological and cultural purpose of food that separates the study of cuisine from simply that of human nutrition. As deGariné (2004) points out:

Humans consume food to fulfill a primary biological need, but they are not only directed by this biological need...Their attitudes and behaviors in relation to food are largely a product of a learning process in the framework of their own society and culture (deGariné 2004: 15).

To arrive at a culture's cuisine (and eventually an individual's preference) is to thus filter all available food resources through a hierarchy of constraints—from the broad ecological and physiological, through societal and economic constraints, to narrow cultural and psychological ones. It thus follows that a change at one level will change the options for the eventual habits at the lower (more specific) levels. Mintz and DuBois (2002) suggest that changes in food habits can be used to illustrate social and ecological changes and strife—such as class and ethnic conflicts. Furthermore, significant press has been given to the consequences of industrialization and globalization on foodways. Wilk (2006) is refreshingly tolerant of globalization in his analysis of Caribbean foodways and cuisine in

the face of modernization. He argues that to some extent, traditional cuisines have become easier and more practical to reproduce with access to the global market (Wilk 2006: 10). Mintz and DuBois briefly mention one other source of social change that has a large impact on foodways—migration. They argue that anthropology has long recognized that the movement of people has carried cultural knowledge and artifacts into new social situations, and that migrants act as “agents of dietary change” (2002: 105).” Kershner, for instance, presents a whole volume on migrant experience with food and its impacts on the receiving cultures.

...the association of food with the migrant experience is not just one which [sic] embraces hunger, satiation, taste and economic activity. For, taking the view that ‘we are what we eat,’ food is part of an individual’s culture, religion and identity. Physically, dietary change, as it affects the immigrant, can be both beneficial and harmful...food can be, as is, used as a political tool...as a contributor to xenophobia and racist warfare...Conversely, food can eradicate cultural and ethnic difference (Kershner 2002: 1-2).

The influx of new cultural systems—and the resultant acculturation and assimilation—places new strains on deGariné’s various levels. As an example of how this scheme may illustrate social conflict, both past and present, the slight differences between Soul Food and Country Southern Food may be explored. While much within these two cuisines are identical, that Soul Food (made by African Americans) typically uses less expensive cuts of meat (particularly pork) than Country Southern (made by whites) can show the economic and social constraints on these two cuisines were (and perhaps still are) different—even though they shared higher-level ecological resources.

2.1.2: *Food and Identity*

Cuisines and foodways, being that they are culture-specific and culturally dictated, have been extensively explored in terms of identity creation and management. Say Mintz and DuBois:

Like all culturally defined material substances used in the creation and maintenance of social relationships, food serves both to solidify group membership and to set groups apart (Mintz and DuBois 2002: 109).

There are two major focus areas involving identity and cuisine: ethnic and national cuisines, although these two categories are by no means mutually exclusive and a sizable amount has been written on their overlaps (i.e. Hubert 2004).

The idea that ethnic cuisine leads to ethnic identity is rather straightforward and seemingly obvious. Heatherington (2001) speaks of how Sardinians use their cuisine and perceived hospitality as an identifying medium, and how that identity is then used to resist against outside political and cultural intrusion. Hindmarsh (2002), in Kershen's volume, uses the example of transported British convicts to Australia to show how food and meal-sharing may be used in resistance to strict structural constraints (such as rationing) and in the process of stigma reappropriation.

National cuisines (and identities as a whole) are more complex than ethnic ones, for the simple fact that one nation will usually contain multiple ethnicities and cultures—and thus cuisines. Interestingly however, as Johns and Pine (2002) state in their review of the restaurant industry, restaurants tend to present ethnic cuisines in bold, national terms (i.e. Italian restaurants, Chinese restaurants, etc.). While not explicitly declared in the literatures, national cuisines seem to be “etic” constructs—mainly used in out-of-country settings (or in poly-cultural urban settings within a country). The process of nationalizing

a cuisine, and the accompanying identity changes, are quite reductionist in nature (Appadurai 1988).

Appadurai (1988) illustrates nationalization with Indian cuisine. India, a country with a large variety of ethnic and cultural groups has not had a national cuisine until recently. Instead, it there were many distinct regional cuisines—much like the Mexican case (Kennedy 2000). With an increase of modernization and urbanization in the 1980s, and with a resultant emergence of an elite urban middle class, these regional cuisines were culled together in various cookbooks and homemakers' medias. The effect was, posits Appadurai, not a homogenization of the cuisines, but a foodway that mixes and matches dishes and showcases the regional components. This reification of the national has caused, in its own way, a strengthening of regional cuisines and identities—all the while promoting a national identity as well.

Appadurai goes on to state that this process of within-country nationalization may occur in other countries as well.

The Indian pattern may well provide an early model of what might be expected to occur within increasing frequency and intensity in other societies have complex regional cuisines and recently acquired nationhood, and in which a post-industrial and postcolonial middle class is constructing a particular sort of polyglot culture (Appadurai 1988: 5).

He particularly notes that Mexico is a possibility for this process. Wilk (2006) explores the country of Belize as an unlikely site of national cuisine creation. Like the United States, Belize is a multi-ethnic country whose original population was decimated by outside colonizers. Wilk defines national cuisine as cooking that exists in both the public and private spheres (2002: 70-71), and argues that it develops via an acculturation process

between the elites and the locals that combined both familiar and exotic tastes for both groups.

The American case in and of itself is a strong site for explorations of national cuisine identity (for a broad overview of the development of ethnic cuisines in the United States, see Gabaccia 1998). Brown and Mussell (1984) present a volume on the various ethnic, cultural and regional identities and their cuisines within the United States. They note that,

Mainstream Americans frequently used foodways as a factor in the identification of subcultural groups and find in the traditional dishes and ingredients of “others” who eat differently from themselves a set of convenient ways to categorize ethnic and regional character (Brown and Mussell 1984: 3).

They later argue that the regional cuisines found in restaurants and cookbooks are “diluted,” and that the foodways of America must be studied in the home and local situations where they are purest. Of course, in arguing this, they risk the same fallacy that they bring to light by making grand statements on all “American cuisine.” Surely this “dilution” is a hybridization process found in cuisine/identity nationalization, but the commercialism from which Brown and Mussell say it stems should not be so simply overlooked as impure. Truth be told, American commercialism mirrors (and is some way perhaps follows) the regionalization of both American identity and foodways (Kamp 2006).

Neal (2006) explores this regionalization through a city-by-city survey of their commercial foodways. He argues that to overlook the commercial in the exploration of the national American cuisine is folly, paraphrasing Brillat-Savarin for his own purposes, “you are *where* you eat (Neal 2006: 4, emphasis original).” Cities and urban areas, depending on their socioeconomic means and levels of ethnic and cultural diversity, will accept or reject

the diluted homogeneity of Brown and Mussell in varying degrees (he finds four statistical clusters, which he terms Urban or McCulture Deserts or Oases).

Kalcik (1984), in Brown and Mussell's volume, argues that in the American case—where the elite and nationalizing middle class is as widespread and varied as Neal (2006) shows—that the “national cuisine” is not a homogenized menu, but rather one of culinary plurality. In her analysis, Kalcik explicitly ties the nationalization function not to post-industrial urbanism like Appadurai, but instead to immigrant influx.

Another way that food is used to underline the plurality and simultaneous unity of Americans [identities] is to point out that “American” food is ethnically derived...The very process of Americanizing ethnic foods and ethnicizing American foods parallel what happens to the immigrant groups that come to this country (Kalcik 1984: 60).

This is an all-together logical statement: that an immigrant country takes its identity from immigrants.

2.1.3: *Identity Management and The Rituals of Eating*

We move thus from the fact that cuisines hold and establish identity to the actual pathway along which they go about it. The topics of social group identity creation and management have been extensively researched and reviewed elsewhere (i.e. Blumer 1969; Goffman 1951; 1959; Schafer 1974), with many different routes proposed and discussed. Here, with the anthropology cuisine, the focus will be on one such pathway—ritualistic eating and its explanatory paths of sensory and embodied memory.

Mintz and DuBois (2002) note that throughout anthropology, food's connection to ritual has provided as accessible entry point to further discussions of religious and public ritual. They unambiguously link ritualistic eating to identity management:

Eating in ritual contexts can reaffirm or transform relationships with visible other—even when participants in a ritual mean bring very different religious [or other group] understandings to the event. Rituals and beliefs surrounding food can also peacefully reinforce religious and ethnic boundaries (Mintz and DuBois 2002: 108).

How and what people eat sets them apart, but is this identity management a matter of social learning or memory?

Holtzman (2006) presents an excellent review of the relatively new study of food and connections ties to memory. He particularly focuses on food's ability to trigger what, in cognitive terms unused by him, would be called synesthesia, "...the sensuality of eating transmits powerful mnemonic cues, principally through smells and tastes (Holtzman 2006: 373)." A smell, a taste or a feel of a particular food has the ability to bring individuals back to a point in memory and connect the present (and future) with the past. Authors such as Sutton (2001), Seremetakis (1996), and Ray (2004) all present case-studies that support this process and contribute theoretically to this idea of gastronomic sensory-memory.

On the surface however, this process of sensual memory—with its synesthesiac cognitive roots—seems to be a psychological, an individual pathway. Sutton calls for a Proustian Anthropology, evoking the longest story ever written on a single bite of cake (Proust 1982 [1913]). But the memories that flooded Proust's narrator's mind as he ate the Madeline were his, not the collective memories of the French. How then can this Proustian anthropology aid the research on *group* identity management? Embodied memory—memory encoded by the repetitive performance of a ritual—provides the link. Sutton (2001: 13) for example explains how the dead are memorialized and remembered through the repetitive making and use of *kolliva* (sugared wheat) in a Greek community. A public ritual such as this provides an opportunity for member of the group to arrive at

similar memories (and establish similar memory-triggers—the ritual itself) and thus identities (for an example using Mexican food, see Bordi 2006).

2.1.4: *Cuisine Hybridization, Acculturation and Authenticity*

With these pieces in mind, we might begin to see how an anthropology of cuisine may come together, and how it would be useful in observing and analyzing events of social change, such as migration. Until now we have put off the issue of authenticity—upon which reams have been written. There is a subset of this literature that deals directly with food; it is through its reasoning that Mintz and DuBois' subsections of food and social change, food and identity, and food and ritual can come together in their own right. We begin by approaching the issue of hybridization, as briefly mentioned above.

Dear and Burridge (2005) posit that hybridization is smoother where people from different groups have interacted for a long time. This hybridization is therefore both a function of time, population density, and availability of “cultural products” as Massey et al mention (1994). Unfortunately, the literatures are rather silent on this issue of product and material resource availability. Most of what has been put forth is to be found in the specialized (and limited) anthropology of food and migration literature, and in the popular press. In both cases the examples are quite particularist in nature. For example, as mentioned above, Sutton (2001: 39) mentions the availability of *kolliva*, or sugared wheat, in Athens compared to Kalymnos. The wheat found in the city is not prepared in traditional ways, and Sutton makes the claim that this lack of material accessibility leads in part to the loss of a cultural ceremony and (more importantly) meaning and memory. In the popular

press, food writer Calvin Trillin (2003: 3-16) explores how New Yorkers have a difficult time recreating their culture in parts of the country where bagels are baked, not boiled.

The above examples lead into a fuller literature on authenticity, and to a subset of that literature—food and cuisine authenticity. Again, most works in this category are particular in nature, and offer only some generalizable theory. Jamal (1996; 1998) explores how Indian and Pakistani food in Britain has changed to adapt to English tastes. Verbeke and López (2005) expand Jamal’s ideas to Hispanics living in Belgium. Both note that the receiving groups’ ideas of what “authentic” cuisine was dictated how it was presented and served in restaurant settings. Bell et al (1994) explore presentation specifically, and how imitating stereotypes of ethnic settings contribute to the perceived ethnic authenticity of a restaurant’s fare, while other work focuses on tourists needs’ to “see the real thing” (Kivela and Crofts 2006). Much of the work on Americanization and ethnic cuisine authenticity has been carried out on Chinese-American food, and how it has by and large lost its ethnic label and become “American” (Barbas 2003; Lee 2008; Lu and Fine 1995).

With changes such as immigration, globalization, and urbanization the food habits of groups change due to various-level constraints as theorized by deGariné (2004). In areas of interethnic contact, and urbanization these separate cuisines have the potential to become nationalized, either through hybridism or pluralism. Upon these changes and nationalization, matters of authenticity abound as the ritualistic performance of eating and cooking take on new social symbolic meanings. There exists however an interesting dichotomy in the concept of authenticity, one which is particularly noticeable with cuisine. Members of a group will hold different standards for “authentic” cuisine than will members

of an out-group. Neither definition is more “pure” as Brown and Mussell (1984) might suggest; they simply operate on different cognitive levels. Wilk states it plainly:

A lot of food writing is always wringing hands over the “loss” of authenticity, and the submersion of *real* and *ethnic* food in a globalizing flood of fast food and processed pap. I do not want to attack the impulse to find quality foods that have a history and a place in daily life. But instead of being frozen in time, I want to show that “local” and “authentic” food are as much creations of modernity as survivors from before it (Wilk 2006: 155).

Actors will perceive their own cuisine through the glass of sensory memory—recalling and evoking past, personal events. Out-group actors however, will not perceive others’ cuisines through sensory memory, but through social memory. Thus, authenticity of cuisine for the in-group and out-group act on psychological and social psychology levels respectively. With these dual meanings of authenticity in place, the anthropology of cuisine can be a powerful tool in the study of social change and upheaval. Before examining the broader literature surrounding socio-demographic changes and cultural incorporation, the small literature specifically dealing with Mexican cuisine should be explored.

2.1.5: *Mexican Cuisine and Restaurants*

A good deal has been written on Mexican national cuisine and how it may be reconstructed and re-construed in the United States by both immigrants and established Americans. In one of the first empirical studies on the changes in the Latino diet due to migration to the United States Wallendorf and Reilly (1983) use garbage archaeology to test the classic assimilation model (which will be discussed at length below). They compare the types of food waste that individuals discarded at home in Mexico City and Tuscan, Arizona. By comparing these two locations, they were able to get a look not only at Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans, but also Mexicans—thus giving the American data a baseline. They

found that, in the early 80s at least, Mexican Americans did not simply represent a median between their cultures of origin and residence. One of the most interesting findings shows that Mexican American consumption practices closely resemble Anglo American ones before contemporary concerns about health and nutrition emerged in the late 70s and early 80s. Wallendorf and Reilly suggest that this indicates that Mexican migrants “over assimilated” to their internalized conceptions of American life that they had gleaned from their exposure to American pop culture prior to their arrival in the States (1983: 300).

One of the most complete looks at Mexican cuisine and foods, both in Mexico and the United States, is found in the collective works of the historian Jeffery Pilcher. His most important contribution is the book, *¡Que Vivan los Tamales* (Pilcher 1998)! This book, more or less the definitive history of Mexican cuisine, focuses on the processes of cuisine nationalization that forged the modern Mexican identity. He argues that this nationalization was an emic force, dating from the time of independence, which was used politically in a nationalistic manner. It was not, however, a straightforward process that combined all the various dishes found in the country into a single monolithic culinary tradition. One of the major difficulties was (and is) the extreme regionalization of the country:

[*Veracruzanos*]...spoke endlessly about local delicacies such as fried *robalo* (snook), dogshark turnovers, and octopus stewed in ink. Other regions inherited their own distinctive culinary traditions from the colonial period. Puebla was known for its *mole* with turkey, while Oaxaca possessed its own special black *mole* sauce. Spatial divisions existed even within the boundaries of Mexico City between the popular cuisine of the streets and the elite foods consumed within private houses and exclusive restaurants. The enormous diversity of local dishes made it difficult to imagine a single national cuisine, just as devotion to *patrias chicas* (little fatherlands) confounded the search for national unity (Pilcher 1998: 49-50).

All in all, Pilcher notes that the nationalization of Mexican cuisine has been a process of contesting competing identities and political motives, and that this process continues into the current day with the globalization of the cuisine (Laudan and Pilcher 1999; Pilcher 1996). On the topic of globalization, he ties the globalization of Mexican food to the development of technology, particularly that surrounding the manufacturing of the tortilla. He argues that Mexican food was about to transition outside the traditional border region between Mexico and the United States when tortillas began to be manufactured industrially, and when Taco Bell was able to remove the ethnic roots of the taco (see also Pilcher 2008b). The *nueva cocina Mexicana* movement tried to resist the grand globalization of Taco Bell and its competitors, wherein “traditional” Mexican foods were presented as up-scale in restaurants across Mexico and the U.S. For instance, the *nueva cocina* embraced *cuitlacoche*, the edible fungus that grows on heads of corn (*Ustilago maydis*) that had long been confined to the cuisine of peasants. Pilcher (2004) illustrates this acceptance via the change in the vernacular English name of the fungus from “corn smut” to “Mexican Truffles.” Significantly, he shows that both the globalization of fast food and up-scale Mexican cuisine spread the lower-class street and indigenous foods that were originally shunned during the early stages of cuisine nationalization by the Mexican elite, who worked to distance themselves from the native and embrace Europe (Pilcher 2008a).

Another segment of the Mexican culinary literature deals with the various Mexican American cuisines and their developments. Pilcher (2001) contributes his two cents, again focusing on the technological changes needed to bring the foods into the pop culture. He touches on the social-ness of the foods themselves by looking at the symbolism that various dishes took on. He creates a continuum of sorts—from chili con carne at one end, a dish

that has been wholly de-ethnicized by Anglos and claimed as their own, to menudo at the other end, a dish that was originally so unpalatable and inedible to Anglos in the Southwest that Mexican Americans and Chicanos used it as a symbol of their ethnic identity. Bently (2004) also looks at Southwestern cuisine, and explores how it became mainstream American fare. Using Long's (2004) dimensions of food acceptance (edibility, palatability, and exoticness), she posits that the culinary acculturation took place via three concurrent pathways (also proposed by Long): reframing context, reframing presentation, and recipe adaptation. And while she says that Southwestern cuisine has three distinct meanings—as a domination of culture by Anglos, as a source of identity and resistance by Hispanics, and as a medium of inter-cultural contact and acculturation—she finds that the latter is the most prevalent, especially in light of culinary acculturation. Friedensohn (2001) notes this as well, by discussing how restaurants in Oaxaca City use the lure of “authentic” cuisine to bring Anglos in by appealing to their imagined ideals of Mexico, its people, and its food.

This idea of resistance and conflict is also a central theme in the Mexican food literature. Foremost here is Abarca's (2001; 2004; 2006) work. Her work extensively presents how Mexican American women, particularly Chicanas, use home-cooked traditional cuisine to maintain roots to their families and cultures. Her methodology is centered upon *charlas culinarias*, or kitchen-chats wherein the women who prepare the food talk about food, the universe and everything while they are cooking in the kitchen. She argues that the power of these chats is that gastronomic and other cultural information need not be written down (as many of the lower-class migrant women she studies are illiterate) to be preserved for future generations. For the later generations (such as Abarca herself), participating in these *charlas culinarias* is a form of resistance and transnational

identity-maintenance. Bordi (2006) makes a similar case for female resistance against the dominant male and American cultures through traditional tortilla making. Salazar (2007) studied the school cafeteria as a site of conflict both between Mexican migrant children and American children and a place where these Mexican migrant children came head-to-head with internalized conflicts over their cultures' cuisines.

Lastly, there is a small literature on Mexican restaurants themselves. Of particular interest is Dillon, Burger and Shortridge's (2007) study of Mexican restaurants in Omaha, Nebraska from 1910 to 2000. They look at the change in the number of Mexican restaurants in comparison to the growth of the city's Hispanic/Mexican population. They find that in the case of Omaha, while the greatest increase of Mexican restaurants occurred (as predicted) when a major wave of Mexican migrants arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, Anglos had already begun to internalize "Mexican" food and incorporate it into their normative dietary habits. This mainly occurred through the sale of taco and enchilada kits (returning to the technological innovations on which Pilcher focuses extensively) and the establishment of family Mexican/Taco nights. While people like Pilcher (2001) and Balasco (1987) decry the homogenization and Americanization that "ethnic fast" food restaurants such as Taco Bell and Taco Cabana force upon Mexican food, Dillon and his collaborators point out that such Americanized versions of dishes present an easy entry point into a cuisine through which Anglos and others can discover and explore more "authentic" dishes in time (2007: 60).

Ferrero (2002) combines the studies of resistance and restaurants and argues that Mexican restaurants in Los Angeles represent a medium through which Mexicans and Mexican American can both assert their agency and resistance over the dominant American

culture, while at the same time gaining a foray into that same culture. She theorizes that different types of restaurants in different locations serve these dual purposes—whereby the ones in more traditional Mexican areas do the former, whereas the ones in more white and black middle class areas do the latter. She writes about how Mexican restaurateurs in the latter case often attempt to manufacture a sense of authenticity and place through décor, architecture, and other theatric and sensory embellishments (2002:200-201; see also Bell, et al. 1994; Gaytán 2008; MacCannell 1973). Unfortunately, her research largely excludes any discussion of culinary tourism by Anglos, African Americans and Asians into those overwhelmingly Hispanic/Mexican areas of town and their corresponding authentic restaurants.

Much of this specific research on Mexican American food and restaurants either explicitly or implicitly deals with both culinary and cultural acculturation and incorporation. We move now to an overview of the anthropology and social scientific literature dealing with socio-demographic change.

2.2: Assimilation, Acculturation, and Transnationalism

That migration of peoples throughout the world results in the diffusion of their cultures is an anthropological given. The structural forces that dictate how, when, and to what degree and direction this diffusion occurs is at the heart of ongoing discourses throughout the migration, social psychology and cognitive anthropological literatures. More than many other aggregates, the migration and assimilation literature is quite tempestuous, seemingly

ignoring and disregarding its developmental history—constantly in search of the new big idea.

2.2.1: *Transnationalism and the Migrant Experience*

Kearny (1995) provides an excellent overview of the recent and historic literature on transnational migration as a product of globalization. In the increasingly global market, an individual in the periphery or semi-periphery (Wallerstein 1974; 1980; 1989) may not have access to the market system, even while being held to it (i.e. Dos Santos 1970). As such, there is an economically natural tendency (assuming rational economic thought) for movement to the core, as well as a related tendency for the core to eventually accept this movement. Kearny (1995: 548) points out that the migration literature often approaches this movement in national terms even though borders may be culturally artificial and suggests that the term “trans-statal” may be more appropriate than transnational (for a more complete review of this topic see Lamont and Molnar 2002). Generally, the argument is made that the current processes of transnational migration is directed and informed by global processes—not only in the economic terms posited by Dependency and World Systems Theory, but also in its sociocultural outcomes.

Kearny extensively covers this last point—particularly the creation and maintenance of new social spaces by migrants. In invoking the concept of deterritorialization (1995: 552-553), he paints the picture of losing the local to the global. This concept of deterritorialization was popularized by Appadurai (1990; 1996), and is the epitome of the modernist project—with places, objects and concepts un-rooted from the

local and available across the world. This deterritorialization can be seen in some form as resistance, and perhaps even as *reterritorialization*:

Transnational migrants move into a indeed create transnational spaces that may have the potential to liberate national within them who are able to escape in part the totalizing hegemony that a strong state may have within its national borders (Kearny 1995: 553).

While Kearny only briefly discusses it (1995: 559), this simple statement leads us directly to another relevant line of discourse: migrant identity and assimilation.

As mentioned above, transnationalism is, at its core, concerned with the spaces and identities people use to carve out their own niches in the global world. Glick Schiller et al (1992) define transnationalism as the process of building social fields that link countries of settlement and origin. Smart and Smart (2003) argue that the term should be “translocal” as localities, not countries, are being linked. They argue that this translocality is nothing new—that cities have long experienced these cross-border ties that can now be created outside the metropolis: “Cities have always been key sites for transnational connections such as long-distance trade and the transmission of innovations...Cities of the past had many of the features ascribed [now] to ‘global cities’ (Smart and Smart 2003: 263-264).” Despite their skepticism of the “global hype,” of transnationalism and urbanization, they do recognize that de- and reterritorialization processes are ongoing and quite pervasive (2003: 271).

Vertovec (2001), ignoring the nomenclatural debate, lays out the promises and problems he sees with transnationalism as a field of study. While certainly there have been cross-state linkages maintained by migrants throughout time, the transnationalism argument is that these ties have become more substantial and common in the contemporary world. The lowering costs and growing access to technology and

transportation certainly lies at the base of this shift: “Newer, cheaper, and more efficient modes of communication and transportation allow migrants to maintain transnationality—effectively both ‘here’ and ‘there’...(Vertovec 2001: 575).” However, he cautions against an over reliance on this technology argument as it sometimes approaches a strong-deterministic teleology. He particularly argues that scholars need to focus their work on the “second-generation” migrant children if we are to understand transnational identity at all (invoking, though not explicitly, Park’s marginal man):

...transnational connections affect migrants as never before with regard to practices of constructing, maintaining, and negotiating collective identities. This has significant bearing on the culture and identity of the so-called second-generation, or children born to migrants (Vertovec 2001: 575).

He calls for a more rigorously delineated transnational theory that can model this identity change, saying that the hodgepodge use of the term must be refined if it is to mean anything at all.

2.2.2: *Theories of Assimilation and their Development*

The discussion of identity creation and management—certainly present throughout the social sciences in the last century particularly in social psychology (Blumer 1969; Goffman 1959; Goffman 1963; Mead 1913; Mead 1934)—has undergone a noticeable strengthening in the anthropology literature following the rise of the post-modern movement and the accent of identity-centric theories such as transnationalism. In part, this stems from the rejection of strict uni-linear assimilation theories, such as those originated by Park and Burgess (1921) and Gordon (1964). These viewpoints tend to favor an inevitable process of assimilation (though not in an absolute sense, as we will discuss below)—the classic American “Melting Pot.” As Nagel states:

Contrary to expectation implicit in the image of the “melting pot” that ethnic distinctions could be eliminated in US society, the resurgence of ethnic nationalism in the United States and around the world has prompted social scientists to rethink models of ethnicity rooting in assumptions about the inevitability of assimilation (Nagel 1994: 152).

To understand this transition better, we must explore the history and development of anthropological thought on assimilation. In the 1920s, members of the first Chicago Personality School—students and colleagues of the American Pragmatist, George Herbert Mead—put forth some of the first seminal works specifically dealing with the American system. Chief among these students in terms of our present discussion was Robert Park, who along with Ernest Burgess, used urban sociology to explain the progression of groups (both migrant and not) through generations—both in social and physical senses. Their theory was based on the concentric ring (or Burgess, see discussion in Chapter 3) model of the city, and had different social groups moving out from the central business district as they gained socioeconomic status; with new migrants settling just outside the CBD in the industrial zone (Park 1952; Park and Burgess 1921; Park, et al. 1925, see Figure 3.1). This process of moving from the core to the periphery of the city was dependant on a group’s assimilation into the economy. This thesis is evolutionary (in a uni-linear sense) and ecological—Park was actually among the first social scientists to use the term, even relying on transitional zones and people in his model. His transitional “species,” as it were, was the “marginal man”—that individual who could exist both in the majority and minority cultures, while never truly belonging (Park 1928). Understanding this marginal man—what we might today label more tactfully as a second-generation immigrant—is key to comprehending both the sociocultural and psychological processes behind, and impacts of, acculturation into the American society. Concluded Park:

It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which [sic] new cultural contacts occasion manifest itself in the most obvious forms. It is in the mind of the marginal man—where changes and fusions of culture are going on—that we can best study the processes of civilization and progress (Park 1928: 893).

Nevertheless, as Alba and Nee (1997) stress, Park and Burgess' definition of assimilation "...does not appear to require what many critiques assume assimilation must—namely, the erasure of all signs of ethnic origins. Instead, it equates assimilation with the social processes that bring ethnic minorities into the mainstream of American life (Alba and Nee 1997: 828)." A closer reading of Park's later works (i.e. Park 1952) show that he took assimilation to be a multi-directional process without a necessarily homogenous end. This model does, of course, have its limitations; chief among those is its focus on the industrial city (based as it was on Chicago). Moya (1998; 2001), in his exploration of 19th century Spanish immigration to Buenos Aires, shows clearly that Park and Burgess' concentric ring model cannot work in non-industrial cities. Buenos Aires for example was a governmental and commercial city, and its groups performed periphery-to-core intra-city migration patterns. Furthermore, and quite relevant to any discussion of contemporary American immigration, Park's assimilation theory almost completely ignores rural migration.

Following the Chicagoans, the next major assimilation framework was put forth by Milton Gordon (1964). Gordon's largest contribution was adding processual stages to the concept of assimilation and differentiating between acculturation and structural assimilation (Alba and Nee 1997: 829). He does not argue that full (structural) assimilation is necessary, but he does claim that some acculturation will always occur when a migrating group comes into contact with a receiving society. This process again is not without

agency, as he posits that groups willingly abandon traits less central to their identity before more “meaningful” ones (Gordon 1964: 79). This work has been challenged on many fronts of course. Primarily of concern here is the uni-directionality of Gordon’s model—he held White Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture to be the final endpoint of structural assimilation. The uni-directionality of the theory probably stems from the fact that it assumes only two cultural groups—the receiving and the migrating—certainly a problem for the study of complex societies such as the United States. Additionally as stated above, while he does allow for agency in the process, he does not succinctly model which cultural traits are identity-centric and which are not—one would assume this varies greatly from group to group.

Rounding out our discussion on Nagel’s statement that the conceptualization of assimilation in America has transitioned from a melting pot to something else entirely is Glazer and Moynihan’s (1970) ideas of cultural pluralism—the tossed salad analogy if you will. Glazer and Moynihan showed that a resurgence of ethnic identity was occurring across the United States—challenging the structural assimilation of Gordon. What is perhaps most notable about their work is that they believed this new ethnicity was not simply a hold-out from incomplete assimilation, but rather an expression of newly-formed identity (Glazer, et al. 1974). While they did not coin the term “cultural pluralism,” or even make it popular in the academic sense, they were able to reach outside of academia and convince laypeople to reconsider the American cultural system. Glazer’s later works (i.e. 1997) attempt to reconstruct American culture in a multicultural society. He does not argue against acculturation, but certainly does not find it to be uni-directional and makes a much

stronger claim than Park (whom Glazer credits with the theoretical underpinnings of his own work) or Gordon about the use of identity as a form of resistance.

Alba and Nee (1997) argue that the concept of assimilation can be brought out of the academic gutter through a new framework that not only builds on Gordon's and Glazer's schemes, but also incorporates ideas of social distance, greater levels of agency, and non- or multi-directionality. To do so, they propose the cultural change theories of Shibutani and Kwan (1965), which follow Mead's (1934) analysis of the social self in creating their assimilation framework. Their model argues social distances (analogous to the familiar distances of Radcliffe-Brown 2002 [1959]) as the struts of social structure, particularly within the realm of ethnicity. Taking an ecological angle, they then posit that social distances (as determined by the creation, management and understanding of social symbols and selves) and their evolution and change is dependent on the "life conditions" of the various ethnic groups. These life conditions encompass everything from material and economic needs and opportunities to political and social power. With no great change in life conditions, the social distances (and thus the social structure) tend to be static; and visa versa with changes in life conditions. Thus, this theory is non-directional and evolutionary—a major improvement on Gordon's schema while retaining the plurality of Glazer's.

Nagel (1994) puts forth a constructionist model of assimilation that, in many ways, mirrors the ecological scheme of Shibutani and Kwan. She argues that identity and culture are the building blocks of ethnicity, both of which serve to create boundaries between social groups. The creation and maintenance of these social groups is dependent on both the agency of the groups in question and external social forces (structure). The agency

argument is found extensively throughout the literature, particularly in terms of reappropriation of ethnic and social stigmas (c.f. Galinsky, et al. 2003; Goffman 1963). While the role of outside structural forces is also found, it is usually used in a slightly different vein than Nagel uses it. At the extreme, the argument is made that cultural homogeneity is the inevitable result of globalization and migration, as the hegemonic power of the receiving groups limit whatever agency the migrants have to the pre-existing and rigid social structure. Nagel argues instead that these one-way restrictions are not always applicable, and instead that boundary and identity creation tends to be a result of negotiation, acceptance and interplay between groups.

2.2.3: *Hybridization of Identity*

Despite the criticisms, Gordon and Parks' schemas need not be completely disregarded. While it may be popular to critique assimilation, it is hard to argue that some acculturating processes do not exist in that liminal space between migrants and others. That hybridization of cultures occurs between the migrants and receiving groups is a given and is well explored throughout the anthropological and sociological literatures. Lee and Bean (2004) explore the current ethnic trends in the United States, arguing that both increased non-European migration and interracial/interethnic marriages have blurred ethnic lines. Massey makes more of a demographic argument:

The combination of continuous immigration and high regional and linguistic concentration will produce more [migrant] communities and will move the United States toward bilingualism and biculturalism. Assimilation will become more of a *two-way* street, with Euro-Americans learning Spanish and consuming Latin cultural products as well as Latins learning English and consuming Anglo-American products (Massey 1995: 648).

Nonetheless, it is becoming increasingly evident, as Nagel (1994) would predict, that inter-group identity negotiations are occurring and identities are thus being restructured. It is vital to keep in mind that this process will in no way be constant throughout the United States. Recall that Dear and Burridge (2005) argue that hybridization is more homogenized in traditional areas of inter-group interaction—namely the borderlands. Hybridity is a social fact; thus acculturation (in Gordon's terms) must be too.

It does not require a radical shift in perspective to recognize that assimilation and its expression in the form of acculturation are, at bottom, no more than the attenuation of an ethnic or racial distinction and the cultural and social distances that are associated with it. Such processes can occur by changes in one group that make it more like another or by changes in two (or more) groups that shrink the differences and distance between them—group convergence in other words...The influences of minority ethnic cultures can occur also by an expansion of the range of what is considered normative behavior within the mainstream (Alba and Nee 1997: 834).

The negotiation process that Goffman and Blumer describe lies at the heart of the process of assimilation. Either groups agree on the meanings of shared symbols (hybridization and acculturation), or they do not and society remains rigidly plural (transnationalism). The truth probably sits in the middle. While some migrants may have strictly transnational intents, as long as they interact with members of the receiving groups, they will undoubtedly negotiate their identities to best serve their purposes. They of course may choose to shed this mask at their first chance, but that character—that symbolic role—will always thus be a part of their repertoire.

2.3: Synthesis and Research Questions

Again, the purpose of this project is to investigate whether and how Mexican cuisine acculturation, acceptance and popularity relates to cultural incorporation and acceptance. The gaps and trends in two literatures reviewed above can be synthesized into a set of coherent and cogent research questions that stem from this problem statement. Again, culinary acculturation is the process by which groups adapt their cuisines according to their social and physical situations. This process not only includes members of the receiving group accepting new foods and tastes, but also the hybridization of the original cuisine with that of the receiving group. Often, cuisines that have undergone this process in the United States have been labeled as Americanized or somehow not “authentic” The matter of how restaurateurs and cooks determine how and when their cuisines go through this process in the public arena remains largely unstudied.

At the same time, Mexican migration into the United States has entered a new phase, moving out of traditional gateway states, such as Texas, and into new regions—including the southeastern states, such as Georgia. This phenomenon allows for multi-sited, comparative studies of immigration and its cultural effects. The following research questions guide this project:

RQ1: How and why do meanings and perceptions of Mexican American cuisine differ across ethnic, age, geographic and socioeconomic lines?

RQ2: Do migrants who cook and consume acculturated Mexican foods feel more American and better accept American culture?

RQ3: Are Americans who eat Mexican American food more accepting of Mexicans and Mexican Americans?

To answer these questions and explore the various lines of inquiry behind them, two sites were selected to serve as the basis for the comparative study. The next chapter will describe the Atlanta and Houston Metropolitan areas and survey their histories and demographics.

Chapter 3: The Fieldsites and Urban Studies

The research questions, as presented above, require that a comparative study be completed. To do so, the present study concentrates on the Atlanta, Georgia and Houston, Texas metropolitan areas. Specifically, it focuses on the restaurateurs and patrons of self-classified Mexican restaurants in metro Atlanta and Houston. This section will briefly describe both field sites and provide a frame from which the restaurants, restaurateurs and customers will be sampled. Next, since the urban character of these two sites is central to both the methodology and analysis of this project, the urban studies literature will be reviewed with a focus on migration and ethnic segregation. Lastly, the demographic character of the two cities will be explored using statistical indices of residential segregation.

3.1: The Fieldsites

3.1.1: *Atlanta*

Atlanta is the capital of Georgia and the largest metropolis in the American Southeast. It is the ninth most populous metropolitan area in the United States, with an estimated city population of 445,709 (United States Census Bureau 2008) and is the fastest-growing metropolitan area in the country (United States Census Bureau 2006). The Census Bureau defines Metro Atlanta (officially the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta Statistical Area) as an

agglomeration of 31 counties, with an estimated total metro population of 5,475,213 (United States Census Bureau 2009). The metropolitan area's documented Hispanic population is estimated at 467,418, or 9%. However, Georgia's undocumented population is estimated to be at least 350,000 to 450,000 (Pew Hispanic Center 2006), much of which is centered upon Metropolitan Atlanta (Passel 2005; Suro and Singer 2002; Walcott and Murphy 2006: 157). The Hispanic population's rate of growth has been over 900% since 1980, and is due in some part to both the Olympic bid (in 1990) and the area's population boom; both of which expanded the city's employment needs.

Atlanta was founded in 1837 as the town of Terminus and was incorporated as the city of Atlanta in 1847. The city started as the terminus of a rail link from the Midwest, and has been a transportation and commercial hub since its founding. The city was largely destroyed during the Civil War, during which it was a major supply depot for the Confederate Army. The city was rebuilt quickly during reconstruction and became a magnet city for both rural whites and blacks. The racial and ethnic history of the city is largely centered on the divide between African and Anglo Americans. Post-Reconstruction laws disenfranchised African Americans, and the city was home to race riots in the first decade of the 1900s. Race relations continued to be divisive throughout the Civil Rights era, during which Atlanta was a center of the movement (and home to Martin Luther King Jr's congregation). However, the city was home to some progressive racial institutions, and many city leaders pushed the idea that Atlanta was the city "too busy to hate." The demographic dualism between whites and blacks began to degrade in the last decades of the 20th century, with influxes of Asian and Hispanic migrants, particular in the 1980s and the 1990s in response to the commercial boom of the Sunbelt and the Olympic Bid for the

1996 Summer Games (Stewart 1999; Walcott and Murphy 2006). Both Walcott and Murphy and Ishizawa (2009) argue that the Latino population of the metro area settled in a relatively even manner over the non-upper-class white and non-inner-city black areas. They admit, however, that there are traditional areas of concentration of immigrant—Hispanic and otherwise—residency; chief among these are Buford Highway and Marietta Highway (see also Olsson 2007; Walcott 2002).

The actual study area for this project is only a (geographically) small segment of the larger metropolitan statistical area. Much of the statistical area is exurban and rural; this study focuses on the five central counties of the metro area: Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett. These five counties are largely urban and suburban (though all five have some exurban/rural areas). They have a combined total estimated population of 3,452,622 (United States Census Bureau 2008). These five study counties have an estimated Anglo population of 1,698,381, an estimated African American population of 1,299,879, an estimated Asian population of 186,752, and an estimated Hispanic population of 390,029.

3.1.2: *Houston*

Houston, located in Harris County Texas, is a large metropolis of over 2.1 million people, and is the fourth-largest city in the United States. The city itself is not coastal, though its metropolitan area is situated on Galveston Bay in the Gulf of Mexico. While the city itself was never Mexican per se, the land upon which it was settled (and many of the original residents) was. Therefore, even though the city lies a distance from the United States-Mexico border, it has long been a site of cross-cultural and cross-border contacts (De Leon 2001), and is now one of the more international American cities, having the third-largest

number of consular offices behind New York and Los Angeles (Greater Houston Partnership 2007). Its economy is commercially and industrially based, and the Port of Houston is the busiest port in the United States. Due to relatively low housing and service costs, Houston has one of the nation's lowest costs-of-living and has among the highest rates of dining-out (City of Houston Texas 2007).

The demography of Harris County shows a much larger-than-average Hispanic population, which was estimated to be 1,506,566 or 38.4 % of the population (the national average in 2006 was estimated to be 14.8%) (United States Census Bureau 2006). People of Mexican origins are estimated to make up a majority of this Hispanic populace (United States Census Bureau 2000; United States Census Bureau 2001a; United States Census Bureau 2001b). While the census certainly shows cities with greater percentages of Hispanics and Mexican-Americans in Texas, this site was selected for the proposed project because it has the largest non-majority Hispanic (and presumably, according to the census, Mexican-America) population. Such a feature is important as this project proposes to look at how cross-ethnic interactions affect, and are affected by, cuisine change. While cities like San Antonio may have greater concentrations of Mexicans, Mexican Americans and Mexican restaurants, they would actually provide a less workable (and comparable to Atlanta) field location, as dictated by the above research questions. For the current project, the study area will be limited to Harris County, within which the whole city of Houston resides.

3.2: The Sampling Frame

The current project uses restaurants, restaurateurs and their customers as the subjects of study. Sampling of the restaurateurs, chefs, and customers stems from the sampling of the restaurants themselves. As noted above, the project concentrates on self-classified Mexican restaurants in the two study areas. On its face, this term is quite ambiguous and thus requires a solid and narrow frame to insure reliability. Restaurants included in this study adhere to the following criteria:

- Their name or advertising materials explicitly call themselves “Mexican.”
- They are sit-down, full-service restaurants.
- They are open for both lunch and dinner seatings.
- They are not cash-only businesses
- They are located in Harris County, Texas or Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, or Gwinnett County, Georgia.

3.3: Urban Studies and the Demography of the Fieldsites

It can be said that all cities are—broadly—the same. They have tightly packed populations and boast various services, industries and infrastructure to employ and support these populations. This is a general form that has carried through from Ur and Teotihuacan to the ultra-modern Asian metropolises of Tokyo, Taipei and Singapore. But the great urban sociologist Ernest Burgess argued that the city is a true expression of modernity—and that to understand contemporary society and culture, we must understand the city and how it has changed and continues to affect social life:

The outstanding fact of modern society is the growth of great cities...All the manifestations of modern life which are peculiarly urban—the skyscraper, the subway, the department store, the daily newspaper, and social work—are characteristically American. The more subtle changes in our social life, which in their cruder manifestations are termed “social problems,” problems that alarm and bewilder us, as divorce, delinquency, and social unrest, are to be found in their most acute forms in our largest American cities. The

profound and “subversive” forces which have wrought these changes are measured in the physical growth and expansion of cities (Burgess 1925: 47).

The concepts of urban migration and subsequent city development are well-studied areas of the literature. Members of the previously mentioned Chicago School carried out much of the pioneering work on these subjects. Primary among these scholars were Ernest Burgess and Robert Park (1925), and their theoretical work on the city remains a key component of contemporary studies. In this section we will explore Park and Burgess’ concepts of the city, as well as that of two other modernist interpretations, and their contemporary derivatives and criticisms. The social characteristics of the American city will be examined closely, with particular attention given to the physical and social concept of the ethnic enclave. We will then present measures of inter-ethnic evenness and exposure and apply them to Atlanta and Houston.

3.3.1: *The City: 20th Century Perspectives*

There are three major models of the city that came out of the mid-20th century: The Chicago School’s Concentric (Burgess) Model, The Sector Model and the Multiple Nucli Model (Central Place Theory). We start with the concentric model, as the others are responses to it. In 1925, Park, Burgess and McKenzie published their still-influential book *The City*. Three key concepts of the Chicago School’s program were presented herein: Park’s idea of the Marginal Man (Park 1928; Park 1952), Burgess’ concentric ring model of urban zones (Burgess 1925; see also Burgess 1928; 1929; 1930), and the ecological metaphor used to explain urban growth and change (McKenzie 1925). Burgess’ model is built with concentric circles of land-use zones, centered upon the Central Business District (CBD) being the innermost circle (see Figure 3.1). Burgess describes the following zones that are

common to all cities: (1) The Loop/Central Business District/Downtown, (2) The Zone of Transition/Light Industry and Business, (3) The Working-Class Residential Zone, (4) The Residential Zone, (5) The Commuter Zone (Burgess 1925: 50).

The CBD is the main commercial, entertainment and cultural zone of the urban setting—the city’s nucleus. While most of the city’s population does not live in this zone, it is the center of urban life—the symbolic source of the city from which its mythos and popular culture flow. In Burgess’ studies, the CBD was Chicago’s Loop—the area that is now ringed by the famous L Train. Besides being the center of cultural life, to Burgess the “B” in CBD mattered the most—with this zone being the major site of white-collar employment.

The second zone—The Zone in Transition—surrounds the Central Business District, and is a dual-functioning site. First, the area of Zone II that immediately surrounds the CBD contains the factory area—where light industry and related businesses make their home. Slums and lower-class housing are found just outside of the industrial area, as well as inside the factory zone along the major thoroughfares. This zone is transitory for two important reasons. The first is physical, in that the light industry and businesses in the factory right easily give way to the growth of the CBD, just as they easily take over the housing on their outside flank. The second reason deals more with the constantly changing character of the ghettos and ethnic enclaves found in Zone II—a point to which we will return momentarily.

The next concentric zone from the city center is The Zone of Workingmen’s Homes, or more colloquially, the Blue-Collar Residential Zone. This is an area of dense to

moderately dense housing in which people who work in the service industry or blue-collar jobs in Zone II live.

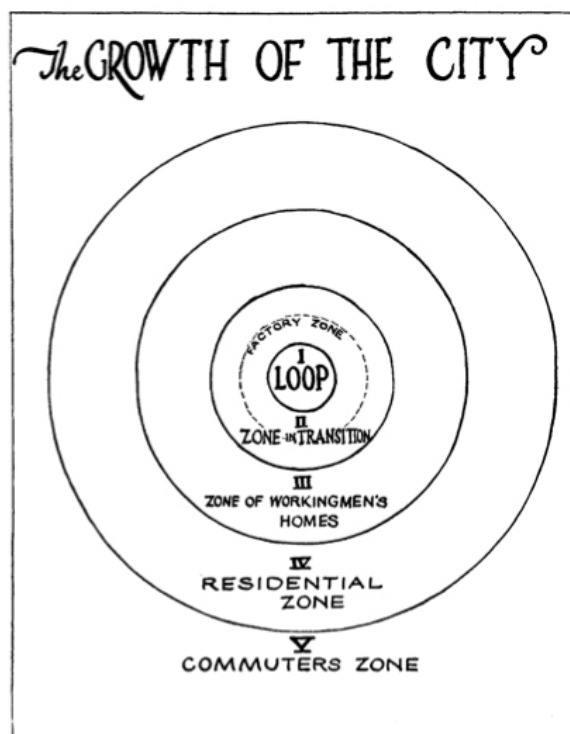


Figure 3.1: The Burgess Concentric Circle Model of American Cities, Taken from Burgess 1928: 107

Burgess notes that ethnic enclaves are to be found in Zone III, but that they are rarely the neighborhoods of arrival for new migrants (which tend to be either in the city center or Zone II), but are rather home to established communities. The fourth zone is The Residential Zone, which is distinguished from Zone III by lower density housing. Its residents tend to be white-collar and educated, people who commute to the CBD or the businesses in Zone II. Burgess notes that this area of the city is more or less the epitome of non-rural middle-class America. The fifth zone is The Commuter Zone, which is marked by even less dense housing and suburban ideals. Burgess notes that many of the neighborhoods in this area are restricted—either through legal or economic means. In

particular, he notes (1925:108) that people who live in this zone must have access to a car and not mind a commute of at least 30 minutes.

While Burgess' work is most cited because of the spatial concentric circle model (c.f. Anderson and Egeland 1961; Dewey 1948; Moya 1998), what he himself focused more on was the expansion, or growth, of the city—to him the model was a means to an end, not the end itself. He, as well as McKenzie, describe this expansion with the term—borrowed from plant ecology—succession (McKenzie 1925). The idea behind urban succession is the same as seen the process seen in environmental ecology, with four distinct stages of change: (1) invasion, (2) reaction/resistance, (3) influx/abandonment, and (4) climax/equilibrium (Burgess 1928: 112). Basically, the model predicts that people from lower zones will residentially “invade” the next higher zone. The residents who are already there will resist the change in the demographic make-up of their area. Burgess uses the effective resistance—though both business and legal means—against African American integration into white neighborhoods as a strong example of this stage. He argues that inter-racial (i.e. black/white) resistance is much stronger than inter-ethnic (i.e. Irish or Jews/established Anglos) resistance. After the resistance has been broken—which is needless to say a major assumption on the part of Burgess, and a fundamental one to the whole of the ecological view of the city—the new group moves *en masse* to the new area, and most of the old residents move out (in the own act of influx into a new neighborhood). Finally, after all the movement, a new state of equilibrium is reached. This ecological succession is the key aspect of the Chicago School's work (i.e. Park 1928), and explains why their theories are referred to as urban ecological theory.

One of the first major challenges to Burgess' model came from within the University of Chicago in the person of Homer Hoyt. Hoyt rejected the perfect concentric circle model—which even Burgess admitted was over-simplistic (Burgess 1925, 1928: 108). Hoyt realized that transportation routes were key to the development of the city and the spatial location of its zones. Hoyt's model, commonly referred to as the Sector Model, is a modification of the Burgess Model to include common zones following the spokes of transportation leading outward from the city center (Hoyt 1939; 1964). In terms of city expansion and development, he places a much greater emphasis on land pricing than does Burgess. Hoyt logically argues that as land prices increase, residents are forced out to the point that only industry and business can afford the rents—thus the origin of the CBD from the original mixed-use downtown of a small city or town. Middle- and upper class residential areas (Zones IV and V in the Burgess Model) are protected from the industrial and business zones by areas of low-class housing. His model, which includes these two concepts, is a “...star-shaped pattern of city growth with differing types and qualities of use radiating along different sectors toward the periphery of the city (Murphy 2009 [1971]: 4).” While Hoyt's model might be spatially distinct from Burgess' earlier work, he accepts the overall ecological model of city development as well as the cultural and economic precedence of the CBD.

It is upon this last point that the second major modernist challenge to Burgess is based. Both Burgess and Hoyt's spatial models—as well as their theories of growth stemming from them—more or less group all sectors of the economy together. There is business in the CBD, industry in its own zone, and residential outside of that. But to get a more complete picture of the city, as well as a useful and predictive theory of spatial

location and urban development, any model must include the complexity of our economic system. Harris and Ullman (1945), following McKeznie's (1925; 1933) work, do just that by introducing the Multiple Nuclei Theory.

There are two major advancements in this model over the previous two. First, it recognizes that like economic activities will tend to occur in the same place. Thus, one would expect not a single business zone, but rather an airport zone, a hotel zone, a boutique zone, etc. Secondly, the Multiple Nuclei Theory (and its contemporary derivation, the Central Place Theory, see Cristaller 1972; Murphy 2009 [1971]) does not recognize the primacy of one single Central Business District. Instead, it predicts that as the city grows, the business district in the city center will exist alongside other districts further afield. The Central Place Theory says that, given these multiple business districts, residents will travel to the nearest services. This last theory is the most accepted in the current urban studies literature, and the pattern is apparent in contemporary cities, including Houston and Atlanta. For instance, the Galleria area in Houston and the Buckhead and Decatur areas in Atlanta are business districts in their own right in addition to their city's downtown district.

Before moving on, we would be remiss to completely ignore the post-modern critique of these three ecological models of city development. The strongest critique is that from the so-called "Los Angeles School" of urban studies (a direct stab at the primacy of the Chicago School's vernacular name). The basis of the LA School is an examination of what Dear (2002; 2003) describes as the three major modernist assumptions behind Burgess and his progeny's models. These assumptions—that the city can act as a unitary organism, that individual urbanites have the agency to carry themselves through the various stages of

succession, and that the succession process occurs in a decidedly uni-directional evolutionary manner—have led this new school of thought to reject the idea of a model city upon which universal comparison can be made. Dear argues that cities such as LA should not replace Chicago as the urban paradigm, but instead calls for a particularist view of city development wherein the chaos of postmodernism allows for comparative urban studies among a number of foci cities (Dear 2002: 28, see also Dear 2000; Dear and Flusty 1998). This series of critiques has been challenged empirically by Johnsen, Poulsen and Forrest (2006) who show that overall Los Angeles' developmental trends fit the ecological models, and by Hackworth (2005) who argues that Dear and his compatriots understate the complexity of the modernist models. Hackworth uses rent price data to show that the chaos in city development the Los Angeles School suggest is not significant.

Beyond the postmodern critique, the ecological models have been challenged on more empirical grounds—usually as being too simple or absolutist. Davie (1937), Quinn (1940), and Brown and Chung (2008) in particular challenge the evenness of assimilation; whereas Schnore (1957) argues that Southeastern cities display a cross-sectional pattern that is the inverse of Burgess' (though he accepts the overall developmental/succession trend). This last criticism was disproven by Haggerty (1971), who used Census Bureau medium education data in eight cities across the country (including two in the Southeast) to illustrate that this inverse trend did not empirically exist.

3.3.2: *Residential Segregation and Normative Economic Behavior*

How exactly do these models aid in our understanding of normative dining out behavior?

The answer lies in their contributions to the understanding of residential segregation. In

its own way, the American city is a unique thing. Hofmeister (1970) suggested a set of characteristics that set apart the great American cities from their worldwide counterparts in the 1970s—traits that, *writ large*, mark American cities to this day. In physical terms, these characteristics include the American preference for separate housing units (in comparison to more European-style row houses) (Hofmeister 1970: 18-19), and the mixture of architectural styles—ranging from Greco-Roman influence for monuments, to more Western European and Asian influences for other building types (Hofmeister 1970: 18). Hofmeister suggests that the roots for both of these characteristics lie in the newness of the American urban landscape, as well as the youth and malleability of the country's mythos. Hofmeister (1970: 19-21) also proposes two sociocultural characteristics, the prevalence of ethnic settlements and the polarization of classes in the Central Business District, which mark cities in the United States. It is the first of these two factors that we will expand upon here and return to throughout our discussion.

In the mid and late 20th century, a European immigration wave hit the United States—particularly in the industrial centers of the Northeast and Upper Mid-West. Around the same time, another wave of Asian immigrants was headed to the cities of the West Coast. As these groups came to their new world, they were ethnically segregated within the urban landscape, and over time moved into closer and closer contact with each other. This trend follows what Massey (i.e. Massey and Mullen 1984) calls *Spatial Assimilation*, which he defines as, “...the process whereby a group attains residential propinquity with members of a host society,” and goes on to say that in the case of the United States, this normally means the movement of minority groups into white areas and neighborhoods. He does not treat this assimilation as a force unto itself, but rather the

particular result of various cultural, social and economic factors that vary group-by-group. For instance, Massey and Mullen show that in the Southwestern SMSAs, blacks and Hispanics are accepted into white neighborhoods at very different rates, in that whites tend to leave neighborhoods that blacks have begun to move into (in a succession process that the modernists predicted), while they are significantly more likely to stay after Hispanics have moved into their area.

Logan, Zhang and Alba (2002) attempt a more systematic test of the Spatial Assimilation theory by concentrating on recent (post-1980) immigration to New York and Los Angeles. They predict that not only do ethnic enclaves exist in the inner city, but that a new form has emerged in recent years due to the diversification of immigrants into the United States. They accept Massey's idea of ethnic enclaves in the less-desirable areas of the city, from which individuals who gain economic means and cultural knowledge move over time. They call these neighborhoods *Immigrant Enclaves* and characterize them as such:

Immigrant enclaves can be identified by their physical characteristics (by the usual standards of mainstream society, they are less desirable places to live) and by the characteristics of the people who live in them (they concentrate immigrants who are recently arrived and have few socioeconomic resources). By implication, the neighborhoods to which upwardly mobile group members diffuse are less ethnically distinct and have greater economic resources (Logan et al 2002: 300).

These are, by and large, neighborhoods of *necessity*. Immigrants, particularly those with no (or limited) skill in the language of the receiving society, will move to areas with the social support mechanisms needed to establish a foothold in the new place—familiar culture and language, aid in finding employment and affordable living options.

However, these neighborhoods of necessity have less and less of a monopoly in the lives of immigrants in the modern era because of the availability of cheap transportation that has decoupled work and home. Furthermore, while in the early to mid-20th century most immigrants to the urban centers of the United States were manual laborers, contemporary immigration also includes a sizeable percentage of highly skilled immigrants who arrive with plenty of economic capital. Logan et al suggest that immigrants in this situation do not need to first move to immigrant enclaves (and then later move to the suburbs), but can rather move to more desirable areas of the city right off the bat. They name these desirable ethnic enclaves of choice as *Ethnic Communities*, from which immigrants or their offspring may not decide to move when they acquire more economic or cultural capital. They confirm this model with both spatial and logistic regression analysis of US Census data from 1990.

Having established that groups segregate themselves not only culturally, but spatially as well, the key to understanding how an ethnic assimilation process will proceed should relate to the amount of contact different groups have with one another. In other words, we must try to quantify spatial assimilation in order to get empirically grounded comparative data. To do this, we turn to a series of established measures of inter-group contact.

3.4: Measures of Inter-group Contact

Social science has long searched for the best way to quantify how various groups interact. In urban studies, a series of measures that attempt to statistically establish how likely

individuals in various groups—ethnic or otherwise—are to interact and live together. Most of these measures are based on demographic data, such as that collected and provided by the Census Bureau.

Massey and Denton (1987; 1988) note that in the 1970s a variety of social forces—ranging from changing laws and attitudes to economic situations to altering immigrant concentrations and pathways—affected the residence patterns of social groups in American urban settings. They posit that these forces can be measured by five factors: Evenness, Exposure, Decentralization, Concentration, and Clustering. Here, we will explore the first two and see how Atlanta and Houston appear in their light.

3.4.1: *Evenness*

Evenness is defined as, “...the differential distribution of minority and majority members across census tracts within an urban area” (1987: 805).” To be clear, while Massey and Denton focus mainly on majority and minority ethnic groups within an area, these factors can be applied to any type of social grouping—from socioeconomic to educational level. The most common measure of evenness is the dissimilarity index [D_{xy}] (Lieberson and Carter 1982). The index, ranging in values from 0 to 1, indicated what proportion of the minority group must change their place of residence within the urban area to achieve an even distribution with the majority group. For instance, a D value of 0.25 means that a quarter of the minority group must redistribute among the majority group to have a completely even spread (see Bell 1954; White 1986). It is calculated using:

$$D_{xy} = 1/2 \sum |(x_i / X) - (y_i / Y)| \quad (\text{Equation 1})$$

with x_i and y_i being the number of majority and minority members, respectively, in a given tract; and X and Y being the total populations of groups X and Y in the urban area (Liberson 1980, White 1986: 202). Massey and Denton (1987: 815) calculate the dissimilarity between Anglos and Hispanics, African Americans and Asians for 1970 and 1980. Using census block data from the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and 1996-1998 estimates of zip codes from the American Community Survey, D was calculated for each of the six counties in the research area, as well as an aggregate D for the Atlanta metro area (having only 1 county in its core metro area, the D values for Harris County and Houston given here are equivalent). Figures 3.2 and 3.3 present the citywide data over nearly 5 decades for dissimilarity between Anglos and the three main minority groups for Atlanta and Houston, respectively:

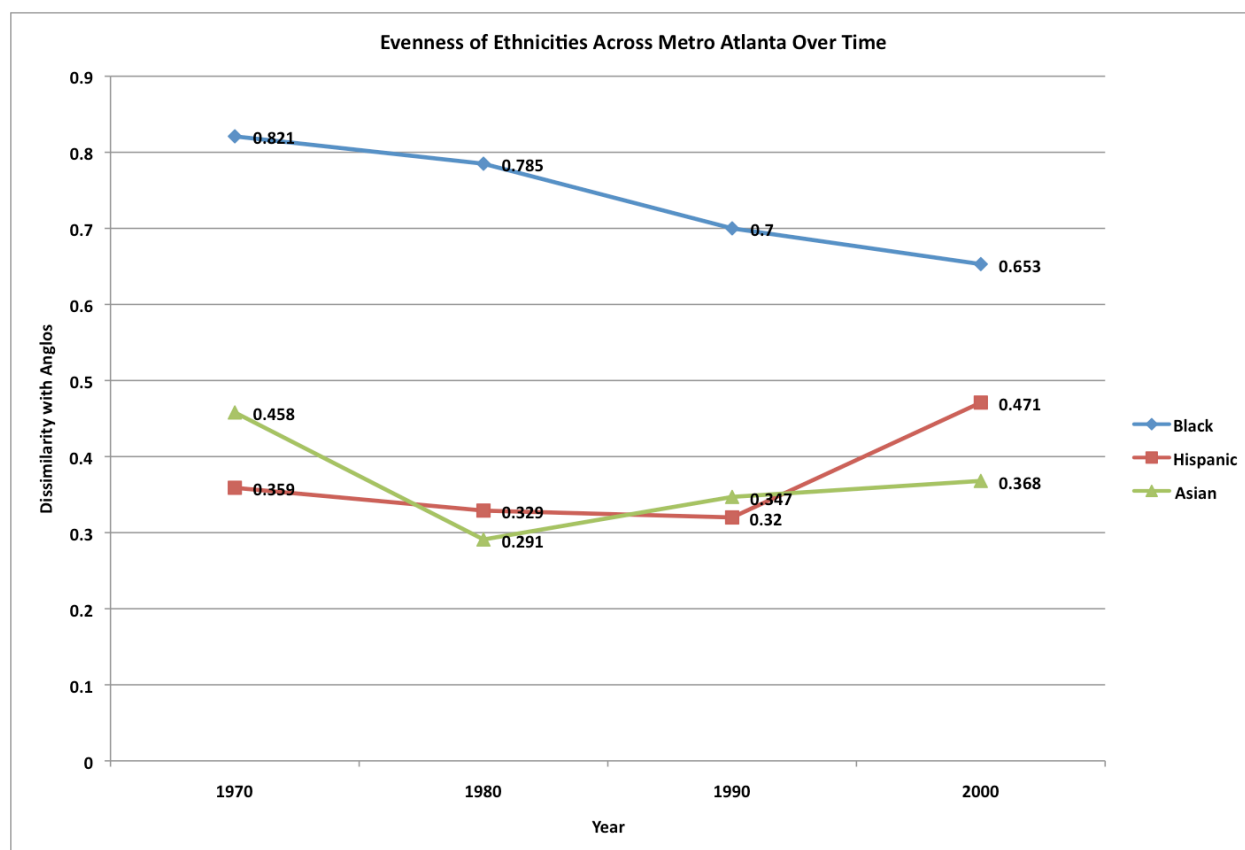


Figure 3.2: Evenness of Ethnicities Across Metro Atlanta Over Time

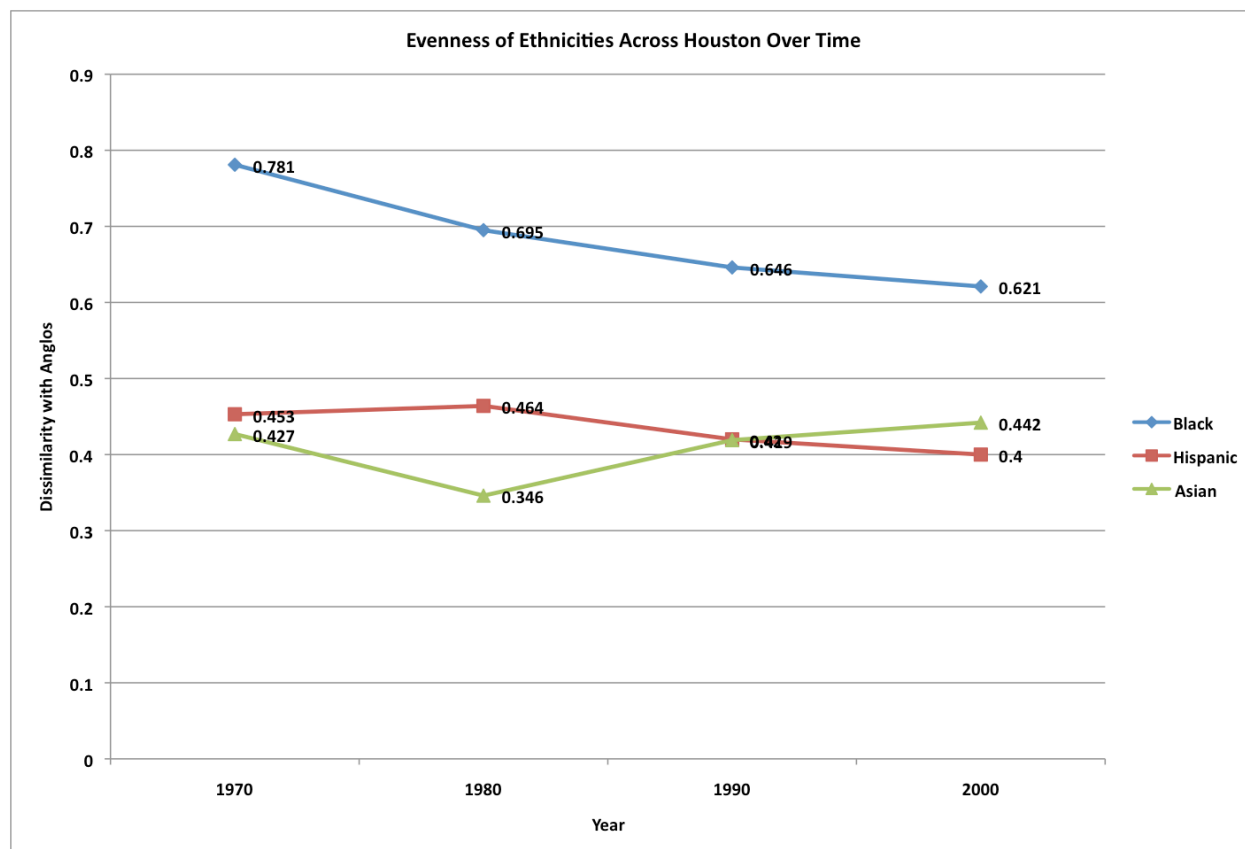


Figure 3.3: Evenness of Ethnicities Across Houston Over Time

Table 3.1 displays the results of regression analysis of this data¹:

Table 3.1: Regression Analysis of Citywide Dissimilarity Values

		BLACK	HISPANIC	ASIAN
ATLANTA	r²	0.977	0.369	0.158
	P(F)	0.012*	0.393	0.602
HOUSTON	r²	0.937	0.789	0.127
	P(F)	0.032*	0.112	0.644

These figures can inform our historical perspectives of residential segregation and acculturation in the two urban areas. Notice that in both Atlanta and Houston, the dissimilarity between blacks and whites has constantly decreased over time. The trend lines for black dissimilarity in Atlanta and Houston have r^2 values of 0.977 and 0.937 (and

¹ Data for Figures 3.3 and 3.4 and Table 3.1 for 1970 and 1980 come from Massey and Denton (1987: 815); raw 1990 and 2000 data comes from respective US Decennial Census STF-1 data tables.

significant P(F) values as well—0.0116* and 0.0319*) respectively. This is probably due to two factors. The first, most idealistically perhaps, is that since institutional segregation ended in the late 1960s, whites and blacks have continually become more accepting of one another, and this has led to more shared housing. However, notice that in both the case of Atlanta and Houston, the dissimilarity values for blacks are over .17 more than either Hispanics or Asians. This indicates that blacks are still significantly segregated from Anglos within the urban setting. Following this, another factor that may contribute to this decreasing trend is that there is probably not much new African American migration to the city, so those gains in residential acculturation are not offset by the formations of any new ethnic enclaves.

Both Atlanta and Houston display similar trends for their Asian populations' dissimilarities. Notice that in both cases, there was a relatively sharp drop in dissimilarity between 1970 and 1980, but that their values increased in the subsequent two decades. One possible explanation for this is that China began allowing out-migration of its citizens in 1978 (the "Open China Policy").

If we take the increases in minority group dissimilarity with the majority group to be an indicator of the decade of first mass migration, then the trend lines for the Hispanic dissimilarities are quite instructive. The Houston line increases from 1970 to 1980, where it then begins its decline. DeLeon (2001), in his work on the history of Hispanics in Houston notes that a major wave of Mexican immigrants came to the area in the 1960s, and continues today. However, Walcott and Murphy (2006) reports that the current (and in most respects, first) mass wave of Mexican and other Hispanic immigrants to Atlanta began in the late 1980s to early 1990s. Thus, looking at the dissimilarity line for Hispanics in

Atlanta, we see the upward breaking point at 1990—at least two decades later than Houston.

The dissimilarity index need not be applied only to the majority group's dissimilarities; X and x_i above in Equation 1 can be used for any group. We can thus then examine Hispanic dissimilarities across the six study counties. Table 3.2 shows the evenness of other groups with Hispanics in 1990 and 2000:

Table 3.2: Dissimilarities of Hispanics with Other Ethnicities²

County	White			Black			Native American		
	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Clayton	0.1260	0.3387	0.2127	0.3240	0.3611	0.0371	0.2030	0.2579	0.0549
Cobb	0.2357	0.4419	0.2062	0.2691	0.2685	-0.0006	0.2141	0.2682	0.0542
DeKalb	0.3378	0.5148	0.1770	0.6042	0.7201	0.1158	0.3811	0.3343	-0.0467
Fulton	0.3624	0.4940	0.1315	0.6887	0.6546	-0.0341	0.3698	0.3447	-0.0251
Gwinnett	0.2823	0.4389	0.1566	0.2534	0.2205	-0.0329	0.2740	0.2437	-0.0303
Harris	0.4195	0.3999	-0.0196	0.5771	0.5288	-0.0483	0.3451	0.2187	-0.1264
County	Asian			Other					
	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change			
Clayton	0.1879	0.3329	0.1450	0.1252	0.0801	-0.0451			
Cobb	0.1933	0.4123	0.2190	0.2049	0.0878	-0.1171			
DeKalb	0.2681	0.4196	0.1515	0.1519	0.1084	-0.0435			
Fulton	0.3837	0.5245	0.1408	0.2278	0.1327	-0.0950			
Gwinnett	0.1968	0.2985	0.1017	0.1314	0.0523	-0.0792			
Harris	0.5445	0.5640	0.0194	0.0992	0.0794	-0.0198			

Looking at the changes in evenness over the decade of 1990 to 2000, as in Figure 3.4, we see that *writ large* the Atlanta counties display a different trend than does Harris County, Texas:

² Raw 1990 and 2000 data comes from respective US Decennial Census STF-1 data tables.

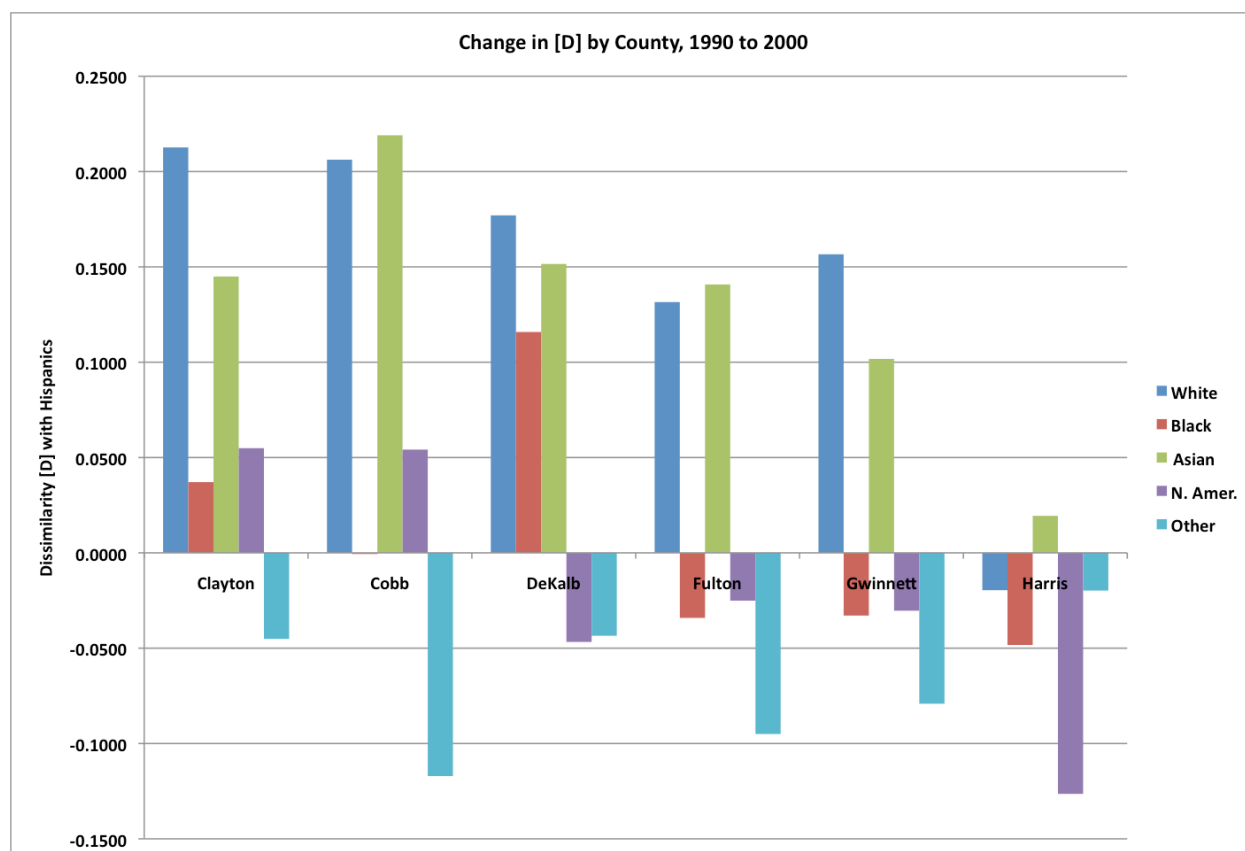


Figure 3.4: Change in [D] by County, 1990 to 2000

The Harris case is intriguing, in that with the exception of dissimilarity with Asians, Hispanics are integrating into the residential areas with the other ethnic groups. DeLeon suggests that this is the historic trend since the 80s, as the established Mexican Americans and other Hispanics in the city are both moving into new areas without much of Burgess' predicted resistance. Furthermore, as traditionally Hispanic areas of the city are becoming gentrified (such as the Navigation Boulevard area) and new groups are moving in, the established Mexican Americans are not fleeing (given that they have the economic resources to remain with higher property values and taxes).

3.4.2: Exposure

Moving on from evenness, the second factor in spatial assimilation we will explore is exposure, defined by Massey and Denton as, "...the degree of potential contact between minority and majority members with census tracts of an urban area (1987: 806)." It is commonly measured using the "Contact Index" or ${}_xP_y^*$, which is the probability that a random member of X shares an area with Y in the urban setting. The probabilities of *exposure* for a given urban area are calculated with:

$${}_xP_y^* = \sum(x_i X)(y_i / t_i) \quad \text{(Equation 2)}$$

where x_i , y_i and X are defined as above, and t_i is the total population for a given census tract. The index can also describe the probability that a member of X shares an area with another member of X—so ${}_xP_x^*$ —and is described as the *isolation* of a given group. Tables 3.3a through 3.3h show the exposures/isolations of Anglos, African Americans, Hispanics and Asians in the two study areas from 1970 to 2000:

Table 3.3: Citywide Probabilities of Exposure and Isolation³

a) Anglos	Atlanta			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.925	0.062	0.011	0.002
1980	0.886	0.091	0.013	0.011
1990	0.835	0.130	0.025	0.024
2000	0.729	0.170	0.078	0.048

b) Blacks	Atlanta			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.213	0.780	0.005	0.002
1980	0.237	0.748	0.010	0.005
1990	0.285	0.692	0.018	0.014
2000	0.259	0.667	0.060	0.026

c) Hispanics	Atlanta			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.860	0.115	0.022	0.003
1980	0.736	0.228	0.022	0.014
1990	0.703	0.230	0.056	0.038
2000	0.537	0.273	0.205	0.061

d) Asians	Atlanta			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.819	0.161	0.013	0.007
1980	0.820	0.144	0.018	0.018
1990	0.741	0.194	0.040	0.046
2000	0.622	0.217	0.114	0.085

³ Data for Tables 3.3 and 3.4 and 1970 and 1980 come from Massey and Denton (1987: 807 and 809); raw 1990 and 2000 data comes from respective US Decennial Census STF-1 data tables.

e) Anglos	Houston			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.836	0.070	0.089	0.006
1980	0.783	0.078	0.116	0.025
1990	0.759	0.096	0.209	0.040
2000	0.689	0.102	0.304	0.049

f) Blacks	Houston			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.254	0.664	0.078	0.005
1980	0.283	0.593	0.109	0.016
1990	0.324	0.550	0.170	0.032
2000	0.325	0.477	0.267	0.047

g) Hispanics	Houston			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.585	0.141	0.269	0.011
1980	0.517	0.134	0.328	0.022
1990	0.590	0.143	0.419	0.033
2000	0.542	0.150	0.512	0.042

h) Asians	Houston			
	Anglos	Blacks	Hispanics	Asians
1970	0.659	0.149	0.184	0.015
1980	0.699	0.120	0.137	0.045
1990	0.656	0.155	0.194	0.091
2000	0.560	0.168	0.268	0.122

The most interesting comparative trend seen here is the difference in exposure to Hispanics across both cities. In Atlanta, the increase in exposure is relatively flat. However, in Houston we see the same trend that DeLeon (2001) posits, with a steep increase in probability of contact over time. Regression analysis gives the following statistics:

Table 3.4: Regression Analysis of Citywide Probability of Exposure and Isolation of Hispanic Population

	ATL Anglos	HOU Anglos	ATL Blacks	HOU Blacks	ATL Hispanics	HOU Hispanics	ATL Asians	HOU Asians
r ²	0.761	0.952	0.787	0.948	0.744	0.990	0.809	-0.543
F	6.383	39.812	7.399	36.130	5.813	204.726	8.475	2.380
P(F)								
df=2	0.240	0.024*	0.224	0.027*	0.281	0.005*	0.236	0.263

We can see that the rate of exposure between Hispanics and Anglos or African Americans is at least double in Houston what it is in Atlanta. Interestingly, at the same time that we are seeing an increase in inter-ethnic contact with Hispanics, we are also seeing an increase in Hispanic isolation. This makes sense in Atlanta, where Hispanics—being both a relatively low socioeconomically endowed and recent immigrant group—are still largely confined to ethnic enclaves. However, this isolation runs counter to DeLeon's hypotheses of greater integration in Houston, as well as the inter-group exposure and above-presented evenness statistics.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that while the majority of established Mexican Americans and other Hispanics are indeed increasing their integration with other ethnic groups, there is still enough new immigration to the area to counteract this assimilative force. DeLeon makes a strong point about the differences—cultural, economic and social, and otherwise—between newly arrived Hispanics and long-term Hispanic American residents of Houston, and this bipolar data might be demographically illustrating this.

Houston and Atlanta, though having similar populations and sizes, have an obvious difference in Hispanic immigration histories, and thus should provide an excellent set of comparative data that allows for the exploration of culinary and cultural acculturation of Mexican Americans, Anglos and African Americans to one another. In the next chapter I will present the methodology that allows for this analysis.

Chapter 4: Methodology

As is obvious from the previous discussion of the Houston and Atlanta metropolitan areas, this project's fieldsites provide an excellent opportunity for a comparative study of the cultural responses to Hispanic and Mexican immigration. While the sites are of comparable size, they differ both demographically and in relation to their immigration histories. To allow for the collection of solid data that will answer the three research questions presented at the end of Chapter Two, this project follows a two-phase, comparative, observational, and cross-sectional research design (Bernard 2006; Johnson 1998). Its ethnographic and cognitive elements provided internal validity, while its dual-site comparative feature provided generalizability (Merriam 1995; Weller and Romney 1988).

Although a longitudinal study of cuisine change is impossible given the timeframe of the current study (save the brief archival component discussed below), effective framing in and between the two locales provides for time-sensitive proxy data. By this I mean that by sampling from two locations that have (in general) different migration histories, the data should show some response to how long the locales have had concentrated Hispanic migration—a space from time substitute (Crumley 1994). The first phase was exploratory, consisting of a survey of restaurants and informal interviews and observations. The second phase was of a more explanatory nature, and involved in-depth interviews and observations with restaurateurs, customers, and local culinary experts. An analysis phase, consisting of both quantitative and qualitative techniques, followed. This chapter will

explain all three of these components in detail, beginning with the first, exploratory, phase. Basic results will be presented as necessary to explain the methods, but more detailed results and analysis will follow in the next series of chapters.

4.1: The Exploratory Phase

The exploratory phase of the proposed project includes three steps: restaurant observation and informant sampling, domain establishment, and determination of prototypicality and degrees of character. The purpose of this phase is to determine what Mexican food is, and what it means to various groups of people. Research in this phase will produce an instrument that can be administered in the explanatory phase to roughly estimate cuisine acculturation. The exploratory phase will consist of both ethnographic and ethnoscientific methods—primarily participant observation (taken here to mean the emic observation of social interactions in a specific context, see Dewalt, et al. 1988), as well as free-listing, paired comparison and rank ordering activities (D'Andrade 1995; Weller and Romney 1988).

4.1.1: *Sampling in the Exploratory Phase*

The first step in this phase is to establish a sampling frame for Mexican restaurants and to recruit key informants from those establishments. This will insure that the non-Mexican consumer informants actually eat Mexican American cuisine and are (at least in some small fashion) exposed to, and interact with, Mexican culture. Likewise, Mexican cooks and restaurateurs are excellent informants as they are forced to respond to different social and

market pressures in terms of their cuisine whether they are in the public sphere (the restaurants) or the private sphere (their homes and communities).

Both stratified and purposeful sampling is used for the first phase of this project. All Mexican restaurants that fit into the sampling frame presented above were visited. Once again, that frame is as follows:

- Their name or advertising materials explicitly call themselves “Mexican.”
- They are sit-down, full-service restaurants.
- They are open for both lunch and dinner seatings.
- They are not cash-only businesses
- They are located in Harris County, Texas or Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, or Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Table 4.1 gives the total number of Mexican restaurants that fit into this frame for the six study counties:

Table 4.1: Restaurant Counts across Fieldsites by County

County	Number
Clayton	16
Cobb	65
DeKalb	43
Fulton	106
Gwinnett	75
ATLANTA SITE TOTAL	305
Harris	753
HOUSTON SITE TOTAL	753
OVERALL	1053

4.1.2: *Data Collection in the Exploratory Phase*

Each visit consisted of a ten-minute minimum observation of the clientele and employees. At each restaurant I attempted to speak to either the owner or manager and introduce my purpose and myself. I also tried to informally speak to patrons at this point, but I was wary of disrupting the business. Based on this observation period, and any conversations I had with the restaurateur or staff members, I placed each restaurant in one of five categories based on the ethnicity of the clientele. These categories are: (1) Entirely non-Hispanic

Clientele, (2) Mostly non-Hispanic Clientele, (3) Mixed Hispanic/non-Hispanic Clientele, (4) Mostly Hispanic Clientele, and (5) Entirely Hispanic Clientele. I also noted which restaurants had a large African American or Asian clientele, though for the above categories these two groups (along with Anglos) count simply as non-Hispanic. This is, of course, not the most precise scale imaginable. However, given that I did not have the resources or time to get a complete demographic picture of all 1053 restaurants in the study, this more basic (but still accurate for the purposes of this project) scale was used.

Table 4.2 shows the breakdown of these five categories by county for the Atlanta fieldsite and Table 4.3 shows the same thing for the Houston fieldsite.

Table 4.2: Atlanta Restaurants in Each Clientele Ethnicity Category

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Clayton	4	0	2	6	4	16
Cobb	20	16	9	9	11	65
DeKalb	11	11	8	5	8	43
Fulton	44	34	15	6	7	106
Gwinnett	15	22	14	12	12	75
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305
%	30.820	27.213	15.738	12.459	13.770	

Table 4.3: Houston Restaurants in Each Clientele Ethnicity Category

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Harris	129	161	202	180	81	753
%	17.131	21.381	26.826	23.904	10.757	

The complete results of this observation step are to be found in Appendix A for Atlanta and Appendix B for Houston. In addition to the clientele classification, whether or not the restaurant offered combination dinners or weekend brunch/breakfasts buffets or specials was noted, as was its general type of décor. A menu was gathered from each restaurant if possible for the establishment of the cultural domain and further analysis.

Once all the restaurants in the study areas were classified, a random sample of 5 in each category in each city (25 total per fieldsite) were approached for future participation.

If the restaurateur did not agree to an interview, the next restaurant on the random list was approached, following the procedures set down for random sampling by Bernard (2006: 149-151). In addition to these randomly sampled restaurants, a number of gastronomically/culturally significant restaurants suggested by either food experts or other restaurateurs were approached for future participation. None of these refused participation.

Interviews with the sampled restaurateurs discussed their experiences with Mexican, Mexican American, and other ethnic cuisines, as well as their inter-ethnic social interactions, and their “culinary life histories.” Tam and Frost presented a special volume of *Food, Culture and Society* that focused on “culinary journeys” (2008). They take this phrase to mean geographic or temporal travels a person experiences through food. This concept can aid the proposed project’s methodology by focusing interviews on the idea of culinary change. While this may seem to apply primarily to those informants who are migrants, that the journey can be mental ties it directly to the idea of culinary acculturation. The interviews followed a semi-structured format (see Appendix C), and lasted for an average length of an hour. Often, the interviews would follow by a tour of the restaurant and its back of the house, and introductions with staff, managers and frequent customers. If possible and appropriate, I would follow up with these individuals with interviews of their own. Out of the 25 restaurateurs interviewed in both cities, 6 in Atlanta and 5 in Houston were asked for follow-up interviews and all agreed. Of these, 2—Carlos Rodriguez from Atlanta and Ernesto Garcia from Houston—were kind enough to volunteer even more time, and gave third or fourth interviews as *de facto* key informants.

The next exploratory step established the domains of Mexican American cuisine in Atlanta and Houston. This was accomplished through two separate free-listing procedures (Weller and Romney 1988). The first took the menus from the original overall sample of restaurants and considered them as if each was an informant's free-list. While such a procedure will limit individual measures of salience (D'Andrade 1995; Smith 1993), it will be useful in determining the wide domain of Mexican food throughout the sites. In addition, restaurateurs from the stratified sample of restaurants were asked to free-list Mexican and American foods during their interviews. The chefs and restaurateurs' lists will illustrate that range of the domain that they consider Mexican cuisine, but do not sell to the general public (i.e. those items that appear on their lists, but do not figure prominently in the menu domain). The establishment of these cultural domains is not simply a pedantic exercise. Domains give researchers a broad view of cultural meanings, and assuming the space for time proxy noted above in this case, should allow for measureable sets of data across the sites that are reactive to exposure to Mexican and Mexican American culture.

The conclusion of this exploratory phase required a mix of both ethnographic observation and interviews including the collection of similarity data. Ethnographic observation was particularly useful in determining how restaurants and cooks approach the domain of Mexican food in their private lives—or "backstage" as Goffman (1959) put it. While ethnoscientific methods are quite good at establishing meaning and approximating knowledge, observation of these meanings in action is necessary for the level of validity for which this research aims, as well as beginning to provide data for the second two research questions. Observations occurred at the key informants' restaurants, and in two cases,

their churches and home. This gave me an opportunity, at least in some small way, to see, taste and participate in both their public and private cuisine spheres.

Similarity data is vital in this project, as it provides empirical evidence of cultural categories and types. Using food items from both of the previously established domains, informants were asked to complete an unrestricted pile-sort activity (Bernard 2006: 494-495, Weller and Romney 1998: 20-31). This procedure is designed to show which food items the informants consider to be similar. As is suggested (Bernard 2006; Weller and Romney 1988), the informants were asked to name each pile and explain why they separated the items as they did—adding depth to the more basic similarity data. Informants were also asked to complete a series of rank ordering tests designed to determine which foods are more “Mexican,” as well as triad tests, designed around the term “Mexican.”

A small archival component of this research was completed during the exploratory phase as well. The historic city directories for Atlanta, going back to 1910, were examined for the presence of Mexican restaurants and how they were named. Unfortunately, while the DeKalb County Library and the Atlanta Historical Society had an almost complete collection of these directories, neither the Houston Historical Society nor the Harris County Libraries held the Houston equivalents. The Library of Congress collection in Washington, DC was likewise spotty, and no historical analysis of Houston’s restaurants was possible.

The exploratory phase data from the restaurateurs and food experts was analyzed in order to create an instrument to test the first and third research questions in the explanatory phase. That instrument is found in Appendix D.

4.2: The Explanatory Phase

While the exploratory phase focused mostly on the restaurants and their restaurateurs, the explanatory phase dealt largely with the restaurants' customers. Recall that the first and third research questions are largely about non-Hispanics' attitudes towards Mexican and Mexican American food and culture, and the customer instrument and interview protocol (Appendix E) are designed accordingly.

4.2.1: *Sampling in the Explanatory Phase*

The customers were sampled mostly through convenience methods. One group of customers, as noted above, was suggested by the restaurateurs interview in the exploratory phase. Each of the 50 sampled restaurants suggested at least one customer for participation, though only 34 agreed. Another group of participants were sampled via the snowball method—either from the above customers or restaurateurs, or my own personal contacts in the two study areas. 20 customers in both cities were selected this way, giving a total customer sample size of 41 in Atlanta and 33 in Houston, or 74 overall. Not all customers agreed to participate in both the survey and the interview steps, though a total of 53 overall did do both.

4.2.2: *Data Collection in the Explanatory Phase*

While the whole survey instrument is available in the appendix, I want to note a few key aspects. Customers were asked to participate in the same free pile-sort, rank ordering and triad activities as the restaurateurs were in the exploratory phase. Appendix F shows the

picture flashcards used in both pile-sort activities. Customers were also asked to produce free-lists. The literature predicts that the customers' domain is expected to vary along ethnic, generational, and perhaps socioeconomic lines, and differ between Houston and Atlanta as well. By comparing how the customers' domain matched up with both the menu and restaurateurs' domains, we should be able to begin to understand how restaurants do or do not influence individuals' ideas of a given cuisine.

4.3: Analysis

The similarity data was analyzed to determine prototypical food items and degrees of character. While it is hypothesized that variation will occur between ethnic and geographic groups, the power of similarity analysis is that it can be run on any collected character variable. For instance, Jamal (1996; 1998) has suggested that culinary acculturation varies with age cohort, while Verbeke and Lopez (2005) suggest that economic strata and immigration cohorts are significant. As such, a wide amount of profile data was collected with each interview, including age, ethnicity, gender, nationality, place of residence, dining habits and date(s) of immigration (if applicable)—stemming directly from the first research question. Prototypical food items for each cultural group will be those with the highest degree of consensus. Degrees of character (i.e. the relative distance between one group's prototypical items and another group's) were calculated using the pile-sort results (i.e. Romney and D'Andrade 1964). By comparing various groups' prototypical dishes and their degrees of character, emerging trends of culinary change—cuisine acculturation—should become visible.

In order for this project to test whether or not a correlation exists between cuisine and cultural incorporation and acceptance, a reliable and standardized instrument must be created that will measure degree of culinary acculturation. Using the prototypical food items and other various components that emerge from the analysis of the exploratory phase's interviews, observations and explanations of the similarity exercises, a model for determining culinary cultural knowledge was built using regression analysis.

All results have been presented for review to the two key informants for their comments and revisions. The next three chapters will present the data and analysis laid out here. We begin by looking at Mexican restaurants themselves in Atlanta and Houston.

Chapter 5. The Mexican Restaurant

This project, in attempting to answer the research questions laid out in Chapter 2, looks at three separate groups of cultural beings. Two of them, the restaurateurs who run Mexican restaurants and their customers, are obvious subjects of an anthropological study of the eating of ethnic food. The third, the Mexican restaurants themselves, while certainly not organic beings, can nevertheless be explored through a cultural lens as the manifestation of a variety of sociocultural forces—not only the desires and abilities of the restaurateurs and customers, but also the demographics and social history of their particular location. Recall from Chapter 2 that there was a small literature on Mexican and Mexican American restaurants that indicated that Mexican restaurants were indeed a point of inter-ethnic contact. Furthermore, that research indicates that the restaurants show some signs of allowing out-group members to explore Mexican and Hispanic culture (Dillon, et al. 2007; Ferrero 2002). That research posited that this ability of Mexican restaurants to act as both culinary and cultural “gateways” was due not only to the actions and reactions of either the customers or restaurateurs, but to a combination of both, and that this was probably an ongoing process. Other research, particularly on Chinese restaurants in the United States (Barbas 2003; Lee 2008; Lu and Fine 1995) and Indian/Southeast Asian restaurants in Britain (Buettner 2008; Jamal 1996; Jamal 1998), suggests the same trend.

In this chapter, the physical/cultural space of the restaurant will be examined in order to discern what characteristics may account for this gateway ability. We begin with a look at restaurant naming, including an historical look at Atlanta’s Mexican restaurants and

their nomenclature. We will then jump ahead to the present and explore the urban geography of Mexican restaurants in Houston and Atlanta.

5.1: Restaurant Nomenclature

One of the first things a customer notices about a restaurant, Mexican or otherwise, is its name. And so we must turn to that centuries-old question: what's in a name? To answer this question, I first look at the archival history of Mexican restaurants in Atlanta (I exclude Houston here because, as noted before, I did not have access to the historical Houston City Directories or Yellow Pages) and then analyze these findings in light of the restaurant survey I completed in both Atlanta and Houston.

5.1.1: *Atlanta's First Mexican Restaurant?*

It seems to be a simple question: When did the first Mexican restaurant open in Atlanta? There should be countless sources of data from which to ascertain this "fact." It turns out; however, that there is no one simple answer to this question and that, in its own way, the matter of Atlanta's first Mexican restaurant is in the eye of the beholder. In speaking to Atlantan Mexican restaurateurs, no single establishment was cited as the first on a regular basis. And so the question for me quickly morphed from the minor question of when Mexican cuisine first arrived on the Chattahoochee's shores to the broader question of why such variation existed, and what it could explain about the ethnic food experience in an urban center like Atlanta.

The answer to the first part of this question, and the idea that will direct the exploration of the second, is memory. Here I talk about memory not as an individual experience, but rather as a socially constructed story that provides social groups with the myths they need to take root and survive in our urban cultural landscape. Social, or group, memory is one of the most powerful cultural forces that anthropologists must strive to understand, and one that is central to the study of intercultural interaction and incorporation. When informants present conflicting memories, the automatic response is to assume one point of view is correct, whereas the other or others are, to put it diplomatically, mistaken. And while this correct/incorrect memory dichotomy may—strictly speaking—hold true, the anthropologist ignores these variations in memory at their own peril. Known as inter-informant variation (Boster 1985), these narrative differences form a cornerstone of cognitive anthropology. And while it is perhaps more common to examine their intersections (as in the Cultural Consensus Model, see Romney, et al. 1986; Weller 2007), systematically examining the differences themselves can provide the deeper cultural data that the analysis of identities and ethnicities requires. Boster (1985) saw inter-informant variation in knowledge of cultural domains not as something that renders informant-based research worthless, but rather as a powerful force that can show the width and depth of a cultural domain. Following Wallace (1970), and explicitly disagreeing with Gardner (1976), Boster argues that informant knowledge/memory variation is universal and even necessary for the functioning of society and that it is analytically instructive: “While an assumption of cultural homogeneity may be naïve, the emphasis on variation should not be carried to the point of denying the possibility of a coherent cultural description (Boster 1985: 178).”

The Atlanta City Directory Company's directories were gathered for 5-year intervals from 1940 to 1985 from the Atlanta Historical Society and DeKalb County (GA) Libraries public holdings. The listings for "Coffee shop," "Lunch Room/Lunches—Prepared," and "Restaurants" in the directories' business listings were entered into a database for each 5-year interval. While earlier (prior to 1955) directories were for both Fulton and DeKalb counties, later directories split these into two volumes—one for Atlanta (Fulton Co. and unincorporated DeKalb Co.), and one for "Suburban Atlanta" (the incorporated cities of DeKalb Co.). The Suburban holdings are incomplete, but when possible the pair was collected and entered for the later years; the Fulton Co. records are complete across the study period.

5.1.2: *Results*

Restaurateur Interviews: Of the 25 restaurateurs interviewed in Atlanta, 16 indicated some knowledge of the origins of Mexican restaurants in the city. Their interviews were conducted over six months of 2009. Of the 16, 13 were Hispanic, two were Anglo, and one was African-American; 13 were male and 3 were female. Of the 13 Hispanic restaurateurs, 10 were 1st generation immigrants, all from Mexico. When asked about their knowledge or recollections of the first Mexican restaurant in Atlanta, they gave a variety of divergent answers (see Table 1, column 3 and 4). Very few of the restaurateurs had first-hand knowledge of the first Mexican restaurant, as most arrived in Atlanta well after it had opened. Most believed they were in the know about the matter, however, as they had heard what they believed to be the right answers from other restaurateurs and members of their community.

Consider first Carlos Rodriguez, the owner of the *La Cazuela Mexican Restaurant* chain of restaurants in Fulton and DeKalb Counties. He was born in Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Mexico, and has been in Atlanta, off and on, for 28 years. His is an interesting story in and of itself, as he first came to Atlanta to study for his master's degree in engineering at Georgia Tech and then returned to Mexico to practice professionally. After a few years of this, he returned to Atlanta to open a Mexican restaurant (even though he had no restaurant experience) with a friend. When asked about what he knew of Atlanta's first Mexican establishment, he responded:

Carlos: I was here at GA Tech for a [master's] degree in the early 1980s, and there were only a few places for Mexican, none of them were very good. I know that the first in Atlanta was El Rancho in the 50s, it was a chain...there was one on Ponce I went to. But that was the first, and it introduced Mexican to the people here. It wasn't real, so I wanted to do something new...to let them know what real Mexican food was⁴.

This is an interesting, and variously shared sentiment: that the original Mexican cuisine available to the people of Atlanta was not real, authentic or traditional. Take for instance Jerry Herrera, the owner of *Sangria's Mexican Café*. He was born in Tucker, Georgia (in DeKalb County), and is a 2nd generation Puerto Rican. He also brings up the lack of real Mexican and Hispanic cuisine available in the past:

Jerry: You know, when I was growing up, there really wasn't any Hispanic food to speak of...I remember my mom couldn't always find what she needed for cooking with. I think there was a chain of Tex-Mex places already around, but we didn't eat there. I remember sometime in elementary school we started going to Buford Highway...I forget the names, but there were one or two taquerías there. But it was nothing like today. You couldn't get real food, real good Mexican, you know⁵?

⁴ Interview with author, June 6, 2009

⁵ Interview with author, July 7, 2009

Here we see a bifurcation of the Mexican American culinary universe—the Tex-Mex cuisine that he and his family didn’t eat, and the taquería on Buford Highway (a stretch of Georgia Route 13 in Doraville, GA that is famous for its immigrant restaurants and other businesses, see McDaniel and Drever 2009, Walcott 2002, Stewart 1998). Maria Santos, who was born in Guadalajara and migrated directly to Atlanta in 1975, claims personal heritage regarding the first taquería on Buford Highway:

María: My sister owned the first Mexican restaurant in Atlanta...it was a little taquería on Buford Highway...not where our place is there now, but further up. It was just a little place in a strip mall. I don’t think many Whites knew about it...Buford [Highway] wasn’t a popular place back then. She just served tacos for about 10 years, until she and our brother opened the new El Toro down the road...I think she opened in 1970...somewhere around then⁶.

In addition to adding a familial twist to this story, Señora Santos’ answer illustrates one of the key reasons why divergent memories of rooting exist—demographic separation. She indicates that in the 70s, Buford Highway was not a place that Anglos visited *en masse*; likewise, Mr. Herrera seemed to indicate in his answer that those Hispanics who lived in the city during his childhood shunned the Tex-Mex chain.

Table 5.1 below presents all 16 informant’s responses to the query about Atlanta’s first Mexican restaurant.

Table 5.1: Restaurateur Responses about First Mexican Restaurant in Atlanta

Restaurateur	Nationality/Generation	First Restaurant Date	First Restaurant Name
Carlos Rodriguez ⁷	Mexican-American/1st	“...in the 50s”	El Rancho
Jose Montes ⁸	Mexican-American/1st	Before the 1960s	El Rancho
Maria Santos ⁹	Mexican-American/1st	1972	El Toro Taquería

⁶ Interview with author, August 4, 2009

⁷ Interview with author, June 10, 2009

⁸ Interview with author, July 9, 2009

⁹ Interview with author, August 4, 2009

Jerry Herrera ¹⁰	Mexican-American and Puerto Rican/2nd	Before 1961	N/A
Bardo McDowell ¹¹	Mexican-American/1st	"Sometime in the 50s"	"It was a place called El Rancho...they went on to start Monterrey which is where I worked when I first came here from Mexico"
Brian Kibler ¹²	Anglo	"I doubt there was any before the 80s"	N/A
Carlos Marín ¹³	Mexican-American/1st	"My brother told me it was before he got here in 1967"	"Some chain name, like El Rancho or El Chico, I forget"
Juan "Pepe" Saldina ¹⁴	Mexican-American/1st	I don't know, definitely before I got here in the early 70s. I heard it was on Buford"	N/A
B.J. Sherman ¹⁵	African-American	"Oh I don't know about the rest of Atlanta. There wasn't anything on this side of town [SE] until the late 80s probably"	"First I knew of was Monterrey Mexican Restaurant. There were a bunch of them"
Don Martinez ¹⁶	Mexican-American/3rd	Before 1983 [Arrival from Texas]	"I think it was Monterrey, that's what my customers tell me."
Lupita Espinoza ¹⁷	Mexican-American/1st	In the late 60s	"A taquería here on Buford Highway, I don't know the name"
Miguel Gonzales ¹⁸	Mexican-American/1st	"My father came here in the 1950s for the first time and told me there was one Mexican restaurant, Rancho or something. It wasn't here when I got in 1986"	"Rancho"
Rob Atherholt ¹⁹	Anglo	N/A	"I've heard both Monterrey Mexican and Rancho Grande Mexican Restaurant, but I have no clue!"
Carmen Gonzales ²⁰	Mexican-American/1st	N/A [Before 1974]	"I came to meet my brother here in 1974 and he took me to a place called Toro I

¹⁰ Interview with author, July 7, 2009

¹¹ Interview with author, July 8, 2009

¹² Interview with author, June 8, 2009

¹³ Interview with author, June 18, 2009

¹⁴ Interview with author, June 13, 2009

¹⁵ Interview with author, July 1, 2009

¹⁶ Interview with author, June 30, 2009

¹⁷ Interview with author, June 9, 2009

¹⁸ Interview with author, June 18, 2009

¹⁹ Interview with author, June 25, 2009

			think, that he said was the first he knew of."
Carlos Hernandez ²¹	Mexican-American/1st	N/A "Before my time [1982]"	"It was some Tex-Mex place, I know"
Horatio Marks ²²	Mexican-American/3rd	N/A "There were places when I moved here from Cali"	"I've been told that the Monterrey chain is the oldest"

City Directory Survey: The data from the 1940 to 1985 Atlanta (and Atlanta Suburban) City Directories (Atlanta City Directory Company 1940; 1945; 1950; 1955a; 1955b; 1960a; 1960b; 1965; 1967; 1970a; 1970b; 1975; 1976; 1980a; 1980b; 1985a; 1985b) were entered into a database, and the descriptive elements of the historic restaurants' names were coded. The database (n=9538) was manually searched for Mexican restaurants. The first restaurants whose names explicitly mentioned Mexico were El Mexicano and El Chico Mexican Grill, both first mentioned in the 1960 City Directory. This is well after the 1950s date that some informants gave. A closer examination of the data show that other restaurants existed prior to this that did not explicitly call themselves Mexican restaurants: El Rancho (first found in the 1950 City Directory on Peachtree Street and Ponce de Leon Avenue), and the Cactus Grill and Casa Blanca Grill (both first appearing in the 1955 City Directory). The first taquería noted in the directories was El Toro Taquería in the 1975 Suburban Directory, located (as suggested by some of the informants above) on Buford Highway.

Restaurant Survey: As noted before, I observed 1058 Mexican restaurants across both fieldsites (305 in the Atlanta Metro area and 753 in the Houston Metro area, see Table 4.1)

²⁰ Interview with author, July 3, 2009

²¹ Interview with author, July 7, 2009

²² Interview with author, November 15, 2009

and categorized each by observed clientele on a one to five scale. Once again, these categories represent (1) Entirely non-Hispanic, (2) Mostly non-Hispanic, (3) Mixed Ethnicity, (4) Mostly Hispanic, and (5) Entirely Hispanic clientele. Across both study areas I classified 223 as Category 1, 244 as Category 2, 250 as Category 3, 218 as Category 4, and 123 as Category 5 (see Tables 4.2 and 4.3). In addition to the clientele categorization, their names were coded for three different levels of naming convention: Naming Motif, Establishment Type, and Cuisine Descriptor. Take *La Cazuela Mexican Restaurant*, for example. I took the name of this restaurant to be “La Cazuela,” and coded it as “General Spanish.” Its type would be “Restaurant,” and its descriptor would be “Mexican” (see footnotes 23-25 for the full lists of the codes within these three levels).

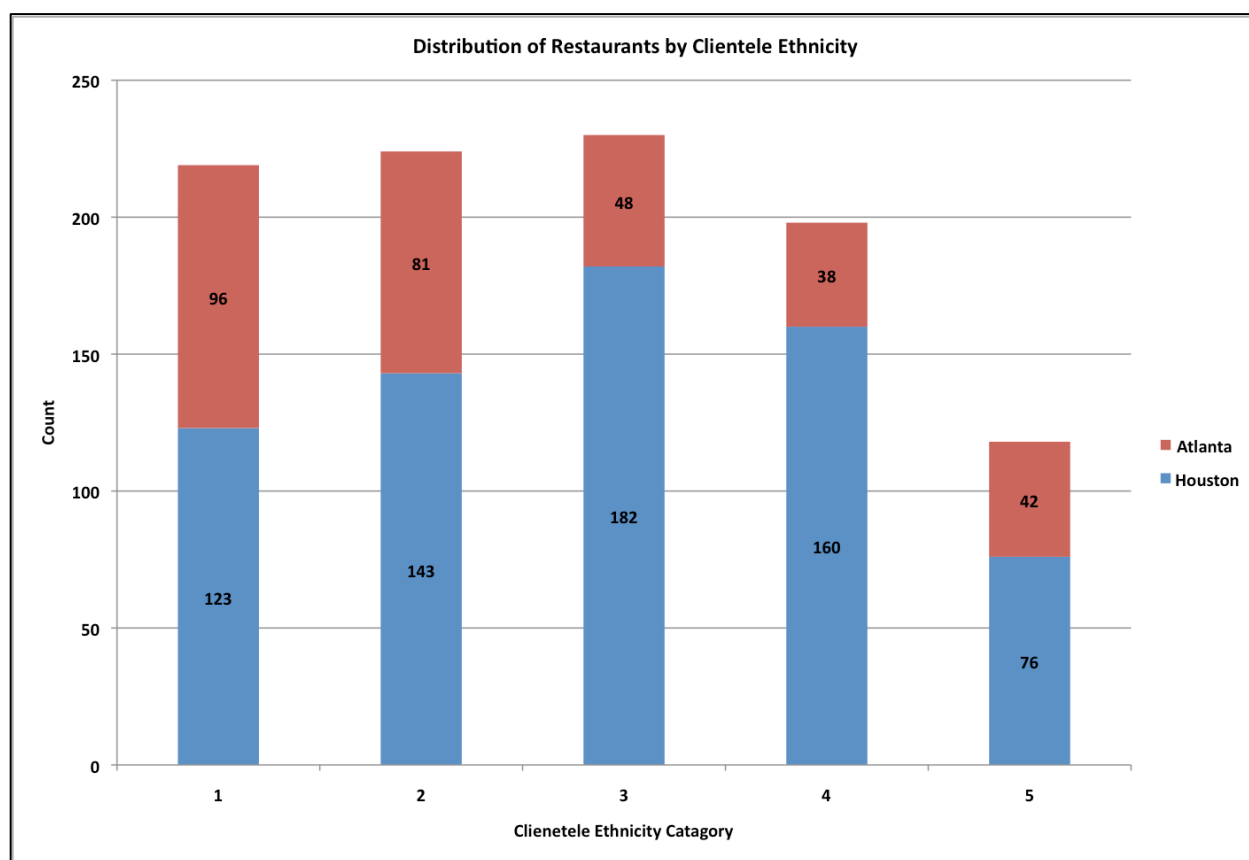


Figure 5.1: Distribution of Restaurants by Clientele Ethnicity

Given this coding scheme, it is possible to explore how different naming motifs correspond to different groups of clientele. Tables 5.2 through 5.4 show these results for each of the three levels of naming for the combined survey study areas.

Table 5.2: Proportion of Naming Motifs by Clientele Ethnicity²³

Clientele Ethnicity	NAME 1	NAME 2	NAME 3	NAME 4	NAME 5	NAME 6	NAME 7
1	0.17	0.46	0.16	0.18	0.40	0.41	0.35
2	0.24	0.28	0.30	0.17	0.20	0.12	0.24
3	0.27	0.13	0.24	0.20	0.00	0.15	0.35
4	0.21	0.07	0.24	0.28	0.20	0.12	0.00
5	0.11	0.07	0.06	0.17	0.20	0.20	0.06

Table 5.3: Proportion of Establishment Types by Clientele Ethnicity²⁴

Clientele Ethnicity	SIG0	SIG1	SIG2	SIG3	SIG4	SIG5	SIG6	SIG7	SIG8	SIG9	SIG11
1	0.24	0.13	0.49	0.05	0.76	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.73	1.00	0.00
2	0.18	0.40	0.26	0.04	0.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.27	0.00	0.00
3	0.20	0.30	0.17	0.27	0.05	0.19	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.83
4	0.18	0.13	0.04	0.44	0.04	0.69	0.80	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00
5	0.22	0.05	0.04	0.20	0.00	0.13	0.20	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.17
	SIG12	SIG13	SIG14	SIG15	SIG16	SIG17	SIG18	SIG19	SIG20	SIG21	SIG22
1	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00
2	0.65	0.33	0.00	0.20	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
3	0.19	0.22	0.67	0.30	0.00	0.75	0.80	1.00	0.00	0.00	0.20
4	0.10	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00
5	0.03	0.33	0.33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.80

Table 5.4: Proportion of Cuisine Descriptors by Ethnicity²⁵

Clientele Ethnicity	DESC 0	DESC 1	DESC 2	DESC 3	DESC 4	DESC 5	DESC 6	DESC 7	DESC 8	DESC 9
1	0.25	0.20	0.17	1.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
2	0.12	0.40	0.50	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00
3	0.23	0.26	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.60	0.33	0.00	0.43	0.00
4	0.23	0.11	0.17	0.00	0.45	0.40	0.50	0.50	0.14	1.00
5	0.17	0.04	0.17	0.00	0.22	0.00	0.08	0.50	0.43	0.00

²³ The Name (NAME) codes are as follows: 0: No Name, 1: General Spanish, 2: General English, 3: Person's Name, 4: Place Name in Spanish, 5: Place Name in English, 6: Food Name, 7: Spanish/English Mixed Name

²⁴ The Type (SIG) codes are: 0: Not Noted, 1: Restaurant, 2: Grill, 3: Taquería, 4: Cantina, 5: Ostioneria, 6: Pulpuseria, 7: Casa, 8: Grill and Bar, 9: Bistro, 11: Fonda, 12: Café, 13: Restaurant y [X], 14: House, 15: Kitchen, 16: Place, 17: Factory, 18: Buffet, 19: Deli, 20: Pub, 21: Shop, and 22: Tortilleria

²⁵ The Descriptor (DESC) Codes are: 0: Un-described, 1: Mexican, 2: Tex-Mex, 3: [X]-Mex, 4: Geographic, 5: Seafood, 6: Latino/a, 7: Other Latin Nationality, 8: Pollo Asado/Carne Asada, and 9: Antojitos.

5.1.2: *Analysis:*

The interview data shows that multiple social memory stories exist relating to the origins of Mexican restaurants in the Atlanta area, while the City Directory data shows that the first restaurants to explicitly call themselves Mexican opened around 1960. However, other earlier restaurants existed whose names indicated that they might have been Mexican establishments. I propose that, if symbolic meanings for certain ethnic groups can be found in the restaurant survey nomenclature data, and if these “marker-terms” logically relate to the divergent stories given by the restaurateurs, then we should be able to say that the inter-informant variation is culturally significant. I am therefore assuming that, to at least some extent, if certain naming schemes have a given symbolic meaning in the ethnographic context, they will hold similar meanings in the past. There is of course a chance that the sociocultural climate of the city of Atlanta has changed so drastically over the last 50 years that any type of nomenclature analysis we use on the current-day data will not match the archival data, but unfortunately there is no definitive way to confirm this one way or the other. To begin, we will consider the restaurant survey data.

Each nomenclature dimension was considered separately with the clientele ethnicity variable, and contingency tables were established. Chi-Squared Tests of Independence were run on both the intra-city and combined data.

Table 5.5: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Naming Motifs	69.72193189	24	2.40896E-06	REJECT NULL
Signifiers	160.3155073	44	3.9074E-15	REJECT NULL
Descriptors	122.4908599	32	8.71848E-14	REJECT NULL

HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Naming Motifs	111.6930485	24	2.85091E-13	REJECT NULL
Signifiers	529.5983606	80	1.78734E-67	REJECT NULL
Descriptors	181.9644769	36	2.12146E-21	REJECT NULL
COMBINED DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Naming Motifs	101.8126613	24	1.472E-11	REJECT NULL
Signifiers	633.9527978	84	2.60914E-85	REJECT NULL
Descriptors	259.4116159	36	1.25652E-35	REJECT NULL

All the tests returned $\chi^2(P) < 0.05$, indicating that in both the intra-city and combined data sets, the clientele ethnicity and nomenclature variables were not independent. Simply put, this means that on some level, we would expect the nomenclature data to be predictive of clientele ethnicity. The question now arises: which of these codes are actually symbolic and predictive? To determine this we will turn to frequency distributions and the proportions found in Tables 5.2 through 5.4 above. Consider the Naming Motifs; Figure 5.2 shows the proportions of each clientele ethnicity within each individual naming motif across both cities.

We can see a few general trends in this data set that may shed light on the symbolic meanings of names. Considering the Clientele Ethnicity variable to be ordinal, we would have an approximately normal distribution for the "General Spanish" motif, suggesting that the use of Spanish in an establishment's name has little to no symbolic power for ethnicity. Nonetheless, considering that nearly 51% (0.508) of all restaurants in the survey areas have Spanish names, a more general symbolic power of using Spanish in a restaurant's

name exists by suggesting that the restaurant serves Mexican or Latino cuisine. While General Spanish may show a normal distribution, General English clearly skews right, towards the non-Hispanic clientele ethnicities.

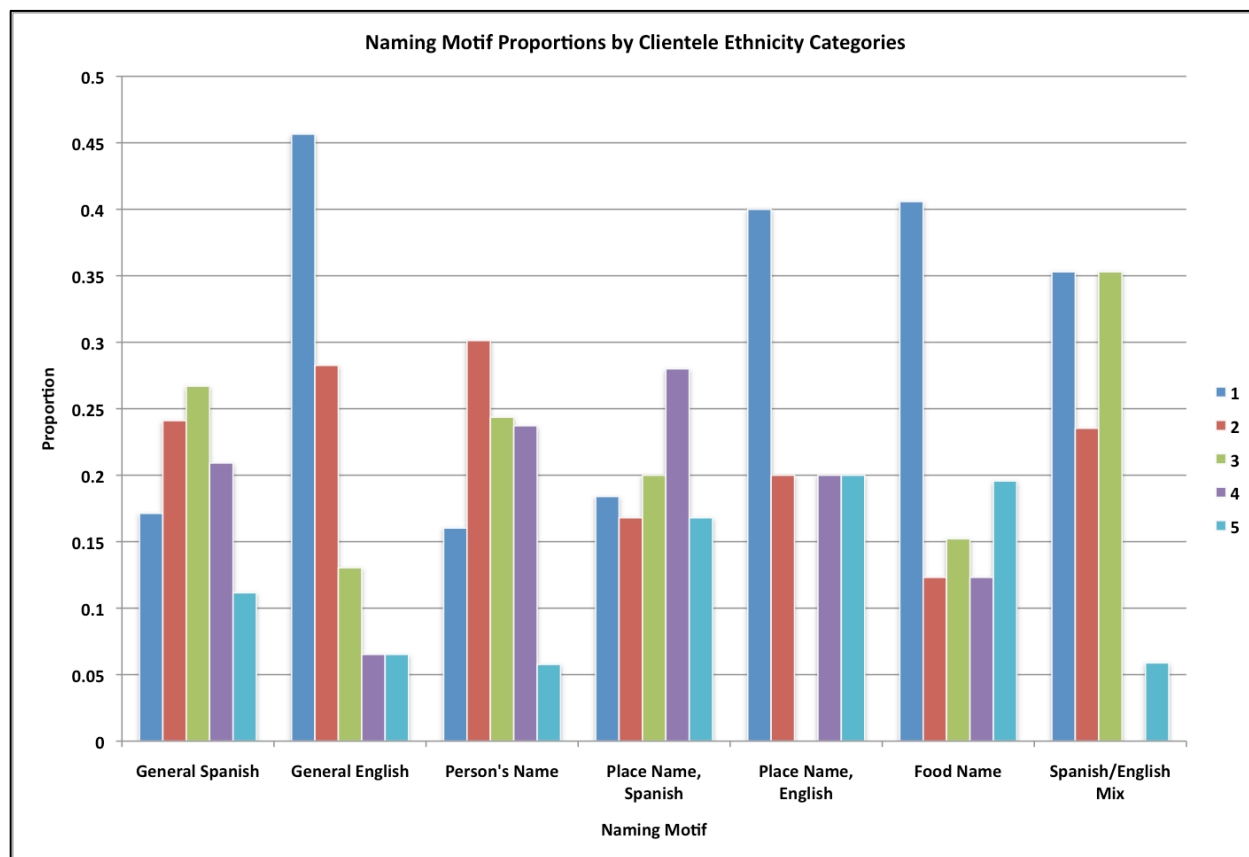


Figure 5.2: Naming Motif Proportions by Clientele Ethnicity Categories

Combining the non-Hispanic categories (1 and 2) together, we can create a binary distribution (with categories 1 and 2 together, and categories 3,4 and 5 together) to test the significance of these motifs. Testing

$$H_0 = 0.5$$

$$H_a > 0.5$$

and using the combining the proportions of Categories 1 and 2 to calculate \hat{p} , the following results are obtained:

Table 5.6: Summary of Z-Test Results for Naming Motifs

H ₀ =0.5	General Spanish	General English	Person's Name	Place Name, Spanish	Place Name, English	Food Name	Spanish/English Mix
1 & 2	207	34	72	44	3	73	10
3, 4 & 5	295	12	84	81	2	65	7
Total	502	46	156	125	5	138	17
Z Score	-3.925	3.2434	-0.962	-3.309	0.4472	0.6813	0.7273
P(Z)	>.9999 (~)	0.006**	0.832	>.9999**	0.327	0.248	0.234

Only the use of English in the establishment's name is likely to predict whether or not that establishment's clientele will be mostly non-Hispanic. However, looking at the Spanish Place Name category, and using the combined 3,4, and 5 categories' proportion as \hat{p} , we find that they significantly predict whether or not an establishment will have a largely Hispanic clientele. While using this statistical standard would also make the General Spanish category a Hispanic clientele predictor, looking at the distribution (see Chart 2) we see that it is approximately normal and that the statistical evidence is due mostly to the high proportion of mixed clientele (level 3) establishments. It, and any other naming element that follows this same trend, will be discounted as a symbolic marker (and noted with a ~ in Tables 5.6-5.8).

Moving on to the Establishment Type classification scheme, we find even more significant naming elements. Of the 22 codes in this set, only 12 had the power for statistical analysis (np or $nq > 5$). Again using the Categories 1 and 2 proportions as \hat{p} and the same alternative and null hypotheses as above, the following results are obtained:

Table 5.7: Summary of Z-Test Results for Establishment Types

H ₀ =0.5	Un-Signified	Restaurant	Grill	Taquería	Cantina	Ostioneria
1 & 2	82	161	35	19	96	0
3, 4 and 5	118	144	12	194	9	16
Total	200	305	47	213	105	16
Z Score	-2.5456	0.9745	3.3552	-11.7369	8.4906	-4
P(Z)	0.995 (~)	0.165	.0004**	>.9999**	<.0001**	>.9999**

H ₀ =0.5	Pulpereria	Grill and Bar	Fonda	Café	Kitchen	Tortilleria
1 & 2	0	15	0	21	7	0
3, 4 and 5	5	0	6	10	3	5
Total	5	15	6	31	10	5
Z Score	-2.2361	3.873	-2.4495	1.9754	1.2649	-2.2361
P(Z)	0.987*	<.0001**	0.993**	0.024* (~)	0.103	0.987*

Calling an establishment a Grill, Cantina, Grill and Bar or Café indicates that its clientele is mostly non-Hispanic, and those restaurants that go un-signified or call themselves *taquerías*, *ostionerías* (seafood/oyster bars), *pupuserías* (restaurants that specialize in pupusas), *fondas*, or *tortillerías* significantly predict whether or not an establishment will have a large number Hispanic clientele.

The term *taquería* in and of itself presents an interesting case study. While the statistics above represent the combined Houston and Atlanta data, we cannot make the same claim of significance looking at the Atlanta data alone. Again using levels 3, 4, and 5 to create the test statistics, in Houston we find a $Z=12.6349$, while in Atlanta the $Z=0.7229$ (with $P_{\text{HOU}} < 0.0001^{**}$ and $P_{\text{ATL}} = 0.2350$). Graphically looking at this distribution, the disparity in Atlanta is obvious:

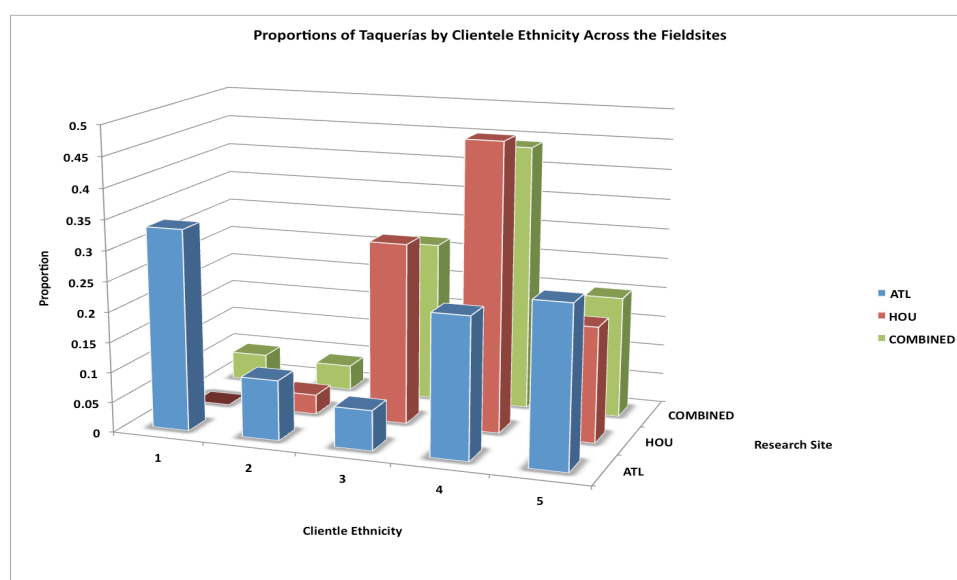


Figure 5.3: Proportions of Taquerías by Clientele Ethnicity Across Fieldsites

We can see that the Houston distribution approximates the left-skewed distribution evident in the combined data set. However, the greatest single proportion of establishments calling themselves taquerías in Atlanta have a clientele ethnicity classification of 1—Entirely non-Hispanic. Explaining the disparity, two chains of high-end restaurants, *Taquería del Sol* and *Pure Taquería*, use the “taquería” signifier and cater almost exclusively to non-Hispanic clientele²⁶. Would it be appropriate therefore to use the combined (and Houston) data sets’ trends—that taquerías mostly serve Hispanic customers—to explain Atlanta’s past? Being that both of these chains started in the last few years, using the combined sets’ trend is proper. These chains’ nomenclatures might impact the symbolic meaning of the term “taquería” in the future but obviously do not impact the term’s past.

Let us lastly consider the Descriptors data. Of the ten codes within this classification scheme, seven displayed np (or nq) > 5 and were considered for further analysis.

Table 5.8: Summary of Z-Test Results for Cuisine Descriptors

H ₀ =0.5	Un-Described	Mexican	X-Mex	Geographic
1 & 2	174	237	13	14
3, 4, & 5	292	163	0	63
Total	466	400	13	77
Z Score	-5.4701	3.7	3.6056	-5.5844
P(Z)	>.9999 (~)	<.0001**	<.0001**	>.9999**
H ₀ =0.5	Seafood	Latino/a	Pollo Asado / Carne Asada	
1 & 2	0	1	0	
3, 4, & 5	5	11	7	
Total	5	12	7	
Z Score	-2.2361	-2.8891	-2.6458	
P(Z)	0.987*	0.998**	0.996*	

²⁶ Author Interview with Brian Kibler, June 6, 2009

We can see that to a significant level, if a restaurant describes itself as Mexican, or Something-Mex (such as Cal-Mex or Mix-Mex), it is more likely than not to have a non-Hispanic clientele. On the other hand if a restaurant describes its cuisine by geography, or by calling it seafood, Latino or Pollo Asado/Carne Asada then it is more likely than not to have a large number of Hispanic clientele.

In summary, the following nomenclature terms were found to be significant symbolic predictors:

Table 5.9: Significant Symbolic Naming Elements

Naming Element	Classification Scheme	Clientele Ethnicity
General English	Naming Motif	Non-Hispanic
Place Name, Spanish	Naming Motif	Hispanic
Un-Signified	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Grill	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Taquería	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Cantina	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Ostioneria	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Pulperia	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Grill and Bar	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Fonda	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Café	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Tortilleria	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Un-Described	Descriptor	Hispanic
Mexican	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic
X-Mex	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic
Geographic	Descriptor	Hispanic
Seafood	Descriptor	Hispanic
Latino/a	Descriptor	Hispanic
Pollo Asado/Carne Asada	Descriptor	Hispanic

Returning to the City Directory data, restaurants were found that may have represented the first Mexican restaurant in Atlanta: El Rancho (1950), Cactus Grill (1955), Casa Blanca Grill (1955), El Mexicano (1960), El Chicho Mexican Grill (1960), and El Toro Taquería (1975). Applying the same three classification schemes to these historical establishments as were applied to the contemporary ones, and using the significant elements that the statistical analysis found, we would expect Cactus Grill, Casa Blanco Grill, El Mexicano, and El Chico Mexican Grill to have had largely non-Hispanic clientele, whereas

we would expect El Toro Taquería to have had a largely Hispanic clientele. El Rancho, as a General Spanish-named, un-signified, and un-described establishment, could potentially fall into either camp. However, given that there were two locations in 1950, both on established commercial roads (Peachtree Street and Ponce de Leon Avenue), and that the estimated Hispanic population was less than 1% (Atlanta City Directory Company 1950)—it is a safe bet that these catered mostly to non-Hispanic customers.

Considering these extrapolated findings with the interview data will explain some of the inter-informant variation noted above. None of the sixteen restaurateurs lived in Atlanta in 1950 when El Rancho opened, but five mentioned it as Atlanta's first Mexican establishment. Furthermore, all but five of the sixteen expressed their knowledge of the city's first Mexican restaurant as just that—knowledge, not as a belief, not as a hunch. And it is this particular quality of these memories—one that is difficult to put into a table or statistical package—that shows that these stories are more than just the result of a decades-long game of telephone.

It would follow, on the other hand, that these divergent stories are mnemonic, symbolic manifestations of community. Consider the five restaurateurs who named El Rancho as first: There is no clear ethnic or generational marker that sets them apart from the other ten restaurateurs. All are Mexican-American, but so are seven of the others; all are first-generation immigrants, but so are five others. However, all of the restaurateurs who named El Rancho or some other restaurant that, according to the nomenclature analysis, would serve mostly non-Hispanic customers, work at or own a restaurant that serves the same clientele. Conversely, the three informants who named or mentioned the

Buford Highway taquería all work at or own restaurants that serve either a majority or large proportion of Hispanic customers.

It is likely therefore that the inter-informant variation seen in the restaurateurs' varied responses to the question of the first Mexican restaurant in Atlanta is due to imagined communities of business. To a very large extent, the restaurateurs who cater mostly to Anglo and African American customers are less concerned with authenticity than with providing quality meals that will appeal to their customers. When I asked Carlos Rodriguez how he came to serve the large, hard-shelled ground beef taco his menu calls a "Crazy Taco," he told me:

Carlos: So what we did back then, we put up a menu and hired a guy for the kitchen. And that guy we hired, he had worked in restaurants here before, and he said, "guys don't be foolish. You really have to sell what people like to eat. Let's go for the Crazy Taco, let's go for the combination dinners, let's go for this and this and this. The restaurant down the road is pretty busy just selling those. I don't care what you have in mind; you have to sell what the customer wants. I know how to prepare all these things, and I suggest you guys go this way." So we talked to the guys down the road, and we went and ate there. And we said, "but that's not Mexican." And he said, "Yeah, it's not, but everybody's making money out of this...so you better listen to me." So we went around town, talked to other owners and figured out what they were serving, and that's how we came up with the opening menu²⁷.

So, even though the restaurants themselves compete, communities of restaurateurs have developed—through which culinary and business ideas are scouted, shared or stolen. All the restaurateurs I spoke to, both in Atlanta and Houston, considered this cross-restaurant communication an essential duty. The interesting part of this social network creation is who is excluded. Carlos Rodriguez, for example, communicates mostly with other restaurateurs in his area—the middle-to-upper-middle class suburbs of Atlanta, but

²⁷Interview with the Author, June 10, 2009

rarely goes to the Hispanic-clientele focused taquerías closer into the city (and if he does, he reports that it's just for a quick taco at lunch, not for business). These *exclusionary geographic circles* produce strong social networks with weak inter-network ties (in a much smaller scale, but through a similar process as Anderson 1991 mentions as one of the keys to producing the imagined communities of nationality). These social networks carry and propagate such cultural knowledge/capital as these nomenclature memes. We can explore this further by investigating how these Mexican restaurants are spread throughout the urban space of both Atlanta and Houston.

5.2: Urban Geography of Mexican Restaurants

If, as suggested by the data above, there are geographical limitations to the spread of restaurant-specific cultural knowledge, then it is vital to look closely at the socio-geographic placement of the Mexican restaurants in this study. In this section we will first explore the physical placement of the restaurants in the two fieldsites, and then synthesize this data with the measures of segregation explained in Chapter 3.

5.2.1: *The Spatial Distribution of Restaurants across the Fieldsites*

So first, let's look at the fieldsites and their restaurant distributions. Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show the geographic areas of the study—Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton and Gwinnett Counties, Georgia and Harris County, Texas. Note that the scales are quite similar for both images, showing that although the Houston study area contains only one county, it covers

the same approximate area as the five Georgia counties (1778 mi² for the Houston area, and 1732 mi² for the Atlanta site).

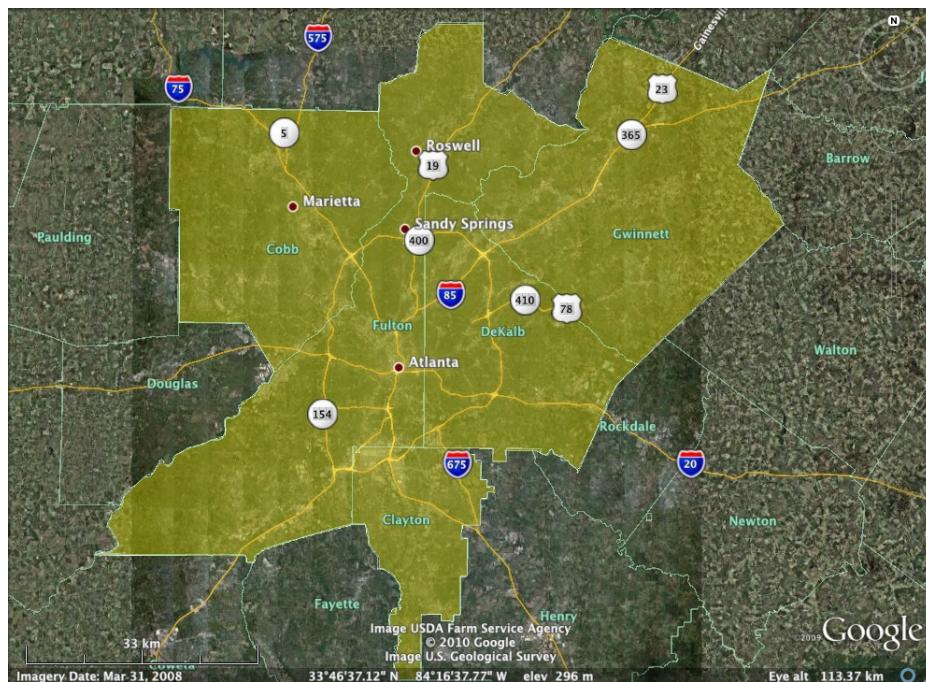


Figure 5.4: Atlanta Study Area

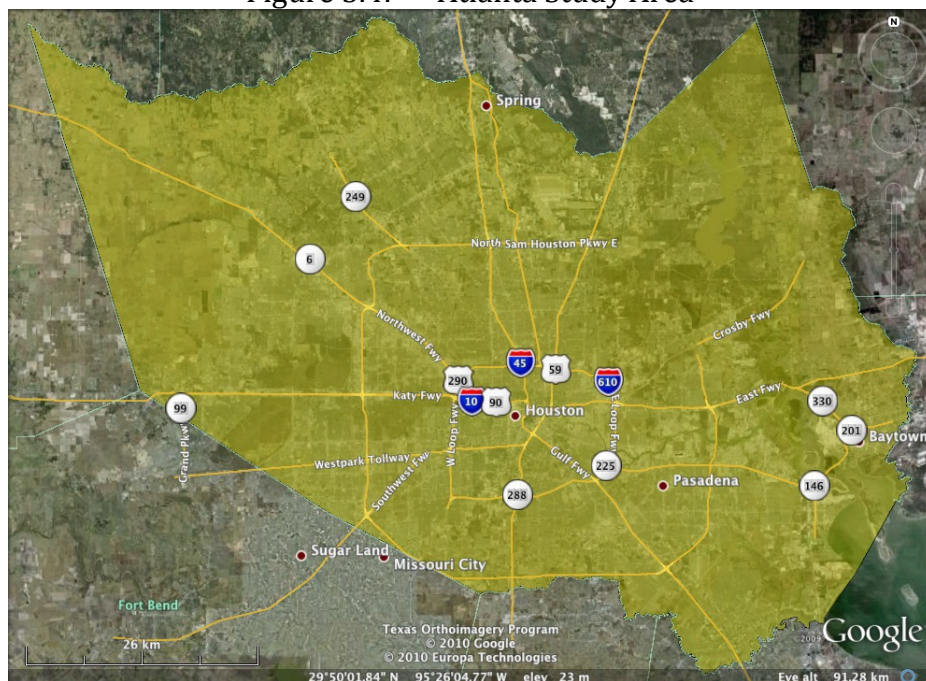


Figure 5.5: Houston Study Area

Let's now add the restaurants to these images:

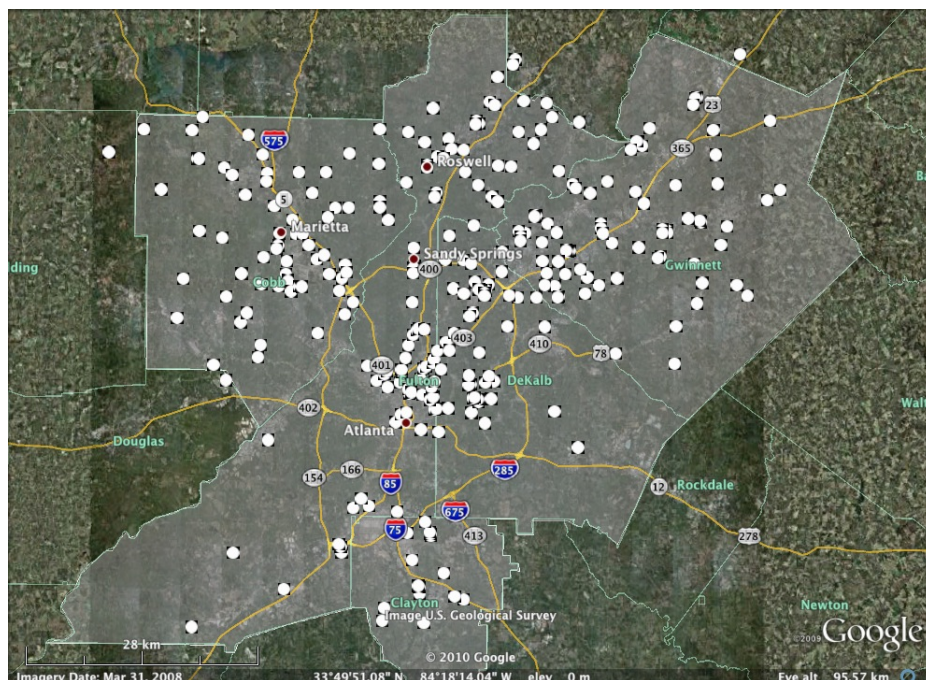


Figure 5.6: Atlanta Study Area Mexican Restaurants

Please note that in both Figures 5.6 and 5.7 there are a few restaurants that fall outside the shaded boundaries of the study areas. Three municipalities—Buford, Georgia, Acworth, Georgia, and Spring, Texas—have mailing addresses split between counties that are in the study area (Gwinnett, Cobb, and Harris, respectively) and ones that are not. When originally sampling restaurants, I decided that to maintain continuity I would include these half-dozen or so restaurants in the survey. None of these were included in the next level of sampling. There are also a few restaurants (particularly in Alpharetta and Johns Creek, Georgia) that appear to fall outside the boundaries, but in fact do not. These represent an error in the mapping software, and they were included for possible random sampling in the next stage of the exploratory phase.

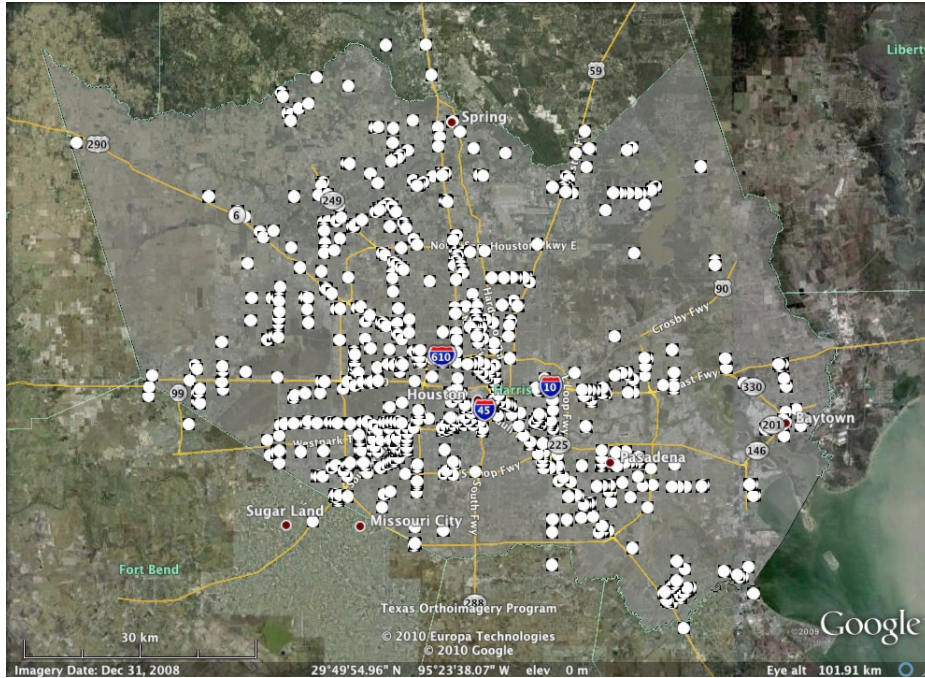


Figure 5.7: Houston Study Area Mexican Restaurants

Again, I visited each restaurant marked in the above two figures and categorized their clientele on a 1-5 scale, with 1 being an entirely non-Hispanic clientele and 5 being an entirely Hispanic clientele. Figures 5.8 and 5.9 show the above restaurants color-coded by their clientele category. In the following figures, a dark blue dot represents a Category 1 restaurant, while a light blue dot represents Category 2, a green dot represents Category 3, a red dot represents a Category 4, and a yellow dot represents a Category 5 restaurant.

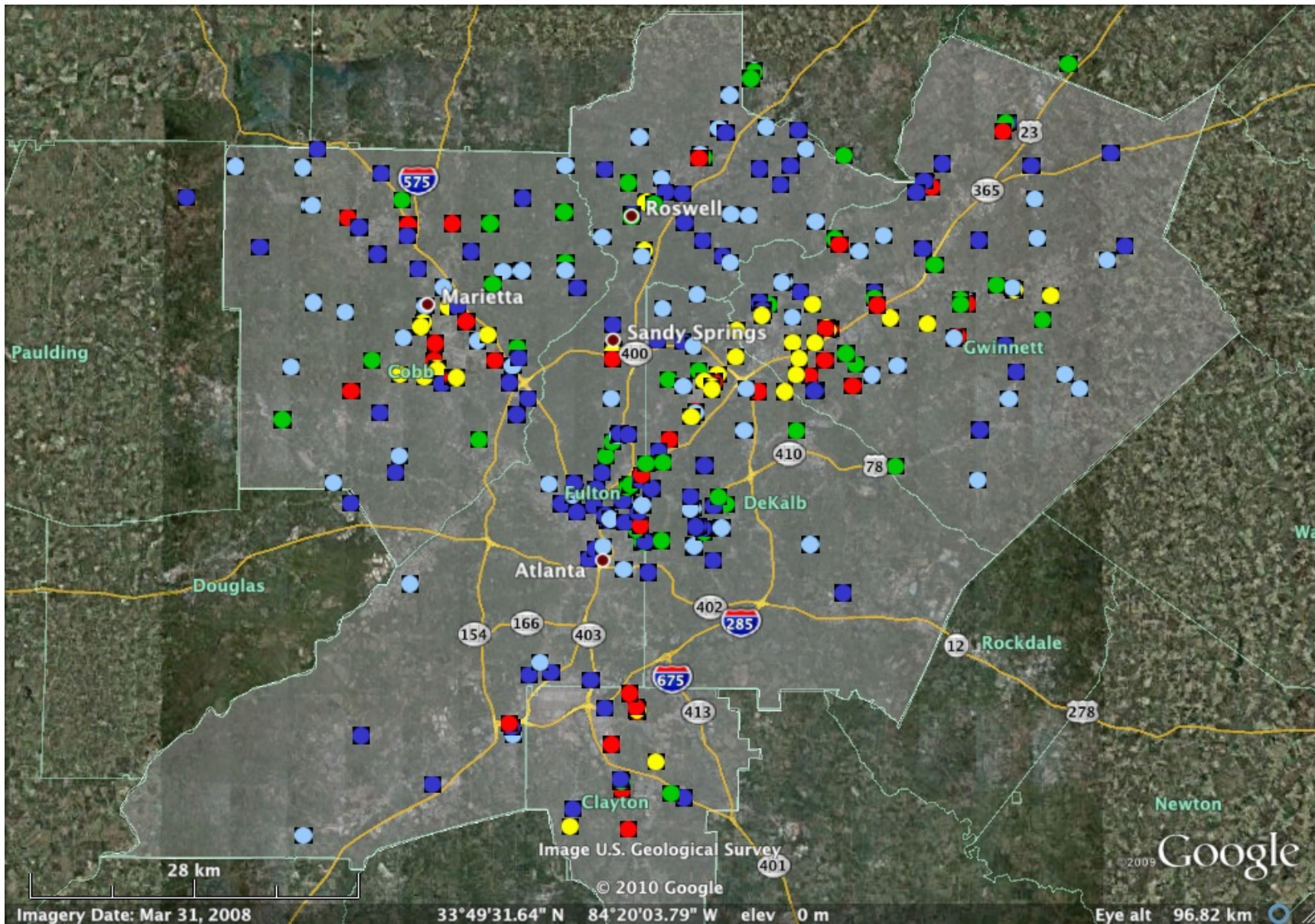


Figure 5.8: Atlanta Study Area Mexican Restaurants by Clientele Ethnicity Category

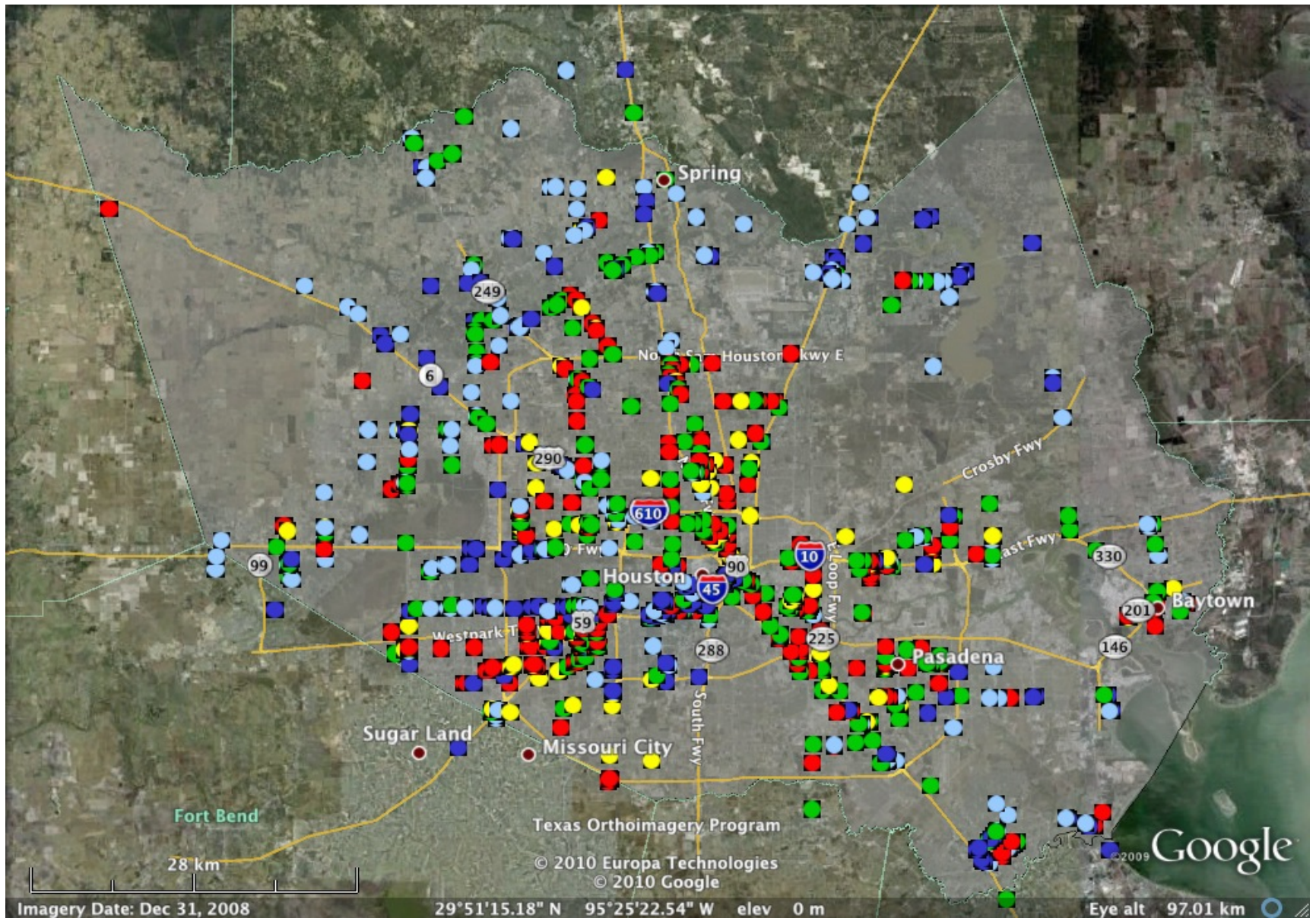


Figure 5.9: Houston Study Area Mexican Restaurants by Clientele Ethnicity Category

5.2.2: Atlanta

Consider first the Atlanta map, Figure 5.8. A few strong clusters of yellow and red dots—representing restaurants that have a majority of Hispanic clientele (see Figure 5.9)—stand out. These clusters correspond to some well-known areas or ribbons of Hispanic and immigrant residence, including Buford Highway, South Cobb, and Jonesboro.

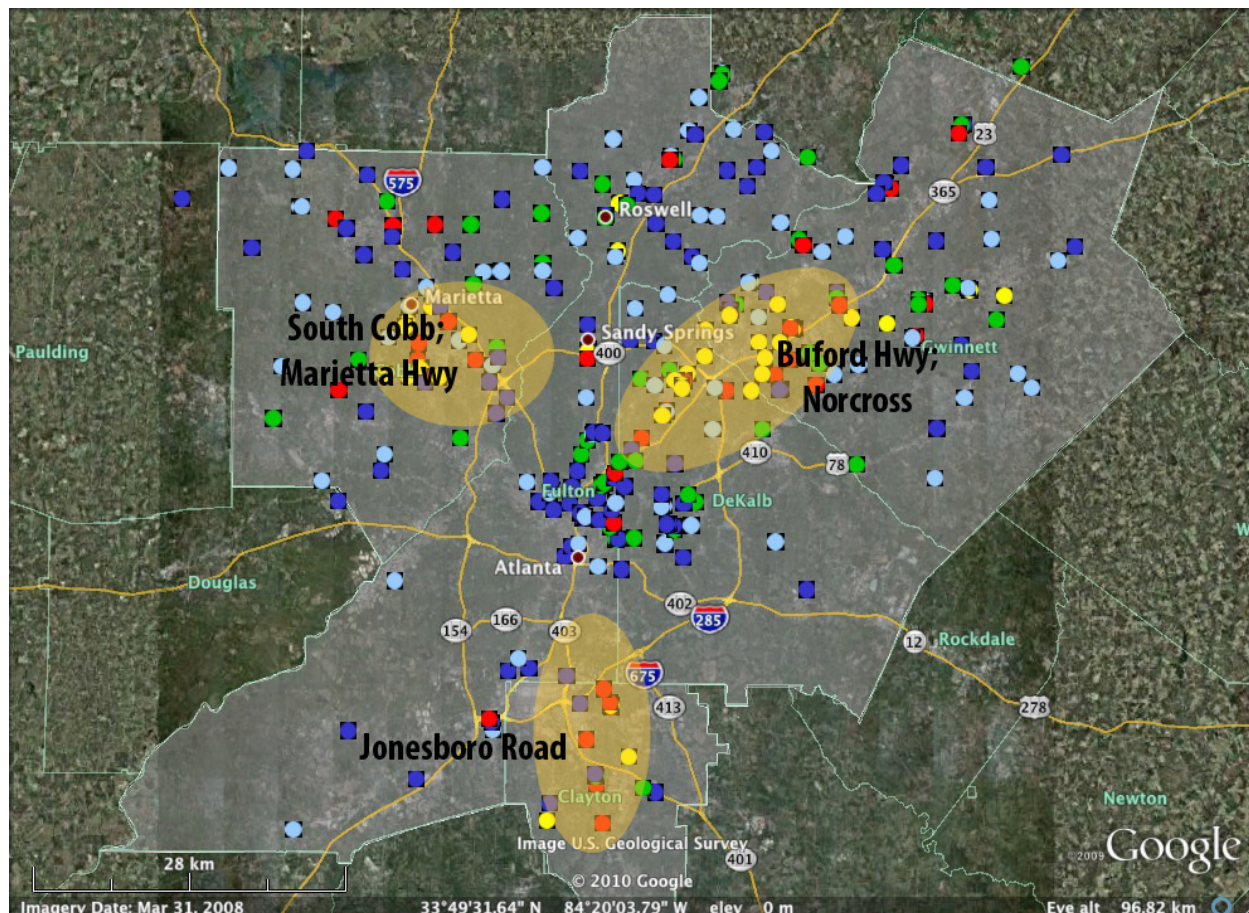


Figure 5.10: Key Clusters of Category 4 and 5 Restaurants, Atlanta

While previous research from Mora and Devilá (2005), Wen et al (2009), and Yarbrough (2010) all indicate that immigrant businesses, particularly those that serve members of their own minority group, tend to be isolated in areas of the urban landscape where members of that group reside, they do this almost exclusively through application of Census and other survey demographic data (though Yarbrough does include interview data

to back up his demographic calculations). And while the ethnographic data above largely conforms to their predictions, it undoubtedly provides a greater degree of nuance.

Let's explore a few areas that are exemplars of this ethnographic advantage. In Figure 5.10, a strip of high Hispanic-clientele-restaurants is found in Smyrna and south Marietta in Cobb County (labeled on the map as South Cobb/Marietta Highway). Yarbrough (2010: 252, Figure 1) uses the Location Quotient as the measure of residential segregation to show the various areas of high Central American residence in Atlanta, showing that this cluster was one of them. My observations of the restaurants and the area confirm this finding, but also show more of a gradient affect than the demographic analysis of census tracts or blocks can possibly do. Figure 5.11 is a close up of this area with its census tracts shaded by percentage of residents who claim Hispanic origin (Ralston and Streufert 2010; United States Census Bureau 2000). The strip between Marietta and Smyrna that includes the majority of Category 4 and 5 restaurants in this area clearly has a higher proportion of Hispanic residents than surrounding areas. In the 19 census tracts that represent this area of higher Hispanic residence, the percentage of Hispanic origin ranges from 7.18% to 36.12% in 2000 (the average across all five Georgia study counties was 7.87% in 2000, which has increased to 11.31% according to 2008 estimates) (United States Census Bureau 2000; United States Census Bureau 2008). However, there are Mexican restaurants that serve mostly or entirely Anglo clientele in this area, even in those census tracts having over 20% Hispanic populations. Of the 28 Mexican restaurants in these 19 tracts in South Cobb, there are 10 from Categories 1 and 2 (and 2 from the mixed-clientele Category 3).

So, on one hand these data show that there is indeed a strong correlation between Hispanic (and presumably ethnic) residence and Mexican restaurants, but on the other hand we see that this area hardly represents an isolated, impenetrable ethnic residential and business conclave. Instead we can see it displays almost a mini-concentric model, à la Burgess. The most Hispanic tract, the one that contains the town of Fair Oaks, has only Category 4 or 5 restaurants, and as one radiates outward from this center of Hispanic population, the number of non-Hispanic clientele increases.

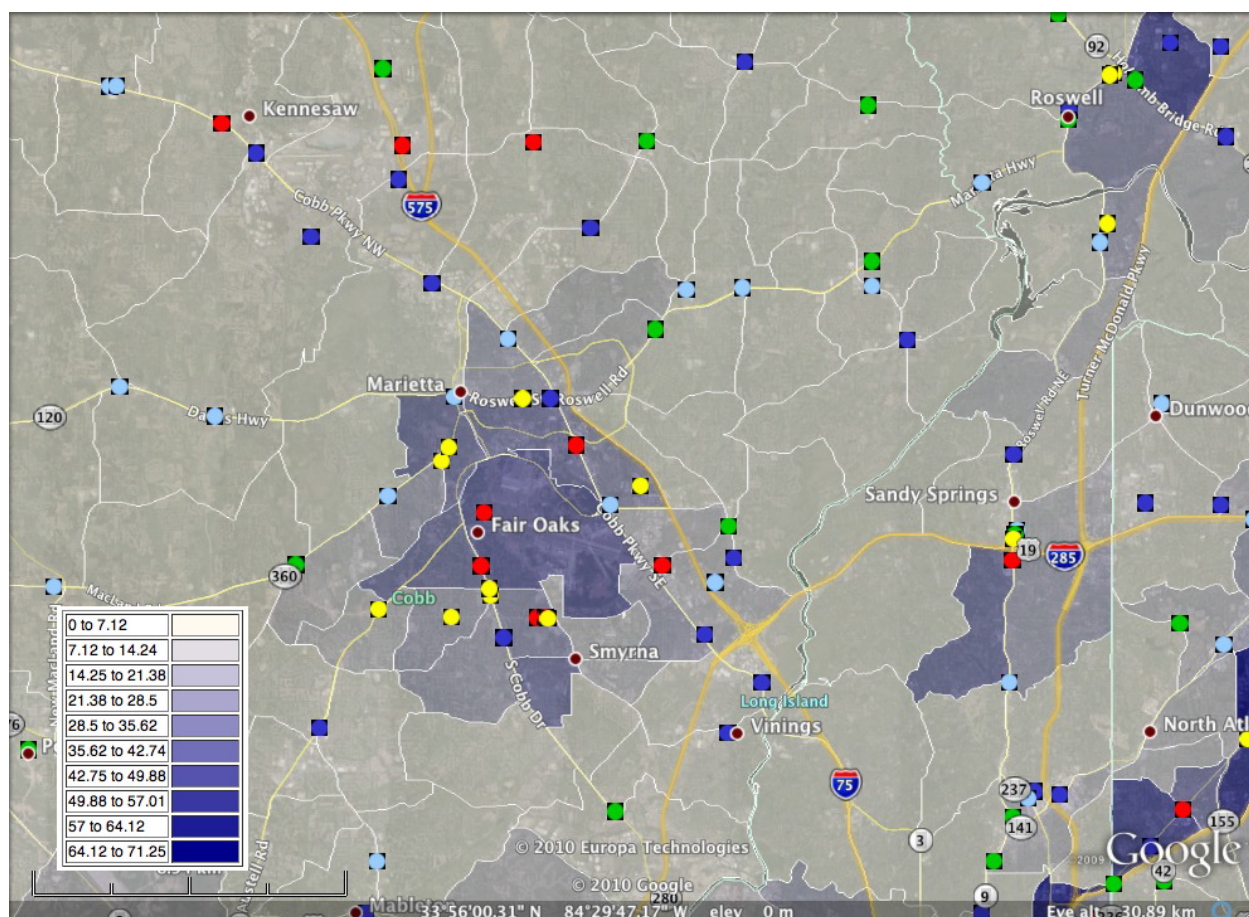


Figure 5.11: Restaurants by Category and % Hispanic Population in South Cobb County

Such an easy correlation between ethnic areas and ethnic restaurants does not always exist, unfortunately. In the northeast corner of Figure 5.11 the tracts surrounding Roswell (Fulton County) are visible. Another area of high Hispanic population is evident

here (with one tract having a 2000 Hispanic population of 43.36%), but there are no majority Hispanic clientele restaurants within this area. On the other hand, there is a line of Category 4 restaurants in north Marietta and Kennesaw found in tracts with low Hispanic populations.

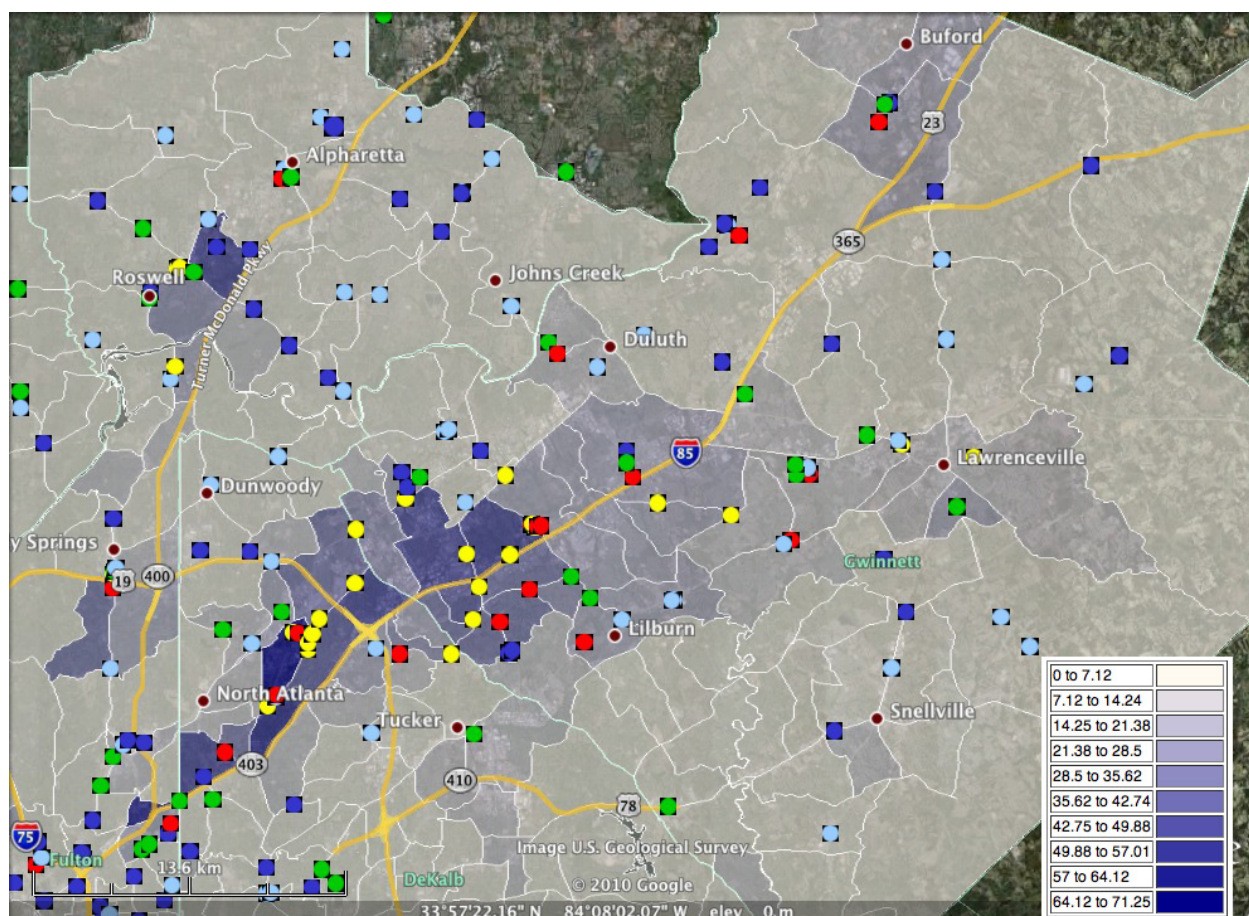


Figure 5.12: Restaurants by Category and % Hispanic Population in the Northeast of Atlanta

The same general trend, of Hispanic centers containing majority Hispanic clientele radiating out to more mixed and non-Hispanic ones, exists in the other areas of Atlanta as well. Figure 5.12 above shows the northeastern quadrant of the Atlanta study area, including the Buford Highway strip. Of all the conglomerations of majority Hispanic clientele Mexican restaurants in the Atlanta study area, the Buford Highway area is the

most pronounced. The radial trend is apparent again, both in the percent Hispanic origins of the census tracts and in the restaurants within them. One feature that separates this cluster from either the one we explored before in Cobb Country or the similar one along Jonesboro Road and Tara Boulevard in Clayton County, is the isolation of these restaurants from either mixed or majority non-Hispanic restaurants. Of the 31 restaurants in the heavily shaded tracts surrounding I-85 between North Atlanta and Norcross, only 4 are from Categories 1 or 2 (with another 3 being in the mixed ethnicity Category 3). So, while in the Cobb cluster above 42.9% of the restaurants had either mixed or majority non-Hispanic clientele, along the Buford Highway area only 20% were not majority Hispanic.

This begs the question of what sets Buford Highway and the Norcross/Doraville areas apart. The most obvious answer is demographic as, with the exception of the tract in Roswell and one at the intersection of Georgia Route 400 and I-85, no other areas have the density of people who claim Hispanic origin. Still, this does not explain the isolation. Figure 5.12 shows that the majority of the census tracts in this area do not have an absolute majority of Hispanic origin residents, so there is at least some Hispanic/non-Hispanic residential interaction in the area: interaction that is seemingly missing from the area's restaurants. One potential explanation for this clientele isolation along Buford Highway in particular is the cultural/cognitive concept of intimidation—something that emerged as a strong theme throughout my interviews with both restaurateurs and customers, and that will be discussed in depth in the following chapters. In short, a variety of factors, from strangeness of the cuisine itself, to unfamiliar settings and ambiance, to an unease or unfamiliarity with people of a different ethnic or linguistic group than an actor, can lead him or her to prefer other cuisines or restaurants (see Roseman 2006). Sukalakamala and

Brittin (2006) dismiss intimidation as a major factor in people’s dining choices but do not differentiate levels of cuisine within a culinary tradition—they instead lump all Mexican food as one ethnicity, Chinese as another, etc. My research does not indicate that diners are intimidated by Mexican cuisine (nor that restaurateurs are aware of this intimidation), but rather by *specific dishes within the cuisine* and the *places* and *people* that serve them those dishes. Buford Highway and Norcross are examples of this type of place. They have, over time, built up their intra-city mythos to a point that many Atlantans use the term “Buford Highway” as a synonym for authentic, strange cuisine (Walcott 2002, see also McDaniel and Drever 2009)

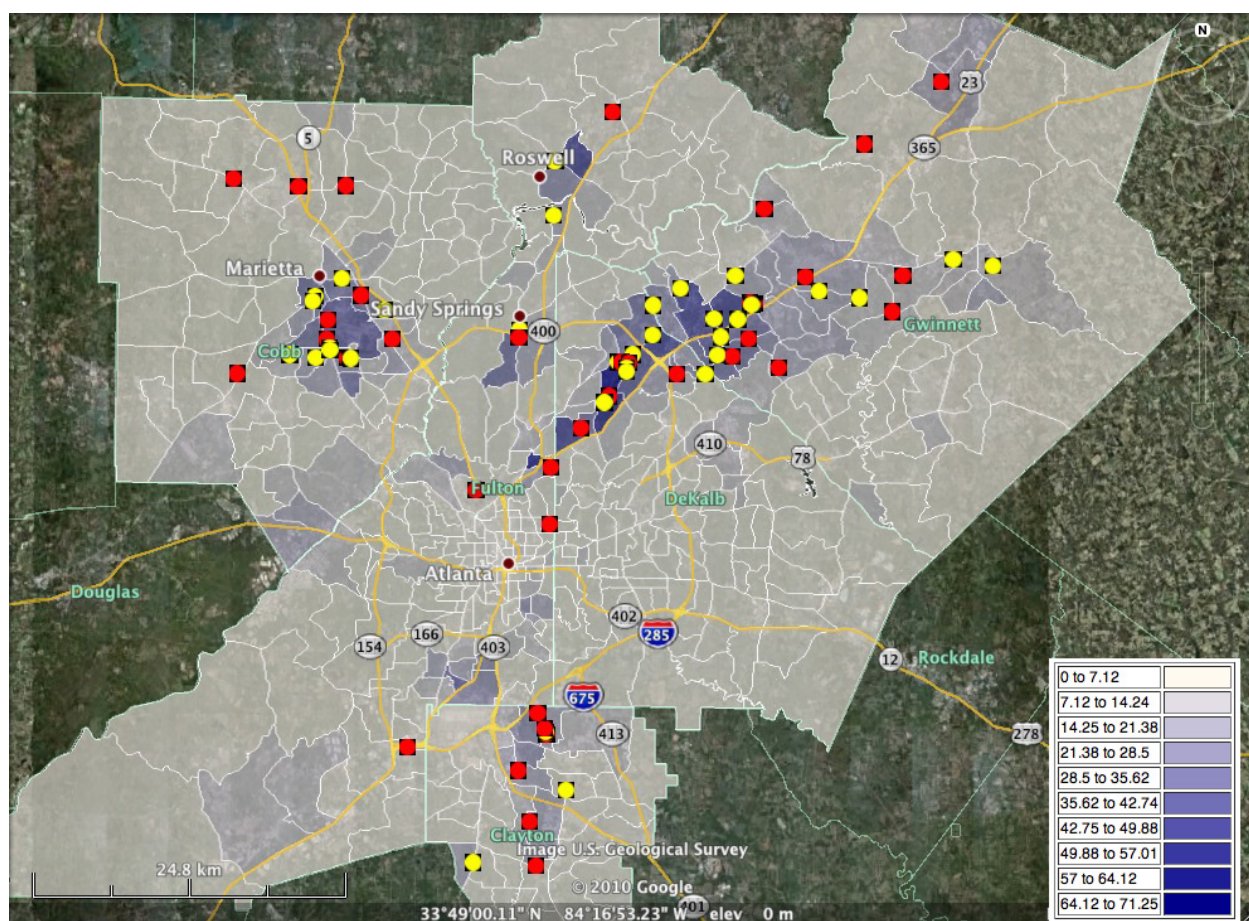


Figure 5.13: Category 4 and 5 Mexican Restaurants in the Atlanta Study Area

Before moving on to the Houston findings, let's explore other factors that can describe these areas of Hispanic clientele restaurants. First, as is shown explicitly in Figure 5.13, there is no ethnic conglomeration in the city center/Central Business District. Atlanta has three urbanized business districts: Downtown, Midtown and Buckhead. None contains any Category 4 or 5 restaurants, and there are only two mixed-clientele restaurants, both of which are in the outer areas of Buckhead. Secondly, of the 80 Mexican restaurants in the Atlanta study area that I described as having a majority Hispanic clientele, only 9 (or 11.2%) are found outside of census tracts that have less than 7.18% Hispanic character.

5.2.3: *Houston*

Turning now to the Houston data, the question stands: do we see the same distribution of restaurants based on clientele ethnicity and percent Hispanic character as we do in Atlanta? Not exactly.

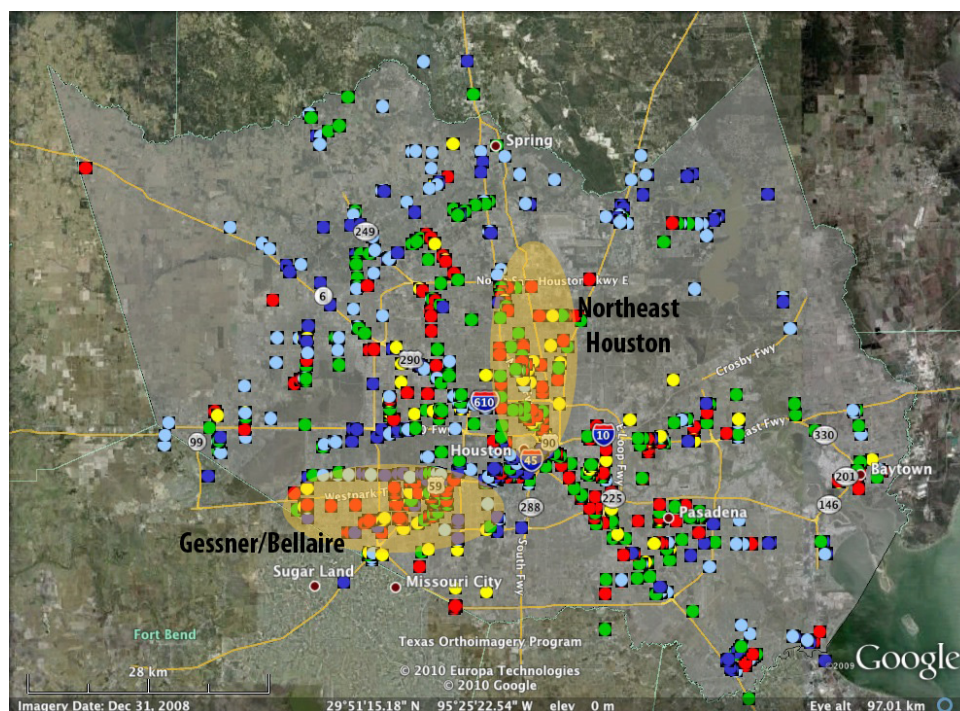


Figure 5.14: Key Clusters of Category 4 and 5 Restaurants, Houston

Looking at the distribution of restaurants represented in Figures 5.8 and 5.9, the first obvious pattern (besides the greater density in Houston) is the more even spread of the categories in Houston compared to Atlanta. In fact, there are only two solid clusters of majority Hispanic restaurants, shaded in Figure 5.14, and even they are a lot less ethnically monolithic than those seen in Atlanta.

One cluster, in the northeast quadrant of the city, follows the north/south line of Veterans Memorial drive. Figure 5.15 shows a close-up of the east of Houston with its percent Hispanic origin shaded in (please note that the scale on the figures for Houston is not the same as that for Atlanta).

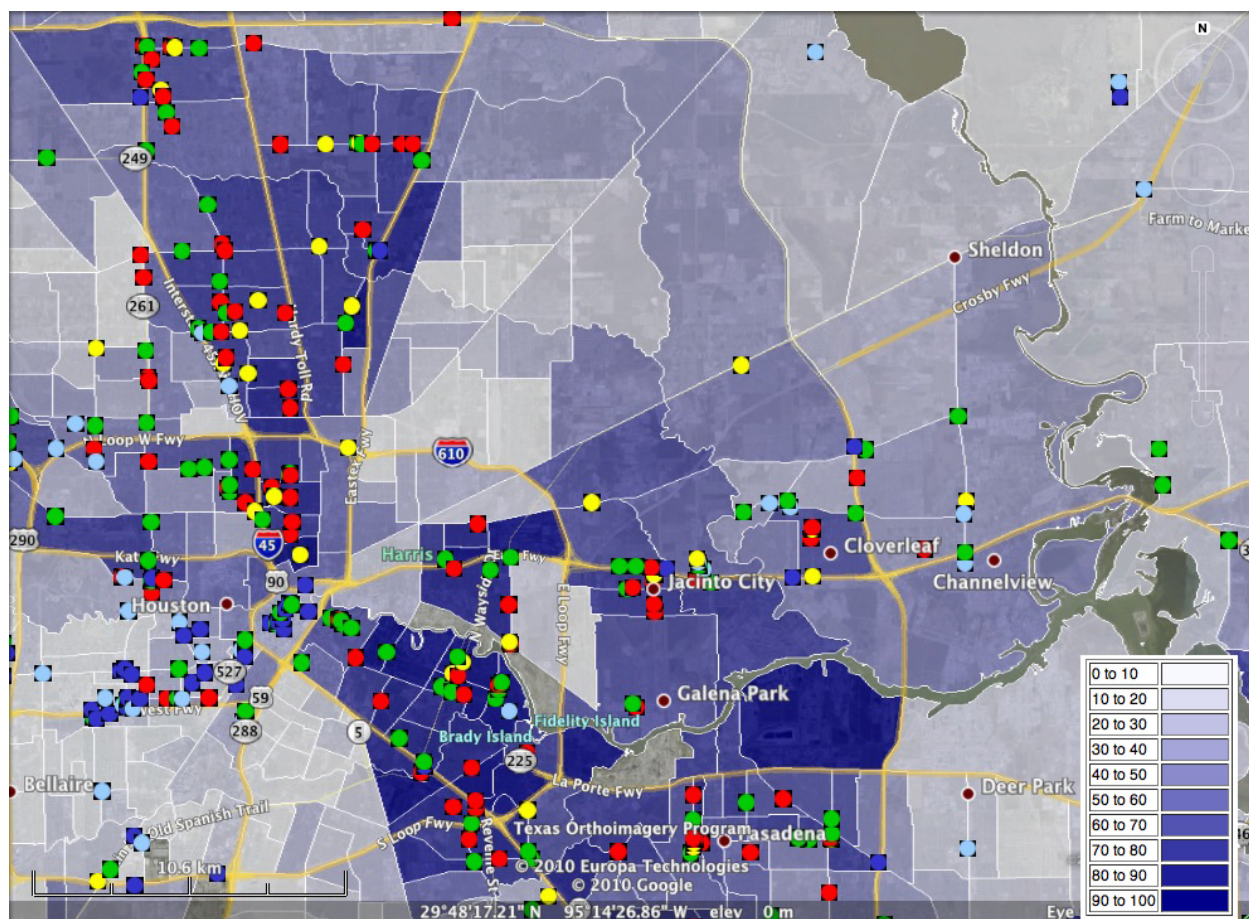


Figure 5.15: Restaurants by Category and % Hispanic Population in the East of Houston

We can see that, unlike what we saw in the Buford Highway case, we don't have clusters of isolated majority Hispanic restaurants, but rather a mixing of Hispanic and non-Hispanic clientele restaurants similar to south Cobb County and the Jonesboro Road/Tara Boulevard cluster. While less pronounced (because of the increased heterogeneity of restaurant types), the radial pattern—from a core of entirely Hispanic clientele restaurants in tracts with relatively high proportions of people of Hispanic origin gradually giving way to more non-Hispanic clientele and less Hispanic tracts—certainly exists in this case.

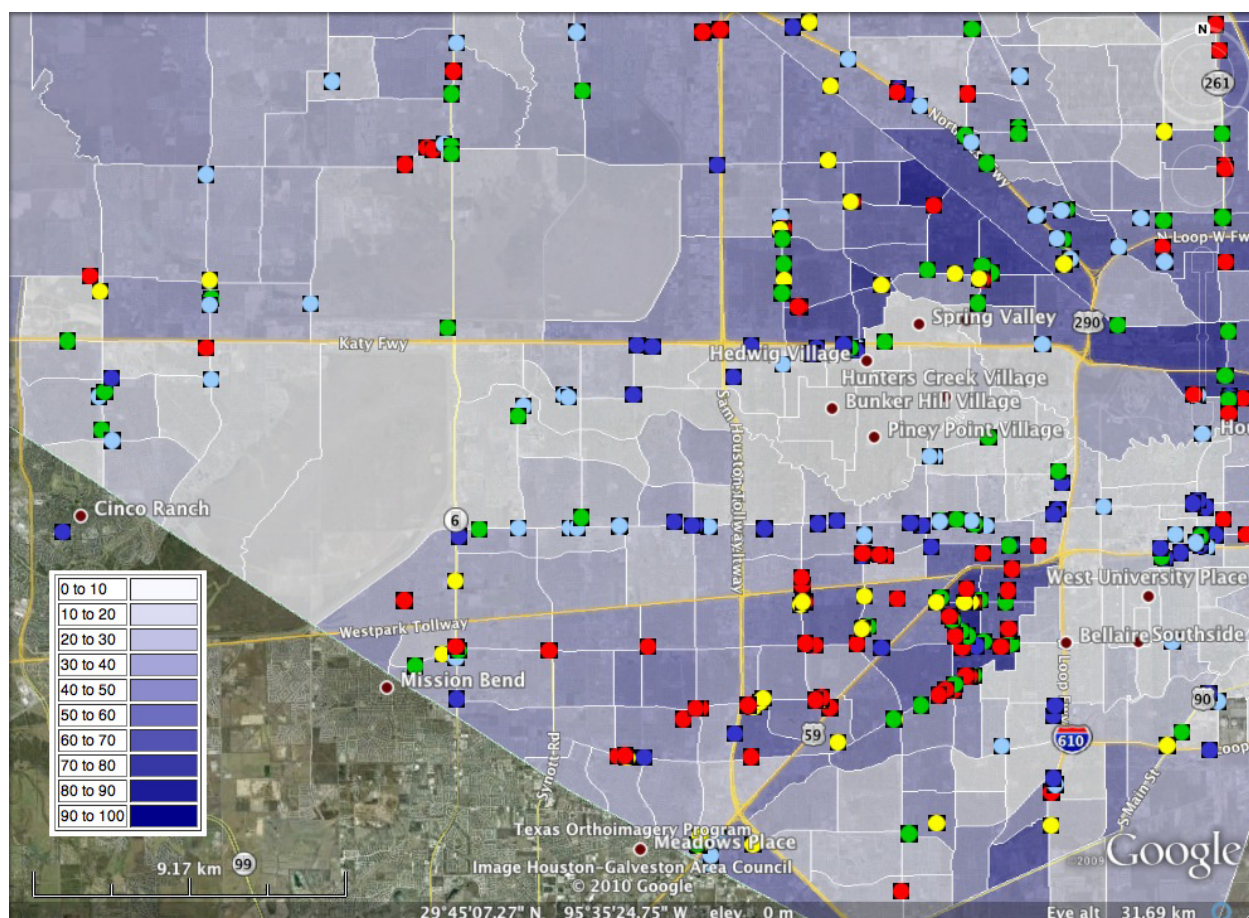


Figure 5.16: Restaurants by Category and % Hispanic Population in the Southwest of Houston

Figure 5.16 shows a close-up of the southeast of Houston and includes the Gessner/Bellaire cluster. Again we see a less ethnically isolated cluster, though it does

resemble the Buford Highway model much more than the cluster in the Northeast of Houston. On the north side of the cluster there is a striking division between majority non-Hispanic restaurants (along Westheimer Road, the site of the city's largest and most posh mall, The Galleria), and the majority Hispanic restaurants that fall mostly south of the Westpark Tollway and along Gessner Drive and Bissonnett Street. However, this stark division seems to exist only on the north side of this cluster, as isolation of the cluster quickly gives way to a heterogeneous mixture around the town of Bellaire to the southeast of US-59.

Both Figures 5.15 and 5.16, analyzed in the face of some ethnographical and historical evidence, can actually tell us a lot about the ecological succession of Mexican restaurants in Houston. In the lower central area of Figure 5.15, there is a series of census tracts indicating high proportions of Hispanic origin bordered by I-45/TX-35 on the south, by Buffalo Bayou on the north and west and by I-610 on the west. This neighborhood, Magnolia Park or the East End, is one of the oldest Hispanic areas in Greater Houston (Hewitt 2009). Because it was close to the ship channel and to Houston's docks and ports, Mexican migrants began settling in this area alongside Irish and German migrant workers in the first decade of the 20th century. As the city developed, this area became entrenched as the center of middle-class Mexican American residence in Houston (De Leon 2001; Johnston 1994). Two of Houston's most famous Mexican restaurants—Villa Arcos and Mama Ninfa's (now, The Original Ninfa's on Navigation, and still known as the restaurant that introduced the "Mexican" wonder that is fajitas to the world)—are in this area (Walsh 2004). And while looking at Figure 5.15 we certainly still see majority Hispanic Mexican restaurants (though mostly of the less homogeneous Category 4), there are just as many

Category 3 restaurants. This mixing of clientele is not demographic—the region still has a majority Hispanic origin populace—but rather must be cultural. Returning once again to the idea of intimidation, my interviews with both customers and restaurateurs in Houston indicate that this area was seen as impenetrable by outsiders in decades past. Nonetheless, when Ninfa's opened in the 1970s and started drawing white clientele into the area, it slowly began to lose its "scary otherness".

A similar thing happened more recently on the other side of the city. Looking in the center region of Figure 5.16, there is a line of restaurants north of Hilshire Village running parallel to I-10. This is Long Point Road (named, interestingly, after the fault line that runs beneath the city of Houston), and is one of the most Hispanic of the business ribbons in Houston's northeast. However, of the 10 Mexican restaurants in the stretch, four have mixed-ethnicity clientele. Furthermore, of the seven Mexican restaurants on Gessner Road in this area, only three are majority Hispanic. Many of the customers I interviewed called this area one of the city's most Mexican, and observation confirms this. In fact, a few restaurateurs I spoke to decided not to open restaurants in this area earlier in the decade because of this reputation (and the related fear that they would not be able to get high-spending middle-class Anglos into their establishments). This doesn't seem to be the case at present, however. We'll discuss Otilia's Restaurant on Long Point later, but it is one of Houston's most famous establishments. It consistently had a more-or-less even Hispanic/non-Hispanic clientele every time I visited; lunch lines at the taco stands along the roads in this area usually had white and black businessmen and women in suits standing alongside Hispanic laborers.

One last set of items to consider about Houston's geographical distribution of Mexican restaurants are the two points that we used to describe where Atlanta's majority Hispanic restaurants were found. Figure 5.17 shows only the majority Hispanic clientele restaurants in Houston. The first thing that was apparent in Figure 5. was that Categories 4 and 5 were not present in Atlanta's CBDs. The same cannot be said about Houston. There are indeed majority Hispanic restaurants in downtown Houston (at approximately the intersection of I-45 and I-10), and these neighborhoods also have a relatively high proportion of Hispanic origin residents (in comparison to Atlanta).

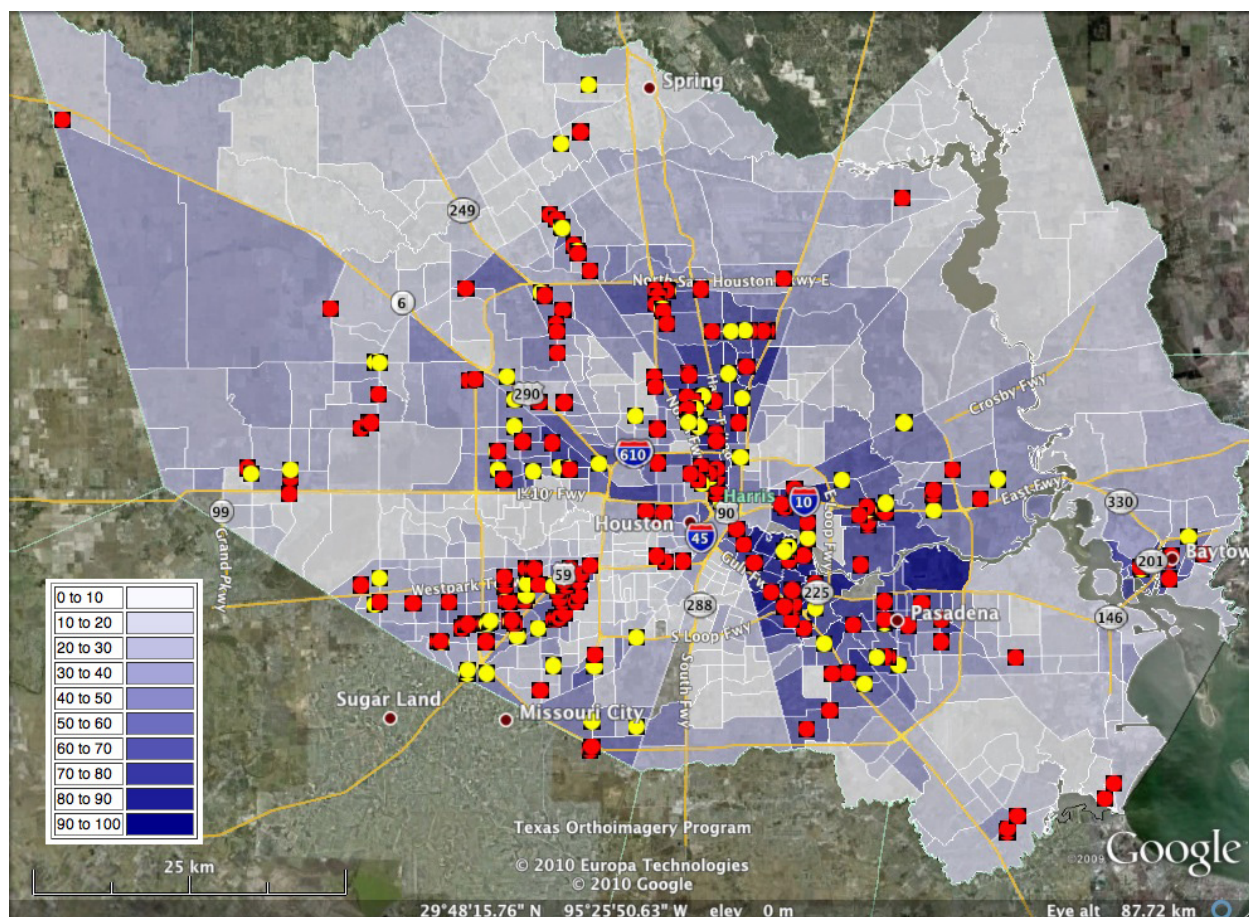


Figure 5.17: Category 4 and 5 Mexican Restaurants in the Houston Study Area

The second urbanized business district in Houston is the previously mentioned Galleria district (this area is similar to Atlanta's uptown Buckhead neighborhood). It is

bounded by I-610 on the west, the Katy Freeway/I-10 on the north and Westheimer Road to the south. As is clear in Figure 5.16, this area contains absolutely no majority Hispanic clientele restaurants (as well as having almost no census tracts with a population of Hispanic origin residents over 10%—in a city whose average Hispanic population was at 32.9% in 2000).

Secondly, only 9% of the majority Hispanic clientele restaurants in Atlanta were found outside census tracts that had the average proportion or above of Hispanic origin people. This statistic is more than doubled in Houston, with 24.5% of Category 4 and 5 restaurants found in census tracts under the average percentage of Hispanic population.

5.3: Synthesis

We conclude by summarizing the similarities and differences between the two study areas in terms of their types, nomenclature, and distribution of Mexican restaurants. To begin, recall Tables 4.2 and 4.3 that presented the breakdown of the number of restaurants by clientele category in each county. If we look not at raw numbers, but rather at the percentage of each category of Mexican restaurant in the city, some obvious differences emerge.

Most interestingly for our purposes, the proportions of both exclusionary categories (Category 1: Entirely non-Hispanic and Category 5: Entirely Hispanic) are much smaller in Houston than in Atlanta. This clearly indicates that Hispanics and non-Hispanics eat out together more frequently in Houston, where we have a longer history of Hispanic immigration and residence.

Table 5.9 listed the nomenclature elements that were found to be significant predictors of either Hispanic or non-Hispanic clientele. Table 5.10 shows the number of occurrences within both Atlanta and Houston for each of these significant elements, while Figures 5.18 and 5.19 show each city's relative proportions within Hispanic clientele and non-Hispanic clientele naming elements, respectively.

Table 5.10: Significant Symbolic Naming Elements by City

Naming Element	Classification Scheme	Clientele Ethnicity	ATL	HOU
General English	Naming Motif	Non-Hispanic	21	25
Place Name, Spanish	Naming Motif	Hispanic	29	96
Un-Signified	Establishment Type	Hispanic	71	129
Grill	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic	24	23
Taquería	Establishment Type	Hispanic	30	183
Cantina	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic	23	82
Ostioneria	Establishment Type	Hispanic	0	16
Pulperia	Establishment Type	Hispanic	1	4
Grill and Bar	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic	6	9
Fonda	Establishment Type	Hispanic	5	1
Café	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic	3	28
Tortilleria	Establishment Type	Hispanic	0	5
Un-Described	Descriptor	Hispanic	117	349
Mexican	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic	161	239
X-Mex	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic	12	1
Geographic	Descriptor	Hispanic	4	73
Seafood	Descriptor	Hispanic	2	3
Latino/a	Descriptor	Hispanic	4	8
Pollo Asado/Carne Asada	Descriptor	Hispanic	0	7

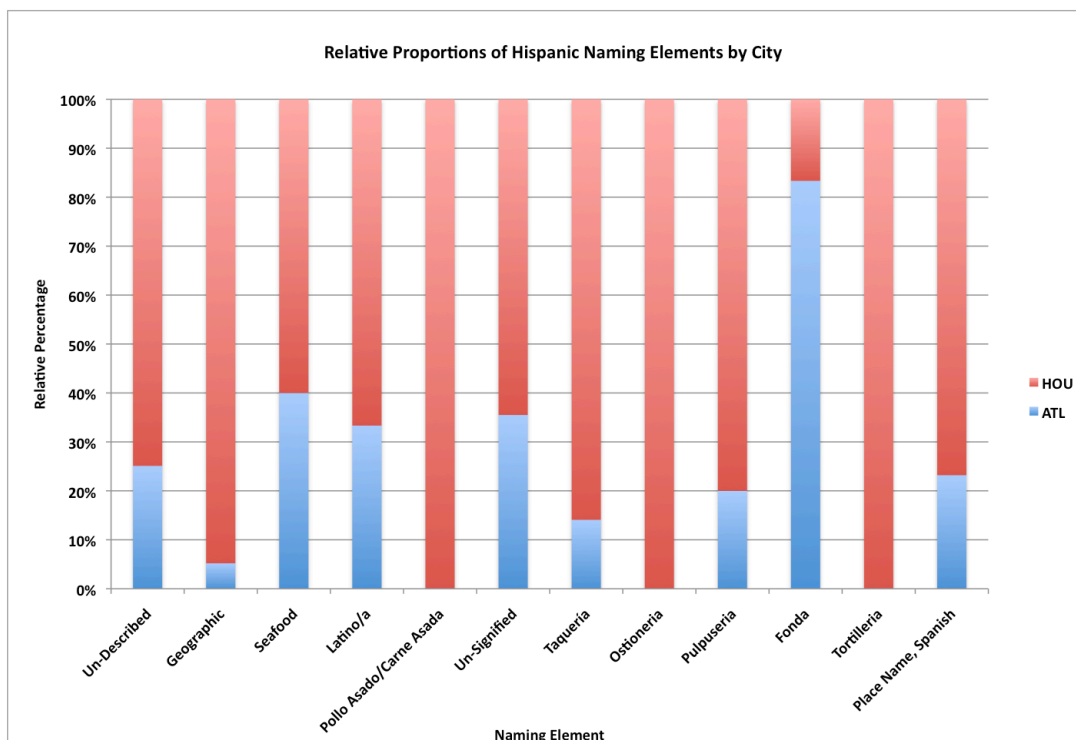


Figure 5.18: Relative Proportions of Hispanic Naming Elements by City

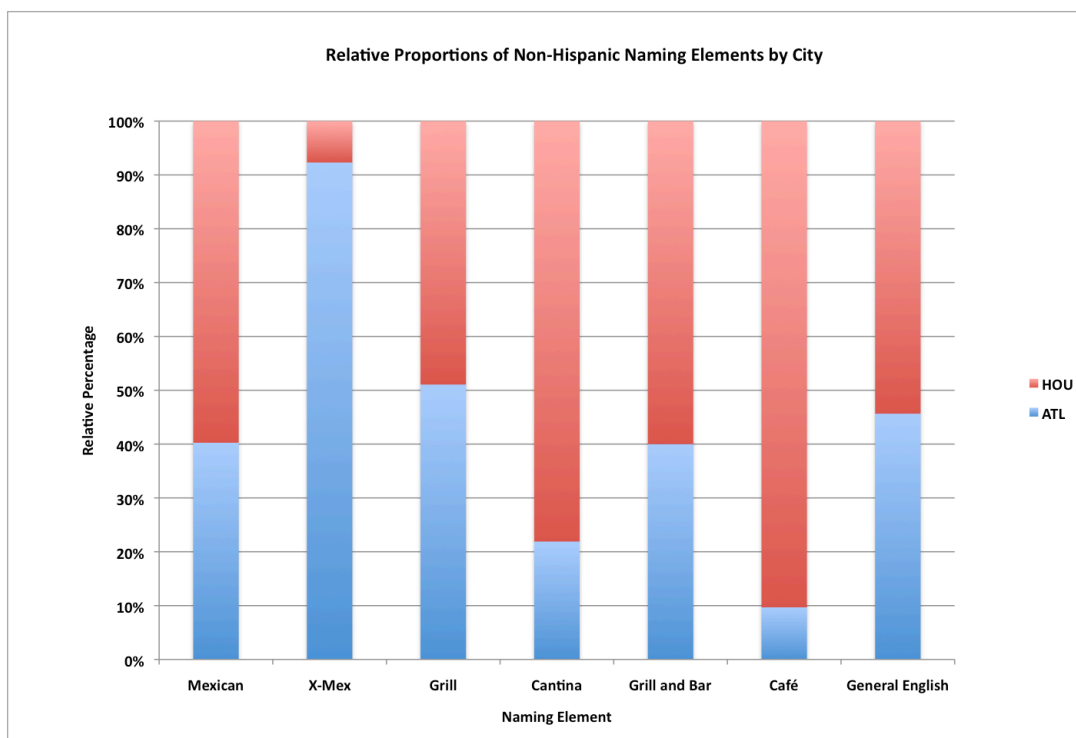


Figure 5.19: Relative Proportions of Non-Hispanic Naming Elements by City

Overall, it is clear that those elements that predict that Hispanic clientele will patronize a given restaurant are more present in Houston than in Atlanta, but that those that predict non-Hispanic clientele are closer to even between the two cities. This disparity makes sense, especially when combining the above data with the demographic data presented in Chapter 3, in which I showed that Houston had a much longer and heavier history with Hispanic immigrants and residents using measures of residential segregation.

I also presented evidence above that the disparity in Mexican restaurants between the two study sites extended to those restaurants' dispersal across the urban space. Focusing on majority Hispanic clientele restaurants, I identified two distinct types of spatial clusters that restaurants of these types tend to fall in. The first, as exemplified by the south Cobb County (Atlanta) and northeast Houston clusters, shows a radial pattern with entirely Hispanic clientele restaurants (Category 5) at its core and less Hispanic ones at its periphery. The key point about this cluster type is that it is not an isolated area of only Hispanic clientele restaurants (despite the overwhelming Hispanic demographics of its area). Rather, some non-Hispanic and mixed ethnicity restaurants (Categories 1-3) are present in the area, and there is not a stark line of demarcation between Hispanic and non-Hispanic restaurants. The second type, whose exemplar is the Buford Highway cluster, is an isolated line or area of Hispanic clientele restaurants within which non-Hispanic or mixed clientele restaurants are rare. The Gessner/Bellaire (Houston) cluster is an interesting derivation of this—with a clear dividing line between Hispanic and non-Hispanic restaurants on its north side, but showing much more mixing and “penetrability” on its south side.

So while both Atlanta and Houston have both types of these clusters present, their distributions of restaurants are also pretty different. The major difference between the two sites is the amount of clientele category heterogeneity across the cities. Referring back to Figures 5.13 and 5.17, which show the distribution of Hispanic clientele restaurants in Atlanta and Houston respectively, we can see that while these restaurants are limited to a very small number of areas in Atlanta, they are nearly evenly spread across Harris County. The evenness figures presented in Chapter 3 showed that, while Atlanta and Houston have different histories of dissimilarity and probability of exposure and isolation, they have similar values (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4, and Tables 3.2 and 3.3). Running the evenness equation on those zip codes in Atlanta and Houston that have Category 4 and 5 restaurants (and using data from the 2000 census) shows clear differences between the cities.

Table 5.11: Dissimilarities between Anglos and other Groups in Zip Codes with Category 4 and 5 Mexican Restaurants

	Hispanic	African American	Asian
Atlanta	0.2735	0.1310	0.2878
Houston	0.2008	0.3884	0.4754

Turning to the probabilities of exposure and contact, the 2000 statistics for the probability of exposure of whites to Hispanics are 0.537 and 0.542 for Atlanta and Houston respectively. Furthermore, the statistics for the probabilities of isolation for Hispanics in 2000 are 0.205 and 0.512 for Atlanta and Houston respectively. Given that there is such a larger population of Hispanics in Houston, this larger probability of isolation is to be expected. Again running the data from just those Zip Codes with Category 4 and 5 restaurants returns the following statistics:

Table 5.12: Probabilities of Exposure and Isolation of Hispanics to Other Groups in Zip Codes with Category 4 and 5 Mexican Restaurants

	Anglo	African American	Asian	Hispanic (Isolation)
Atlanta	0.5500	0.2243	0.0880	0.2301
Houston	0.5347	0.1417	0.0453	0.5419

Of course, the major limitations to these data (and other such measures that are based solely on demographic/census data) is that they say nothing about how often people travel into areas consisting predominantly of people from different groups to eat, shop and play. To arrive at this type of data, we have to talk to the actual individuals involved in those types of travel and transactions: in our case, the restaurateurs and the patrons they serve. However, we go into our exploration of these two groups of individuals knowing that there are some significant differences between how Mexican restaurants in Atlanta and Houston are patronized, named, and situated.

Chapter 6: The Restaurateurs

In introducing Lucy Long's volume on culinary tourism, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett makes the following observation:

Restaurants...are prime sites of designed experiences, collaboratively produced. As businesses, not museums (though often similar), restaurants adapt themselves to their market, including both their customers and their competition (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: xii).

It is this collaborative production-of-experience, between the proprietors of Mexican restaurants and their customers, which will allow us to answer the three research questions presented above. To understand how the act of eating Mexican food at Mexican restaurants has led to greater acceptance between groups of people, establishing how restaurateurs adapt to their various socio-cultural environments is vital. Assuming that most diners at Mexican restaurants are not visiting the restaurant to become a more culturally sensitive person, but rather to eat, how do Mexican, Mexican American and American restaurateurs navigate and provide the latter when their *raison d'être* (*raison de ser* in this case?) is the former?

In establishing the scholarly concept of culinary tourism, Long (2004: 33) suggests a bi-dimensional model that can place any given culinary experience along its two axis: edible/inedible and exotic/familiar. Culinary experiences that she describes as “exploratory eating” are found on the edible or palatable side of one axis and the exotic side of the other, as in Figure 6.1. She then posits that there are strategies—framing, menu selection, naming/translation, explication, and recipe adaptation—that allow producers to

negotiate a shift (in either direction) of a given culinary experience along either of these two axes (2004: 37).

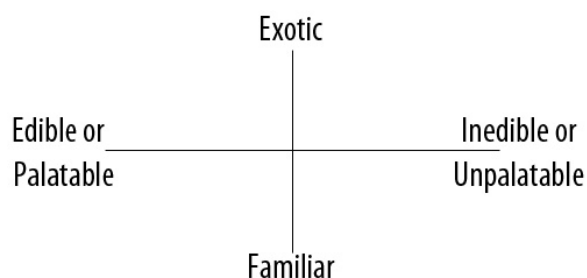


Figure 6.1: Long's Four Quadrant Model of Culinary Experience (Long 2004: 33)

In this chapter we will explore each Long's five negotiation strategies from the perspective of the proprietors of the Mexican restaurants in the study areas, as well as consider their thoughts on culinary acculturation as a whole and how they have experienced it throughout their personal and professional lives. But to explore these negotiation strategies we must understand why someone would want to move a culinary experience towards or away from any of the four cardinal directions on Long's model above. Three are pretty obvious: the desire to move the experience towards palatable and away from unpalatable food will be nearly constant. Likewise, it is easy to see why restaurateurs would want their food to be seen as familiar—comforting and approachable—to the customer. The tricky one theoretically is exotic—why would anyone want to de-familiarize a food? The short answer is that the exotic is appealing, particularly with individuals with neophilic tendencies. The longer answer is grounded in and alongside the concept of authenticity—how restaurateurs perceive and stage it, and how their customers respond to it. It would be both unfair and unwise to delve into how these negotiation strategies are used by restaurateurs in Mexican, or other ethnic, restaurants without first taking a quick foray into the landmine-strewn battlefield of the social sciences

that is the discourse on authenticity—and so we shall, and hope to emerge on the other side both enlightened and unscathed.

6.1: Authenticity and Produced Experiences:

While the subset of the literature that focuses on culinary authenticity was presented previously in Chapter 2, here we will explore the broader question of how authenticity is perceived and produced across all aspects of cultural life—and then use the data to apply these to the case of Mexican cuisine. In the simplest of terms, the authenticity literature can be broken down into two segments that in the scholarly debate are at ends, but in reality are hardly mutually exclusive. One group focuses on the philosophic meaning of authenticity, and is frequently found in constructivist/post-modern circles of anthropology, sociology and folklore studies, whereas the second group studies the concept on a more pragmatic level by exploring what affects the term and its meanings have on individuals' behaviors.

The major focus of the first, philosophic, segment is the question of what authenticity *actually means*. The two key works in this are Lionel Trilling's *Sincerity and Authenticity* (1971) and Dean MacCannell's "Staged Authenticity" (1973). Trilling makes a philosophic and historic case about how, in the transition from medieval to modern life, the moral human being strives now for authenticity whereas in the beginning of this transition they strove for sincerity. He purposefully (and I suppose, rather unhelpfully for the non-philosopher) leaves the definitions to these two central concepts of life vague. Definitions or not, the general gist of the work is that in as the middle ages progressed, society became

more mobile and the social hierarchy that stemmed directly from people's belief in God and subservience to the Church began to break down. With this collapsing of the old social order, people needed to find new ways to symbolically and socially announce that they were moral beings: Thus, the concept of sincerity—honesty to oneself and others—emerged as a way of providing a new type of order and structure. He then goes on to argue that as the modern human has developed, he or she has become more aware of the fact that our reality is simply a play, and that everyone else is putting on an act. Moderns (as they are somewhat derisively called throughout this literature) have become more and more individualistic because of this realization, and thus the socially based sincerity has become less important to ideas of morality than the individually based authenticity. Therefore authenticity, a thing's true being, is the element that we moderns now cling to in our unsettled, reality-less lives.

It is this unhappiness with the mundane and un-rooted modern life that many of the works that focus on authenticity and tourism base their explorations on. MacCannell (1973; 1999: 91-108) is more explicit about the idea of performance in modern life than Trilling, directly building upon Goffman's (1959) ideas of the front and backstages of life. The frontstage is the place where different groups interact according to set rules of social engagement and interaction (such as the front house of a restaurant, where members of the staff interact with customers). Goffman posits that all groups and individuals (following the work of Mead 1913, he sees little practical difference between the self and the social self) must have a backstage location and personality to which they can retreat after performing the social rituals of interaction in the frontstage. In our example, this would be the kitchen for the staff and perhaps the cars or homes of the customers. MacCannell

(1973: 589-90) argues that the modern tourist's main concern when visiting somewhere is to see and exist in the others' backstage—to get an authentic or real glimpse of their lives. He puts this desire to see the back on a deeper level, saying that due to the "...concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences..." the mystification of the backstage provides them with a perceived cure for this ontological ill.

MacCannell goes on to point out, however, that tourists can never actually reach the "true" backstage of the other. Instead, locals have realized this desire for authenticity and provide staged glimpses into their backstages so that tourists think they're seeing the real thing. Of course, these glimpses are really just looks into another frontstage, and the local's true back remains as elusive as ever. It is this perpetual quest that has led this branch of the literature to point out that that authenticity is an unknowable social construct. And it is this last, oft-repeated, point that forms the basis for much of the discourse surrounding authenticity. Some work provide further philosophic and constructivist musings based largely on Trilling and MacCannell's works (Bendix 1997; Heldke 2003: 23-44; Olsen 2002; Peterson 2005), while others apply philosophic authenticity to methodology (Handler 1986; Linnekin 1991). A major part of this work looks at authenticity and applies it to culture change and the issues of modernity and commodification (i.e. Daniel 1996; Hanson 1989; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Taylor 2001; Urry 1990). While not all of this work takes a negative view of tourism and authenticity, the most pervasive meme to come from this line of research is that the commodification of culture that comes from Westerners touring less developed places results in the loss of that culture's authenticity and leads to cultural homogeneity (cf. Graburn 1984; Greenwood 1989; Nash 1989; but cf. Wang 1999; 2000).

There is of course sharp disagreement about the extent and reality of this impact, which leads us to the more pragmatic side of the study of authenticity. This segment, while agreeing with the other's main point that the idea of authenticity is a socially constructed, ever-fluid term, points out that nonetheless people *care* about authenticity. And, as the more philosophically minded Trilling posited, they also *act* on their ideas of authenticity. So, the focus of this part of the literature—much of which comes out of the late 1990s and the 2000s—is how concepts of authenticity are formed, shaped, and used. While there are no great theses to be found in this segment, its key authors are Erik Cohen, Philip Pearce, Gianna Moscardo, and Ning Wang. Cole (2007) provides a good overview of this literature that pushes its pragmatic ideals:

Rather than unpacking authenticity into hot, cold, objective, constructive, or existential, analysts need to be asking questions about how the notion is articulated and by whom. A better understanding is needed of how cultural tourism is used by marginalized groups to gain power and how they can use the identity and pride that commodifying their cultural identity appears to bring (2000: 956).

Cohen (1988) argues that while the tourist search for authenticity does indeed lead to commodification, that it does not commonly lead to the “destruction” of culture or meaning for the toured group. Rather, following his idea that tourism is an act of “play” (Cohen 1979a; Cohen 1979b; Cohen 1985) both the tourists and the toured recognize that while entrance into the backstage is the stated goal, it is an unattainable one. Tourists will venture into the backstage only so far as their “environmental bubble” remains intact. He defines this as the feeling of familiarity or security that links whatever experience a tourist is having to conditions or experiences with which he or she is comfortable. To aid in the maintenance of this bubble the two groups pretend that actions and objects are authentic, when they are clearly not (see Chhabra, et al. 2003; Cohen 2000; Cohen and Avieli 2004).

Pearce and Moscardo (1999; Pearce 1982; Pearce and Moscardo 1985; 1986) focus most of their energies on the motivations of the tourists and how they respond to their personal conceptions of authenticity. Their largest contribution to the study of authenticity is the development of their travel career ladder, a nine-stage classification of tourists (cf. Pearce 1993; Pearce and Lee 2005) that indicates which individuals' motivations when touring change over time due to past experiences (but cf. Ryan 1998). They directly challenge MacCannell's presupposition that all tourist activities are motivated by authenticity, arguing that with travel career experience, a tourist becomes more flexible in their desires—better matching them to the specific place and time of the toured locale.

The take-away message from this segment of the literature is that authenticity, as a malleable construct, can be manipulated to great affect by both the consumer and the “consumed.” The works of Pearce and Cohen in particular give the tourists and the toured a good deal of agency in determining if and to what degree their ideas of authenticity matter during a tourist experience. Going back to the question posed at the beginning of this discussion, why restaurateurs would ever want to make a culinary experience more exotic—to make it less familiar—the simple answer is that a great deal of their customers are looking for a culinary backstage experience (as MacCannell would suggest, see also Cohen and Avieli 2004). However, were we to apply Pearce and Moscardo's travel career ladder to the culinary realm we would then suppose that this drive for a backstage is not constant, and furthermore that a good restaurateur would recognize when de-familiarizing cuisine is a necessary or harmful business practice. We will deal with the question of customers' variable desires in the next chapter, but now let's return to Long's five

negotiation strategies and see how restaurateurs navigate this treacherous liminal space between their backstages and their customers frontstage desires.

6.2: Negotiation through Framing

To negotiate through framing is to set the scene, to provide the context for the cultural experience—be it an artistic, literary, or culinary one. This context then symbolically explains to the consumer of the experience how exotic or familiar it is, or (in the case of food) how palatable or unpalatable it is. The important thing to consider with all of these negotiation strategies is that they can be used to move food or eating experiences either way along the two axes in Long’s model. They can make a new, weird food seem more familiar and edible, or they can make a normal experience seem exotic. So, for example One may not be able to drive to Guadalajara for lunch, but an aptly decorated and staffed Mexican restaurant may be able to provide an environment that allows the diner to escape the mundane world of Atlanta or Houston and eat in “Mexico.” This strategy is well covered in both the academic and hospitality industry press (Bell, et al. 1994; Edwards, et al. 2003; King, et al. 2004; Meiselman 2006; Meiselman, et al. 2000; Milliman 1986). Two areas of framing emerged as being significantly relevant from the data: that involving décor and architecture, and that involving the actual service provided by the waiters and other front-of-house staff. Let’s begin by looking at décor.

6.2.1: *Décor*

With the exception of Bell et al (1994), the influence of ethnically themed décor is not a major focus in this literature, though many ethnographies and histories do mention it as a contributing element in the creation of “staged authenticity” (Barbas 2003; Barich 2009; Lee 2008; Lu and Fine 1995). My data from Atlanta and Houston illustrate how common and salient this strategy is—both in the minds of the restaurateurs and their customers. Otilia Menendez owns and operates the Houston restaurant Otilia’s. When she opened it in the mid 1980s, she was trying to be a simple taquería, with a target audience of Mexican migrants and Mexican-Americans. After a few years of this, she began to add variety to her menu, focusing more on entrees than she did as a taco shop. During this transition,

Otilia: ...we had to add more decorations to the wall. We were trying to bring in a new clientele—we wanted to appeal to whites. I think they were still intimidated by the taquerías...so we didn’t want to look like just a taquería anymore.²⁸

Likewise José Montes, owner of local chain El Azteca in Atlanta, explicitly mentioned décor.

Jose: I tried to make this room [an interior room with false windows and balcony doors along the ceiling] look like a hacienda courtyard would. We want to make [the customers] think about Mexico with more than just our food.²⁹

Bardo McDowell, an owner of a single restaurant in Atlanta provides a bit of a nationalistic reason for the specific decoration:

Paul: One thing I’ve asked everyone about is the decoration. What were you trying to do with the décor?

Bardo: Ah, I dunno. Something that looks nice. Something that you can look at and say, “this is Mexico, this is Mexican.” You know, I think you need to

²⁸ Interview with the author, September 5, 2009

²⁹ Interview with the author, July 9, 2009

make people think that they are home. They need to know it's Mexican. Cause you can go to a lot of places here in Atlanta now where they sell food from El Salvador. I think you need to focus the decoration on the fact that this is Mexico³⁰.

The idea that restaurateurs want to explicitly link their food and experience with Mexico is a common one. Objectively however, they are framing their restaurants as parts of an idealized, *hacienda*-filled Mexico. This romanticized Mexico is a inviting place, where warm-colors, palm trees and stately cacti rule over the well-tended courtyards that invariably have a soothing water feature trickling away during dinner.



Figure 6.2: Interior Shot of El Azteca on Dunwoody Parkway, Atlanta

Now obviously the stereotype comes from something real and there are certainly places in Mexico that fit this description, and it is a well-established point across the

³⁰ Interview with the author, July 8, 2009

literature that restaurants present idealized cuisines and experiences. However, where does a blatantly Disney-fied image of Mexico fit on the familiar/exotic continuum? Figure 6.2, the interior of an El Azteca in Atlanta, is an example of this style of decoration, which I call *Romanticized Mexican*.

One feature that is common across restaurateurs that choose this style is their desire to create a soothing space for their customers. Mr. McDowell's "...you need to make people think that they are home" comment is telling. John Mays, the general manager of the El Toro chain in Houston, indicated that the customers they aim for—middle and upper middle class whites and blacks—want a nice place where they feel *comfortable* dining.

When talking about renovating one of their locations, he related this story:

John: One of the owners went up there and told us: "Y'all need to renovate that place, y'all need to do something with it. It won't be long before someone in that area is going to open a Mexican restaurant and it's going to blow y'all's out of the water. It might not be as good food or whatever, but it's gonna be a nicer place and people are going to flock over there" ...so that's what people are looking for³¹.

Another feature that restaurants that use the romantic style employ is based not explicitly on décor, but on architecture. While most Mexican restaurants across the two study areas were simply to be found in one strip mall or another, some stand-alone restaurants use the design of the building to evoke an even stronger image of the romantic Mexico. The extreme of this trend is more obvious in Houston than in Atlanta. Consider for example Figure 6.3, an exterior shot of Mr. May's El Toro Mexican Restaurant with its well-manicured lawns and sun-kissed architecture and compare it to Figure 6.4, an exterior shot of a La Cazuela in Atlanta that is located in a strip mall.

³¹ Interview with the author, October 10, 2009



Figure 6.3: Exterior Shot of El Toro, Baytown (TX)



Figure 6.4: Exterior Shot of La Cazuela, Johns Creek (GA)

Instead of simply providing a few wall decorations or a quick remodeling, many high-end Mexican restaurants in Houston actually attempt to create a full Mexican oasis; not only through interior decorating (such as courtyards with fountains), but through exterior landscaping. Upon pulling into the parking lot at places like this, you leave the

smoggy hustle of Houston behind and enter a palm tree, cactus- and water-feature-filled wonderland that just happens to serve dinner and lunch.

So if a hallmark of the romanticized style is comfortable-but-exciting escape, what about the places that do not provide this environment? I suggest that there are two other distinct styles of decorating Mexican restaurants across the two sites. The stylistic polar opposite of the romanticized style is what I label as *utilitarian*, whereas the sparse-but-comfortable *standard* style represents the unimaginative middle of this spectrum. The one of the most common architectural features found across the utilitarian style is the presence of a counter or an open kitchen. There is usually very little explicitly Mexican décor, and in many cases the restaurant maintains an unfinished or industrial aesthetic. In general this style is seen in restaurants—particularly those that call themselves taquerías—whose clientele is either entirely Hispanic or entirely non-Hispanic (i.e. Categories 1 and 5). The restaurateurs who run these polar opposite type restaurants have likewise nearly polar opposite reasons for picking the same style of décor. Consider this segment of my interview of Lupita Espinoza, the day manager of El Pastor Mexican Restaurant on Buford Highway in Atlanta.

Paul: I notice you don't have decorations, like Mexican flags or anything up...

Lupita: No, we have this painting of my [home] city [Veracruz] behind the counter here, but no. No flag.

P: Why not have more decorations?

L: Like um, like things that say Mexico?

P: Yeah, like photographs or flags or wall hangings...

L: I guess we don't need them? But people know this is a Mexican restaurant: We only serve Mexican foods. The little restaurants in Veracruz in my ah...neighborhood, my area...they were just tables and a kitchen. They

were open to the street. I guess that's what this looks like too. But open to a ah...parking lot, not the street [laughs]³².

So, in a sense, this unadorned utilitarian style is evocative of the small neighborhood restaurants in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America. In a sense, restaurants like this serve a similar purpose—they are not designed to be “destination restaurants” for which people travel across the city to visit. Rather, they are largely neighborhood joints that people frequent on the way home or for a quick lunch. Oftentimes, restaurants that serve mostly Hispanic clientele and use the utilitarian style have only about a dozen tables. In fact, throughout my observations, most diners at these places tended to eat at the counter or take away, instead of sitting for a meal at a table or booth. The utilitarian style of the restaurants makes sense therefore in two ways. First, by recreating in a sense the restaurants of the barrios in Mexico, they *familiarize* the culinary experience for the Hispanic clientele. Secondly, these restaurants are not designed with family dining in mind. Most of the restaurateurs who run Category 4 or 5 restaurants that I spoke to through this project remarked that, by-and-large, their clientele came out in force mostly on the weekends (for brunch or lunch), and that people who came in during the working week were looking for a quick bite.

In section 5.1.2 I noted that when doing the nomenclature analysis, the term “taquería” had skewed results in Atlanta towards the non-Hispanic side of my scale due to a set of high-end taquerías that were frequented by wealthy whites and blacks. This is the other group of restaurants that tend to use the utilitarian style of décor, though it is differentiated from the other, more Hispanic establishments' décor by being markedly

³² Interview with the author, June 9, 2009

more industrial looking. By this I mean a lot of exposed ductwork and chrome surfaces. When asked why he chose this style, Ernesto Garcia, the owner of El Fresh Taco in Katy, TX, told me that he wanted the look to seem modern and clean. He indicated this was a direct response to both the older and dirtier looking taquerías that catered mostly to Hispanics and to the romanticized style of some of the “oasis restaurants”:

Paul: So, where would say the influence for this place comes from?

Ernesto: Mostly from Guadalajara...even though we have a lot of good taco places in Chicago...I knew that I wanted to be like Guadalajara. The ladies there are making the tortillas...But the look of the place does come more from Chicago. This isn't maybe how you'd see the taquerías, but like the little places. I wanted to be more urban and contemporary. I wanted it to look like something the same and different. Not just like those places across the highway [such as on Long Point Road, on the other side of I-10].

...

Ernesto: Well you know, I have got compliments on the fact that I didn't do the pastel colors, and...

Paul: And no picture of Pancho Villa as far as I can tell!

E: Hahaha...not only no picture of Pancho Villa, but...overdoing it with some things. I think that some places overdo it with some of their décor...I wanted to do some of the Aztec stuff and some of the Mayan stuff, but my wife was not too much about that. So she went a simpler route with some peppers and paintings and fruit, and stuff like that. She was like, “this is more neutral.”

P: And it seems like it may bring the food forward...

E: Yes, it's...this is more food orientated. And you know what, the Mexican places I've tried here have definitely turned me away. Except for Hugos, which...he does a very good job...I haven't been in Guadalajara's, because to be honest with you...You know, just looking at the outside of the place, I don't remember going to a place in Mexico that looks like that. I don't know why Americans think that's how we live in Mexico³³.

These restaurants that both display the utilitarian aesthetic and serve a higher-end non-Hispanic clientele are mostly new establishments that have started (in both cities) in the 2000s. Since they are new they have the advantage of seeing the social signals that the décor of other Mexican restaurants give off, and then in turn responding to these symbols

³³ Interview with the author, October 20, 2010

and signs. In terms of making the culinary experience more or less exotic, this group of utilitarian establishments seems to want to sit on the fence. On one hand it familiarizes the experience by using the *en vogue* (for urbanites) industrial style and refraining from excessive decoration and embellishment that screams Mexico, as in Figure 6.5. On the other hand, it tries to call to mind the general feel of the more Hispanic (and, in the eyes of both the restaurateurs and customers, less clean and more intimidating) taquerías, as in Figure 6.6. When asked why he chose the counter and limited seating look for his restaurant, Taquería el Vecino in the wealthy Druid Hills area of Atlanta, Rob Atherholt (an Anglo restaurateur with experience running restaurants across a number of genre) responded:

Rob: ...when we first opened you ordered at the counter. We wanted to do an authentic taquería.

...
Rob: So the idea when we started—we envisioned counter service like a real taquería. Where you ordered up there. But that just didn't work cause the counter's back there, so there's a line snaking through the restaurant. People want another drink, and they just can't get it—so we moved to table service.³⁴

In attempting to recreate the taquería experience for a non-Hispanic audience this use of the utilitarian style, while allowing customers to stay in their comfy “environmental bubble” of protection (Cohen 1988; Cohen and Avieli 2004), de-familiarizes the culinary experience by evoking the patrons' sense of restaurant authenticity.

³⁴ Interview with the author, June 25, 2009



Figure 6.5: Interior of Taquería del Sol, Atlanta, from <http://taqueriadelosol.com>, 2010



Figure 6.6: Interior of Taquería el Vecino, Decatur (GA)

The third stylistic convention, what I call the *Standard* style, can be thought of as the large middle between the two poles of the romantic and utilitarian. They will often have some wall decorations—usually photos or murals—that explicitly bring Mexico to mind, such as photos of Poncho Villa, maps of the county, colorful masks or sombreros, or painted landscape scenes of the Mexican colonial countryside. Figure 6.7, from Marquitos Mexican Restaurant in Atlanta, shows a perfect example of this.



Figure 6.7: Interior of Marquitos Mexican Restaurant, Atlanta

The space is neither bare, nor overly dramatic—it announces that you are eating at a typical Mexican restaurant, but does not transport you there like the other two styles can. Pluralities of restaurants in the survey (55.41% in Atlanta AND 45.29% in Houston) use

this style of décor. Tables 6.1 through 6.3 show the basic counts of these three décor types, whereas Table 6.4 summarizes the results of the chi-squared tests of independence run on these contingency tables. The following hypotheses are used for the tests of independence throughout the chapter: For the characteristics by study area tables the hypotheses are:

- H_0 : The characteristic and the study area are independent.
 H_a : The characteristic and the study area are not independent.

For the characteristics by clientele category tables, the hypotheses are:

- H_0 : The characteristic and the clientele categories of restaurants are independent.
 H_a : The characteristic and the clientele categories of restaurants are not independent.

Table 6.1: Counts for Décor Type by Study Area

	Romantic	Standard	Utilitarian	Total
Atlanta	60	169	76	305
Houston	186	341	226	753
Total	246	510	302	1058

Table 6.2: Counts for Décor Type by Clientele in Atlanta

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Rom.	27	21	10	1	1	60
Stand.	50	55	34	17	13	169
Util.	17	7	4	20	28	76
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305

Table 6.3: Counts for Décor Type by Clientele in Houston

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Rom.	56	71	39	19	1	186
Stand.	29	74	107	91	40	341
Util.	44	16	56	70	40	226
Total	129	161	202	180	81	753

Table 6.4: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

CROSS-CITY DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Décor Type by City	8.95142	2	0.01138*	REJECT NULL at .05
ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Décor Type by Clientele Category	83.70285	8	8.70285E-15**	REJECT NULL
HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Décor Type by Clientele Category	134.23840	8	3.73631E-25**	REJECT NULL

We find independence across the board, so we would predict that, on some level at least, place and clientele ethnicity matter when restaurateurs are making their décor and framing decisions. Figure 6.8 shows slight variations between the two cities in their distribution of the three types of décor.

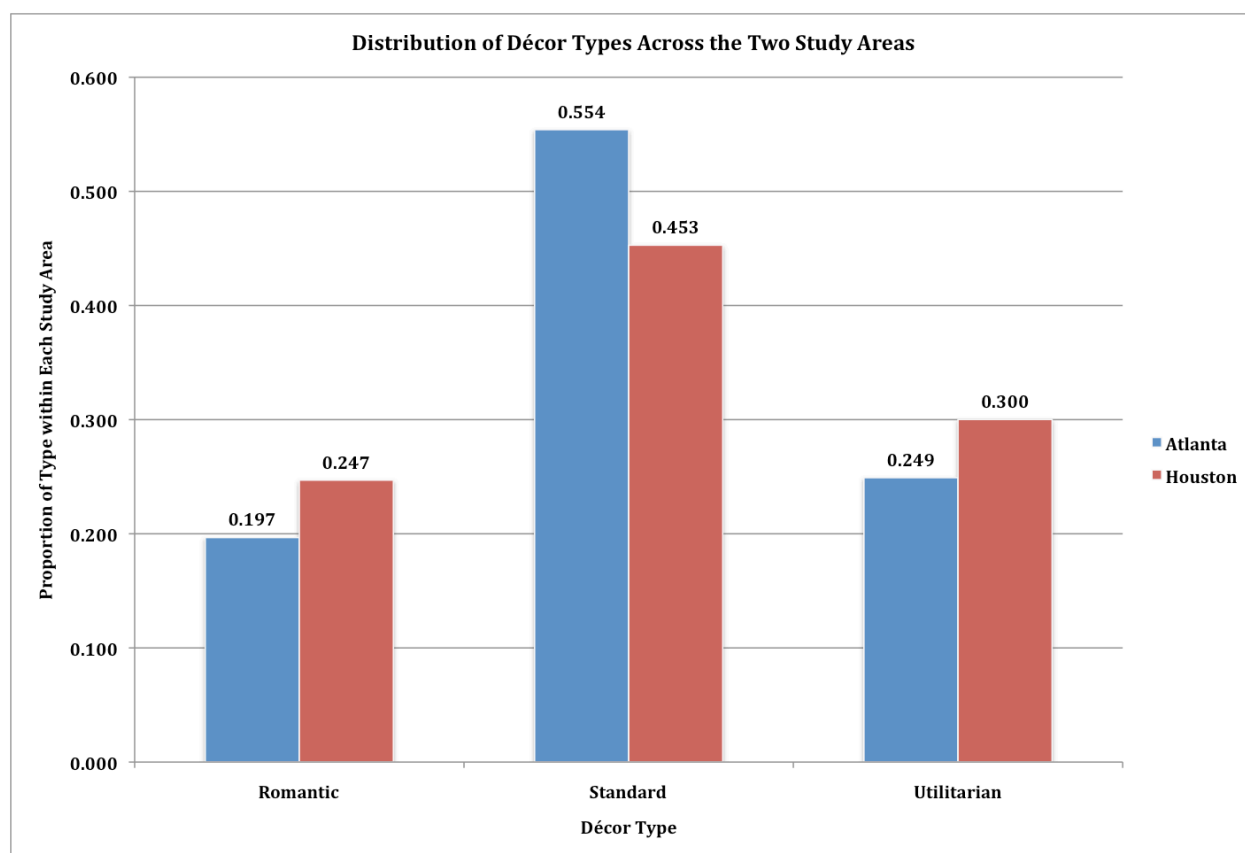


Figure 6.8: Distribution of Décor Types Across the Two Study Areas

Though we see some divergence between the cities when we look at these types within each clientele category, it does not appear significant. The largest divergence between the two cities as seen in Figure 6.9 is that the standard motif is much more common across all of Houston's clientele ethnicity categories, whereas in Atlanta it is heavily concentrated at the non-Hispanic end. As I suggested above, the romantic motif is much more common in Houston's non-Hispanic restaurants, and we see a large drop off in proportion in the transition between Category 2 and 3.

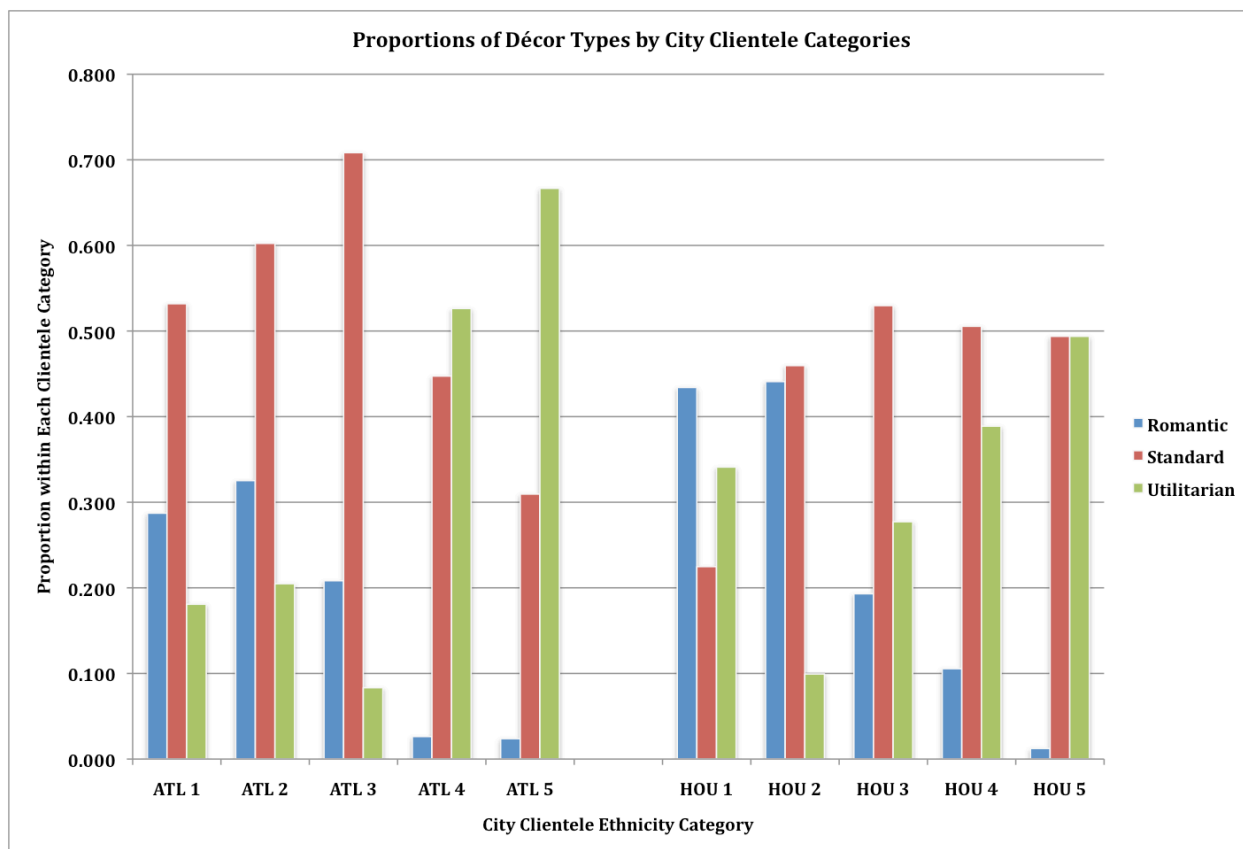


Figure 6.9: Proportions of Décor Types by City Clientele Categories

6.2.2: Service

Besides the décor, the next most obvious area that allows restaurateurs to frame their establishments and cuisine is their service. When discussing Goffman's dramaturgical theory in the social sciences, the interaction between wait staff and customers is the commonly cited example of frontstage play. The members of the wait staff are indeed actors, and the front-of-house is their stage. The question here is to the purpose of this acting. In general, I found that restaurateurs strove to make sure their servers provided a comfortable atmosphere—one that would encourage repeat visitors. To be cliché, they wanted their customers to feel at home. Said Carlos Rodriguez:

Paul: So what makes them come back? I mean, how do you keep the same people for lunch after lunch every...

Carlos: I want them to feel at home here, and so I get the waiters to remember people. I mean, customers really like it if they come in and the same guy serves them every week. He knows what they're going to drink, what they're going to eat. He can make suggestions, but usually the people who come in for lunch know what they want. "I want the crazy taco and a tortilla soup," every time³⁵.

...

Paul: So kinda like a neighborhood thing, you see them over and over.

Carlos: Yeah. I've seen families grow up here. There have been kids I've seen start ordering cheese dip when they were young, and now they come in with their college friends and order chiles rellenos.

P: So you've seen them grow in age and taste?

C: Sure, we're here with them every step of the way. And you know, it's like trust. They grow up with us, the waiters see them grow too. Some of my managers started as waiters, and people get to know them. They can suggest new foods, they build up a relationship and the customers get to know and trust them³⁶.

Juan Saldaña of Marquitos in Atlanta agrees:

Juan: ...how many food establishments did you have to get through to come here? I don't know where you're coming from, but at least you went through a thousand or more food establishments before you got here. So competition is way too high. So what that does is drive your profit margin down. So you have to do way much more with way much less. Competition is the stuff. I'm not just talking about Mexican food versus Mexican food, but against every other eatery out there. Because you have a choice—you're going to spend the same dollar amount you spend here over there. So I have to entice you to come here. Either you like the price, you like the food, you like the service, or you feel at ease with the atmosphere. So we have to hit them all. Good food, good prices, good service. It makes people come back, makes them regular.

Paul: It kinda turns into a neighborhood place. So do you have a base of customers that you know?

J: Yes yes yes. I am glad to say that I have customers that still frequent me after 20 years. And where do they come from? From the neighborhood. I have got to know them by name. We know what they want, and by the time they sit down, we already have what they want to drink...

...

Juan: It's [dining out] entertainment. Food is a secondary thing. And since I have been more inclined to give you a good meal than dancing all around

³⁵ Interview with the author, June 29, 2009

³⁶ Interview with the author, July 30, 2009

you...that's probably why I have created this kind of environment. People come, sit down, they talk and eat—have a few drinks and go home. My service—I try to convince my waiters not to be on top of the table. Don't annoy them. Be attentive, be alert—if they need something ok...but leave them alone. I'm going to tell you about these customers I have. It's a fairly young couple, I would say probably mid-30s. I mean. They both come with their books; sit down; order the meal; and don't confer. I find it odd. I mean you're not going to take your girlfriend out and spend your time reading! But anyway, that's what they want and we give it to them. They feel comfortable here, like it's their living room or something³⁷.

The co-owner of Hugo's, one of Huston's most critically acclaimed Mexican restaurants, Tracy Vaught ties the service explicitly to a representation of Mexican culture.

Paul: So tell me about how you train your waiters. When I was here for brunch the other day, they seemed to treat everyone well...

Tracy: Of course! I mean, I've been in the restaurant business for two decades now. No matter what kind of restaurant you have, if the staff isn't courteous, if they're not friendly, it doesn't matter how good your food is.

P: Right, but I noticed that they seemed to know a lot of the people, they seemed to know the families.

T: Yes, yeah we have a lot of people who come every Sunday for brunch. It's nice, we get to know the people, so we feel even more connected to the community. And that's important when you have the type of restaurant we do, where we push community. It's not just about the food, again. But you know, I know I said that the staff at all restaurants have to be kind. We do try to be different here. I mean, this is Hugo's place. We want to teach people about Mexico, about its food. So that means we need to create a sense of Mexican hospitality. I mean, I've obviously been all over Mexico, not just to Puebla to see the in-laws. I think it's one of the friendliest counties, the most generous and kind people, in the world. I admit, the stereotype that immigrants get is unfair. I don't think many people who come here have that idea, but I want to combat it anyway. We can do that a bit with good service³⁸.

Tracy's husband, Chef Hugo Ortega, puts it like this:

Hugo: Yes. I think so too. I felt it when I came here, I didn't speak the language and people looked down at me. It's unfortunate. I think we show people how kind and helpful Mexican culture is. And the food is better if you are enjoying yourself. I want my food to go out there and for people to feel

³⁷ Interview with the author, June 13, 2009

³⁸ Interview with the author, March 11, 2010

comfortable eating it. So the service has to do that. I can't go out with each dish, I need the waiters³⁹.

It would seem therefore that the purpose of framing the culinary experience through the front-of-house service is to familiarize the cuisine, to ensure that Cohen's environmental bubble within which the diner feels comfortable remains intact throughout the visit. Obviously there are different levels to this, as Juan Saldaña insinuated. One extreme would be over-attentive waiters, all dressed in the same outfit and proving an extremely (and obviously) staged experience, whereas the other pole would be servers who simply take your order, bring your food, and leave you be.

Being that I did not dine at all 1058 restaurants in the study area, I have no way of creating or using a reliable measure of service. (Such measures do exist; see for instance Parasuraman, et al. 1988; Parasuraman, et al. 2000. However, they tend to be based solely on survey methodology, and don't use ethnographic observation as a backstop.) It was my observation, however, that such a gradient would not correlate well to the 1-5 clientele scale, as I saw (and received!) all levels of service at both Hispanic, non-Hispanic and mixed clientele restaurants. What did seem to relate to the level of service, however, was whether or not the establishment seemed to be geared towards family dining or quick lunchtime or after-work dining. Those restaurants that explicitly (through their advertisements, menus, or atmospheres) catered to families appeared to work harder at establishing the feeling of homeliness and familiarity that is necessary for the maintenance of the diners' environmental bubbles of security.

³⁹ Interview with the author, March 11, 2010

6.3: Negotiation through Menu Selection

The next negotiation strategy is menu selection (Long 2004: 42-43). Restaurateurs must choose dishes that will, above all else, sell to their audience. Menu selection is thus picking and presenting that segment of a cuisine that the restaurateur thinks best fits his or her customers' tastes, desires and abilities. Carlos Rodriguez notes how his realization of this simple fact led to his first menu:

Paul: So you opened this place about 20 years ago, what have you noticed about the customer change since then?

Carlos: Well let me tell you something. And this is the first mistake people make when they go into business. They try to bring their own things to the business without really understanding the customer input. And you go into business because you want the business of the people, and eventually you'll find out that you'll have to bend over in order to please your customers. Back then, we said, "you know, I'm really fresh out of coming from Mexico...I love pork, or I love steak, or I love the hot sauces, or I love Oaxaca-style food, or whatever." So you think what you like is what everybody's going to like, you try to make a menu out of those things...and maybe you've gone too far and you open up a restaurant and lay out your menu, and customers may find it pretty odd, pretty expensive, pretty different, pretty kind of intimidating, or whatever.

P: Did you have some sort of reaction to that then?

C: Yes. Yes...yes. Because it's not that easy to change your mind and we say, we really think that bringing these things to the menu will be good. And he [the chef they originally hired] said, "yeah, but it's not what sells." And we said, "but that's not Mexican." And he said, "yeah, it's not, but everybody's making money out of this...so you better listen to me." So we had to settle to a menu that had a lot of the selling-things, but that kept the stuff we liked cause we were going to push those things, to suggest to the customers⁴⁰.

Besides a restaurant's name, its menu is perhaps its most identifying feature. In evaluating how restaurateurs respond to their clientele with their menus, I focused on three traits. With the first two—whether or not the restaurant offered combination meals or a weekend brunch or soup special—I simply looked at their presence or absence. The

⁴⁰ Interview with the author, June 10 2009

third way of examining the menus was to compile a free-list of sorts from all the menus I collected to determine and analyze the domain of Mexican restaurant food in both metro Atlanta and Houston.

6.3.1: *Combination Meals*

Throughout my conversations with restaurateurs, customers and local food experts I tried to pin down what exactly Tex-Mex was, what were its essential characteristics. While many customers called the less authentic, more-gearred-towards-whites restaurants in Atlanta “Tex-Mex,” many of the restaurateurs in Atlanta disagreed. Because of various ingredient and cultural-based limitations (see Section 6.6), Atlantan Mexican restaurant owners made the point over and over that what they served was not Tex-Mex, but rather a homespun kind of “South-Mex” as Jose Montes of El Azteca put it. And so, I hoped to find dishes or characteristics to see whether there was a difference of cuisine between these two study sites. Four essentials of Tex-Mex were cited over and over again: fajitas, the use of cheddar cheese, cream-based enchiladas like *enchiladas suzias*, and, in restaurants, combination meals. Fajitas, as we will see shortly, are nearly ubiquitous across the two study areas; without either obtaining recipes from each restaurant or eating at each one I could not determine the presence or absence of cheddar or sour cream based sauces. Thus, I analyzed the presence or absence of combination meals in order to get a look at both menu selection and Tex-Mexness (if you will) at the same time. Tables 6.5 through 6.7 show the raw counts for this presence or absence test, while Table 6.8 gives a summary of the chi-squared tests of independence for these matrices.

Table 6.5: Counts for the Presence of Combination Meals by Study Area

	No	Yes	Total
Atlanta	100	205	305
Houston	343	410	753
Total	443	615	1058

Table 6.6: Counts for the Presence of Combo. Meals by Clientele in Atlanta

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No	21	9	4	31	35	100
Yes	73	74	44	7	7	205
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305

Table 6.7: Counts for the Presence of Combo. Meals by Clientele in Houston

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No	23	23	101	129	67	343
Yes	106	138	101	59	14	410
Total	129	161	202	180	81	753

Table 6.8: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

CROSS-CITY DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Combo Presence by City	14.53088	1	0.00014**	REJECT NULL
ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Combo Presence by Clientele Category	125.56098	4	3.46313E-26**	REJECT NULL
HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Combo Presence by Clientele Category	199.64406	4	4.48124E-42**	REJECT NULL

We can see that the tests of independence indicate that there might be a relationship between either city or clientele ethnicity and whether or not a menu includes combination meals. A difference in the proportion of menus that have combination meals between the cities is apparent, as can be seen in Figure 6.10, with Atlanta having a significantly higher percentage. This is surprising if, as the restaurateurs posited, combination meals are a marker of the Tex-Mex cuisine. We would have expected Houston—which along with San Antonio is commonly thought of as the originator of Tex-Mex—to have more restaurants that use combination meals.

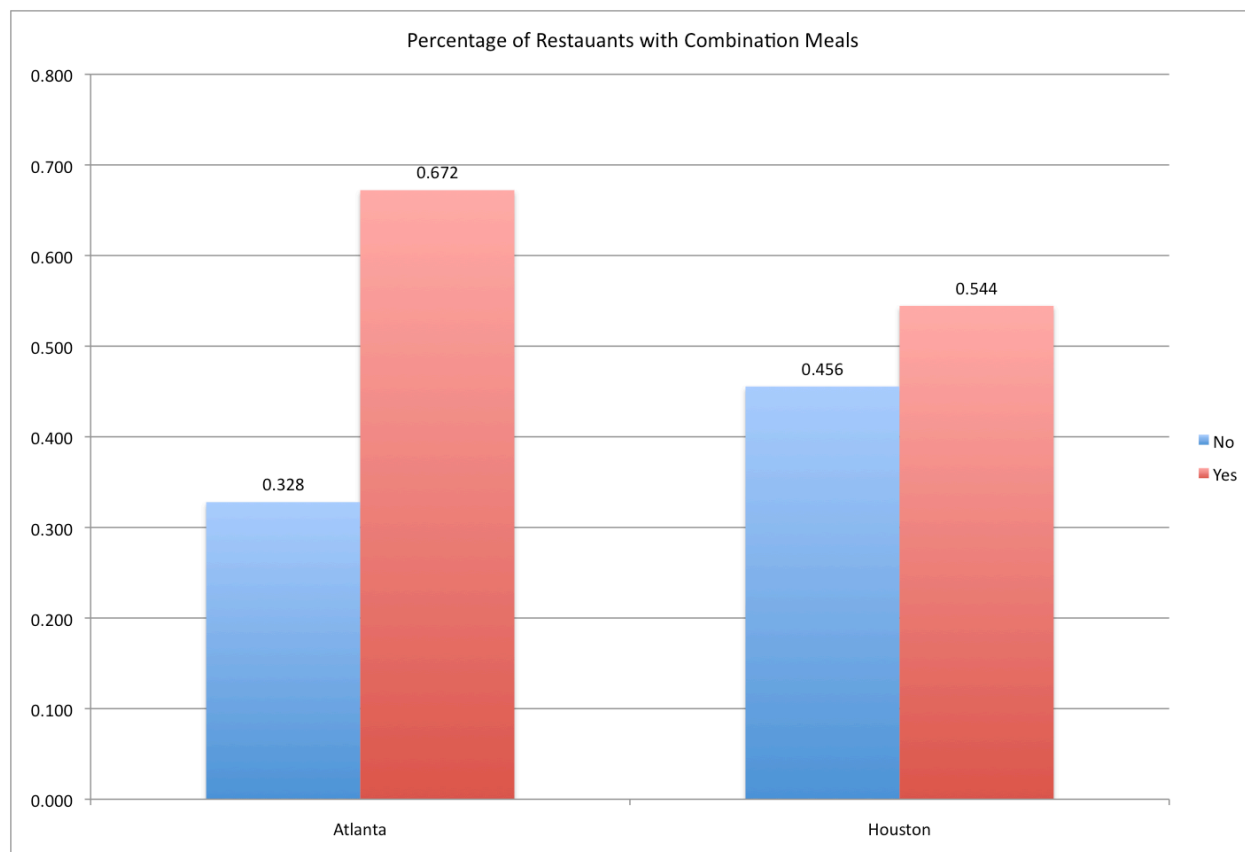


Figure 6.10: Percentage of Restaurants with Combination Meals

However, both cities exhibit the same trend with more restaurants using the combination meals than not. Using the following set of hypotheses,

$$H_0: P(x) \leq 0.5$$

$$H_a: P(x) > 0.5$$

we can say that in both Atlanta and Houston restaurants are more likely than not to have combination meals on the menu ($Z=4.92909$, $P(Z)=0.99999^{**}$; $Z=1.80166$, $P(Z)=0.96420^*$ for Atlanta and Houston respectively). We can see again that this trend is stronger in Atlanta, with Houston only rejecting the null at an alpha of 95%, whereas Atlanta can reject it at a 99.9% level or greater.

Figure 6.11 displays the distributions of the presence of combination meals by the clientele categories for Atlanta and Houston.

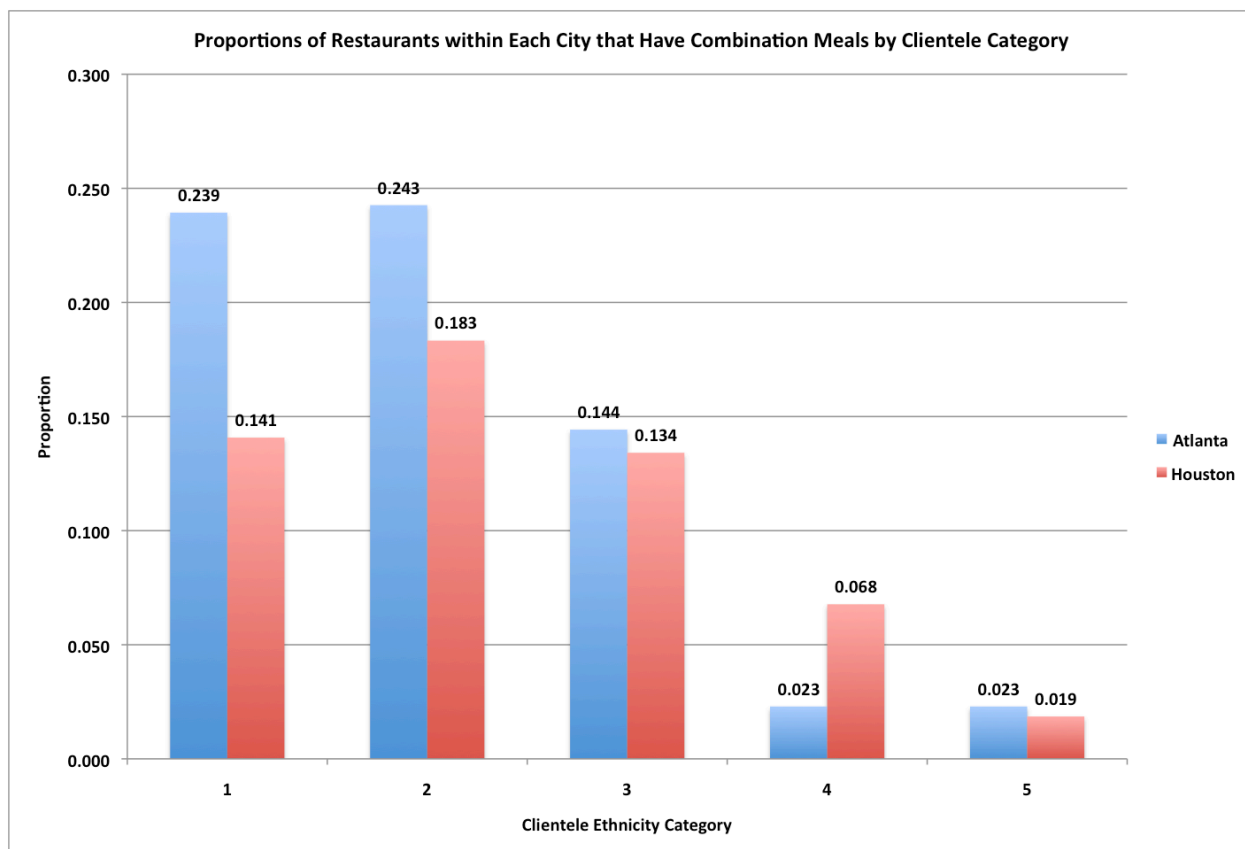


Figure 6.11: Proportions of Restaurants within Each City that Have Combination Meals by Clientele Category

We can see two different trends here. The Atlanta data has an obvious skew right, with a sharp drop-off after the non-Hispanic clientele categories. Houston, on the other hand displays a bit of a more normal distribution (with a much smaller right skew). I believe what we can see here is the menu-based evidence of that isolation that was discussed above in Chapter 5. Allow me to presuppose that non-Hispanic clientele are the most likely to consume combination meals. It would then follow in turn that those restaurateurs who anticipate having non-Hispanic clientele would add menu items that would appeal to them. As we saw before, there are clear areas in Atlanta where it is exceedingly rare for Anglos or African American diners to venture. Those restaurateurs, knowing that it is unlikely that they would have any customers who would want combination meals, would not waste the

ink to put them on the menu. Combining the non-Hispanic and Hispanic and Mixed Categories, like was done in Chapter 5, and running a Z-test with the population proportion set at 0.5, we (as the graph would suggest) find that in both cases non-Hispanic clientele restaurants are more likely than not to have combination meals on their menus, but the evidence for Houston is again much weaker than for Atlanta ($Z=5.77594$, $P(z)>0.99999^{**}$; $Z=3.23974$, $P(z)=0.99940^{**}$ for Atlanta and Houston, respectively).

6.3.2: *Weekend Bruches and Food Specials*

If Tex-Mex is favored by non-Hispanic customers, my conversations with both restaurateurs and Hispanic diners indicate that whether or not a restaurant offers a weekend brunch or special item (i.e. cabrito, barbacoa, caldo de res, menudo, or pozole) is a marker for “real” Mexican cuisine. I again looked at the presence or absence of this characteristic, and the findings (and results of the tests of independence) are presented in Tables 6.9 through 6.12 below. Please note that I was looking for whether or not a restaurant had a weekend special, not whether or not a restaurant served something like menudo. If a restaurant had menudo on the menu, but did not offer it (or anything else) specifically on the weekend, then this restaurant was said to *not* have this characteristic.

Table 6.9: Counts for the Presence of Weekend Food Special by Study Area

	No	Yes	Total
Atlanta	243	62	305
Houston	357	396	753
Total	600	458	1058

Table 6.10: Counts for Weekend Food Specials by Clientele in Atlanta

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No	84	64	39	22	34	243
Yes	10	19	9	16	8	62
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305

Table 6.11: Counts for Weekend Food Specials by Clientele in Houston

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No	114	109	64	47	23	357
Yes	15	52	138	133	58	396
Total	129	161	202	180	81	753

Table 6.12: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

CROSS-CITY DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Weekend Special Presence by City	92.03229	1	8.52739E-22**	REJECT NULL
ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Weekend Special Presence by Clientele Category	17.02989	4	0.00191**	REJECT NULL
HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Weekend Special Presence by Clientele Category	177.93551	4	2.06957E-37**	REJECT NULL

Again, we see that both city and ethnicity of customer base are not independent of this characteristic. Figure 6.12 shows the graphical distribution of the presence or absence of a weekend special by city. Unlike with the combination meals, here we see widely divergent trends between the cities. Just over 1 in 5 of all Mexican restaurants in Atlanta offer a weekend special whereas in Houston over half do. The hypothesis test on this data overwhelmingly shows that an Atlanta area Mexican restaurant is significantly less likely to have a weekend food special than to have one ($Z=9.25085$, $P(Z)>0.99999$ **). With the Houston data, on the other hand, we fail to reject the null hypothesis (again, that $P(x) = 0.5$) with a test statistic of -0.97860 and a non-significant probability of 0.16389 . Therefore, we

cannot say that it is more or less likely that a random Houston Mexican restaurant will have a weekend food special or not.

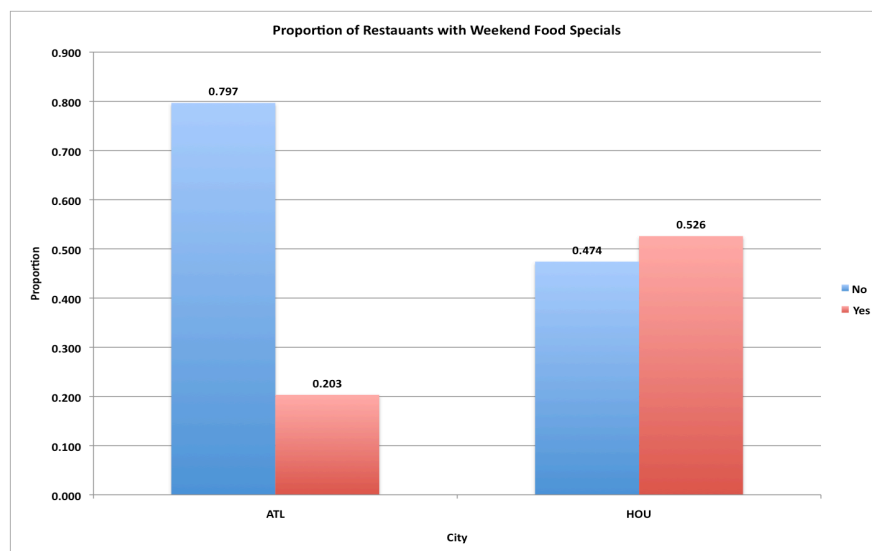


Figure 6.12: Proportion of Restaurants with Weekend Food Specials

Turning to how clientele categories relate to the presence or absence of a weekend food special, two separate conclusions can be drawn from observing Figure 6.13. Looking at the shapes of the data, the Atlanta data looks either slightly bimodal or normal whereas the Houston data is clearly skewed left.

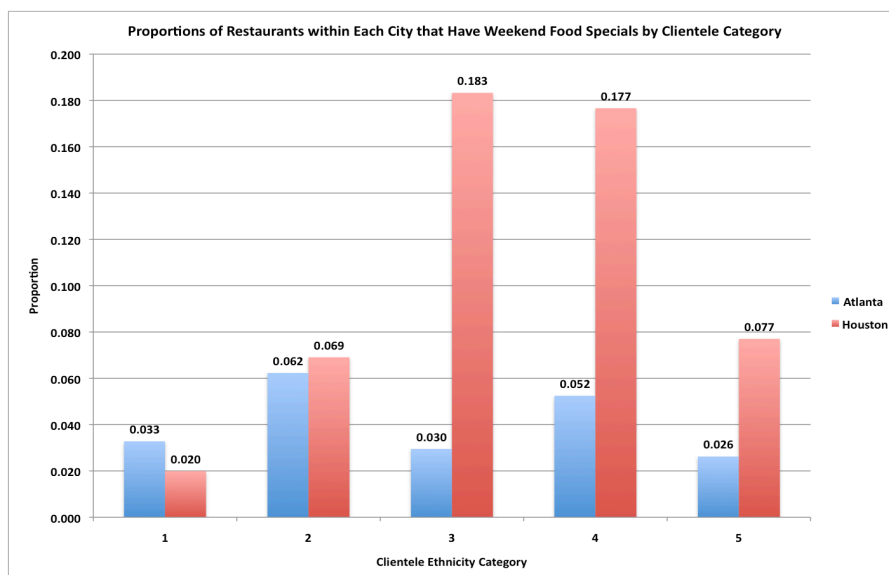


Figure 6.13: Proportions of Restaurants within Each City that Have Weekend Food Specials by Clientele Category

This indicates the opposite of what we might predict: that the Hispanic tradition of weekend brunches or specials is not confined to the isolated Hispanic areas in Atlanta, while it is more or less confined to restaurants with a Hispanic customer base in Houston. This trend clashes with my observations in Houston, where it seemed as though a lot of white and black clientele restaurants had brunches or menudo and pozole specials *por la fin de semana*. In fact, before I ran this data I was absolutely positive that the statistics would back my observations up! However, it is the Atlanta data that fails to reject the null hypothesis that the Hispanic and non-Hispanic restaurants have an even distribution of weekend specials, while the Houston data is able to reject it and shows that these brunches are a significant predictor of Hispanic clientele ($Z=-0.85833$, $P(Z)=0.19535$; $Z=-11.26692$, $P(Z)=9.55728E-30^{**}$ for Atlanta and Houston, respectively). There is a caveat that lessens the power of these statistical results. Referring again to Figure 6.13, the *shear amount* of restaurants in Houston that offer a weekend brunch or food special dwarfs that of Atlanta. This explains why, when driving around the city and visiting the restaurants I thought that this trend was much more evenly distributed. Furthermore, it indicates that (supposing the reverse of what we did with the combination meals, that this characteristic appeals mostly to Hispanic customers) more restaurateurs across the city have to put things on their menus that will draw and keep Hispanic clientele.

6.3.3: *Menu Domain*

Something that we will explore in more depth in the next chapter on customers is what I call “marker dishes.” These are menu items that signal to a customer or group of customers what type of Mexican restaurant they are dealing with—either one that caters mostly to

Hispanic clientele, one that caters mostly to Anglos, or one in between. Obviously, the menu and menu items are hardly the only significant social symbols that indicate a restaurant's clientele ethnicity to a patron—from location in the city to décor and architecture to name, there are things that a person sees before he or she even looks at the menu normally. But the menu matters too, and the restaurateurs I spoke to tended to focus on it—as if it were the most important thing in the restaurant beyond the food itself. Furthermore almost all of my customer participants noted the power of the menu. Erin, a 21 year-old student who grew up in the Atlanta suburb of Alpharetta, notes:

Erin: ...There are only a few types of Mexican restaurants, and if you can't tell by looking at them from the road, you'll know as soon as you see the menu. Sometimes I don't want anything strange...I just want my chicken enchiladas⁴¹!

So the specific dishes on the menu act as significant social symbols that telegraph the exoticness of that particular restaurant. While individual respondents report that they look for the presence of certain menu items to tell if a given restaurant will be comfortable, my data calls this slightly into question. When probed, Erin reported that:

Erin: ...if a menu has enchiladas, taco salad, burritos...I'll more or less like the place. I have my favorite Mexican place right down the street from my parents' house—La Parrilla—but if I'm with friends across the city, I can get the same thing from La Cazuela or El Toro. But those places on Buford Highway...I don't know anything on their menus⁴².

But this is not strictly true. Most of the suburban Atlanta restaurants do indeed have very similar menus; however, the Hispanic centric ones are not that different. Chances are Erin would actually have an easy time recognizing some items on the Buford Highway menus. But, many of these menus include items that she, and others with

⁴¹ Interview with the author, August 2 2009

⁴² Interview with the author, August 2 2009

relatively low levels of culinary experience or knowledge, would not recognize—from full dishes such as menudo, to meat options like *pierna*, *chicharrones*, and *lengua*. So really, the significant social symbols that attract individuals without high levels of Mexican culinary experience are not the common dishes such as tacos or enchiladas, but rather the lack of unfamiliar menu items like cow stomach.

To investigate this concept further we must explore the domains of Mexican menu items across the two fieldsites. The full domain for Atlanta is shown (with frequencies) in Appendix G, while the full domain for Houston is shown in Appendix H. This is, to say the least, an overwhelming amount of data. The complete domain across both cities is 651 items obtained from 44,221 entries (12,525 from Atlanta and 31,696 from Houston). The data comes from all the complete menus I had from the study areas—252 in Atlanta (82.6% of the city’s total Mexican restaurants) and 604 in Houston (80.2% of the total). These domains and their items’ frequencies can give us insight into both the differences (and similarities) between the two study areas, as well as enable us to look at intra-city differences due to clientele ethnicity.

Perhaps one of the simplest and most telling aspects to look at is those items that occur in the domain of one city, but not the other. Table 6.13 shows all those members of the Houston domain that do not appear at all in Atlanta’s, while Table 6.14 shows the opposite.

Table 6.13: Menu Items Unique to Houston Study Area Menus

Dish	Count	Dish	Count	Dish	Count
Aguacate Burrito	21	Chiles en Nogada	2	Ham Enchilada	3
Aguacate Enchilada	1	Chili Pie	1	Hen Soup	6
Aguacate Quesadilla	29	Chipotle Steak	5	Hen Torta	2
Aguacate Relleno	72	Chorizo	4	Huevos Rancheros	3
Aguacate Taco	47	Chorizo and Potato Torta	1	Hotdog	4
Aguacate Torta	35	Clams	2	Huevos al Mole Poblano	1

Alambre Taco	1	Club Sandwich	3	Huevos con Asado	1
Aguacate Torta	1	Cobb Salad	12	Huevos con Barbacoa	18
Bacon Burrito	1	Cochinita Pibil Enchilada	1	Huevos con Chicharrones	13
Bacon Enchilada	1	Corn and Poblano Chowder	8	Huevos con Frijoles	1
Bacon Fajita	2	Corn Bisque	8	Huevos con Lengua	2
Bacon Torta	1	Corn Cake	4	Huevos con Nopales	19
Baked Potato	1	Corn Enchilada	8	Huevos con Queso	1
Banana Pie	1	Corn Quesadilla	1	Huevos Fritos	46
Barbacoa Enchilada	12	Country Fried Chicken	3	Huitlacoche	1
Bell Pepper Relleno	36	Crab Cake Torta	1	Lamb Burrito	7
Birria	10	Crab Pasta	1	Lamb Chop	1
BLT	1	Crab Quesadilla	4	Lamb Consommé	4
Brain Burrito	1	Crawfish	2	Lamb Quesadilla	6
Brain Quesadilla	1	Crawfish Enchilada	8	Lamb Torta	8
Brain Torta	1	Crawfish Quesadilla	2	Lengua Enchilada	9
Brisket Torta	2	Cream of Cilantro Soup	5	Lettuce Wrap	12
Buche	2	Cuban Taco	4	Machacado	163
Cabrito Consommé	1	Duck	1	Machacado Burrito	2
Cabrito Torta	2	Egg Enchilada	4	Machacado Quesadilla	2
Caldo Tlalpeño	3	Egg Taco	1	Machacado Taco	2
Calzone	1	Enchiladas con Mole Poblano	15	Machacado Torta	2
Carne Adobada	1	Enchiladas con Mole Rojo	6	Mexican Lasagna	6
Carne Guisada Enchilada	4	Fish Primavera	1	Migas	158
Carne Guisada Quesadilla	27	Flounder	1	Milanese Burrito	61
Carne Guisada Taco	101	French Toast	13	Milanese Enchilada	2
Carne Guisada Torta	41	Fried Catfish	10	Milanese Taco	54
Carne Guisada Taco	3	Fried Hen	2	Mud Pie	1
Catfish Quesadilla	1	Fried Oysters	15	Mushroom Enchilada	6
Catfish Soup	2	Fried Scallops	1	Mushroom Soup	2
Cebollas Oaxaqueñas	1	Fruit Cobbler	1	Nopal Burrito	32
Champiñones a la Mexicana	1	Greek Salad	4	Nopal Enchilada	9
Chapulines	1	Grilled Cheese Sandwich	1	Nopal Fajita	1
Cheese Puff	107	Grilled Portabella	1	Nopal Quesadilla	35
Chicharrón Burrito	16	Grilled Seafood Salad	1	Nopal Salad	2
Chicharrón Enchilada	2	Grilled Tuna Salad	8	Nopal Torta	41
Chicharrón Torta	59	Gringa	5	Onion Soup	2
Chicken a la Mexicana	2	Grits	1	Oxtail Soup	1
Chicken and Corn Chowder	3	Guacamole Taco	22	Oyster Torta	2
Chicken Chowder	1	Gumbo	15	Pan Dulce	2
Chicken Fried Steak	18	Ham and Cheese Torta	1	Pancakes	116
Chicken Stew	3	Ham and Egg Torta	9	Panucho	6
Chilango Torta	1	Ham Burrito	26	Pastelito de Carne	1
Pastrami Torta	1	Puerco Asado	9	Sping Rolls	1
Pata de Res (Cow Foot) Burrito	1	Puerco con Mole Verde	3	Squash Soup	1
Pecan Pie	2	Quail Enchilada	6	Steak con Mole Negro	1
Pierna Burrito	60	Quail Fajita	1	Stir-Fried Veggies	1
Pierna Enchilada	1	Roasted Red Pepper Soup	8	Stuffed Eggplant	1
Pierna Taco	78	Ropa Vieja Torta	4	Swordfish	1
Pierna Torta	79	Ruben	1	Tinga Burrito	2

Poblano Enchilada	4	Salchicha Taco	1	Tinga Quesadilla	2
Pollo con Mole Enchilada	5	Salmon Taco	2	Tinga Taco	10
Pollo con Mole Negro	1	Sardine Torta	6	Tlacoyos	2
Pollo con Mole Quesadilla	5	Scallop Burrito	1	Tripe	10
Pollo con Mole Rojo	2	Scallop Taco	1	Tripe Enchilada	1
Pollo con Mole Taco	5	Shrimp a la Veracruz	1	Trout	1
Pork Chop Taco	1	Shrimp en Nogada	1	Tuna Sandwich	1
Pot Roast	1	Shrimp Enchialda	1	Tuna Taco	1
Potato Torta	3	Shrimp Relleno	29	Waffle	1

Table 6.14: Menu Items Unique to Atlanta Study Area Menus

Dish	Count	Dish	Count	Dish	Count
Agua Chili	1	Crab Dip	7	Pork Molcajete	1
Ahogada Torta	1	Crab Legs	1	Pork Ranchero	2
Al Pastor Fajita	1	Cream of Elote Soup	1	Pork Rib Taco	1
Al Pastor Wrap	1	Duck Sopes	1	Puerca en Salsa Verde	1
Arrachera Poblana	1	Egg and Ham Torta	1	Puerco con Mole Taco	1
Arroz con Pollo	6	Egg Sandwich	1	Puerco en Salsa Verde	5
Artichoke Dip	4	Fish Fajita	7	Pulled Pork Sandwich	5
Avocado Rolls	4	Fish Molcajete	1	Pulled Pork Taco	5
Beef Wrap	1	Fish Quesadilla	7	Quail con Mole	1
BLT Taco	5	Fried Chicken Burrito	5	Rice Soup	1
Budín Cazuela	1	Fried Chicken Taco	15	Salmon Quesadilla	2
Cabeza	1	Frog Legs	1	Scallop Fajita	7
Cabrito Quesadilla	1	Head Cheese Torta	7	Scallop Quesadilla	1
Cabrito Soup	1	Lamb Barbacoa	2	Seafood Buritto	7
Carnitas Fajita	1	Lobster and Poblano Dip	2	Shish Kabob	5
Cecina Taco	2	Lobster Burrito	1	Shrimp Casserole	1
Charro Dip	10	Lobster Ravioli	1	Shrimp Chowder	2
Cheese Fondue	1	Lobster Taco	4	Shrimp Molcajete	3
Chicken Cortadillo	10	Marlin	1	Spinach Taco	1
Chicken Dip	3	Mexican Steak	5	Spring Salad	5
Chicken Florentina	2	Molcajete of Steak	1	Steak a la Veracruzana	7
Chicken Kebab	4	Mushroom Crepê	1	Steak Cortadillo	10
Chicken Molcajete	2	Mushroom Dip	1	Strawberry Cake	2
Chicken Parmesan	1	Mushroom Fajita	3	Suadero Burrito	4
Chili Colorado	9	Octopus Burrito	1	Suadero Quesadilla	3
Chili Verde	20	Octopus Quesadilla	1	Suadero Torta	3
Chili Verde Burrito	1	Octopus Soup	1	Talipia Taco	1
Chili Verde Taco	1	Orange Cake	1	Tilapia Quesadilla	1
Chimi Dolce	10	Oyster Soup	2	Tilapia Taco	6
Chipoltes en Escabêche	1	Oyster Taco	1	Tilapia Torta	2
Chipotle Salmon	7	Paella	9	Tiramisu	1
Chipotle Shrimp	1	Palm Salad	2	Tlayuda	2
Chipotle Shrimp	1	Pastrami Sandwich	1	Tofu Burrito	1
Chocolate Volcano	2	Picadillo	7	Tofu Fajita	1
Chorizo Dip	1	Pinto Bean Cakes	1	Tofu Quesadilla	1
Chorizo and Egg Quesadilla	2	Po Boy	1	Tofu Taco	2
Chorizo and Egg Torta	4	Poblano Burrito	5	Tostaguac	6

Chorizo Wrap	1	Poblano Crepê	1	Tostones	1
Citrus Salad	9	Poblano Taco	1	Turnip Greens	5
Cochinita Pibil Burrito	1	Pollo con Papas	4	Veal Parmesan	1
Cochinita Pibil Torta	1	Pork and Sausage Torta	1	Veggie Wrap	5
Crab Burrito	2	Pork Chops con Mole	7		

By way of comparison, there are 125 items that do not appear on Houston's domain that do on Atlanta's, and 192 the other way around, so 19.2% and 29.4% of the entire cross-city domain respectively. It is apparent from the proceeding two tables that much of what makes up these lists are menu items that appear only once or a few times. Some, such as a Cochinita Pibil (a style of preparing pork in the Yucatán) Burrito are mostly likely house specialties whereas others like waffles are just anomalies. The comparative power here is looking at those items on these lists that have high frequencies. Figure 6.14 does this for those items unique to Atlanta, and Figure 6.15 does the same for those unique to Houston. In fact, the average menu item from found only in Atlanta is found on a mean of only 3.08 menus, while an average menu item found only in Houston can be found on a mean of 11.34 menus. This fact, in and of itself, can tell us something about the differences between the two study sites.

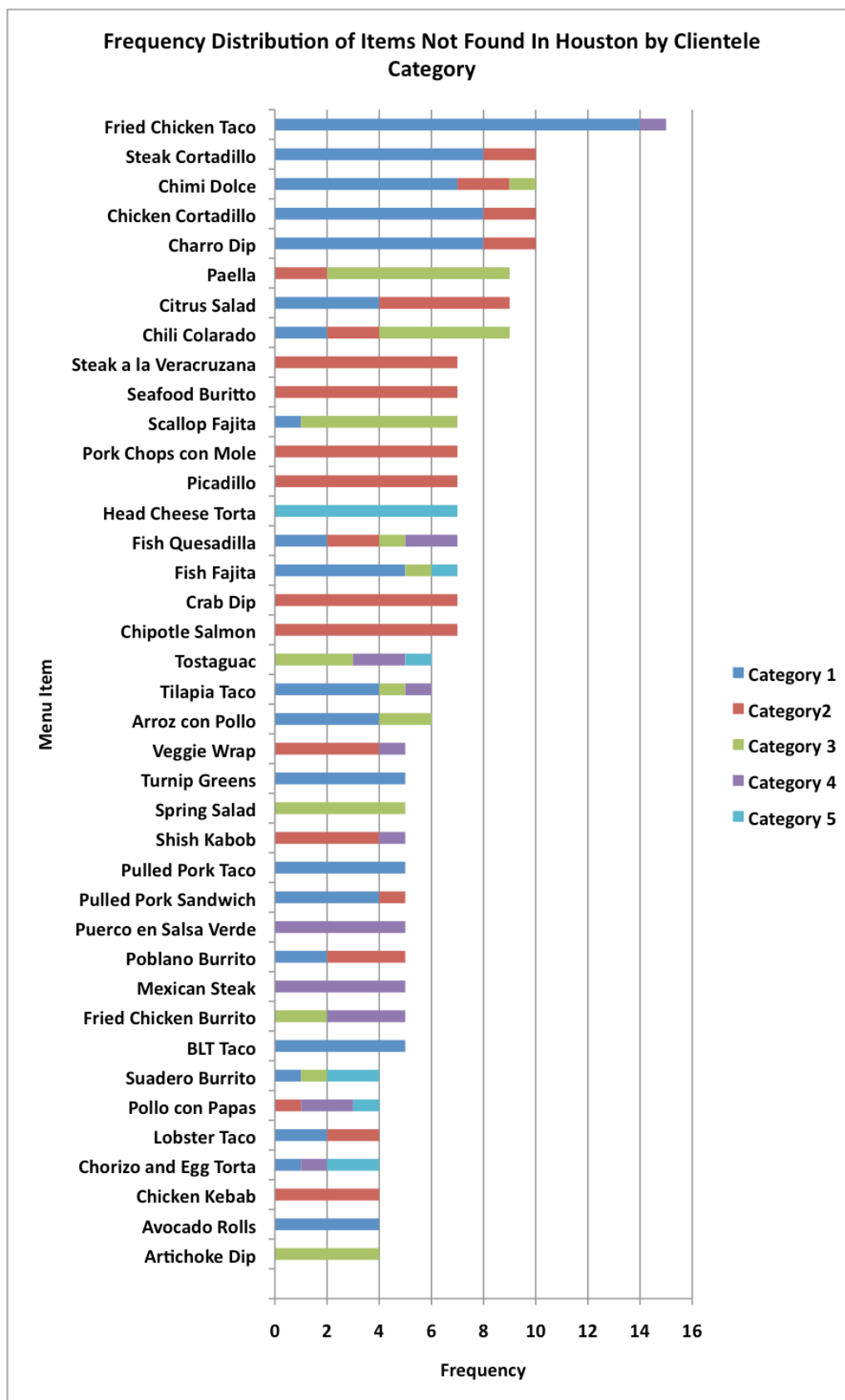


Figure 6.14: Frequency Distribution of Items not Found in Houston by Clientele Category

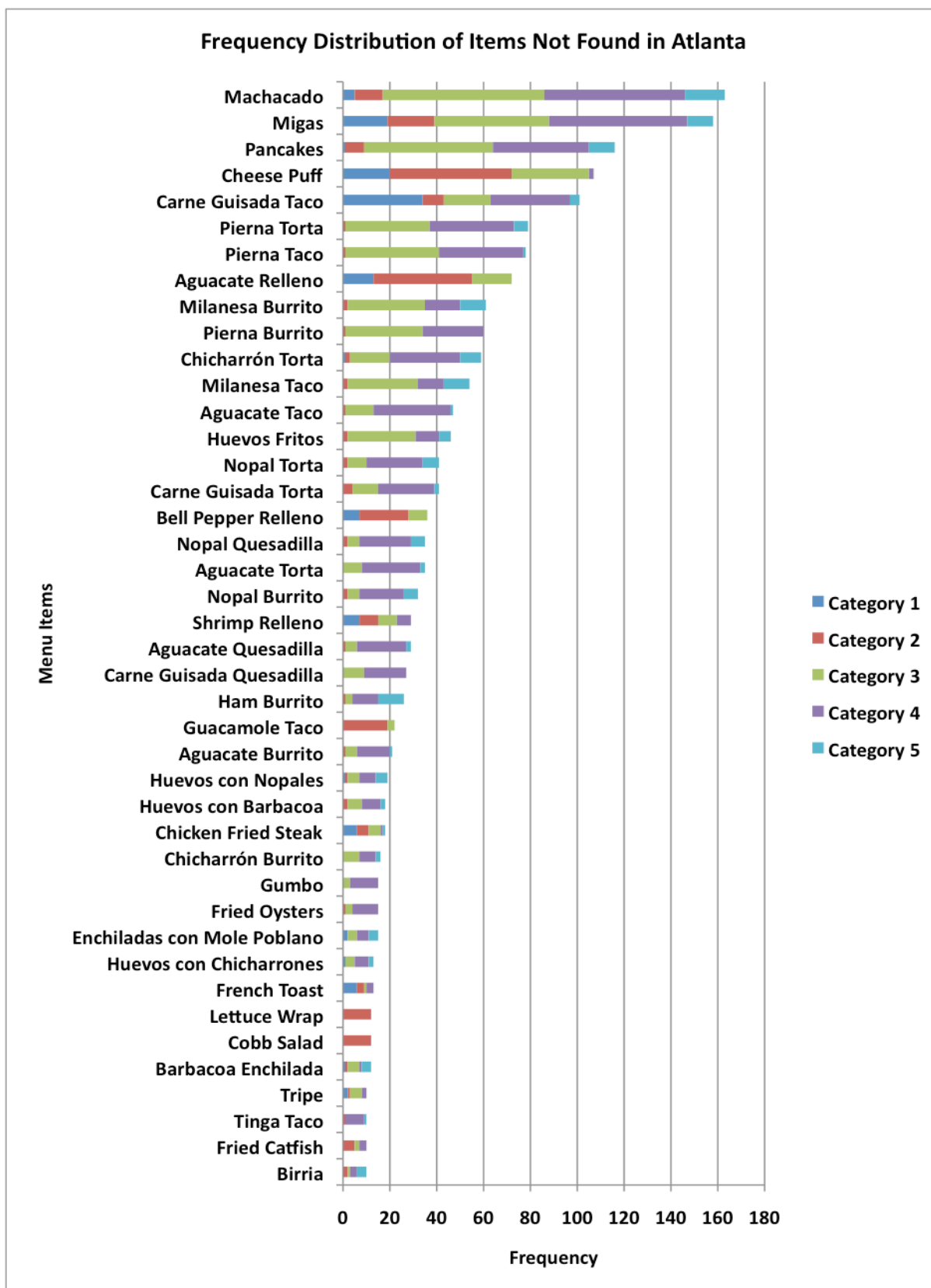


Figure 6.15: Frequency Distribution of Items not Found in Atlanta by Clientele Category

Most of Atlanta's unique items are variations on a theme—scallop fajitas, salmon quesadillas. In other words, things you will not find in one of the classic Mexican cookbooks like Diana Kennedy's (2000), but rather things you would find on the pan-Latino cooking shows on Food Network. These dishes use the names or flavor profile of traditional Mexican (or Tex-Mex) food and present it in a way that is appealing to a customer base that doesn't have the cultural culinary capital (Bourdieu 2007 [1984]; Johnston and Baumann 2007; Warde, et al. 1999)—the experience with the cuisine—that would allow them to determine authenticity.

Houston's unique items on the other hand, particularly the most frequent among these, are more or less classic Mexican or Tex-Mex dishes—*machacado* (shredded, dried beef often served with eggs), *migas* (a Tex-Mex specialty of dried tortillas with eggs, not unlike chilaquiles), and *aguacates rellenos* (stuffed avacados). Interestingly, the three most frequent unique items in Houston—*machacado*, *migas*, and pancakes—are all breakfast items. Their inclusion was something that became quickly apparent while I was doing my observations in Houston, and I made sure to visit places for breakfast to see how that changed the clientele ethnicity of an establishment. The short answer is: not much. If I had to qualify the change I would say that during the weekdays it made the restaurant category go a half point lower (more non-Hispanic), and during the weekends a half point higher. I remember sitting in a fairly Hispanic taqueria in Houston (Taqueria La Favorita, which I classed as a Category 5 restaurant) for breakfast in late October of 2009. When I had visited the place around dinnertime a few days before it was a full house with entirely Hispanic clientele. Now, at breakfast, it was still full but about 30% of the customers were white. And everyone was eating *migas*, *huevos rancheros* and—of all things—pancakes.

Good, old-fashioned, American flapjacks. I briefly spoke to the owner, Oscar Ruiz, and asked him about this:

Paul: You know, when I was here around dinner on Wednesday there were no whites here, just Hispanics. But now, you have a mix. Which is typical?

Oscar: We just have good food. All types of people will come.

P: So that wasn't normal the other night, with only Mexicans...

O: Well, at dinner we usually have mostly Mexicanos. Lunch too I guess. I don't know why.

P: But for breakfast...

O: Yes, for breakfast we get a lot of whites. Blacks too sometimes. I think they're just people on the way to work you know? Stop here for a quick ahh huevos and café.

...

P: What about the pancakes? I've seen them on a lot of menus, did you start selling them for your white customers?

O: No. Not only for them. We like them too! In fact, I think it was some of my Mexican regulars—get a lot of the day laborers on their way out to work around 6am—who wanted them. They are good to start the day off with, you know. With some ah bacon. It's hard work these guys do.

P: Absolutely. Do your white customers eat the pancakes too?

O: You know what? Not really. I have never really thought about that, but they eat mostly huevos rancheros or migas. Some will eat the pancakes, they are good pancakes! But mostly no, the whites eat eggs⁴³

So eating breakfast is a common thing in Houston, but what people eat is telling:

Mexicans eat the classic American dish, while Anglos and African Americans eat the classic Mexican ones. In other words, what we see here is a perfect example of bi-lateral culinary acculturation.

Beside the differences within the cities, we can look at the differences between the various categories of clientele ethnicity. Let's first consider Atlanta. The whole Atlanta domain contains 459 items, with an average item appearing on a mean of 27.29 menus. We can of course look at the list of foods present in each category as a separate domain in and

⁴³ Interview with the author, October 28 2009

of itself. Doing this, we find that there are 259 items in the Category 1 domain (56% of the whole, with a mean of 6.88 menus), 230 in the Category 2 domain (50%, with a mean of 8.60 menus), 273 in Category 3 (59%, with a mean of 5.41 menus), 249 in Category 4 (54%, with a mean of 3.27), and 215 in Category 5 (47%, with a mean of 3.13 menus). Table 6.15 shows the top 15 dishes in the overall domain and each of the clientele ethnicity categories' domains. Each cell is color-coded to represent how many of the five category's top 15 lists that dish appears one, using the following coding scheme: Blue—All 5; Green—4; Yellow—3; Pink—2; Red—Only 1.

Table 6.15: Top 15 Items in Overall and Clientele Categories, Atlanta

Overall	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
Chicken Quesadilla	Chicken Taco	Chile Relleno	Chile Relleno	Chicken Quesadilla	Steak Torta
Nachos	Nachos	Chimichanga	Steak Quesadilla	Steak Taco	Steak Taco
Chile Relleno	Guacamole	Chicken Enchilada	Chicken Enchilada	Chicken Taco	Chicken Quesadilla
Chicken Taco	Steak Fajita	Chicken Quesadilla	Chicken Quesadilla	Nachos	Chicken Torta
Chicken Burrito	Cheese Dip	Nachos	Nachos	Carne Asada	Chicken Taco
Steak Fajita	Chicken Quesadilla	Chicken Burrito	Guacamole	Chile Relleno	Steak Burrito
Guacamole	Chile Relleno	Guacamole	Beef Enchilada	Flan	Al Pastor Taco
Chicken Enchilada	Chicken Fajita	Chicken Fajita	Chicken Burrito	Chicken Burrito	Al Pastor Burrito
Chicken Fajita	Steak Burrito	Chicken Soup	Cheese Dip	Cheese Quesadilla	Al Pastor Torta
Steak Taco	Steak Quesadilla	Steak Fajita	Taco Salad	Chimichanga	Chicken Burrito
Steak Quesadilla	Chicken Burrito	Beef Burrito	Beef Burrito	Shrimp Fajita	Cheese Quesadilla
Chimichanga	Taco Salad	Steak Taco	Chicken Taco	Taco Salad	Carnitas Taco
Cheese Dip	Chimichanga	Cheese Quesadilla	Steak Fajita	Steak Fajita	Chorizo Torta
Taco Salad	Fish Taco	Chicken Taco	Flan	Chicken Fajita	Carnitas Torta
Cheese Quesadilla	Chicken Enchilada	Carnitas	Beef Taco	Beef Burrito	Nachos

These top dishes in each category are clearly not that different from one another. Recall what the Atlantan customer Erin stated above, that she did not “know anything on their [the Buford Highway Mexican restaurants’] menus.” It is true to be sure that Category 5’s top 15 is the most distinct of the 5, with 53.3% of the items being unique to that category’s top dishes. However, looking at those 8 dishes in red on the Category 5 list, all of them are recognizable to one degree or another. As mentioned above when we looked at Atlanta’s unique items, these are just variations on a theme. More to the point, all 8 of

those items still appear in the top quarter of the overall domain’s frequency distribution (the lowest in terms of overall frequency is the carnitas torta, which appears on only 27 menus). All in all, it is highly unlikely that a customer would not be able to recognize at least some of the dishes on any given menu, even if it is geared towards customers in another ethnicity.

I suggested above that the significant thing in menus was not the dishes individuals recognize, but rather those that they do not. Figures 6.16 through 6.18 show the frequency distribution of the items in the Category 5 domain by each category at 25-item intervals.

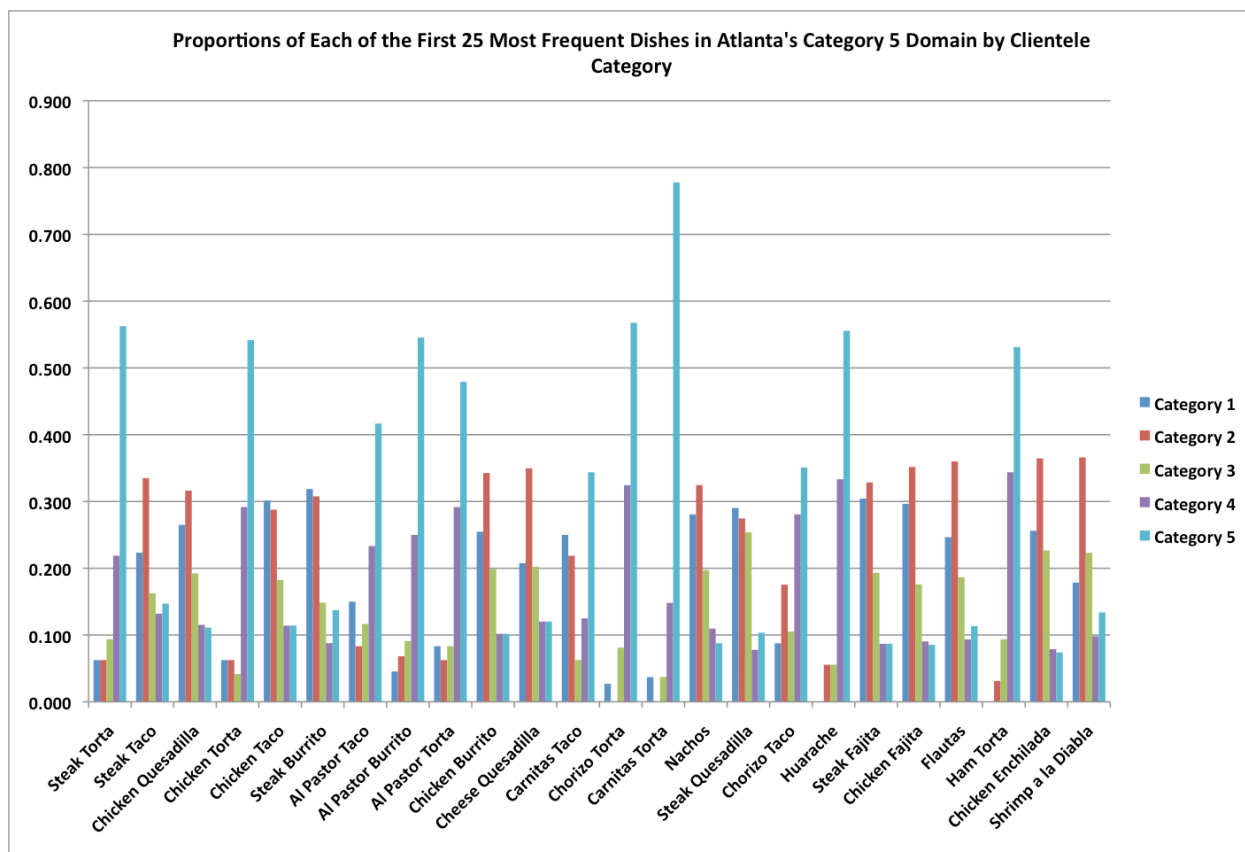


Figure 6.16: Proportions of Each of the First 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Atlanta’s Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

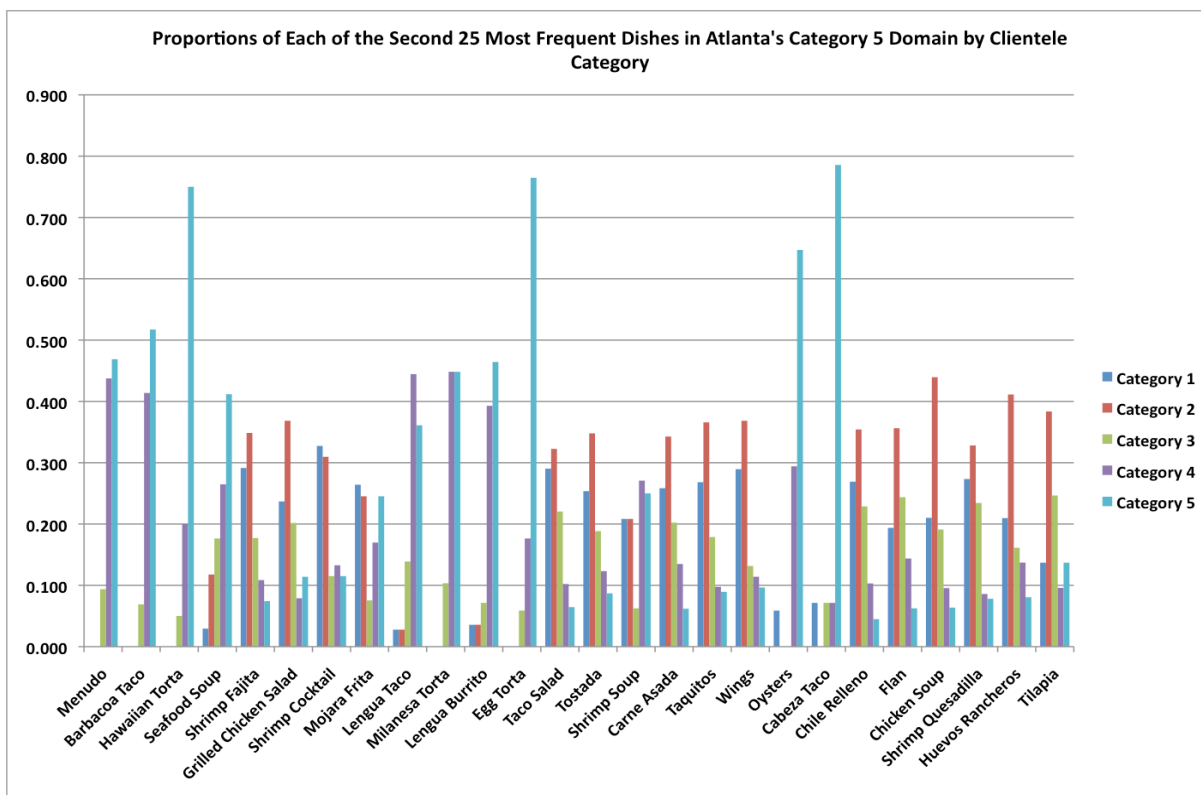


Figure 6.17: Proportions of Each of the Second 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Atlanta's Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

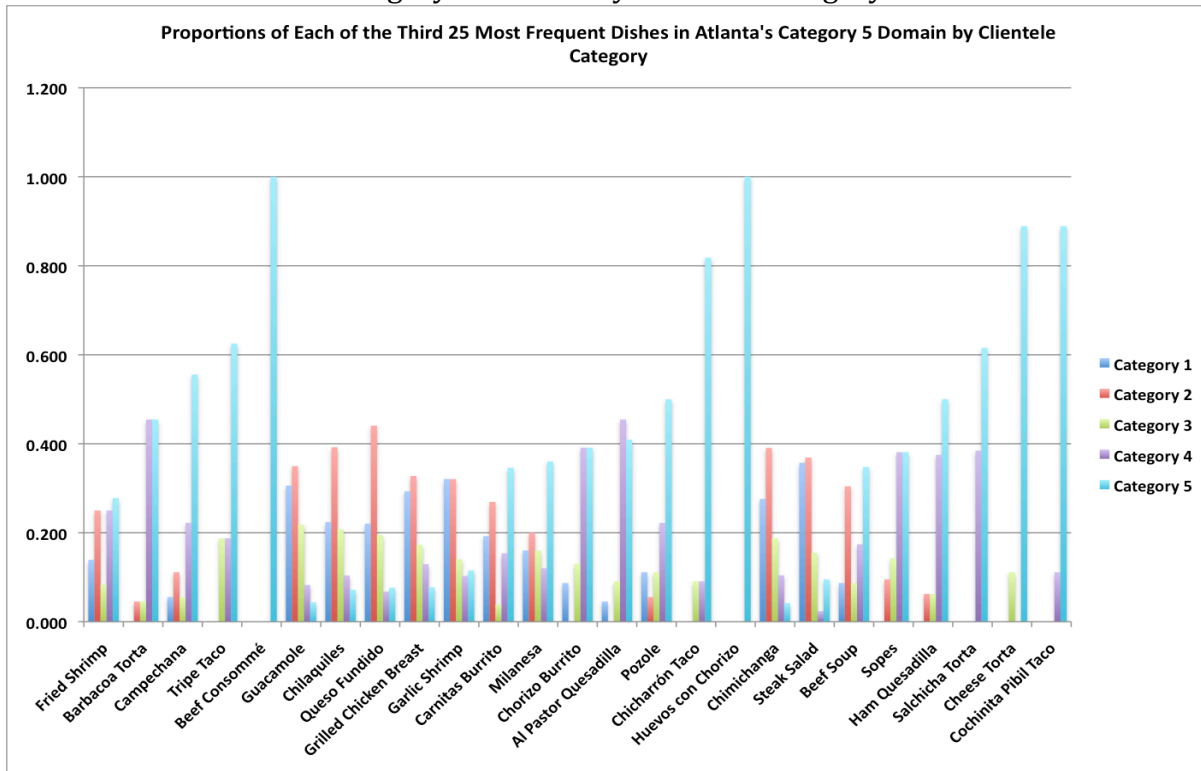


Figure 6.18: Proportions of Each of the Third 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Atlanta's Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

Here we can see two general distributions in the dishes. One, as exemplified by menudo (on the extreme left of the X-axis of Figure 6.17), shows the dish appearing in greater proportions in the more Hispanic restaurants. The second, as exemplified by shrimp a la diablo (on the extreme right of the x-axis in Figure 6.16) shows a right-skewed distribution favoring the more non-Hispanic restaurants. The former distribution clearly becomes more frequent as we move down the domain. By the third 25, we can see that not only do a majority of the dishes show this distribution, but at such an extreme level that the non-Hispanic categories are almost entirely excluded. These dishes—such as tripe tacos, milanesa (breaded chicken or steak), and chicharrón tacos—are the ones that people like Erin mean when they talk about the un-familiarity of a restaurant’s menu.

Restaurateurs can obviously use this fact to either familiarize or defamiliarize the culinary experience. José Montes or El Azteca notes how, during the fall when he puts more authentic Mexican dishes on his menu for Mexican Independence Day, he has noticed this.

Paul: What are your customers’ reactions to these things? Like when you provide the flyers? That you’re trying to present the culture, not just the food?

José: Some customers say, “that’s neat, that’s really educated.” They take it because they think it’s very educated, something that they didn’t know and they say “oh you know your history very well.” Well, not that well, but I try to be informed. Same thing with Mexican Independence Day. Around September...this Septemeber will be my 7th gastronomic festival in the restaurant. You know, I do it for about a week in all the restaurants. I prepare some authentic, more authentic dishes, that are served around that time, you know for independence.

P: Do you break them down in regions?

J: Some of them are broken down into regions, yes. I go to Oaxaca. But I leave the Oaxaca part and Puebla and Michoacán to the Day of the Dead. You know, I leave those dishes towards the Day of the Dead. Yucatan, I bring Yucatan into my menu. But in September, my most popular dish is Chile en Nogada. That’s a stuffed Poblano Pepper with some ground beef, it’s called *Picadillo* with ground beef, with some citrus in there—some pineapple, some apple, pecans, almonds, some raisins—and it’s served covered in a pecan and

almond sauce, a white pecan and almond sauce. And it's then decorated with some pomegranate seeds.

P: How do they react...do your customers like those kind of things?

J: It depends. As I said, they like the history usually, they feel like they are learning something. I know a lot stay with the regular menu when we do these. They don't know what things like chiles en nogada are, and they don't ask. It's strange to them. I try to have my waiters explain, but a lot of people just want their usual taco and burrito. Too many strange things might turn them off—drive them away. Or they're just ignore it. It's hard to find that line. But some of my customers accept it, and they tell me they like it and that I should put it on the menu. But to have it year round, you have to have pomegranates all year round and that's hard to get. So it's like a seasonable dish⁴⁴.

As we might expect at this point, Houston displays a milder version of these trends.

Table 6.16 shows the top 15 members of each of the Houston domains, using the same color-coding as with Table 6.15. Recall that when exploring the geographic trends in Chapters 3 and 5 that Houston's Hispanic areas and restaurants did not have the same level of isolation as did Atlanta's. We would therefore expect, if dishes can indeed be social symbols that significantly predict ethnicity, that we would see less dishes that are unique to Category 4 and 5 restaurants in Houston than we did Atlanta. This is the case, with only 33% of the top 15 dishes from Houston's Category 5 restaurants being unique to that category's list.

Table 6.16: Top 15 Items in Overall and Clientele Categories, Houston

Overall	Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
Chicken Taco	Steak Fajita	Chicken Enchilada	Chicken Taco	Steak Taco	Steak Torta
Steak Taco	Chicken Fajita	Flautas	Steak Taco	Chicken Taco	Steak Taco
Steak Fajita	Chicken Taco	Nachos	Chicken Enchilada	Steak Fajita	Chicken Taco
Chicken Quesadilla	Chicken Quesadilla	Steak Fajita	Steak Fajita	Chicken Quesadilla	Menudo
Chicken Fajita	Nachos	Chicken Taco	Flautas	Menudo	Chicken Torta
Flautas	Cheese Enchilada	Chicken Fajita	Cheese Enchilada	Chicken Torta	Huevos Rancheros
Chicken Enchilada	Steak Taco	Chile con Queso	Chicken Fajita	Beef Soup	Huevos a la Mexicana
Nachos	Beef Enchilada	Beef Enchilada	Chicken Quesadilla	Mojara Frita	Chicken Enchilada
Cheese Enchilada	Beef Taco	Steak Taco	Nachos	Tostada	Breakfast Burrito

⁴⁴ Interview with the author, July 9 2009

Beef Enchilada	Grilled Chicken Salad	Chicken Quesadilla	Tostada	Steak Quesadilla	Barbacoa Taco
Chicken Burrito	Flautas	Cheese Enchilada	Chicken Burrito	Steak Torta	Beef Soup
Beef Taco	Steak Quesadilla	Grilled Chicken Breast	Beef Taco	Flautas	Chicken Burrito
Steak Quesadilla	Beef Burrito	Chile Relleno	Beef Enchilada	Huevos Rancheros	Milanesa
Chile con Queso	Chicken Enchilada	Taco Salad	Chile con Queso	Shrimp Cocktail	Lengua Taco
Grilled Chicken Breast	Taco Salad	Tamale	Grilled Chicken Breast	Chicken Enchilada	Steak Fajita

Furthermore, if we examine the between-clientele category trends of the top 75 dishes in Category 5 again, we see much less of the isolated Hispanic distribution than we do the more normal/skewed right distribution.

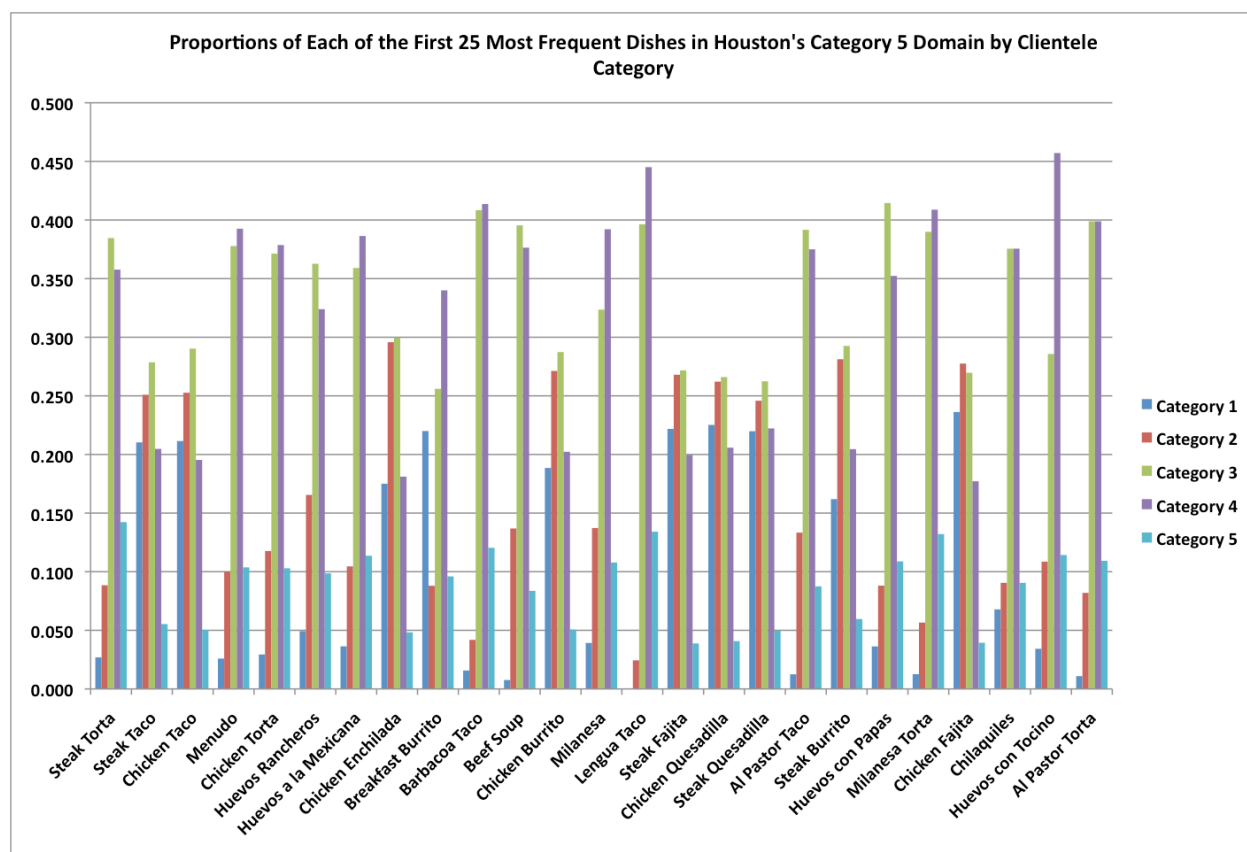


Figure 6.19: Proportions of Each of the First 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Houston's Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

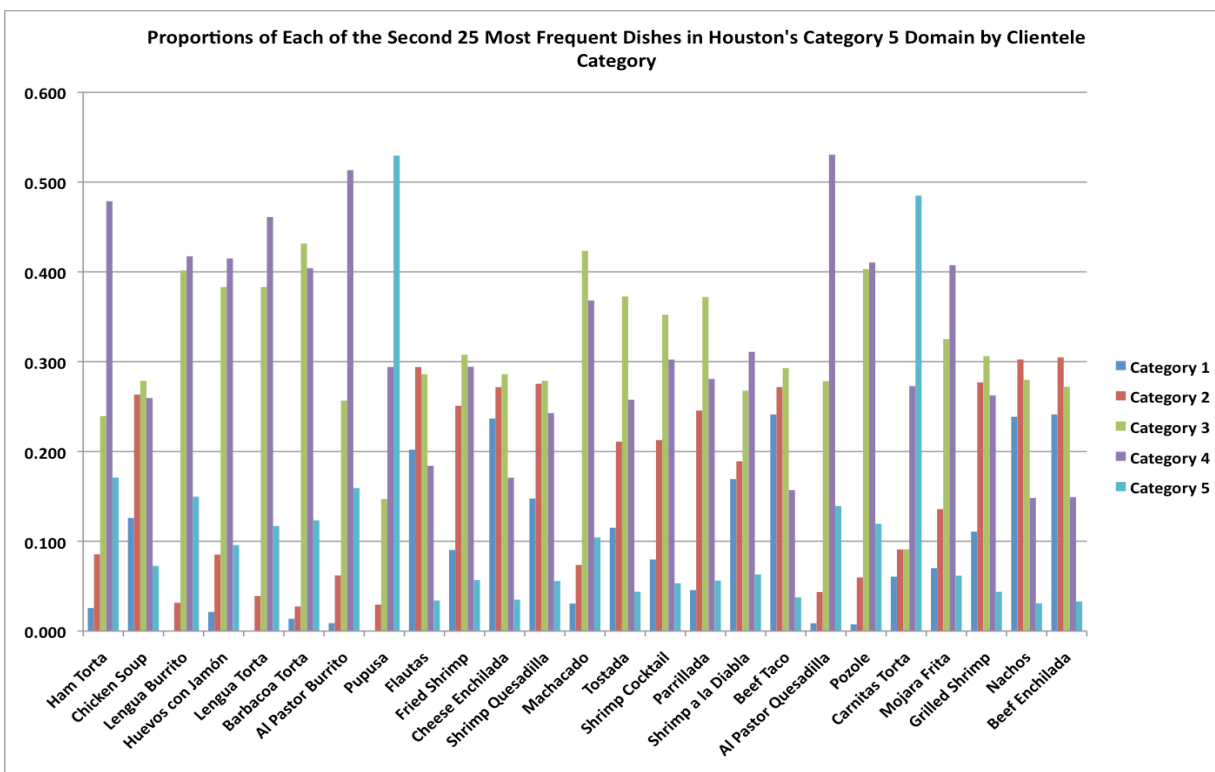


Figure 6.20: Proportions of Each of the Second 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Houston's Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

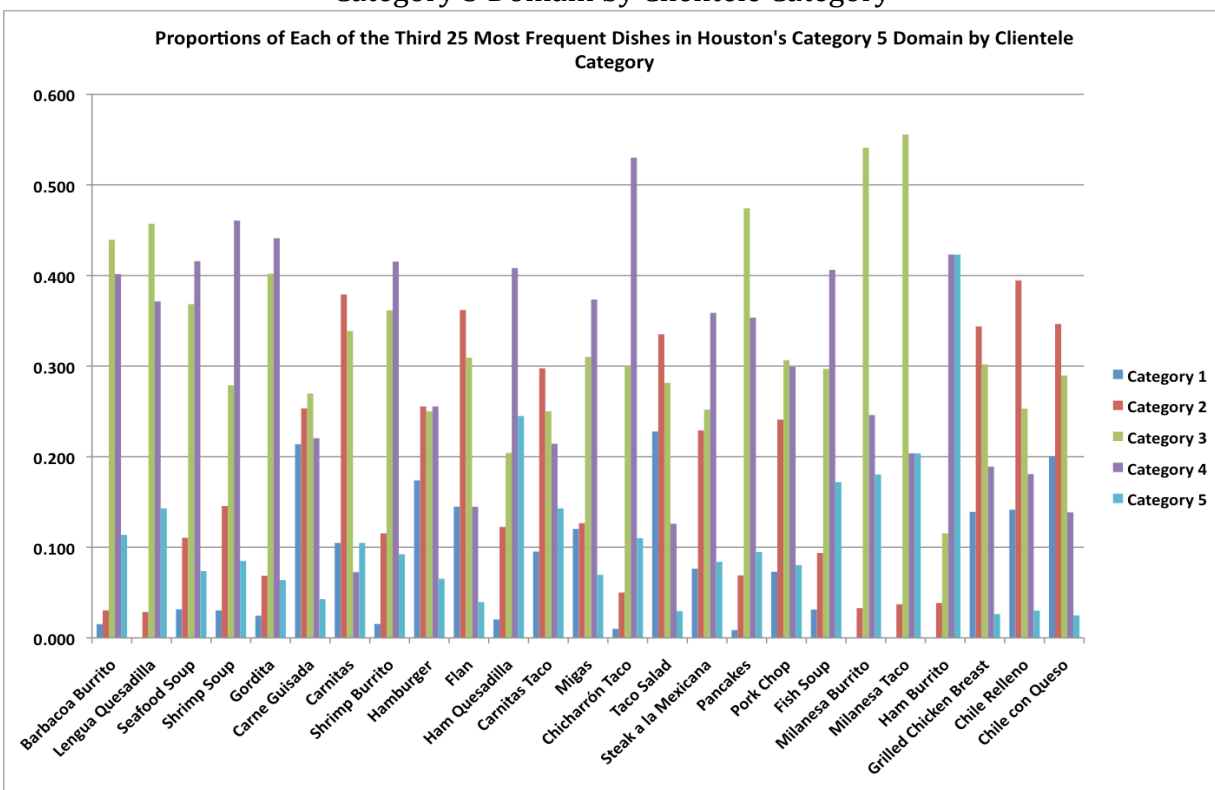


Figure 6.21: Proportions of Each of the Third 25 Most Frequent Dishes in Houston's Category 5 Domain by Clientele Category

All in all, these data show that Houston restaurateurs select their menu items in a broader manner than those in Atlanta. Understanding that individual dishes on the menu act as social symbols that signify a restaurant's acceptability to either Hispanic or non-Hispanic customers, restaurateurs can—at the very beginning of the culinary experience—begin to familiarize or exoticize the event and either reinforce or penetrate the diner's environmental bubble of comfort.

6.4: Negotiation through Naming and Translation

Besides setting the scene through framing the experience, the most visible of the negotiation techniques is the naming and translation of things in and around the restaurant. In particular, there are two major sites of negotiating through naming in Mexican restaurants—the restaurants' names themselves and the language used throughout the establishment, especially on the menus. If Section 6.3 explained why certain dishes are picked to be included in the menu, here I hope to show how and why those dishes are presented on the menu.

Long (2004: 38-39) explains how by selectively translating various dishes and their ingredients into the vernacular language, restaurants can increase familiarity without changing anything else—simply by decreasing rhetorical distance. For instance, a Mexican restaurant that sells *Torta con Jamón*, can change its customers' perceptions of that dish by simply calling it a "ham sandwich." Rob Atherholt mentions this when talking about how his Hispanic customers like ordering tortas for lunch, which he had to take off his menu because his Anglos never ordered them:

Rob: ...One thing you'll find, most of the time the Mexican laborers who come in speak very little English. So they'll find something that they understand on the menu and they order it. And if one guy orders it, chances are they'll all order it. If one guy comes in and says, "ok, carne asada." And the next guy will look at the menu and go, "yeah yeah yeah." And a lot of them want tortas.

Paul: I take it none of your front staff speaks Spanish?

R: Uh yeah, I speak Spanish. And I have a girl Falia who speaks Spanish—she's actually Guatemalan. But a lot of them come in and they want a torta—they want a sandwich for lunch! A lot of people want a sandwich for lunch.

P: Do you think if you called it a sandwich, it would...

R: It would sell, most definitely. And if people come in and they see the torta cubana, if there's a group of them. And people see it, and they'll say, "what's that?" And I point it out on the menu, and the next time they come in, they'll order it. And if they haven't ordered yet, they'll get it then. Cause it's a big sandwich. But you know, the Mexican laborers come in, and they ask for a chicken torta. No problem. I mean we got everything. I mean, we used to have the tortas up here as an option, but we didn't sell many of them, so we made it just the one type. But we can...I'm from the hospitality industry. If we can do it, we'll do it⁴⁵.

So, just as language and translation can be used to decrease rhetorical distance, it can be used for the opposite de-familiarizing purpose by maintaining the Spanish. Otilia Menendez also commented on this:

Paul: So you said that a lot of your customers are white, right?

Otilia: Yes, maybe a little more than half, we get some blacks and Asians too of course...

P: Right. But I notice that a lot of the dishes on your menu are in Spanish. Like you use the term *chueltas de Puerco* instead of just pork chops. *Cebollas* instead of...

O: Well right. That's their name! [Laughs] No, even after I moved away from the taquería concept, I don't want to change the dishes' names. I want to give my customers a real Mexican meal. The language is important. We have a translation of each term, but I think they see the food differently if it's in Spanish. I know I think I do.

P: So you think the food loses some of its ahh, Mexican-ness as it were if you name the dishes in English?

⁴⁵ Interview with the author, June 25, 2009

O: I know it does not really change the food, but how we see it maybe, yes⁴⁶.

Two different methods of employing this naming/translation negotiation technique emerged from studying the menus of the survey areas' restaurants and speaking to the restaurateurs. The first is to use both English and Spanish, intermingled, on the menus, whereas the second is to provide targeted translations of clearly unfamiliar (to the non-Hispanic) culinary terms.

Mixed-language menus are most obvious in majority-non-Hispanic or mixed clientele restaurants. For instance, Carlos Rodriguez's La Cazuela chain in Atlanta caters mostly to middle and upper-middle class Anglos and Asian Americans. His menu lists dishes such as Tacos de Pescado, Camerones al Mojo, and Carnitas in their original Spanish, but translates other dishes like Grilled Chile Poblanos (Chiles Rellenos) into English.



Figure 6.22: Segment of Menu from La Cazuela in Atlanta

The menus of restaurants with a mixed clientele may be even more telling.

Taquerias Arandas, a large local chain in Houston, caters to Hispanic migrants, Hispanic Americans, Anglos, African Americans and Asian Americans across their 24 Houston

⁴⁶ Interview with the author, September 5, 2009

locations. Dishes that may be considered more “Tex-Mex” are presented largely in English, such as Crispy Tacos and Taco Salad. However, the less Americanized Mexican dishes from the country’s interior and southern cuisines, like Pozole, Mojarra Frita, and Alambres are given in Spanish. Interestingly, the meat choices—even ones that may be foreign to the American palate such as pork leg (*pierna*), tongue (*lengua*) and marinated pork (*al pastor*)—are given in English, as can be seen in Figure 6.23, and serve as an example of targeted translation.

Tex-Mex Favorites	
Chimichanga	\$
7.59	
<i>Fried burrito with your choice of meat, rice, beans, lettuce, tomato topped with Chile con Queso on burrito.</i>	
Tex Mex Enchiladas	\$
8.79	
<i>Three enchiladas with your choice of meat, chile, beans and chile con queso, rice and beans.</i>	
Crispy Taco Dinner	\$
7.59	
<i>Three crispy tacos, filled with ground meat, lettuce, tomato, yellow cheese, rice and beans.</i>	
Nachos Supreme	\$
7.99	
<i>Twelve pieces of corn tortilla covered with refried beans, your choice of meat (chicken fajita or beef fajita), melted cheese, lettuce, tomato, guacamole and sour cream.</i>	
Meat Choices	
Chicken Breast	Pechuga de Pollo
Shredded Chicken	Pollo Guisado
Marinated Pork	
Pastor	
Beef Tongue.....	
Lengua	
Mexican B.B.Q.	
Barbacoa	
Leg (Pork)	
Pierna	
Beef Skirt (<i>Chopped</i>)	
Fajitas	
Breaded Ground Steak	Milanesa
Ground Beef	Carne
Molida	

Figure 6.23: Segment of Menu from Taquerias Arandas, Houston

There would appear to be two different possibilities for the variation in naming/translation conventions: access and convenience. Language, due to the linguistic abilities of either a client or set of clients, can easily act symbolically as a gateway. By familiarizing or making a food item more palatable through naming and translation, a restaurateur extends the environmental bubble within which his or her customers would feel comfortable. Remember that movement along the familiar/exotic and palatable/unpalatable axes is culturally dictated. Thus, translating “*chuletas de puerco*” into the English “pork chop” may familiarize the food for non-Hispanic customers; while at the same time de-familiarize the dish for Hispanic clientele. But since language is such an obvious and blatant aspect of cuisine—particularly ethnic restaurant cuisine—restaurateurs can use the de-familiarizing naming action to draw in a segment of the dining public that is looking for the exotic. As I noted above, naming is a rather simple, unobtrusive, thing to do. So, a restaurateur can use the other negotiating techniques to establish a comfortable environmental bubble for their diners, but still give them the perception of eating exotic (and thus authentic) cuisine by leaving the name un-translated. This cunningly simple but effective faceplay—making the customer think that “*sopa de pollo con tortillas*” is somehow more authentic, real, or good than chicken tortilla soup—is a nearly perfect example of staged authenticity.

To explore this concept, I looked at how each menu from the surveyed restaurants linguistically presented their soup offerings. I chose soup for two reasons. First, nearly all the Mexican restaurants in the study areas serve it. Secondly, there are two translations in Spanish for soup used on the menus—*caldo* (which more correctly means broth) and *sopa* (which is an easily recognizable cognate). Tables 6.17, 6.18, and 6.19 show the raw data of

this exercise, and Table 6.20 gives the results of the chi-square tests of independence for each table.

Table 6.17: Counts for Soup Naming Characteristic by Study Area

	No Soup	Caldo	Soup	Sopa	Total
Atlanta	47	46	164	48	305
Houston	147	319	222	65	753
Total	194	365	386	113	1058

Table 6.18: Counts for Soup Name by Clientele in Atlanta

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No Soup	17	6	4	8	12	47
Caldo	3	8	2	17	16	46
Soup	56	56	30	11	11	164
Sopa	18	13	12	2	3	48
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305

Table 6.19: Counts for Soup Name by Clientele in Houston

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
No Soup	41	25	25	30	26	147
Caldo	9	34	97	130	49	319
Soup	59	82	65	11	5	222
Sopa	20	20	15	9	1	65
Total	129	161	202	180	81	753

Table 6.20: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

CROSS-CITY DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Soup Naming by City	94.19621	3	2.78482E-20**	REJECT NULL
ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Soup Naming by Clientele Category	84.64284	12	5.33082E-13**	REJECT NULL
HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Soup Naming by Clientele Category	228.24497	12	4.61516E-42**	REJECT NULL

We can plainly see that in all three cases (as well as for the combined site data by clientele level, which I don't show here), we have very strong evidence that allows us to reject the null hypotheses of independence. This data therefore suggests that both the city and the clientele categories have some predictive value towards whether or not a

restaurant uses *caldo*, soup, or *sopa*. These trends can be seen in Figure 6.24, which compares the types of soup by category for both study cities.

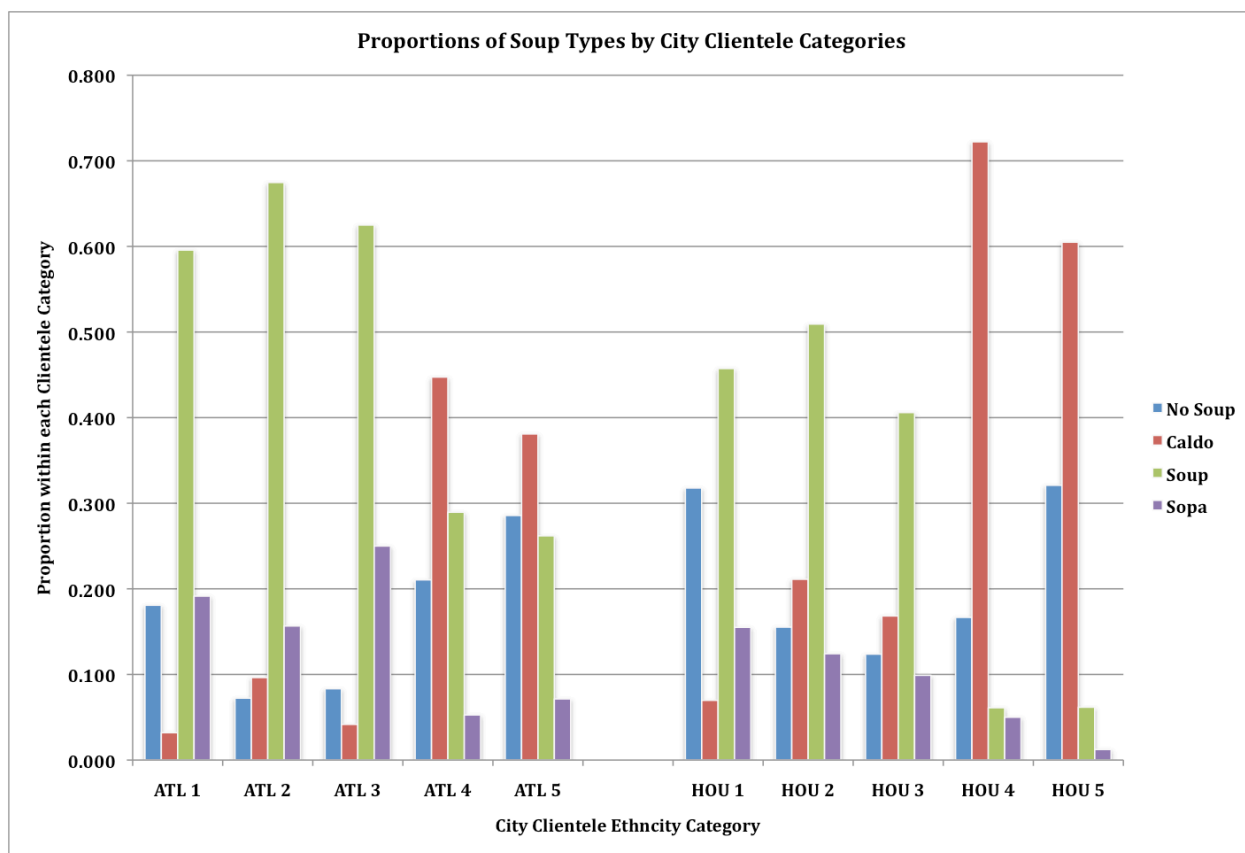


Figure 6.24: Proportions of Soup Types by City Clientele Categories

We can see that generally across both cities, labeling a soup as either “soup” or “*sopa*” decreases as the amount of Hispanic clientele increase, and that the term “*caldo*” decreases as the amount of non-Hispanic clientele increase. The *sopa* trend is particularly interesting. I suggest that higher-end restaurants that cater to non-Spanish speaking customers use the term *sopa* as a way to exoticize a product with an easily accessible cognate. Again, this symbolic trick allows the restaurateur to both ensure the comfort of his or her clients, while giving them a glimpse of the “authentic.”

Of course, beyond the idea of access and the social symbolic playground it allows the restaurateurs to work with, there is a much more mundane reason for naming and

translation, that is almost universally overlooked in the tourism and food studies literatures: convenience. Most Americans have at least some familiarity with Spanish, particular food terms (Cotton and Sharp 1996: 206-207), and it's much easier to list one of your desserts as a "*sopapilla*", rather than a "sugar-coated and fried flour tortilla served with honey." I mention this because it is important not to overstate the access issue when exploring language in culinary tourism and acculturation. Tacos, enchiladas, burritos and other common Mexican dishes have become established parts of the American English lexicon, and—at this point in our culinary history—do not require translation.

6.5: Negotiation through Explication

This idea of linguistic convenience leads directly to that of explication (Long 2004: 39-42). Explication, the description of an item in familiar terms, is perhaps the most one-way of the five negotiation strategies. In the case of Mexican restaurants, this pathway normally takes the form of either menu descriptions or conversations with the wait staff.

While explication may naturally tend to make dishes less exotic, it does not necessarily take away from their potential for exploratory eating. When combined with framing, explication can de-familiarize the mundane. Describing dishes, and linking them to a place or family can make a food more palatable and familiar in its contents while being made more exotic with its context. For instance, Carlos Rodríguez explained how he would introduce his customers to new Mexican dishes when he opened his first restaurant in Atlanta in the late 1980s:

Carlos: I think first of all you have to establish the relationship and get to know your customers better. And then you can invite them to try the

things you may suggest with a little more elaboration on what's behind it. 'You know...I'm from, Monterrey and we eat a lot of carne asada, which is more or less just what you know as roast beef, and this is what my dad and my father-in-law used to do many times, every Sunday, blah blah blah...' Oh yeah...[they would say] bring it over⁴⁷!

However, in a sentiment shared by most of the restaurateurs I spoke to, this personal contact with the customers—through which they could explain the dish in detail, give a back story and maybe even a complimentary taste—is nearly impossible to do consistently, particularly for proprietors who own more than one location. Carlos noted this as well:

Carlos: We're jumping from here to there to here to there, but I'm going to tell you one more thing: there is a difference when you have your own restaurant and you want to do what you want to do, compared to running a small chain of restaurants, where physically you are not going to be able to be there to talk to your customers and to do things the way you want to. So if you start like I did with a little chain of restaurants, and you say...guys, let's go for this, hopefully customers will go for it and order that. If I come one day, and have a chance to talk to them, that'll be good and have a chance to answer questions. I can do much if I am there, but if I'm not I just have to make sure that we have good, quality tasty food that people can buy, and good servers to sell that food⁴⁸.

So if personal conversations between the owners and customers are not consistently practical, restaurateurs must rely on their front-of-house staff or their menus to do the explicating. I mentioned previously how the servers had a large role in creating the scene, in providing the frame, which directs consumers' experiences at ethnic restaurants. Part of that level of service mentioned before is this job of explicating the menu, acting as a proxy restaurant owner/chef that allows the diners into the why, what, and how of the cuisine. In this vein, most Mexican restaurants desire bilingual waiters—

⁴⁷ Interview with the author, June 10, 2009

⁴⁸ Interview with the author, June 10, 2009

often Hispanics themselves. These bilingual staff members serve as a portal into both the English speaking and Spanish speaking worlds; their English allows them to effectively interact with their non-Hispanic customers, whereas their accents, skin tone, names and other general markers of Hispanic ethnicity allow them to present another aspect of authenticity and the backstage. Of course, this is not to say that this ability to explain the food—to move it along the familiarity and palatability axes—is an ethnic trait. Juan Saldaña points out the diversity of his staff as an advantage in reaching out to his clientele and building a customer base:

Paul: Well I guess just two more questions. The first is do you think that Mexican cuisine or restaurants can provide a place where Anglos or Blacks can acculturate to Mexicans?

Juan: Of course, look here at my servers. I have had Anglos, blacks, Hispanics obviously. Different Hispanics. Russians, Bulgarians

P: Do you think that they understand the culture more, working here or eating here?

J: Oh yes, oh yes. Obviously. They do. Their conception or reasoning of Mexican culture, I think that it's changed or emphasized depending on what kinda thinking they had. It helps that...I mean, this black guy who works here, he calls himself a "Blacktino." Latino you know. And he sings the songs...he likes the culture, or he likes to learn about it. Jeff [white server] is pretty good too. But for him it's more of a job than getting to know the culture. And for Brian [the black server] he's more into the culture than the job. But the customers like them. I think they feel comfortable not only having Latino waiters. It's like...if this white guy and this black guy are working here, this place must be ok...I can eat here⁴⁹.

The other major explicator beyond the staff and their knowledge and actions is of course the menu. For example, looking again at the menu items from La Cazuela's menu that appeared in Spanish in Figure 6.22 above—each is followed by a two-to-four-line description using plain English. Some menus take this a step further and actually provide a glossary of terms in the menu itself, saving the customers from being in the maybe

⁴⁹ Interview with the author, June 13, 2009

uncomfortable position of having to rely on someone else's (the waiter's) knowledge to order:



Figure 6.25: Segment of Menu from Los Reyes Mexican Restaurant, Atlanta

This particular example from Los Reyes Mexican Restaurant, an Atlanta chain, even goes so far as to give pronunciation tips, to further diminish the customer's potential embarrassment—thus strengthening and maintaining the bubble of comfort, even while new dishes (and they must be for the customer, otherwise he or she would not need the glossary) are being presented and explored.

Turning to the menus once again as a source of data, I coded each menu on a 1-3 scale describing the amount of explicating each did. The levels are 1) No or almost no explanations of the dishes, 2) Some dishes are explained, while some are not, and 3) All or almost all dishes are explained. The raw counts and results of the tests of independence for study area and clientele level are presented in Tables 6.21 through 6.24.

Table 6.21: Counts for Menu Explication Amount by Study Area

	None	Some	A Lot	Total
Atlanta	50	113	142	305
Houston	127	348	278	753
Total	177	461	420	1058

Table 6.22: Counts for Menu Explication by Clientele in Atlanta

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
None	19	5	2	7	17	50
Some	22	24	27	19	21	113
A Lot	53	54	19	12	4	142
Total	94	83	48	38	42	305

Table 6.23: Counts for Menu Explication by Clientele in Houston

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
None	3	4	35	48	37	127
Some	60	73	80	98	37	348
A Lot	66	84	87	34	7	278
Total	129	161	202	180	81	753

Table 6.24: Summary of χ^2 Tests of Independence

CROSS-CITY DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Menu Explication by City	9.29437	2	0.00959**	REJECT NULL
ATLANTA DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Menu Explication by Clientele Category	62.97326	8	1.21269E-10	REJECT NULL
HOUSTON DATA: CHI SQUARE TEST FOR INDEPENDENCE				
	Test Statistic (χ^2)	D.F.	Probability	Test Result
Menu Explication by Clientele Category	143.34366	8	4.78096E-22	REJECT NULL

Figure 6.26 shows the distributions of the explication amounts by clientele category for each study city.

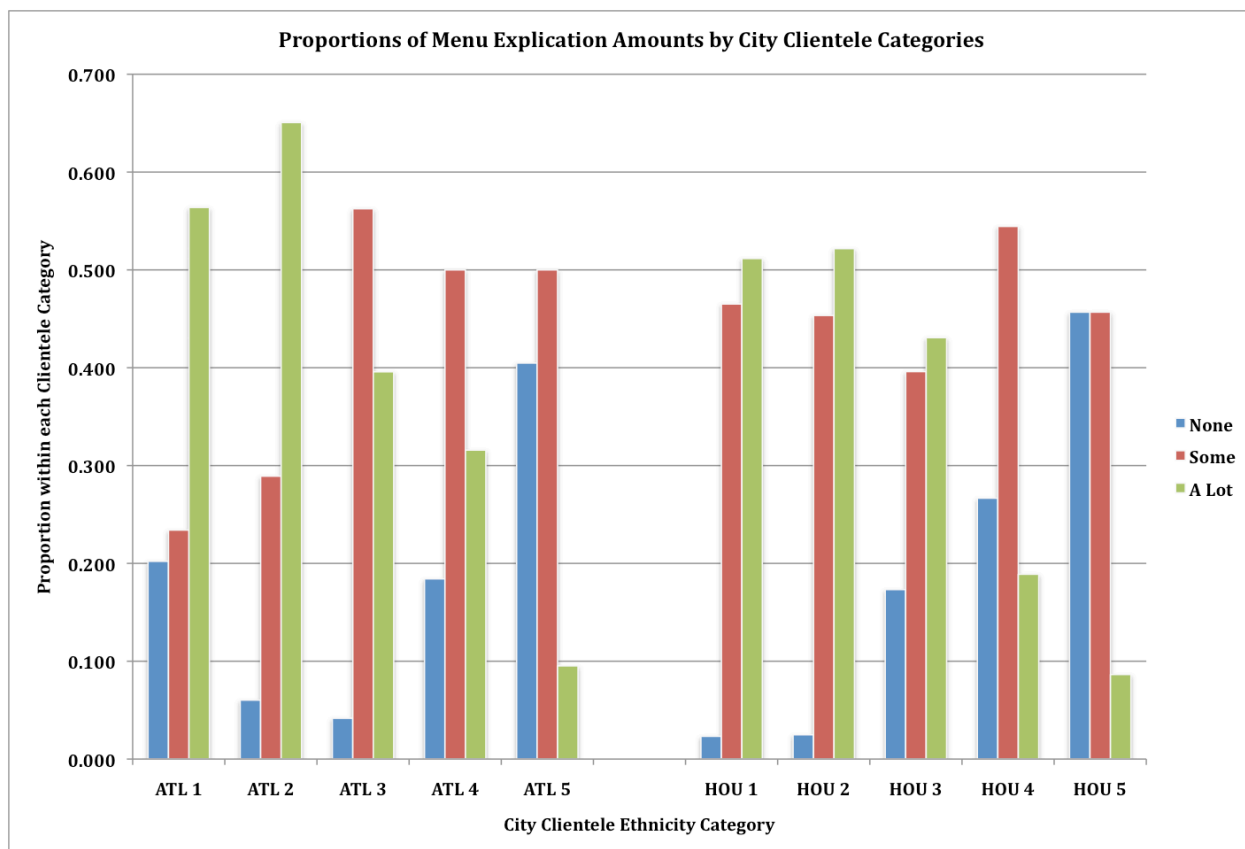


Figure 6.26: Proportions of Menu Explication Amounts by City Clientele Categories

Menus that explicate a lot are much more common in restaurants that cater mostly to non-Hispanics, while though that explain almost nothing are much more common to Hispanic establishments. Creating the usual non-Hispanic binomial, we obtain the following proportions, test statistics, and results that back this observation up.

Table 6.25a and b: Results of Hypothesis Tests Using Ethnicity Binomials

a) Atlanta	None	Some	A Lot
\hat{P}	0.4800	0.4071	0.7535
N	24	46	107
Z	-0.1960	-1.2604	5.2449
P(Z)	0.4223	0.1038	0.9999**
Result	FAIL TO REJECT NULL	FAIL TO REJECT NULL	REJECT NULL

b) Houston	None	Some	A Lot
\hat{P}	0.0551	0.3822	0.5396
N	7	133	150
Z	-2.3541	-2.7174	0.9692
P(Z)	0.0093**	0.0033**	0.8338

Result	REJECT OPPOSITE	REJECT OPPOSITE	FAIL TO REJECT
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One last thing to note about this negotiating method is that it is also possible for explication to make foods less palatable. For instance, many of my non-Hispanic customer participants had never heard of menudo before. One activity I did with a few customers was to have them look at a list of Mexican dishes and say what they liked, did not like, and what they would or would not try. Many put menudo into the “would try” category, and then invariably someone would ask me what it was. “Tripe soup,” I would say. Most people would stare and then ask what tripe was. “Beef stomach.” I would then be asked if they could change their response to “wouldn’t try.” Perhaps it is not always true that all knowledge is worth having...

6.6: Negotiation through Recipe Adaptation

The final negotiation strategy is the adaptation of recipes within a cuisine to local tastes (Long 2004: 43). To one degree or another all four of the previous negotiation strategies were rhetorical in nature. While certainly the restaurateurs are not arguing from behind a podium or anything, framing, naming, menu selection, and explication all use language to make the argument that people should eat that food and that they should feel one way or another about it. Recipe adaptation, on the other hand, is purely culinary. The restaurateurs are making the same argument about their food as with the rhetorical strategies, but they are doing it with taste, texture, color and all the other wonderfully sensory characteristics that make up a cuisine or dish. This is perhaps the most culturally salient strategy—and the one with the most potential for impacting a dish or cuisine’s “authenticity” and otherness. This can range from the actual changing of a recipe or

cooking method in order to adjust to the prevailing tastes and expectations of a locale, to the use of local ingredients and flavors in the creation of entirely new dishes designed to draw new people to the cuisine.

Short of collecting comparable recipes from each restaurant in the study areas and closely examining the differences, there is no way to get solid, quantifiable data to compare between cities and clientele types. I did attempt to get recipes for chiles rellenos (as a very common dish that some restaurateurs suggested held a place of prominence in the adaptation of recipes to the United States, as we will see below), but I was not able to obtain enough. Simply put, most restaurateurs were not willing, beyond a simple, “well, we use poblano chiles and this Chihuahua cheese,” to give this information up to someone who admitted was going to try to publish stuff. However, looking at the dozen or so recipes that I did obtain, there really isn’t much difference between them. And so it would seem that, in this case, having to rely only on narrative data should prove to give a much more textured picture than standardized data and statistics could. From textual analysis of my interviews with the restaurateurs, adaptation of recipes seems to occur because of two major classes of limitations: *taste-based* ones, or *ingredient-based* ones. How these constraints change over time can be quite instructive when exploring culinary acculturation.

Taste-Based Adaptation: When considering tastes, it seems that the general trend over time is first making foods taste more like their American counterparts, then exaggerating certain flavors or components of the original cuisine, and lastly attempting to reach an “authentic” medium. For example, Jamal (1996; 1998) explores Southeast Asian cuisine and its acculturation into British society. He finds that when Pakistani and Indian

restaurateurs first opened shop in England, they had to mellow the flavors of their cuisines. However, as people who grew up with Indian food as part of their cuisine—the second generation of Indian-Anglo cuisine consumers—they started demanding more and more flavor, to the point that it was common for restaurants to serve curries that were much spicier than what they traditionally would be.

My data indicates that the same general trend holds true for the acculturation of Mexican food in Atlanta and Houston. Roger Forehand, the long-time manager of a Casa Olé in Houston, recalls that when he first opened the restaurant in 1978, Tex-Mex was the only type of Mexican food available in the city. He said that he and his partners set out to introduce more traditional flavors, but they had to set aside their desires in the face of customer demand. However, over time,

Paul: Tell me how the menu has changed. When you opened three decades ago, how different was it?

Roger: Well, at the very beginning, we wanted to do really authentic stuff you know? Like, just kind of be a taquería for whites—for people who didn't want to go into the barrios. But honestly, that didn't last. Really quickly we found out that we couldn't do that, or at least only that. I mean, Tex-Mex was just getting big back in the late 70s. All of our customers wanted the fajitas and enchiladas suizas and combos...

P: So you changed it right away?

R: Yeah. We had to give up a bit haha. We went Tex-Mex. I mean, we tried to keep some authentic stuff on—we had barbacoa and we even did goat once in a while. But mostly Tex-Mex.

P: And has that changed over time?

R: Yeah, absolutely. Now we can serve some other stuff. We still have the Tex-Mex stuff on the menu, but it's less and less. Each time we rewrite the menu, we get rid of a few combination dinners and add something else, more...more out there. I wouldn't call our menu authentic, but it's closer now than when we opened. And that change isn't constant. We have 10 restaurants, I think, in our chain now. And not all the menus are the same. Different areas of the city warmed up to certain foods more than others⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Interview with the author, September 3, 2009

Restaurateurs, and Mexican-American customers, also noted the desire by certain customers for overly (in their opinion) spicy food—a phenomenon that Jamal calls “over-acculturation” of cuisine (1996:23-24). Just as he predicts (1996:19), this is more common in the younger generations of diners—particularly the second-generation consumers who grew up eating Mexican American cuisine. Ernesto Garcia had to change his salsa offerings to satiate this desire for heat:

Ernesto: Yeah, this is a roasted red pepper...this is my favorite on that [al pastor]. This is what I grew up eating. I make it mild, but I do make a spicy one. I'm more about flavor.

Paul: I imagine, I haven't asked you yet, but I guess you have about 80% white...

E: I think so.

P: And the rest are Asian, Black and Hispanic?

E: Yeah

P: So what do they think about spicy. This is a thing that has been written about...

E: Well you know what? I have Hispanics who don't want the spicy salsa. You know the funny thing is, I don't know if you know this, but the taquerias you go to in Mexico, they don't usually have stuff that's really really spicy.

P: Right, I know I was surprised...I don't think that Mexican...I grew up in Central Pennsylvania, and we had no Hispanics. I didn't know Mexican food other than what Chi-Chi's and Taco Bell said. And they had their spicy—the Fire Lava Sauce. And when I ate real Mexican food, when I went to Mexico, I don't think real Mexican is spicy at all.

E: It's maybe spicy with spices...

P: Flavorful...

E: Exactly, yeah. It's not hot. And people expect it to be really hot. I'm a flavor guy. I do like a little spice, but just a pepper on the side. That's how they do it in Mexico. And when I told people that, they thought I was lying, that I just didn't want to have condiments. So that's why I have that Habanera sauce now.

P: And who uses it? How would you define...

E: Mostly men, but I do have some women. I had a woman earlier who left with two whole things, and she's a regular. The Asians back there eating, they wanted me to make their food spicy. The younger guys like it more. I think my older customers appreciate the milder, flavorful stuff more. But you never know I guess. So I guess it's a little bit of everything⁵¹.

⁵¹ Interview with the author, October 20, 2009

After this stage of exaggeration of flavors or characteristics, there is a bifurcation. A trend that most restaurateurs noted, one to which many of their quotes presented above allude, is the gradual acceptance of more traditional flavors. This does not necessarily occur at the detriment of flavors or dishes established in the previous two trends—most restaurants maintain much of their Tex-Mex or Americanized dishes. However, they were able to offer new dishes that emphasized more traditional tastes alongside the Mexican dishes that, in the course of over two decades, had become comfort foods for their mainly Anglo customers. For instance, Sarah Jones, the manager of Taqueria LuLu in the Museum District of Houston spoke about introducing Pozole to some of her white and black customers:

Paul: So do they eat it? The pozole?

Sarah: A lot do now. When I started working here about three years ago the neighborhood was going through a transition. It had been a Jewish area back in the day, but then the blacks came in. Most of them left in the last few years with gentrification. So we have a lot of new whites in the area alongside the Hispanics who never left. So when they started coming in, they wouldn't eat anything weird you know? But I have a bubbly personality! They might make faces at first, but I can usually get them to try things like pozole. And once they're tried it, it's not that strange.

P: So they keep eating it after trying?

S: I mean, not all, but yeah most people. You can see their tastes changing the more they try. It makes sense, but it's still pretty cool⁵².

The other possibility, one that Germann Molz (2004) refers to as “culinary post-tourism,” is when consumers eschew the more traditional or authentic options in favor of the Americanized product, even while knowing that what they are eating is socially constructed and unauthentic. Though it is harder to see in the data—as measuring a person's knowledge of what is or is not truly authentic is problematic—this second mode is

⁵² Interview with the author, October 15 2009

certainly present as well. Rubin Rameriz, the general manager of the Houston chain Cyclone Anaya's and a self-described Tex-Mexican, related his menu to the food he had growing up in the area.

Paul: So you're from around here originally?

Rubin: Yup, from just about 20 miles outside Houston originally, but we moved into the city when I was in elementary school.

P: What do you remember about Mexican food back then?

R: Well, you know, it was kind of what we ate at home. I mean, not real Mexican, not stuff from Mexico, but Tex-Mex for sure. My father grilled and made fajitas. My mom made cheese-y enchiladas. Tex-Mex might not have always been popular, but it's always been here.

P: Do you think that's common outside of Mexican Americans? You're a third generation right? What about white...

R: Oh yeah. I went to school, Catholic school, with a bunch of Italians and Poles. We would all trade food at lunch, and my stuff was always really popular. Maybe they didn't eat it as much as we did, but they ate it a lot. It's just part of being from Houston. I mean look at this [his menu]. Sure I have some more authentic stuff on here—really the higher priced stuff. But you know what's the most popular? The combo meals. The enchiladas suzias. People know it's not the way they eat it Mexico. They don't care. It's good⁵³!

Ingredient-Based Adaptation: The second reason behind recipe adaptation is ingredient limitations. Certainly, the availability of a particular ingredient in a given locale is socially-dictated, but it nevertheless merits its own consideration. If a particular region has, writ large, no culinary experience with an ingredient, obtaining that ingredient will be difficult for restaurateurs trying to provide that very culinary experience. An excellent example of this comes from Atlanta, and illustrates the adaptations restaurateurs need to make over time due to ingredient constraints. When the first Mexican restaurants opened in Atlanta in the mid to late 1980s, Poblano Chiles were nearly impossible to find. Some of the ethnic farmers' markets (Olsson 2007) carried small quantities, but not enough for the restaurant business. Furthermore, the local ethnic restaurant purveyors would not carry

⁵³ Interview with the author, September 12 2009

the peppers. Juan Saldaña, who worked at a small local produce and dry goods purveyor that served mostly Mexican restaurants when he first came to Atlanta from Houston in the mid 1980s, remembered,

Paul: Last time we talked a bit about you being in the purveyor business.

Juan: Right, after I moved here to Atlanta. It's how I came to own this place.

P: Right. One thing I've been told is how the available produce has changed...

J: Yeah, absolutely. Let me tell you. When I worked for that company we didn't keep stuff like poblanos or other chiles in stock. We had some dried ones, but back then everyone was making stuff with bell peppers. I guess it's because that's what people here liked. I don't know. Some of the places I used to eat at grew there own, but that was only small places. You know, it was a much different time, even though it was only about 15 years ago now. When I order food, I can go to a bunch of different distributors that specialize with Mexican restaurants, or I can go to the general ones. I mean, I can get poblanos from anyone now.

P: Right...

J: I had a friend who moved here before me, and he would grow cilantro because you couldn't get it anywhere. Not at the grocery stores!

P: And that's like the quintessential Mexican flavor!

J: Haha exactly. So he grew his own. Now I can run down the street to Kroger and get a bunch. Let me tell you, it was really different when I moved here, especially coming from Houston. I mean, we still had some sourcing issues in Houston back then, but nothing like it was here. I haven't really been back to Houston, but I imagine that Atlanta's pretty much caught up to it when it comes to distributors and what they have on hand and what they can easily get. Remember, it's about the price. I don't want to have to pay a lot to get something for a dish—that will kill my food cost. It's not worth it. Things have to be available and cheap⁵⁴.

So, Mexican restaurateurs who wanted to serve items such as chiles rellenos (usually made with poblano peppers) had to adapt. Carlos Rodriguez explained what they did:

Paul: Do you think that the stuff in Atlanta, the Mexican-American cuisine, that it's more of a combination of a lot of the different regions? Or do you think it draws mainly from Northern Mexican and Tex-Mex cuisine?

⁵⁴ Interview with the author, September 23 2009

Carlos: No...I think it's a combination that I don't even understand in its totality yet.

P: And you've been doing this for 20 years!

...

C: You know, when I came...and I checked on the guys from the kitchen, what these guys that we hired were doing, I lot of what they were doing in the beginning—which was 30 years ago—it was made out of whatever you could find in Atlanta to cook Mexican. So back then, they didn't have chilies...they only had bell peppers. They only had a few spicy peppers, and they had a few dried peppers. So out of what they had, they put it together and came up with some recipes. They came up with the enchilada sauce, with the burrito sauce, with the chile rellenos—quite a few things that you will turn around and say...amigo, what is this? Oh, it's a chile relleno. And I said, really? My mother used to make chile rellenos with the chile pepper and the cheese in it, and then the batter with egg and then deep fried it. That was a genuine chile relleno. This is ground beef, bell pepper, cheese...they're yellow, while the other ones used to be kinda brownish.

P: So it's almost as if it wasn't drawing from a bunch of different areas, but adapting to this one.

C: Exactly! That was more maybe coming from Texas to Atlanta. Just coming up with something that sells, and if it does...just don't touch it⁵⁵.

And according to all the Atlanta restaurateurs who operated during those heady days of the 1980s, their Anglo and African-American customers loved the “Bell Pepper Rellenos” (which as we saw before is actually still a relatively popular dish across Houston's restaurants). They liked them so much, that many restaurants have had to keep them on the menu for their older customers, even now with poblanos available. José Montes told a lengthy story about when he first was able to offer real chiles rellenos and how his customers reacted:

Jose: So, going back to the story of the chiles rellenos, you know when this customer told me that, I kinda gave him an explanation. I said, “the reason why, when they started the Mexican restaurants here, there were no poblanos. So they used a bell pepper to substitute and they created their own chile relleno.

Paul: Some other people have told me the same thing.

⁵⁵ Interview with the author, June 10 2009

J: And he said, “well, they created a monster.” So, what I did was change the menu...

P: When did you get ownership?

J: 1988. And when I was able to change the menu, I put poblanos on and got rid of the other chiles rellenos. And at the beginning I had customers complain. “Oh, this is not a chile relleno.” “Well, I’m sorry but this is the real chile relleno.” And one day, I opened up a restaurant in Alpharetta. And I’m by the register, right in the middle of lunch I heard a customer screaming. And I turned around, “what is this?” “Hello everybody! This restaurant has authentic Mexican chile rellenos!” He came to me, and said, “you know, I was dying for something like this.” And I was like, Thank you very much.

P: Was this an Anglo?

J: Yeah. And he kept coming like every day for chile rellenos. And a couple weeks later, I’m there working and business is good. And I had a customer complain about the chile relleno. And this customer brought me over and was like, “this isn’t a chile relleno.” And I told him, “that’s a true chile relleno.”

P: But he wanted the bell pepper one?

J: Yeah. So, it kinda...I got worried. I know that the customers had got so used to this chile relleno. I went behind the bar, and I kinda just stayed there and was watching. There were two couples there, and the guys came to the bar and asked what kind of vodkas I had. I told them Smirnov, Absolut...and I had a bottle of tequila, just getting ready to do a shot to wash down what that customer had said. You know, it was kinda stressful, I just wanted to wash it down. So I got three shots, and I was like, “you want to try it?” And they were, “On the house?” “Yes.” And they said, “are you manager?” “I’m the manager and part owner.” And they said, “you know, we’ve been coming here because you have the best chiles rellenos.” And I looked at the table where the customer had complained and was, “you know what? You just made my day!” And I told them about the customer, and they were like “where is he, we have to go talk to him and set him straight!” But you know. I love to cook, on my menu I have quite a few authentic dishes. But really, I was surprised. Shocked. I could finally offer the real thing, I could show my customers the food I ate growing up. And they didn’t want it! They wanted their bell peppers. I was disappointed. It took time I guess. The younger customers, the people your age, don’t eat the bell pepper ones. But enough of my older customers still want them that I can’t get rid of them. It’s all about the customer⁵⁶.

None of the restaurateurs in Houston recall a time where there were no Poblanos, or other such ingredients. Certainly if we searched the historical records, we would find a

⁵⁶ Interview with the author, July 9 2009

period in Houston or other “gateway” cities (Massey 1995) when the ingredients necessary for traditional Mexican cuisine were scarce, but it isn’t recent enough to have permanently impacted the region’s Mexican cuisine—Tex-Mex. But it would appear that the recipe adaptation in Houston proceeded along mostly social/taste lines, whereas in Atlanta it is limited due to both social- and ingredient-based constraints.

6.7: Restaurateurs’ Conceptions of Culinary Acculturation

Having explored how restaurateurs can and do use the five negotiation strategies that Lucy Long put forth when formulating the idea of culinary tourism, and before moving on to talk about the customers and their reactions to these strategies, it would be appropriate to briefly cover two more areas that center upon the restaurateurs. I first want to present and analyze the restaurateurs’ own domains of Mexican cuisine, and look at how it compares to the domain obtained from their menus. Secondly, I will present what the restaurateurs themselves think about the ideas of Mexican food as a medium of cultural incorporation and culinary acculturation.

6.7.1: *The Restaurateurs’ Cognitive Domain of Mexican Dishes.*

I interviewed a total of 54 restaurateurs throughout the research phases of this project, 26 from Atlanta and 28 from Houston. Of the 26 in Atlanta, 17 were Hispanic, 7 were Anglo, 1 was African American, and 1 was Asian. In Houston, there were 16 Hispanics, 9 Anglos, 2 African Americans, and 1 Asian. During the interviews I asked all of them to free-list Mexican dishes. The only instructions I gave them were to “list as many Mexican dishes as

you can in 5 minutes.” After five minutes I asked them to stop, though most had given up by that point.

The domain for all the restaurateurs across both study areas has 99 items, and can be seen in Appendix I. The Atlanta restaurateurs’ domain has 83 items, 17 of which are unique; the Houston domain has 82 members, 16 of which are unique. If we look instead at ethnicity, the Hispanic restaurateurs’ domain includes 87 items, 22 of which are unique; while the non-Hispanic restaurateurs’ domain has 77 members, 11 of which are unique. Table 6.26 shows those unique items for the ethnicity-based domains.

Table 6.26: Items Unique to the Domains of Hispanic and non-Hispanic Restaurateurs

Items Unique to Hispanic Restaurateurs	Items Unique to non-Hispanic Restaurateurs
Nopalitos	Queso
Huarache	Chimichanga
Pierna	Huevos Motuleños
Gringa	Taquitos
Seafood Soup	Yucca
Shrimp Soup	Arroz con Pollo
Entomatada	Dolce de Leche
Huevos a la Mexicana	Huevos con Carne
Consomme	Huitlacoche
Flautas	Shrimp
Huevos Divorciados	Shrimp a la Diabla
Pollo Ranchero	
Atole	
Charro Beans	
Cochinita Pibil	
Hamburger	
Lobster	
Pulque	
Queso Oaxaca	
Aguacate Relleno	
Buñuelos	
Cecina	

That the Hispanic (and normally Mexican American with just a few exceptions) restaurateurs have a wider knowledge of the domain of Mexican food is to be expected. However, *writ large* the differences between either the two city’s restaurateurs or the

restaurateurs of different ethnic groups, is not the great. Table 6.27 compares the mean population free-list length to the four subdivision samples' (Atlantans, Houstonians, Hispanics, non-Hispanics) lengths using the following set of hypotheses:

$$H_0: \mu = \bar{X}$$

$$H_a: \mu \neq \bar{X}$$

Table 6.27: Non-Directional Tests of the Means by the Restaurateurs' Sub-Domains

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Z-Score	P(Z)	Test Result
Atlanta	17.0000	2.8284	-0.5557	0.2892	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
Houston	20.0606	3.9918	0.3536	0.6382	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
non-Hispanic	17.5000	3.3136	-0.4071	0.3420	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
Hispanic	20.1429	3.9508	0.3780	0.6473	FAIL TO REJECT NULL

This trend holds for individual dishes as well. For instance, take tacos. They appear on all 54 free-lists, at a mean position of 2.4630 (with a standard deviation of 1.8905).

Table 6.28 shows the four subdivisions of the overall restaurateur domain with their mean position for the dish "taco" and the results of the subsequent Z-tests using the above set of hypotheses.

Table 6.28: Non-Directional Tests of the Mean Positions for Tacos by the Restaurateurs' Sub-Domains

	Mean	Standard Dev.	Z Score	P(Z)	Test Result
Atlantans	2.3846	1.5768	-0.0415	0.4835	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
Houstonians	2.5357	2.1685	0.0385	0.5153	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
Hispanics	2.3636	1.5374	-0.0525	0.4705	FAIL TO REJECT NULL
non-Hispanics	2.6190	2.3764	0.0826	0.5329	FAIL TO REJECT NULL

So it would seem that on whole, restaurateurs both have approximately the same knowledge of the domain, and hold the similar saliences for key items. Besides tacos, similar results are found for quesadillas, enchiladas, chiles rellenos, menudo, pozole and others.

6.7.2: *Opinions on Culinary Acculturation*

Beside exploring the five negotiation strategies that allow them to change their customers' perceptions of their restaurant and cuisine, each interview I conducted ended with a query based on the very premise of this project: that food is a media of cultural incorporation. Before moving on to our discussion of the people who actually eat at Mexican restaurants, it would be a shame to not put the restaurateurs' opinions about culinary acculturation down on paper. To a person, all 54 restaurateurs that I spoke to believed that to some degree eating more Mexican food gave non-Mexicans a better appreciation for Mexicans and Mexican culture. I want to share just a few of their comments here that best illustrate this belief. First up is José Montes, who again owns a chain of restaurants across the north side of Atlanta.

Paul: Ok, lastly do you think that Mexican food can bring the cultures together?

José: It has. It has done that. It's doing it. Our culture is bringing other cultures together. When we immigrate, anywhere we go, it's something we can't leave behind us—our culture. Anywhere we go, we're looking for tortillas, frijoles or chiles...

P: Do you think there's a melding of cultures?

J: Well there are places we call the melting pot—the cities. But that's something that eventually...the Aztec predicted that the world would be run around corn. Not ruled, but that it would be...everything would...corn would be central to everything. And we're seeing it now. Corn is all over, it's the base of so much. Everyone's eating tortillas, everyone's eating chips, everyone's eating tamales—everything is getting to that point that they predicted, where corn is central.

P: Do you think that things like tamales and tacos have become American? Have they become part of an American cuisine?

J: American cuisine is so limited. I've been in the States 30 years, and I've only seen a few things that are true American food. The American cuisine is so limited.

P: So is eating tacos a normative experience? Or burritos?

J: Well, you can go to a Publix or any grocery store, and stand by the register, and you'll see more Americans going out with tortillas and jalapeños

and taco mix or things to make their own tacos. So Mexican food became an important ingredient in the daily diet of the Americans⁵⁷.

Juan Saldaña agrees, but tempers his response a bit by implying that there's a gradient at work—that not all people are going to respond the same way to either increased contact with Hispanics or their cuisine.

Paul: You've had all these constant customers over the years, have you seen, do you think that the same thing happens with them? Do you think that they understand the culture more as they eat?

Juan: Ah, it cannot be said the same as everybody. Remember that we're creatures of habit. What did they come here for in the first place? Maybe they want a couple of margaritas, and they don't want to drive. More than understanding the culture, they want...It's a good question.

P: I mean, I know that they originally came here for a margarita, but if they keep coming over the years, do they become more accepting of the culture than others? I mean, think of how Atlanta used to be, you've been here a long time. We haven't really had Mexican migrant until the mid-90s. It used to be a black-white divide, now it's a black-white-brown divide.

J: Ah, yeah. Anglos, they're very easy going people. They're reasonable too. You treat them right, they're going to treat you right. You respect them, they're going to respect you. It's not that...Are Anglos accepting Mexican cuisine or Mexican culture. If you go back in history, half of the United States used to be Mexico. So who came here first? So, we have kinda an integrated history. It's just like that saying, we're in the same boat. You have your culture and I have mine. Can we learn how to live together? To some extent, we have a long way to go. But it's just like anything else, you're going to find people you just can't stand. It's as simple as that. And we have a tendency to generalize things. Just because I had a bad experience with someone up north, I'm going to say that people from up north are like this and like that. And some guy could be like, "I've had experience with this Hispanic culture, or Mexican culture, and I'm going to stay away from those people, I don't like them. Cause I'm going to generalize everybody. To me, everybody is the same."

P: It's the way our brains work

J: Exactly. What I'm saying about Anglos, I have the same sin. We're all prejudice to some extent. We can stand some things, but others we're like get them out of my sight. It is all dependent on the experiences you have⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ Interview with the author, July 9 2009

⁵⁸ Interview with the author, June 13 2009

Terry Flores, the co-owner of Bocados Restaurant in Houston agrees with this last point about experiences.

Terry: So yeah. I've had to broaden what I do, because there are so many different types of people who come here. It's a challenge, but a good one to have!

Paul: But all of these different people, different groups, they all interact with you, with your staff; they eat your food. Do you think that changes the way that they...

T: They way they see Mexicanas? Yeah, it can. It doesn't necessarily. You know I've had people who have come here for years, and still order the same thing over and over. They don't change. They eat their Tex-Mex meals and leave, and come back next week. But I also have people who take our suggestions, who try new things. I don't know for sure, but they seem like the type of people who will try lots of new thing throughout their lives, not just with food. A lot of them, even the whites and blacks and Asians, they like Mexican culture—they think of it as friendly and warm and fun, and so they try to capture that. But they have to make an effort, they can't just eat a taco and understand Mexico. They have to see more⁵⁹.

In the restaurateurs' eyes, it's not the food, but the people who serve it and cook it and live the lives behind it. You cannot just go to Kroger, get a taco kit with ground beef, and learn about Mexico by eating that. The restaurateurs—both Hispanic and otherwise—see what they're doing as a presentation of culture, as a way to give their customers a glimpse into Mexico, into the backstage. So on one hand as businesspeople they need to reinforce that environmental bubble that culinary tourists feel comfortable and secure in by familiarizing the cuisine and making it more palatable. On the other hand though they act like cultural hosts or curators whose purpose is to penetrate that very bubble of comfort and present, through the culinary experience, Mexican culture. Chef Hugo Ortega and Tracy Vaught put this best:

Hugo: Tracy and I opened this place as somewhere I could show my culture. I want people who come here to get a better understanding of

⁵⁹ Interview with the author, October 28 2009

Puebla, of Mexico. It would be easier just to cook food that everyone likes, just to do an Italian restaurant or a Grill or just to serve Tex-Mex. But I want to challenge people in a way. We hold the squash blossom festival when they're in season. All the dishes feature it.

Paul: How have people reacted to that?

Tracy: They love it now, you know? We first did it a few years ago, and people were unsure. But they know Hugo is going to do the more authentic things, so they took a chance. And now people across the city, across the state, mark their calendars! Not everyone likes it, some of the things we do are intimidating to people. But it gives us a chance to educate.

H: Yes. We always try to write something up, and we instruct the waiters: "Tell them the story." If people feel connected to a food, not just through tasting it, but that is important, if they feel connected...they will come back, and we can show them even more. But they need to be ah, curious. Even if they come here and have huitlacoche every week at brunch, they will not understand my culture or even my cuisine unless they talk to us and ask us questions and listen⁶⁰.

As we will discuss in the next chapter, most individuals who eat ethnic cuisines have some amount of that touristic desire to see the real, authentic thing. But as the restaurateurs have said, just eating something that is Mexican or Chinese or Korean is not enough. Restaurateurs, with all of their negotiating strategies and choices on the presentation of the cuisine and culture, can only set the stage. Culinary acculturation is a bilateral process between the culinary presenter and the culinary consumer, and the diner must ultimately decide what to make of it.

⁶⁰ Interview with the author, March 11 2010

Chapter 7. The Customers

The restaurants are the stages; the restaurateurs set the scene. But when it comes down to it the whole show is about the customers, the people who decide to go and eat a taco, have a margarita, or cure Saturday's hangover with some menudo. Culinary acculturation—its speed and direction—is largely in their hands. If customers take to a special dish or cuisine and begin mixing it with their own, it can become the next Chinese or Italian cuisine. If they shun it or only eat it occasionally, it will remain less hybridized and occupy a niche market like Ethiopian or Vietnamese cuisine. Mexican cuisine is, so far at this point in American culinary history, at an interesting position. On one hand, Tex-Mex is a recognizable stand-alone cuisine that has impacted almost all Mexican restaurants and their menus across the country in one form or another. On the other hand, as we have clearly seen from both the geographic and menu item analysis, there are aspects and places of Mexican cuisine that cater not to the hybridized American taste, but rather largely to Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and other Hispanic clientele who desire more of the traditional dishes and flavors of Mexico itself. But of course a Hispanic customer may prefer the hybridized Tex-Mex dishes; an Anglo might prefer them more traditional taquería fare—and they certainly might change those preferences over time. The purpose of this project is to look at that change and see if we can explain it and how it relates to the cultural incorporation of non-Hispanics and Hispanics in the American South.

This chapter will focus on the customers who dine at Mexican restaurants in the Atlanta and Houston study areas and explore their responses to the cuisines and culinary experiences set by the restaurateurs in their restaurants. I will first present and analyze the customers' domains for both Mexican and American food. These domains will be compared to the menu and restaurateurs' domains from Chapter 6. Following this, a selection of the customers' similarity and cognitive data will be presented and analyzed in light of the domain analysis, and models used to predict knowledge from experience will be proposed. Using these findings, I will present and explore the customers' responses to the five negotiation strategies presented in the previous chapter, as well as their own perceptions of the idea of Mexican culinary acculturation.

7.1: The Customers' Domains

I used free-listing procedures to obtain the domains of both "American dishes" and "Mexican dishes" from the customer respondents. For each of the various sample populations in the study, we will look at three aspects of the domains to gather insight into the shape and scope of the cultural knowledge they represent: the domains' contents, the list sizes, and the salience of the individual items.

7.1.1: *Mexican Dishes*

Each survey form given to the customers who agreed to participate contained a blank page with the prompt: "Please list all Mexican dishes you can think of."

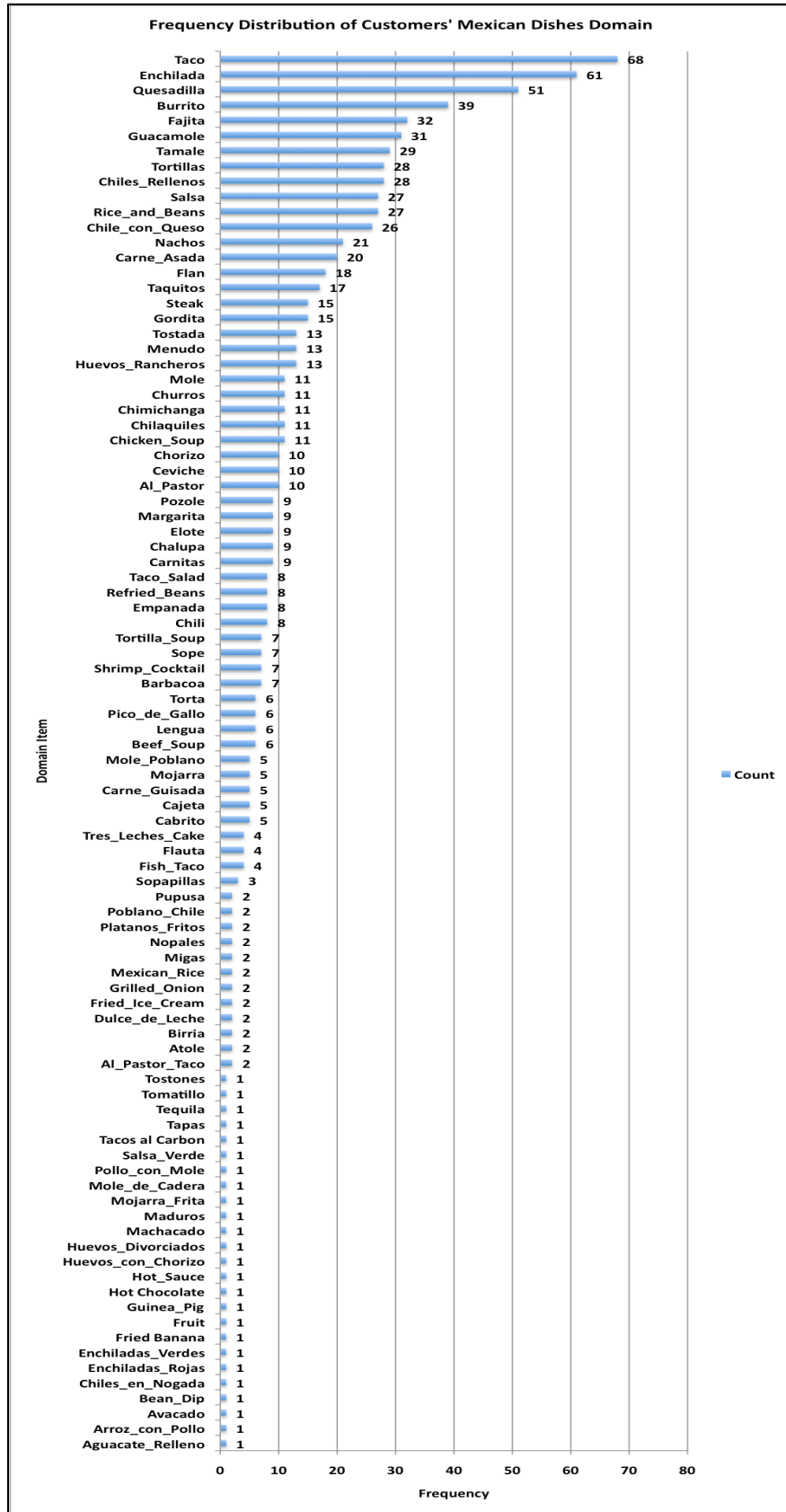


Figure 7.1: Frequency Distribution of Customers' Mexican Dishes Domain

The overall (cross-city) domain includes 92 items from 74 responses, and its frequency diagram is shown above as Figure 7.1. Recall that the restaurateurs' domain of Mexican dishes includes 121 items, while the menu domain includes 1374 items. Of the 74 respondents, 41 of which are from Atlanta, while 33 are from Houston. As we did with the restaurateurs' domain, let us first examine those dishes that are unique to each study area for noticeable trends. Table 7.1 shows those items that are unique to either site.

Table 7.1: Dishes Unique to Each City in the Customers' Mexican Free-List Domains

Dishes Unique to Houston	Dishes Unique to Atlanta
Aguacate Relleno	Al Pastor Taco
Avacado	Arroz con Pollo
Birria	Bean Dip
Carne Guisada	Chiles en Nogada
Fruit	Enchiladas Rojas
Machacado	Enchiladas Verdes
Migas	Fish Taco
Taco Salad	Fried Banana
Tacos al Carbon	Grilled Onion
Tomatillo	Guinea Pig
Tres Leches Cake	Hot Chocolate
	Hot Sauce
	Huevos con Chorizo
	Huevos Divorciados
	Maduros
	Mexican Rice
	Mojarra Frita
	Mole de Cadera
	Platanos Fritos
	Poblano Chile
	Pollo con Mole
	Salsa Verde
	Tapas
	Tequila
	Tostones

There are two things of note in this table. First is the relative size of the lists between the two cities. Most of the evidence presented so far indicates that Houston has a

wider base of knowledge from which to obtain information about the domain of Mexican food—it has a broader menu domain, over two times as many restaurants, and a much more Hispanic population. However, the knowledge domain from its diners is 14 items smaller than that of Atlanta. Certainly some of this has to do with sampling error—one Atlantan customer respondent included in this sample had just completed a year in Mexico and was alone responsible for four of these unique items (Chile en Nogada, Hot Chocolate, Grilled Onion, and Mole de Cadera), while another Atlantan had just returned from a summer service trip to Central and Southern Mexico and provided another two (Arroz con Pollo and Maduros). Still, the size of these lists remains significantly divergent. I will refrain from drawing any conclusions on this here, and will wait to present more information; however I will give a presupposition that this has to do with the exportability of Tex-Mex cuisine (and thus culture).

A fact that will contribute to this argument is where these unique members come from. On the Houston side of the table I have shaded in four members—Aguacate Relleno, Birria, Machacado, and Migas. These four dishes can all be found in Table 6.13, which presents menu items that are unique to Houston. The rose shaded item on the Atlanta side—Arroz con Pollo—is found in Table 6.14, the unique menu items in Atlanta. So while the Atlanta customer domain is larger, 36.4% of the Houston customers' unique dishes (compared to 4% of Atlanta customers') are found only in their restaurants.

If we look instead at customer ethnicity, we see the same trend with the group we would expect to have more unique items (a more specialized understanding of the domain) having less. Table 7.2 presents the unique items for Hispanic and Non-Hispanic customer respondents:

Table 7.2: Dishes Unique to Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Customers' Free-List Domains

Dishes Unique to Hispanic Customers	Dishes Unique to Non-Hispanic Customers
Aguacate Relleno**	Al Pastor Taco*
Al Pastor	Arroz con Pollo*
Avacado**	Bean Dip*
Barbacoa	Carne Guisada
Beef Soup	Chalupa
Birria**	Chiles en Nogada*
Cabrito	Chimichanga
Cajeta	Empanada
Fruit**	Enchiladas Rojas*
Huevos Divorciados	Enchiladas Verdes*
Lengua	Fish Taco*
Machacado**	Flauta
Migas**	Fried Banana*
	Fried Ice Cream
	Guinea Pig*
	Hot Chocolate*
	Hot Sauce*
	Huevos con Chorizo
	Maduros*
	Margarita
	Mexican Rice*
	Mojarra Frita*
	Mole de Cadera*
	Platanos Fritos*
	Poblano Chile*
	Pollo con Mole*
	Salsa Verde*
	Sopapillas
	Taco Salad
	Tacos al Carbon
	Tapas*
	Taquitos
	Tequila*
	Tomatillo
	Tortilla Soup
	Tostones*

In this case there are 23 more dishes unique to non-Hispanics than to Hispanic customers. What's interesting is the overlap between the Houstonians' unique items and

the Hispanics and the Atlantans and the non-Hispanics. Of the 13 items unique to Hispanics, 6 (46.2%, denoted on Table 7.2 with **) are found on the unique to Houston list, and none are found on the unique to Atlanta list. Likewise, 22 of the 36 (61.1%, denoted on Table 7.2 with *) of the non-Hispanic customers' unique items are also unique to Atlanta.

One final aspect to look at when exploring these unique lists is harder to qualify, but still quite important to the discussion at hand: the actual “Mexican-ness” of these dishes. Now certainly items found on all four of these lists can rightly be labeled as a part of traditional Mexican cuisine (again, the closest delineation of which is Kennedy 2000). But there appears to be more blatant outliers that are unique to Atlantans and non-Hispanics—such as Fried Bananas, Guinea Pig and Tapas. Table 7.3 compares the unique items to those dishes found in Kennedy’s cookbook:

Table 7.3: Percentages of Unique Dishes Found in Some Form in *The Essential Cuisines of Mexico*

	Number of Unique Dishes	Percent Found in Kennedy 2000
Houston	11	73%
Atlanta	25	64%
Hispanic	13	92%
Non-Hispanic	36	53%

So again, while the dishes found on the longer lists from Atlantans and non-Hispanics contain their fair share of truly Mexican dishes, those from Houston or Hispanics are overwhelmingly Mexican. In fact, the Hispanic list has only 1 dish not found in Kennedy’s cookbook—fruit. And while fruit might not be a part of a cookbook cuisine, walking through various cities across Mexico and seeing street vendors hawk it on every corner makes it a pretty large component of the mundane Mexican cuisine in my eyes. Again, there might be some sampling error that contributes to this discrepancy—30% of the customer respondents in Houston were Hispanic, while only 12% were in Atlanta.

However, given the demographic differences between the two cities explored in Chapter 3, this sample is largely appropriate.

To investigate this further we will focus on just the non-Hispanic customers across both cities. At this point, it appears that Houstonians' understanding of Mexican cuisine more closely matches the Hispanic and denoted understandings of it. If we see a major difference between Atlanta's non-Hispanic customers and their free-lists as compared to Houston's non-Hispanic customers, we can then begin to conclude that there is an inherent difference between how the people of the two cities understand Mexican cuisine. There are only 8 dishes unique to non-Hispanic Houstonian customers, but of these 7 (88%) are found in Kennedy's book. On the other hand, Atlanta non-Hispanic customers have 34 dishes unique as compared to their Houstonian counterparts, but only 21 (62%) are found in the cookbook. It would seem therefore that Houstonians—though they may have tighter domains of knowledge—have a better understanding of traditional Mexican cuisine than Atlantans.

Nevertheless, there is a large amount of shared cultural knowledge between the two cities' non-Hispanic customers. Figure 7.2 shows the frequency distribution of the top 15 most frequently listed dishes by non-Hispanic customers.

We can see that nearly all the dishes are close to evenly shared between the two sample populations. So while overall people from Houston might have a greater knowledge of Mexican cuisine, they share similar saliences (with frequency being a large part of the various measures of cultural salience). And in fact, relating back to my earlier supposition, many of those shared top dishes belong to the Tex-Mex cuisine—Tacos, Enchiladas, Burritos, Fajitas, Rice and Beans, Tamales, Chile con Queso, and Nachos.

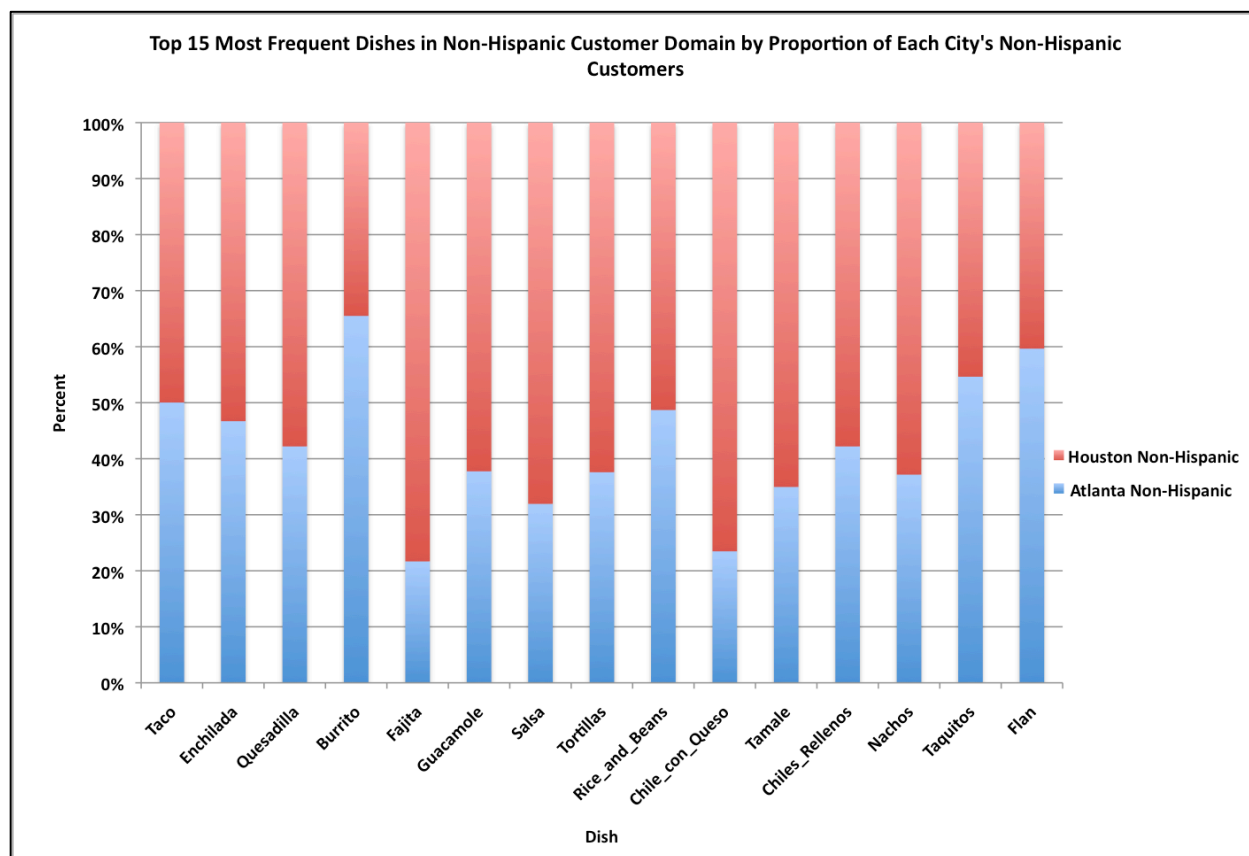


Figure 7.2: Top 15 Most Frequent Dishes in Non-Hispanic Customer Domains by Proportion of Each City's Non-Hispanic Customers

In addition to content analyses of the various Mexican dish domains two other sets of measures can shed some more light on these city/ethnic group level similarities and differences—the length of individual free-lists and the salience of various items in the domain. Greenwood (1989; see also Quinlan 2005) proposes that free-list length is a proxy measure for individual knowledge of a domain. We would therefore, based on the findings above, expect to see a difference between both Atlantans and Houstonians' (and their various sub-groups') mean lengths for their free-lists of Mexican dishes. Table 7.4 shows the mean list lengths for various groups in the sample populations.

Table 7.4: Mean Lengths of Mexican Free-Lists

Group	N	Mean Length
All Customers	74	12.10811
Atlanta Customers	41	10.63415

Houston Customers	33	13.93940
Hispanic Customers	16	18.81250
Non-Hispanic Customers	58	10.25862
Atlanta Hispanic Customers	6	14.50000
Atlanta Non-Hispanic Customers	35	9.22857
Houston Hispanic Customers	10	18.80000
Houston Non-Hispanic Customers	23	11.82609

Given these means, we can statistically compare the subgroups to the population of customer respondents. First, Figure 7.4 is the histogram of the population, showing an approximately normal distribution, though with a few outliers on the right tail. Given this population, it would be appropriate to run either t-tests or ANOVA on the samples. In analyzing variance, I compared Atlanta to Houstonian customers, Hispanic to non-Hispanic customers, and Atlanta and Houston Hispanic and Non-Hispanic customers. The results of these ANOVA tests are presented below in Tables 7.5 through 7.7.

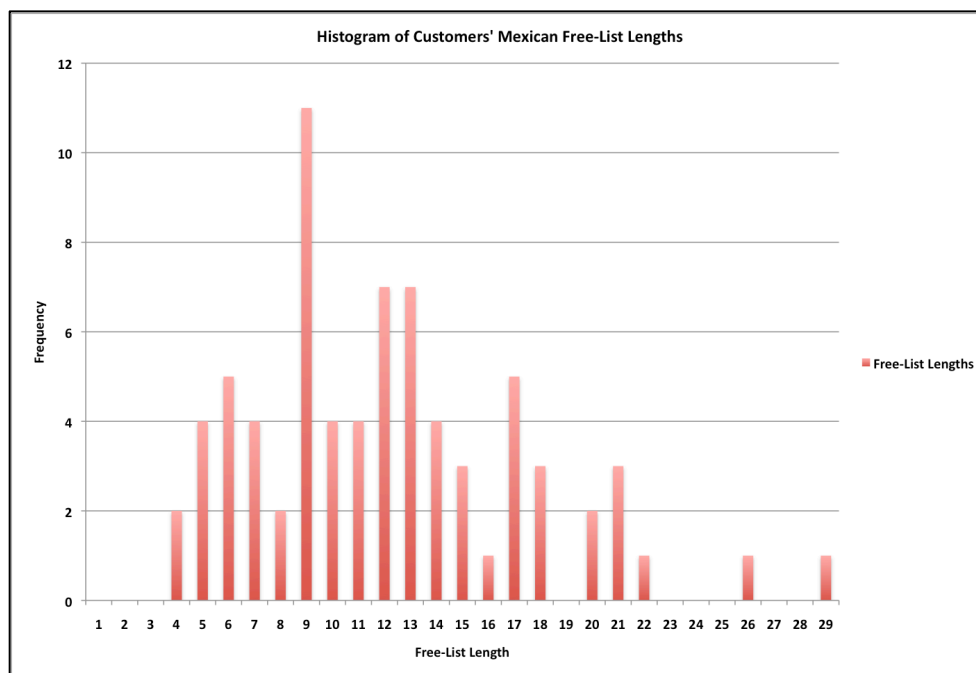


Figure 7.3: Histogram of Customers' Mexican Dish Free-List Lengths

Table 7.5: ANOVA for Atlantan and Houstonian Customers' Mexican Free-List Length

Analysis of Variance (One-Way)						
Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-level	F crit
Between Groups	199.74415	1	199.74415	7.9483	0.00621**	3.9739
Within Groups	1,809.39098	72	25.13043			
Total	2,009.13514	73				

Table 7.6: ANOVA for Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Customers' Mexican Free-List Length

Analysis of Variance (One-Way)						
Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-level	F crit
Between Groups	917.57695	1	917.57695	60.52407	3.94984E-11**	3.9739
Within Groups	1,091.55819	72	15.16053			
Total	2,009.13514	73				

Table 7.7: ANOVA for Secondary Customers Subgroups' Mexican Free-List Length

Analysis of Variance (One-Way)						
Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-level	F crit
Between Groups	1,011.22603	3	337.07534	23.64471	<0.001**	2.73554
Within Groups	997.90911	70	14.25584			
Total	2,009.13514	73				

All of the previous ANOVA tests use the following set of hypotheses:

- H_0 : The mean lengths of the factors' Mexican free-lists are all equal
 H_a : The mean lengths of the factors' Mexican free-lists are not all equal

Being that four factors were used in the ANOVA shown in Table 7.7, and such a low p-value was returned, I can also compare Atlanta Hispanics and Houston Hispanics to one another, and Atlanta non-Hispanics and Houston non-Hispanics to one another. Given our previous findings, we would expect that there won't be a significant difference between the two Hispanic groups, but there will be a city-based effect seen with the non-Hispanic groups.

Tables 7.8 and 7.9 show the results of these ANOVA tests.

Table 7.8: ANOVA for City-Level Hispanic Group Customers' Mexican Free-List Length

Analysis of Variance (One-Way)						
Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-level	F crit
Between Groups	0.00417	1	0.00417	0.00019	0.98919	4.60011
Within Groups	306.43333	14	21.8881			
Total	306.4375	15				

Table 7.9: ANOVA for City-Level Non-Hispanic Group Customers' Mexican Free-List Length

Analysis of Variance (One-Way)						
Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p-level	F crit
Between Groups	93.64491	1	93.64491	7.58395	0.00793**	4.01297
Within Groups	691.47578	56	12.34778			
Total	785.12069	57				

Confirming the expectations, the result of the intercity Hispanic ANOVA is not significant, while the result of the intercity non-Hispanic ANOVA is. Table 7.10 summarizes the results of the directional t-tests following the previous ANOVA data. The hypotheses are:

$$H_0: \bar{X}_1 = \bar{X}_2$$

$$H_a: \bar{X}_1 > \bar{X}_2$$

with the mean for the first factor listed being \bar{X}_1 , and the mean for the second factor being \bar{X}_2 .

Table 7.10: Summary of Two-Sample F and T Tests

Pair	P(F)	Variance	T Statistic	P(T)	Result
Atlantans and Houstonians	0.90732	Equal	0.00391	0.99689**	Reject Null if Opposite
Hispanics and Non-Hispanics	0.28548	Equal	7.94111	1.97492E-11**	Reject Null
ATL Hispanics and HOU Hispanics	0.91986	Equal	0.70133	0.49459	Fail to Reject Null
ATL Non-Hispanics and HOU Non-Hispanics	0.81140	Equal	0.00499	0.99604**	Reject Null if Opposite

In plain English, these statistics show that Houstonians, Hispanics, and Houstonian non-Hispanics have a significantly greater breadth of knowledge (vocabulary in Greenwood's terms) about the cultural domain of Mexican dishes than Atlantans, non-Hispanics, and Atlantan non-Hispanics, respectively.

To begin looking at the shapes of these differing levels of domain knowledge, we can also consider the salience of various members of the cultural domain. To compare salience, I looked at 18 dishes, which were either high on the domain frequency distribution or

culturally significant. The simplest measure is to look at the average frequency of each of these dishes across the various sub-divisions, as seen in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11: Relative Frequencies for 18 Mexican Dishes by Subgroup

	All Customers	Atlantans	Houstonians	Hispanics	Non-Hispanics
Taco	0.9189	0.9024	0.9394	1.0000	0.8966
Enchilada	0.8243	0.7805	0.8788	0.8125	0.8276
Quesadilla	0.6892	0.5854	0.8182	0.8750	0.6379
Burrito	0.5270	0.6585	0.3636	0.3125	0.5862
Fajita	0.4324	0.1951	0.7273	0.3125	0.4655
Guacamole	0.4054	0.3415	0.4848	0.3750	0.4138
Tamale	0.4054	0.3171	0.5152	0.5625	0.3621
Chile Relleno	0.3919	0.3171	0.4848	0.6250	0.3276
Chile con Queso	0.3514	0.2195	0.5152	0.3125	0.3621
Nachos	0.2838	0.2439	0.3333	0.1250	0.3276
Menudo	0.1757	0.1220	0.2424	0.7500	0.0172
Taquitos	0.2297	0.2683	0.1818	0.0625	0.2759
Chilaquiles	0.1351	0.1220	0.1515	0.5625	0.0172
Pozole	0.1216	0.0488	0.2121	0.5000	0.0172
Cajeta	0.0676	0.0732	0.0606	0.3125	0.0000
Carne Asada	0.2568	0.2195	0.3030	0.8125	0.1034
Barbacoa	0.0946	0.0976	0.0909	0.4375	0.0000
Ceviche	0.1351	0.0732	0.2121	0.4375	0.0517

	Atlantan Hispanics	Houstonian Hispanics	Atlantan Non-Hispanics	Houstonian Non-Hispanics
Taco	1.0000	1.0000	0.8857	0.9130
Enchilada	0.8333	0.8000	0.7714	0.9130
Quesadilla	0.8333	0.9000	0.5429	0.7826
Burrito	0.3333	0.3000	0.7143	0.3913
Fajita	0.0000	0.5000	0.2286	0.8261
Guacamole	0.3333	0.4000	0.3429	0.5217
Tamale	0.6667	0.5000	0.2571	0.5217
Chile Relleno	0.5000	0.7000	0.2857	0.3913
Chile con Queso	0.5000	0.2000	0.1714	0.6522
Nachos	0.1667	0.1000	0.2571	0.4348
Menudo	0.6667	0.8000	0.0286	0.0000
Taquitos	0.1667	0.0000	0.2857	0.2609
Chilaquiles	0.6667	0.5000	0.0286	0.0000
Pozole	0.3333	0.6000	0.0000	0.0435
Cajeta	0.5000	0.2000	0.0000	0.0000
Carne Asada	0.8333	0.8000	0.1143	0.0870
Barbacoa	0.6667	0.3000	0.0000	0.0000
Ceviche	0.3333	0.5000	0.0286	0.0870

To make some sense of this large amount of data, Figures 7.4 and 7.5 show these relative frequencies by primary and secondary level customer groupings. Notice that, on the first graph, the most frequent dishes tend to have similar group level frequencies. Confirming the data that so far has indicated intersections between Atlantans and non-

Hispanics, and Houstonians and Hispanics, we can see clear examples of dishes that exemplify these clusters. For example, burritos and taquitos have much higher frequencies for Atlantans and non-Hispanics (the red and teal bars respectively) than for the others. On the other hand, dishes such as menudo, chilaquiles, and cajeta show higher Houstonian and Hispanic frequencies (purple and green) than the others.

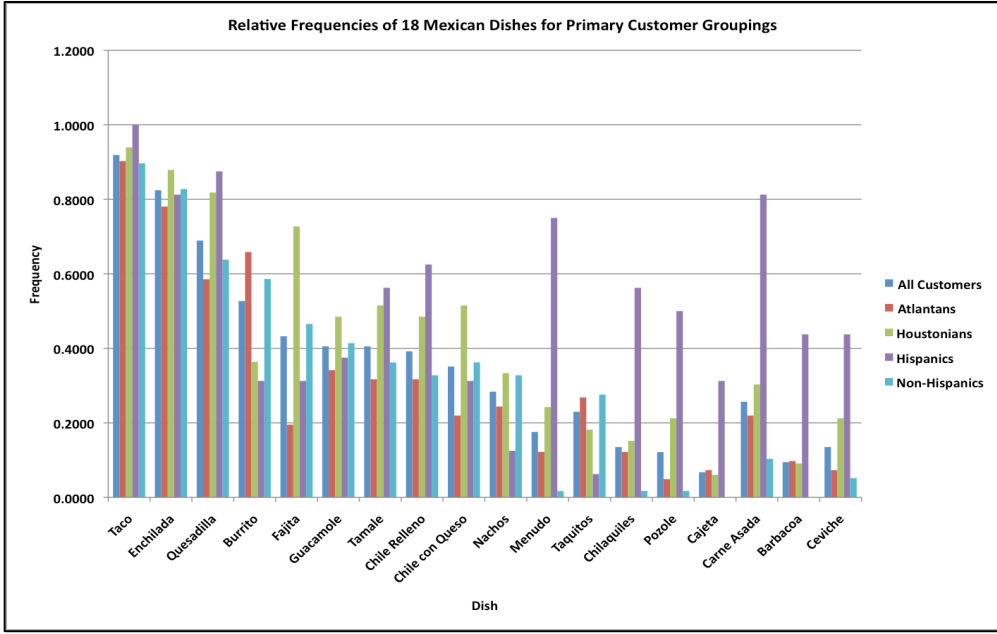


Figure 7.4: Relative Frequencies of 18 Mexican Dishes for Primary Customer Groupings

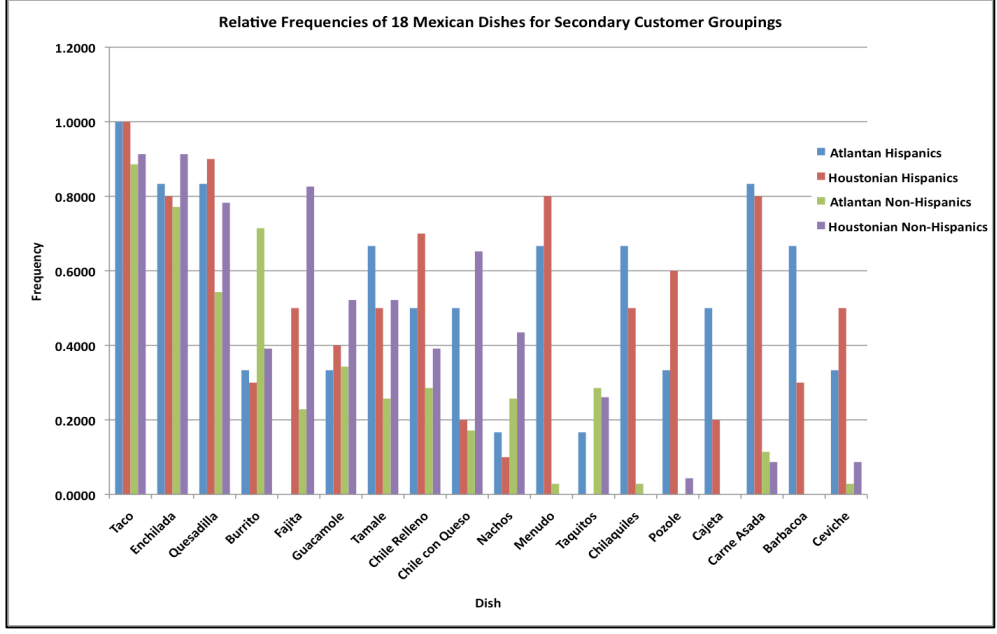


Figure 7.5: Relative Frequencies of 18 Mexican Dishes for Secondary Customer Groupings

It would appear then that three major types of distributions occur across these three dishes: the ones that are approximately even across the groups (i.e. tacos, enchiladas, and quesadillas), ones that are commonly cited by those with lower cultural knowledge of the domain (burritos, taquitos, and nachos), and ones in the middle. Of those in the middle, there is a clear subset that shows high frequencies among either Houstonians or Hispanics (or Houstonian non-Hispanics in Figure 7.5), but not so high as to seem completely out of proportion with the other groups and place them in the high-cultural knowledge group. Examples of this type of dish are tamales, chiles rellenos, and to a lesser extent, carne asada and ceviche.

Beyond frequency, we can look at where the dish was placed on the free-list. The general theory in cognitive anthropology is that when doing a free-list, individuals first list those members of a domain that are more important to them—more cognitively salient (Bernard 2006; Thompson and Juan 2006; Weller and Romney 1988). One way to look at this aspect of the domain is simply the average rank of each dish. However, this measure is easily distorted by low n —thus something that is only ranked twice at positions 7 and 1 receives the same value as something that is ranked as a 4 on every list. The most common measure of salience, Smith's S , takes mean rank, list size, and frequency into account (Smith 1993; Smith and Borgatti 1998; Smith, et al. 1995). Table 7.12 shows the Smith's S values for each of the 18 dishes across the higher- and lower-level groups.

Table 7.12: Smith's S Values for 18 Mexican Dishes by Customer Subgroup

	All Customers	Atlantans	Houstonians	Hispanics	Non-Hispanics
Taco	0.7391	0.7143	0.7698	0.9564	0.6791
Enchilada	0.5899	0.5536	0.6350	0.6363	0.5771
Quesadilla	0.4801	0.4200	0.5549	0.6430	0.4352
Burrito	0.3369	0.4668	0.1755	0.2572	0.3589
Fajita	0.3062	0.1077	0.5529	0.1392	0.3523
Guacamole	0.1737	0.1293	0.2288	0.1904	0.1691
Tamale	0.2562	0.2208	0.3002	0.4032	0.2157
Chile Relleno	0.2243	0.1777	0.2821	0.4350	0.1662
Chile con Queso	0.2058	0.0946	0.3439	0.1393	0.2241
Nachos	0.1598	0.1251	0.2029	0.0402	0.1928
Menudo	0.0743	0.0620	0.0896	0.2853	0.0161
Taquitos	0.0966	0.1175	0.0707	0.0104	0.1204
Chilaquiles	0.0844	0.0771	0.0935	0.3279	0.0172
Pozole	0.0626	0.0194	0.1163	0.2716	0.0049
Cajeta	0.0212	0.0297	0.0106	0.0978	0
Carne Asada	0.1532	0.1346	0.1762	0.5355	0.0477
Barbacoa	0.0373	0.0273	0.0498	0.1725	0
Ceviche	0.0546	0.0447	0.0668	0.2111	0.0114

	Atlantan Hispanics	Houstonian Hispanics	Atlantan Non-Hispanics	Houstonian Non-Hispanics
Taco	0.9583	0.9379	0.6961	0.6968
Enchilada	0.5073	0.6253	0.5530	0.6392
Quesadilla	0.4951	0.7047	0.4184	0.4897
Burrito	0.3513	0.2341	0.5199	0.1500
Fajita	0	0.2227	0.1262	0.6964
Guacamole	0.1275	0.2282	0.1296	0.2291
Tamale	0.5419	0.3155	0.1645	0.2935
Chile Relleno	0.2234	0.4939	0.1505	0.1901
Chile con Queso	0.1567	0.1231	0.0966	0.4400
Nachos	0.1119	0.0056	0.1298	0.2887
Menudo	0.1978	0.2955	0.0267	0
Taquitos	0.0278	0	0.1376	0.1014
Chilaquiles	0.2446	0.3087	0.0286	0
Pozole	0.0556	0.3551	0	0.0124
Cajeta	0.1131	0.0348	0	0
Carne Asada	0.5267	0.4600	0.0705	0.0528
Barbacoa	0.1671	0.1642	0	0
Ceviche	0.2873	0.1654	0.0032	0.0239

As we did above with the average frequencies, Figures 7.6 and 7.7 show the Smith's S graphically. Though more variation within each dish is present here, we can see more or less the same trends using Smith's measure of salience as we did with average frequency.

Tacos, quesadillas, and enchiladas again show an approximately even distribution, though their salience is noticeably higher for Hispanics in the former two. This even-except-for-Hispanic distribution is noticeable for tamales, chiles rellenos, and carne asada as well. Recall from the previous discussion of average frequencies that these three dishes were to be found in the special subset of the middle that was more common with Hispanics.

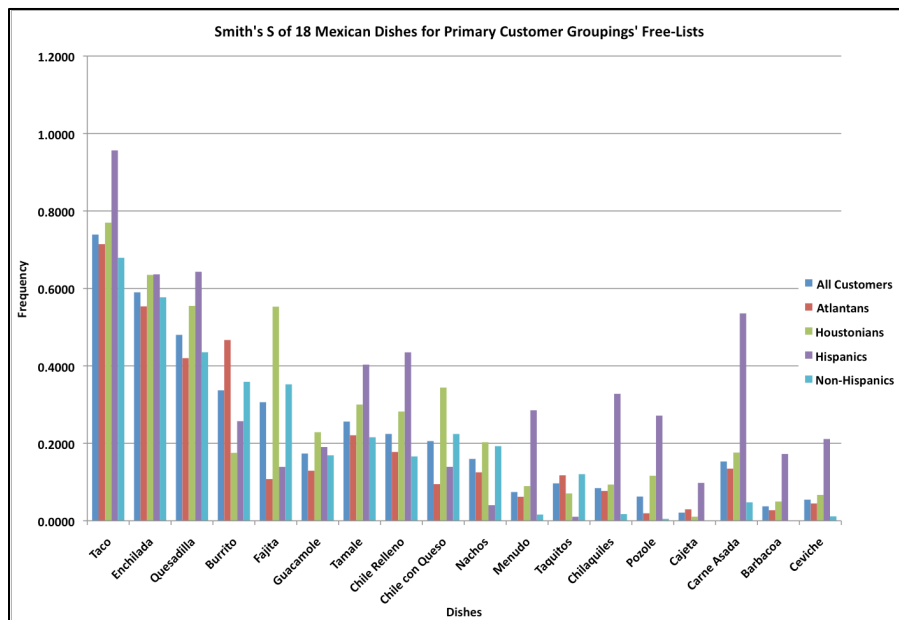


Figure 7.6: Smith’s S of 18 Mexican Dishes for Primary Customer Groupings

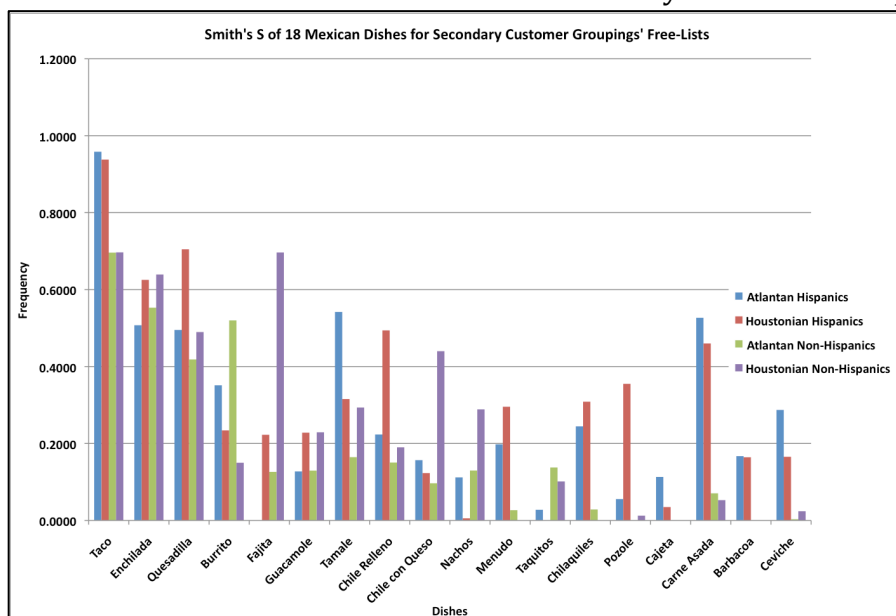


Figure 7.7: Smith’s S of 18 Mexican Dishes for Secondary Customer Groupings

The two extreme distributions are present here as well. We can see on one hand that Atlantans, non-Hispanics, and Atlantan non-Hispanics again favor burritos and taquitos. Additionally Houstonians, non-Hispanics, and Houstonian non-Hispanics favor fajitas, chile con queso, and nachos. The other extreme again clearly includes menudo, chilaquiles, pozole, and barbacoa. The Smith's S data also places ceviche in this group, whereas the frequency data had it in the Hispanic side of the middle.

These various groupings of the dishes form the core of what I term marker dishes—or dishes within a cuisine that act as social symbols indicating various characteristics of the restaurant within which they are served, the people serving and cooking the dishes, and the people who are most likely to eat the dish. I want to place this discussion of marker dishes alongside the ideas of comfort and intimidation. These are two themes that emerged as strongly significant through my interviews and observations with both the restaurateurs and customers, and I will discuss it at length in the next chapter. For now, Table 7.13 places these 18 dishes we have been focusing on into my proposed marker dish categories: Common and Accepted by All (C), Requires Low Level of Cultural Knowledge (L), Requires High Level of Cultural Knowledge (H), and Transitory (T).

Table 7.13: Proposed Marker Dishes

Dish	Hispanic Avg Frequency	Non-Hispanic Avg Frequency	Hispanic Smith's S	Non-Hispanic Smith's S	Marker Dish Category
Barbacoa	0.44	0.00	0.17	0.00	H
Burrito	0.31	0.59	0.26	0.36	L
Cajeta	0.31	0.00	0.10	0.00	H
Carne Asada	0.81	0.10	0.54	0.05	T
Ceviche	0.44	0.05	0.21	0.01	T
Chilaquiles	0.56	0.02	0.33	0.02	H
Chile con Queso	0.31	0.36	0.14	0.22	L
Chile Relleno	0.63	0.33	0.43	0.17	T
Enchilada	0.81	0.83	0.64	0.58	C
Fajita	0.31	0.47	0.14	0.35	L
Guacamole	0.38	0.41	0.19	0.17	C
Menudo	0.75	0.02	0.29	0.02	H

Nachos	0.13	0.33	0.04	0.19	L
Pozole	0.50	0.02	0.27	0.00	H
Quesadilla	0.88	0.64	0.64	0.44	C
Taco	1.00	0.90	0.96	0.68	C
Tamale	0.56	0.36	0.40	0.22	T
Taquitos	0.06	0.28	0.01	0.12	L

7.1.2: *American Dishes*

Customer respondents were also asked to complete a free-list of American dishes, where their prompt was “Please list all American dishes you can think of.” If asked for further guidance, I simply told them to “write down any food you think of as American.” This free-list is included in the study for two major reasons. First, it can aid in answering the second research question that focuses on Mexican immigrants acculturating to American cuisine and culture, particularly those responses from Hispanic customers. Secondly, I am interested to see if there is any “penetration” of Mexican or other ethnic dishes into the American culinary domain. In this section I will briefly present the same three types of free-list data as from the Mexican free-lists above, and then discuss the two points of significance that stem from these.

The American dish domain was obtained from the same 74 respondents as above, and again includes 35 non-Hispanic and 6 Hispanic customers from Atlanta and 23 non-Hispanic and 10 Hispanic customers from Houston (for a total of 41 and 33 respondents from Atlanta and Houston, respectively). The full domain, which can be found in Appendix K, has 165 members from 943 entries. Figure 7.8 shows the top 47 (frequency ≥ 6) dishes in the American dish domain by the secondary groupings of customers (Hispanic Atlantans, Hispanic Houstonians, non-Hispanic Atlantans, and non-Hispanic Houstonians).

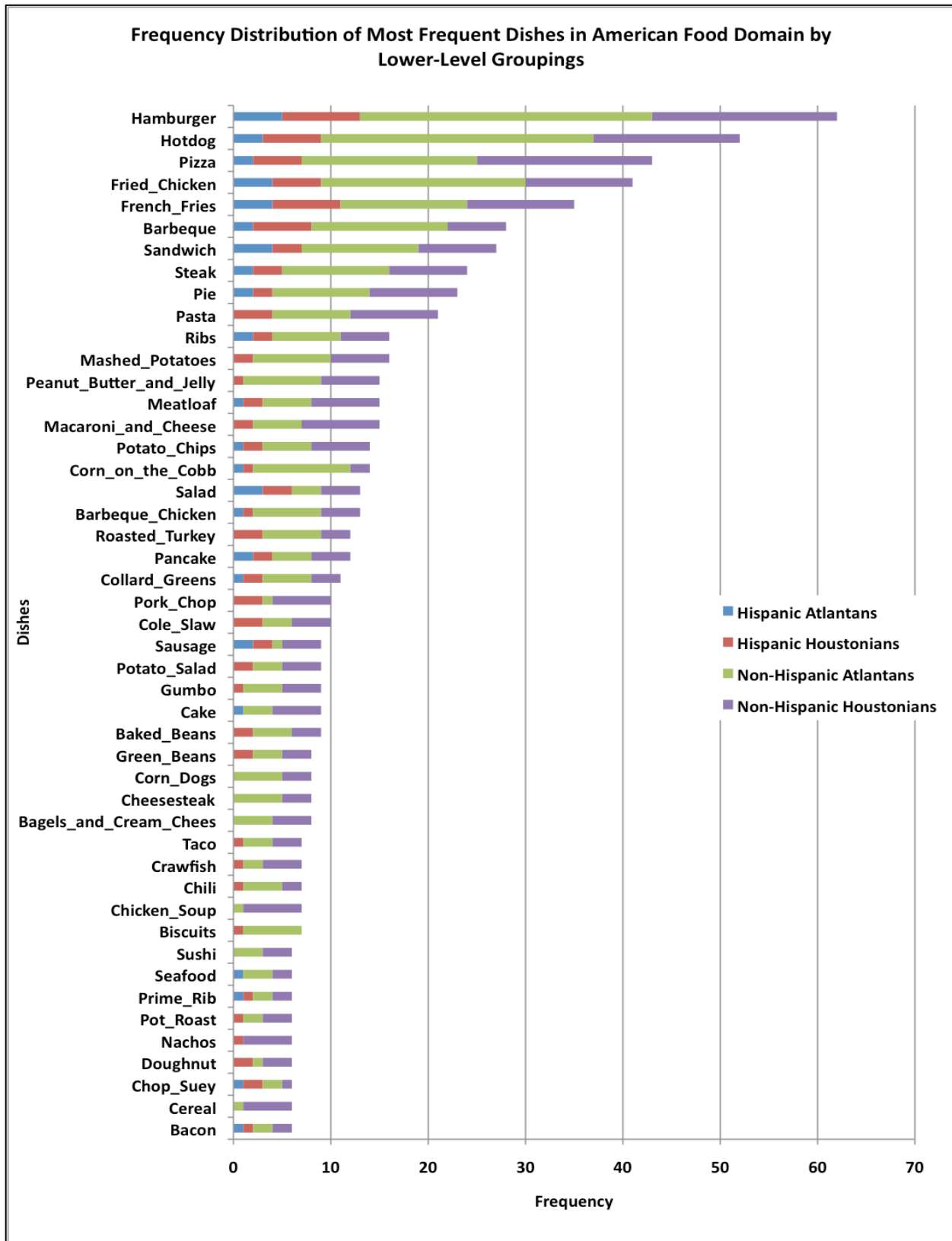


Figure 7.8: Frequency Distribution of Most Frequent Dishes in American Food Domain by Secondary Customer Groupings

To do this I choose a subset of 13 American dishes that were either at the upper end of the frequency distribution or were culturally significant to run further statistics on. First let us consider the relative frequencies of these 13 dishes. Figures 7.9 and 7.10 show the average frequencies by either upper-level or lower-level groupings.

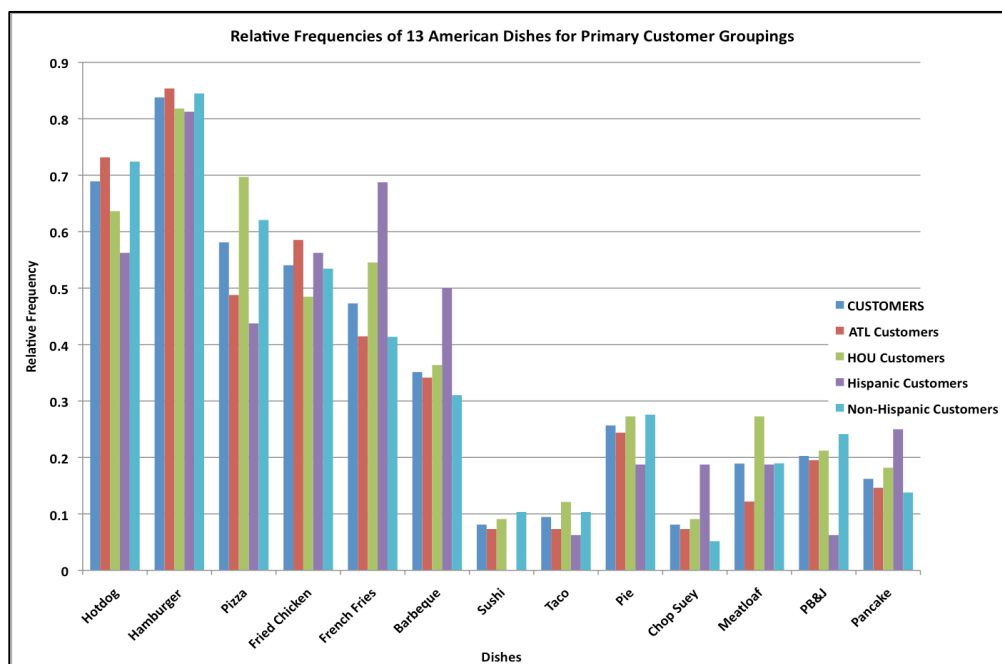


Figure 7.9: Relative Frequencies of 13 American Dishes for Primary Customer Groupings

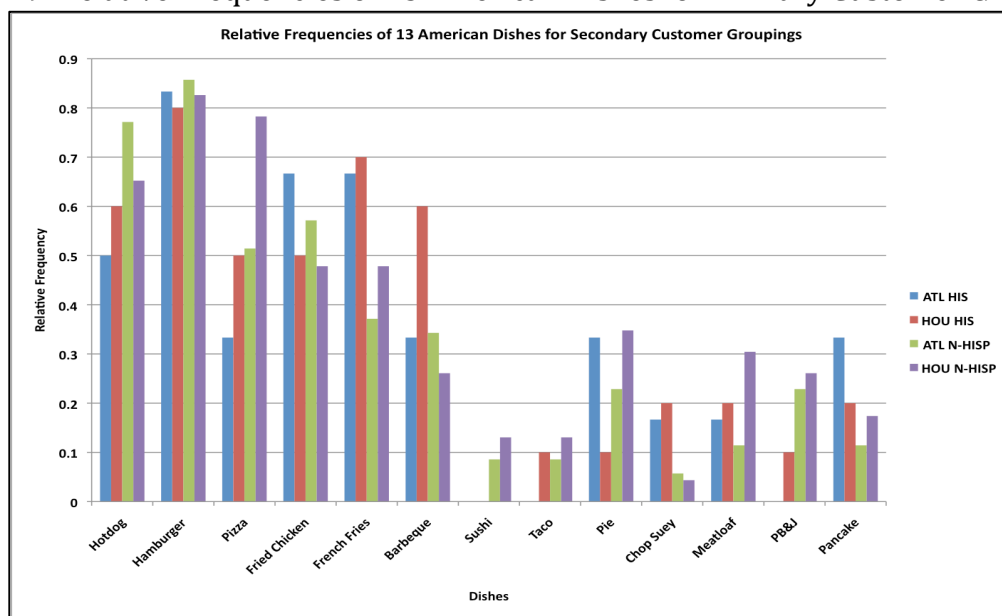


Figure 7.10: Relative Frequencies of 13 American Dishes for Secondary Customer Groupings

There are a few interesting distributions here. First consider the three ethnic dishes among the 13 (sushi, tacos, and chop suey—I am not including pizza because it has been transformed into an almost entirely non-ethnic American dish, see Gabaccia 1998). Sushi and tacos are both cited by non-Hispanics in both cities. Chop suey interestingly follows the opposite pattern, with its citation favored by Hispanics in both cities (though non-Hispanics cite it as well). This conflicts with my observations in Houston, as the half-dozen or so times I ate Chinese during my fieldwork I never noticed a disproportionate number of Hispanics in the restaurants—though this could certainly be due to my personal restaurant sampling bias. I did observe that at every barbeque joint I visited in Houston it would be uncommon if over half the customers *were not* Hispanic. This could explain the large spike in Houstonian Hispanics citing barbeque as an American dish.

Unlike with the Mexican distributions in the section above, there aren't any clearly delineated distribution varieties in this dataset. With the exception of tacos and sushi, which were not or drastically under-cited by Hispanics, most of the dishes have an approximately even distribution across both the higher-level and lower-level group customers' free-lists. We would therefore expect to see the same relative pattern with the Smith's S data. Figures 7.11 and 7.12 graphically present the salience measure for the 13 dishes by the upper- and lower-level customer groups.

Like we saw with the Mexican dishes, there is more variation apparent with the Smith's S data as compared to the simple average frequency measure. However, the distributions across the groups are more or less equivalent to the frequency data. Most dishes still show an approximately even distribution across the subgroups, with just a few exceptions.

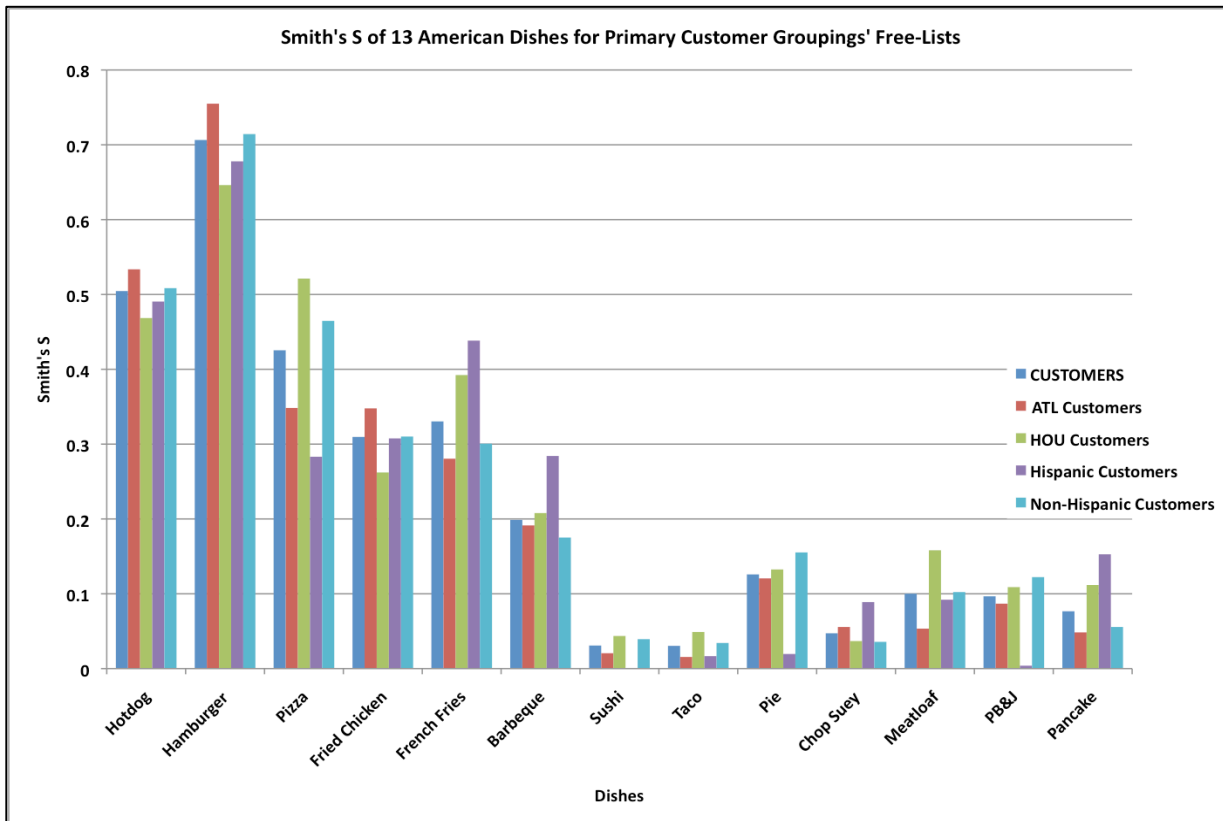


Figure 7.11: Smith's S of 13 American Dishes by Primary Customer Free-Lists

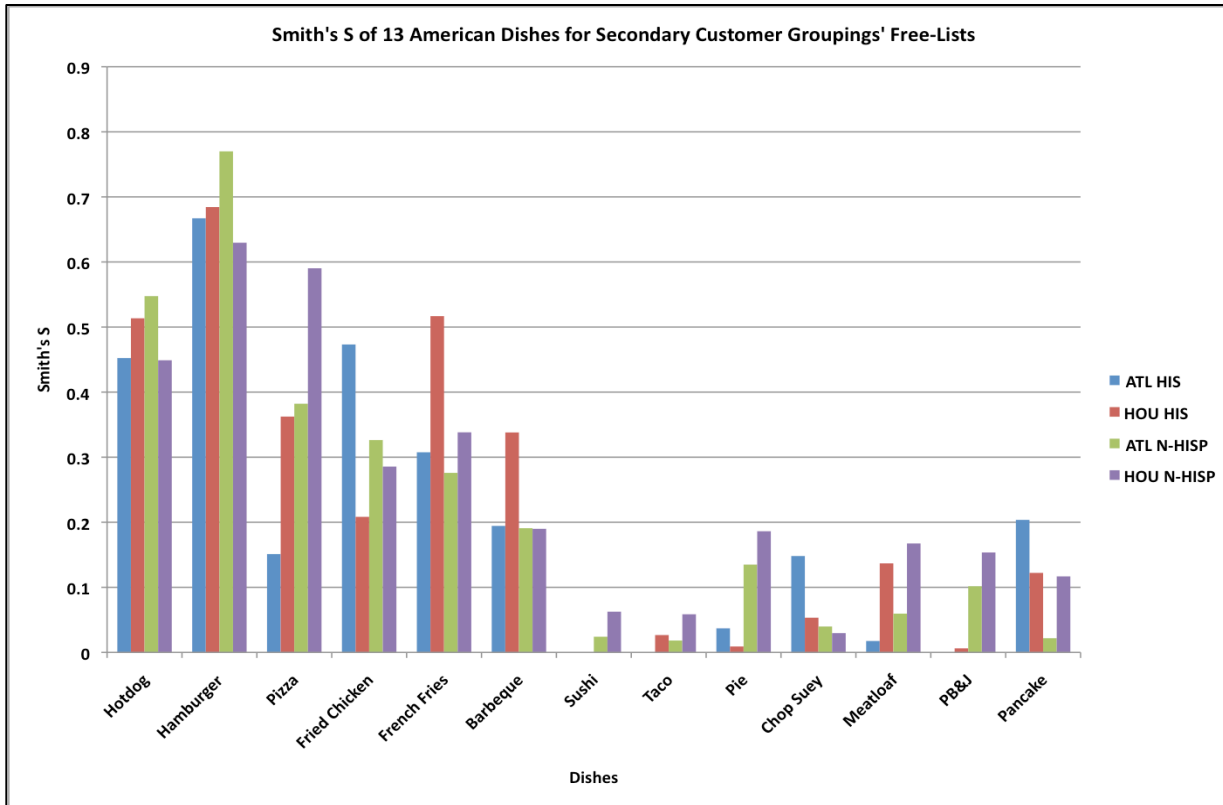


Figure 7.12: Smith's S of 13 American Dishes by Secondary Customer Free-Lists

Joining sushi and tacos in the subset of dishes that appear to have little to no significance to Hispanics as American food are pie and peanut butter and jelly sandwiches. The latter makes sense if the respondents immigrated to the United States after childhood, where PB&J is a staple of elementary and secondary school lunches. Indeed, all but four of the Hispanic customer respondents moved to the United States in their late teens or later. Of the four, three are second-generation Mexican Americans and one came to Houston as a 3-year-old from Mexico.

This oddity with peanut butter and jelly actually brings up an important aspect of cuisines that can explain why ethnic foods such as sushi, tacos, chop suey, and pizza can jump from their original cuisine to “American.” The immigrant Hispanics, who mostly did not share the life experience that internalizes PB&J as an important part of American cuisine, do not therefore include it as such. A lot has been written about Americanization of cuisine, but little ink is dedicated to *how* it happens. My data suggests that this internalization—this Americanization—is due to both pop culture and memory (cf. Wallendorf and Reilly 1983). I will certainly explore this more in the next chapter when I bring everything together, but let’s consider tacos quickly.

When I asked the seven individuals who wrote tacos down as a member of the American cuisine why they considered it so, they often said something about taco night with their family. For instance Sammy, a 19-year-old college student from Houston responded to my query,

Sammy: We did taco night every week growing up, like every Thursday. I think my parents miss it now that I’m in college, so they brought it back last summer when I went home. You know, just the taco kit and some ground beef.

Kristy: [21-year-old Houston college student. Did not list tacos.] We did that too once in a while! I love those things. I mean, do they really count as tacos?

S: Hell yeah. Don't be a taco snob! You can get them everywhere at restaurants. Look [points to menu, which does indeed include crispy tacos].

...

S: Sure. Taqueria tacos aren't American, or not like common. But what's more American than ground beef, cheese, and lettuce? Nothing⁶¹.

Though the scholarly literature on taco nights is, as might be expected, lacking—the event is mentioned throughout quite a few food histories/memoires in the popular press (i.e. Reinhardt 2008), has had *New York Times* columns dedicated to it (Parker-Pope 2010), and has become so entrenched in American pop culture that *The Onion* ran a satirical commentary about a child ruining the family tradition, and Procter & Gamble released “Taco Night” flavored Pringles. I remember growing up as a child in one of the most un-Hispanic places on earth—Central Pennsylvania—and begging my parents for taco nights (though in defense of my foodie cred, I did begin to prefer the soft taco versions in high school).

So on one hand the popular culture contributes to Americanization by establishing that eating a certain food is normative, thus placing the dish into the domain of American food. But what makes it salient enough for a person to list it on a free-list? It has to be embodied memory. Just because eating a food is said to be normative or acceptable does not mean that every individual in the culture actually eats it. (If it did, we would expect that all free-lists would be the same length.) Sammy's weekly eating of tacos with his family embodied that act of eating into his person memory, making it salient enough for him to include it on his list. Kristy, who also expressed knowledge and experience with

⁶¹ From notes from group interview with author, October 18 2009.

taco night, must not have the same level of embodied experience such that it was easy to recall when coming up with her list.

Along these lines, one last thing we need to look at with the American dish domain is list length. My data so far strongly points to the obvious but important idea that greater experience with a given domain leads to greater knowledge of that domain (a central tenant of cognitive anthropology if ever there was one). As such, we would expect the non-Hispanic customers (all of who grew up in the United States) to have longer list lengths than the Hispanic customers, again relying on Greenwood's (1984) claim that vocabulary size is a useful proxy for breadth of knowledge. Table 7.14 shows the mean lengths for the various groupings of customers.

Table 7.14: Mean American Free-List Lengths by Customer Group

Group	N	Mean List Length	Standard Deviation
All Customers	74	12.7703	5.1353
Atlantans	41	11.6829	4.9267
Houstonians	33	14.1212	5.1403
Hispanics	16	11.3750	4.3031
Non-Hispanics	58	13.1552	5.3107
Atlantan Hispanics	6	9.8333	4.6655
Houstonian Hispanics	10	12.3000	4.0291
Atlantan Non-Hispanics	35	12.0000	4.9646
Houstonians Non-Hispanics	23	14.9130	5.4432

We can see that the mean length for Hispanics is over 1.75 smaller than for non-Hispanics, and that Houstonian Hispanic customers (who include all four non-adult immigrant Hispanics) have a mean length nearly 2.5 greater than Atlantan Hispanic customers. However, these differences are not statistically significant as Table 7.15 shows.

Table 7.15: Results of ANOVA on Customer American Free-List Lengths

Groups	F Crit	F Statistic	P-Value
Atlantans vs Houstonians	3.974	4.309	0.041**
Hispanics vs Non-Hispanics	3.974	1.518	0.222
All Four Intracity Ethnic Groups	2.736	2.412	0.074
Atlantan Hispanics vs Houstonian Hispanics	4.600	1.253	0.282
Atlantan Non-Hispanics vs Houstonian Non-Hispanics	4.013	4.427	0.040**
Atlantan Hispanics vs Atlantan Non-Hispanics	4.091	0.990	0.326
Houstonian Hispanics vs Houston Non-Hispanics	4.160	1.849	0.184

This lack of significance is probably due to the relatively high standard deviations that come from such a small sample size (particularly for the Hispanic customers), and is something that a future study should remedy. We turn now to other types of survey data that can help us understand the differences in domain content, salience and length.

7.2: Similarity and Cognitive Data

The 74 customer respondents were asked to complete a survey and participate in various cognitive data collection activities. Of these, I will present the findings of an undirected pile-sort of Mexican dishes here. While customers were also asked to complete ranking and triad activities, the results of these ended up having little to no statistical or evidentiary power. I will also present some of the experiential data they provided that relates to their culinary experiences and combine these with the free-list and pile-sort data to construct mathematical models that can be used to predict culinary domain knowledge breadth and depth.

7.2.1: Undirected Pile Sort of Mexican Dishes

Each respondent was given a set of 32 cards with a picture of a dish and that dishes name (see Appendix F). The dishes were selected for their frequency across the menu domain and within certain restaurant customer ethnicity categories, and are found in Table 7.16.

Table 7.16: Dishes Used in Undirected Pile-Sort Activity

Arroz con Pollo	Churros	Huevos Rancheros	Quesadilla
Burrito	Enchiladas	Lengua Taco	Shrimp Cocktail
Carnitas	Fajitas	Maduros	Sopapillas
Cheese Dip	Fish Tacos	Menudo	Taco Salad
Chicken Soup	Flan	Mole Poblano	Tacos al Pastor
Chilaquiles	Fried Tilapia	Nachos	Tamale
Chile Relleno	Ground-Beef Taco	Paella	Taquitos
Choco-Taco	Guacamole	Pozole	Torta

Each respondent was handed the stack of cards and told, “Divide these 32 dishes into groups.” If asked for clarification, I told the respondent that they could make as many groups as they wanted. After they were finished, I asked each respondent to name their groups. The results were then tabulated into proximity matrices for each respondent, and aggregate proximity matrices for each subgroup of respondent. Table 7.17 shows the aggregate proximity matrix containing the results of all 74 pile-sorts. The number codes correspond to the dishes alphabetically (arroz con pollo =1; torta = 32).

This data can be analyzed both on the group and individual levels, the former of which we will focus on here and leave the individual analysis to Section 7.2.2.

Each groups’ (All Customers, Atlantans, Houstonians, Hispanics, non-Hispanics, Atlantan Hispanics and Non-Hispanics, and Houstonian Hispanics and non-Hispanics) aggregate proximity tables were divided by N to arrive at a frequency table.

Table 7.17: Aggregate Proximity Matrix from All Customers' Pile-Sorts

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1	74	19	29	16	19	21	21	19	15	18	25	25	14	37	16	13	21	13	25	11	32	16	48	14	14	17	11	17	16	20	21	21
2	19	74	8	43	17	6	16	18	18	47	41	35	13	10	56	30	19	22	12	2	6	50	14	5	51	15	15	47	23	36	54	20
3	29	8	74	12	17	33	42	6	13	19	24	12	13	40	8	23	27	22	26	29	55	13	29	33	13	21	22	12	22	23	16	24
4	16	43	12	74	27	6	16	17	19	28	43	20	12	10	44	41	15	6	15	10	8	53	15	12	32	21	12	46	8	20	42	12
5	19	17	17	27	74	8	10	23	13	14	25	22	12	21	17	21	11	3	17	22	14	20	20	23	17	40	7	21	5	10	16	17
6	21	6	33	6	8	74	34	4	22	14	18	7	14	22	5	19	49	29	25	31	36	8	20	27	13	8	23	9	27	21	9	19
7	21	16	42	16	10	34	74	6	17	29	26	16	16	28	16	32	34	23	27	22	45	15	16	28	23	19	23	20	25	32	24	15
8	19	18	6	17	23	4	6	74	27	5	12	15	32	12	24	7	7	2	17	2	6	21	18	4	8	23	23	25	3	4	11	10
9	15	18	13	20	13	22	17	27	74	14	17	16	34	10	17	20	26	12	19	17	17	18	10	14	19	9	41	18	15	18	16	14
10	18	47	19	28	14	14	29	5	14	74	43	31	16	21	37	32	28	27	14	7	20	31	10	11	56	11	16	29	32	48	48	28
11	25	41	24	43	25	18	26	12	17	43	74	22	16	19	43	34	25	13	13	8	19	40	15	10	40	21	19	42	16	33	46	22
12	25	35	12	20	22	7	16	15	16	31	22	74	6	22	34	17	13	36	17	11	10	26	21	10	31	18	7	24	40	23	37	36
13	14	13	13	12	12	14	16	32	34	16	16	6	74	17	13	18	15	12	11	11	16	12	12	13	13	17	50	15	11	14	12	8
14	37	10	40	10	22	23	28	12	11	21	19	22	18	74	8	15	24	15	16	16	35	11	31	15	14	29	13	10	19	21	12	21
15	16	56	8	44	17	5	16	24	17	37	43	34	13	8	74	25	20	19	10	4	6	56	11	7	42	18	14	57	22	26	51	17
16	14	30	23	41	22	19	32	8	20	32	34	18	19	15	25	74	22	19	28	17	22	29	17	20	38	31	20	28	25	38	26	19
17	21	19	27	15	11	49	35	6	26	28	26	13	14	23	20	23	74	15	11	18	29	21	14	20	23	14	20	22	23	32	20	15
18	13	22	22	6	3	29	23	2	12	27	13	36	12	15	19	19	15	74	24	33	24	9	18	30	29	8	14	10	61	26	24	41
19	25	12	26	15	17	25	27	17	19	14	13	17	11	16	10	28	11	24	74	27	28	13	31	27	14	16	20	14	23	23	17	18
20	11	2	29	10	22	31	22	2	17	7	8	11	11	16	4	17	18	33	27	74	27	4	24	59	5	10	14	5	24	17	9	20
21	32	6	55	8	14	36	45	6	17	20	19	10	16	35	6	22	29	24	28	27	74	7	28	34	12	17	25	8	26	26	12	16
22	16	50	13	53	20	8	15	21	18	31	40	26	12	11	56	29	21	9	13	4	7	74	14	8	37	20	13	62	13	23	46	13
23	48	14	29	15	20	20	16	18	10	10	15	21	12	31	11	17	14	18	31	24	28	14	74	22	8	17	11	13	17	12	16	17
24	14	5	33	12	23	27	28	4	14	11	10	10	13	15	7	20	20	30	27	59	34	8	22	73	9	11	14	11	27	20	12	17
25	14	51	13	32	17	13	23	8	19	56	40	31	13	13	42	38	23	29	14	5	12	37	8	9	74	15	19	35	30	40	42	31
26	16	15	21	21	39	9	20	22	9	11	22	17	16	27	18	31	14	8	16	10	17	20	17	11	15	74	9	17	9	16	10	19
27	11	15	22	12	7	23	23	23	41	16	19	7	50	12	14	20	21	14	20	14	25	13	11	14	19	9	74	14	13	18	14	12
28	17	47	12	46	21	9	20	25	18	29	42	24	15	10	57	28	22	10	14	5	8	62	13	11	35	17	14	74	13	26	45	12
29	16	23	22	8	5	27	25	3	15	32	16	40	11	19	22	25	23	61	23	24	26	13	17	27	30	9	13	13	74	33	28	40
30	20	37	23	20	10	21	32	4	18	49	33	24	14	21	27	38	32	27	23	17	26	24	12	20	41	15	18	26	34	74	38	31
31	21	54	16	42	16	9	24	11	16	48	46	37	12	12	51	26	20	24	17	9	12	46	16	12	42	10	14	45	28	37	74	20
32	21	21	24	13	17	19	15	10	14	28	22	36	8	21	17	18	15	41	18	20	16	13	17	17	31	20	12	12	40	31	20	74

I then standardized these matrices to arrive at a binary proximity matrix for each group by using the function $(0 \leq 0.6 < 1)$. Using these standard tables, it is possible to look at common dish groupings across the various population subgroups of customers. This data can be analyzed both on the group and individual levels, the former of which we will focus on here and leave the individual analysis to Section 7.2.2.

Each groups' (All Customers, Atlantans, Houstonians, Hispanics, non-Hispanics, Atlantan Hispanics and Non-Hispanics, and Houstonian Hispanics and non-Hispanics) aggregate proximity tables were divided by N to arrive at a frequency table. I then standardized these matrices to arrive at a binary proximity matrix for each group by using the function $(0 \leq 0.6 < 1)$. Using these standard tables, it is possible to look at common dish groupings across the various population subgroups of customers. Consider burritos: Table 7.18 lists those dishes that were grouped with burritos over 60% of the time.

Table 7.18: Dishes Grouped with Burritos Over 60% of the Time by Customer Subgroup

	All Custs.	Atlantans	Houstonians	Hispanics	Non-Hispanics	ATL Hispanics	ATL Non-Hispanics	HOU Hispanics	HOU Non-Hispanics
Cheese Dip									
Enchiladas									
Fajitas									
Fish Tacos									
Ground Beef Taco									
Guacamole									
Nachos									
Quesadilla									
Taco Salad									
Taquitos									

We again see some correlation between non-Hispanic Houstonians and Hispanics, in that they both lumped cheese dip (chile con queso) with burritos. Looking through the customers' pile names, it is apparent that many Houstonians—regardless of race—created a Tex-Mex grouping that included burritos, chile con queso, and beef tacos. If the above is

an example of one a dish that is symbolically tied to low cultural knowledge of the domain of Mexican food (see again Table 7.13), we should also consider a dish that is a marker for high culinary cultural capital—menudo for instance. To look at variation in this dish, I lowered the binary threshold to $1 \geq 0.4$, as menudo was grouped with only pozole across all subgroups at both the 0.6 and 0.5 thresholds.

Table 7.19: Dishes Grouped with Menudo 40% of the Time or Over by Customer Subgroups

	All Custs.	Atlantans	Houstonians	Hispanics	Non-Hispanics	ATL Hispanics	ATL Non-Hispanics	HOU Hispanics	HOU Non-Hispanics
Carnitas									
Chicken Soup									
Chilaquiles									
Chile Rellno									
Churros									
Fish Taco									
Guacamole									
Huevos Rancheros									
Lengua Taco									
Maduros									
Mole Poblano									
Paella									
Pozole									
Tacos al Pastor									
Tamale									
Torta									

In the case of menudo, we do not see much convergence between Hispanics and non-Hispanic Houstonians (with the exception of those things that all groups share with menudo—chilaquiles and pozole). The first of these two universally-grouped-with-menudo dishes, chilaquiles, might provide us with some nuance. When I first saw this data, the question that immediately came to mind was, “How do white people from Atlanta, many of whom are admittedly intimidated by stepping foot on Buford Highway, know that menudo is a breakfast dish like chilaquiles?”

In short: they don't. The answer to this, and the reason menudo is lumped with chilaquiles across the board, is found in the pile names I elicited from the respondents. Table 7.20 shows a selection of what five individuals from each the Atlanta non-Hispanic, Houston non-Hispanic, and Hispanic groups named their group containing menudo:

Table 7.20: Customer Names for their Piles Containing Menudo by Three Subgroups

Atlantan Non-Hispanic	Houstonian non-Hispanic	Hispanic
"Too Legit"	"Liquid-Based"	"Soup"
"Wouldn't Eat"	"Authentic Mexican, I Think"	"Breakfast"
"Spoonable"	"Don't Know and Wouldn't Try"	"For the Morning"
"Stuff I've Never Heard of"	"Mexicans Eat these for Lunch"	"Breakfast"
"WTF...no"	"Quick-to-get Mexican"	"Soup"

Besides unfortunately decreasing in hilarity as we move right across this table, the names of the menudo-containing piles tell us a lot. The majority of the non-Hispanic Atlantan names had to do with unfamiliarity/unpalatability, while a few referenced the soup-y structure of the dish. The Houstonian non-Hispanics split their answers across the soupiness and authenticity of the dish, while a few pointed out that either the unpalatability or time of day menudo was available (i.e. lunch time in their eyes). The Hispanics split between the soupiness of the menudo, or that it was a traditional breakfast/brunch food. So, chilaquiles are not always grouped with menudo because they are both breakfast foods. Rather, a large part of the time they are lumped together because the respondent considers it unpalatable or authentic. The debate in biological taxonomy between lumpers and splitters rears its head here as well. Those with specific knowledge of the dish will spit the dish off into either structural or temporal categories, whereas individuals with low cultural/culinary knowledge or experience will group the unfamiliar together.

The time difference between when Houstonian non-Hispanics place the dish (lunch) and when Hispanics actually tend to eat it (breakfast) tells us a lot about where Houstonians are getting their culinary knowledge. Menudo is very common (as we clearly saw in Chapter 5) on Houston taquería menus. Thus, a Houston diner who runs to a taco joint for lunch once a week will start placing this dish (that they, in all probability, have never tried) into their conception of a Mexican lunch. This explains why non-Hispanic Houstonians link menudo with tortas—another common menu item at taquerías. The standardized aggregate frequency matrices can also be directly compared against one another to provide solid numerical data on these experience-based discrepancies. I took each subgroup’s standardized proximity matrix and compared it to the overall (all customers) standardized matrix. To calculate the percent differences I used the following equation, comparing each of the cells in the overall matrix (C^A) with j columns and k rows to the corresponding cell in the subgroup’s matrix (C^S) with j columns and k rows, where the value of each cell, $C_{j,k}^X$, is 0 or 1 (the standardized presence or absence binary).

$$\% \text{ Difference} = \frac{\sum_{j,k=1,32}^{1064} (C_{j,k}^A - C_{j,k}^S)}{1064} \quad (\text{Equation 3})$$

Again using 0.6 thresholds for the binary, Table 7.21 presents the subgroups’ binary matrices percent differences with the overall binary proximity matrix.

Table 7.21: Percent Differences with the Aggregate Overall Proximity Matrix by Subgroup

Subgroup	Percent Difference with Overall Aggregate
All Customers	0.0000
Atlantans	2.9297
Houstonians	2.9297
Hispanics	4.6875
Non-Hispanics	2.2461

Atlantan Hispanics	5.4688
Atlantan Non-Hispanics	3.5156
Houstonian Hispanics	4.4922
Houstonian Non-Hispanics	3.6133

We can see that the various Hispanic customer groups are the most different from the overall distribution, and non-Hispanics are the most similar. First, as I have pointed out before, the disproportionate numbers of non-Hispanics as compared to Hispanics in the sample population skew these results towards the non-Hispanic archetype. However, given that the Atlantan and Houstonian groups have the same difference with the population archetype even while they have very different proportions of Hispanics to non-Hispanics, this sampling issue cannot possibly account for all of the variation. To explore this variation further, first consider Figure 7.13, which looks just at the four secondary groupings:

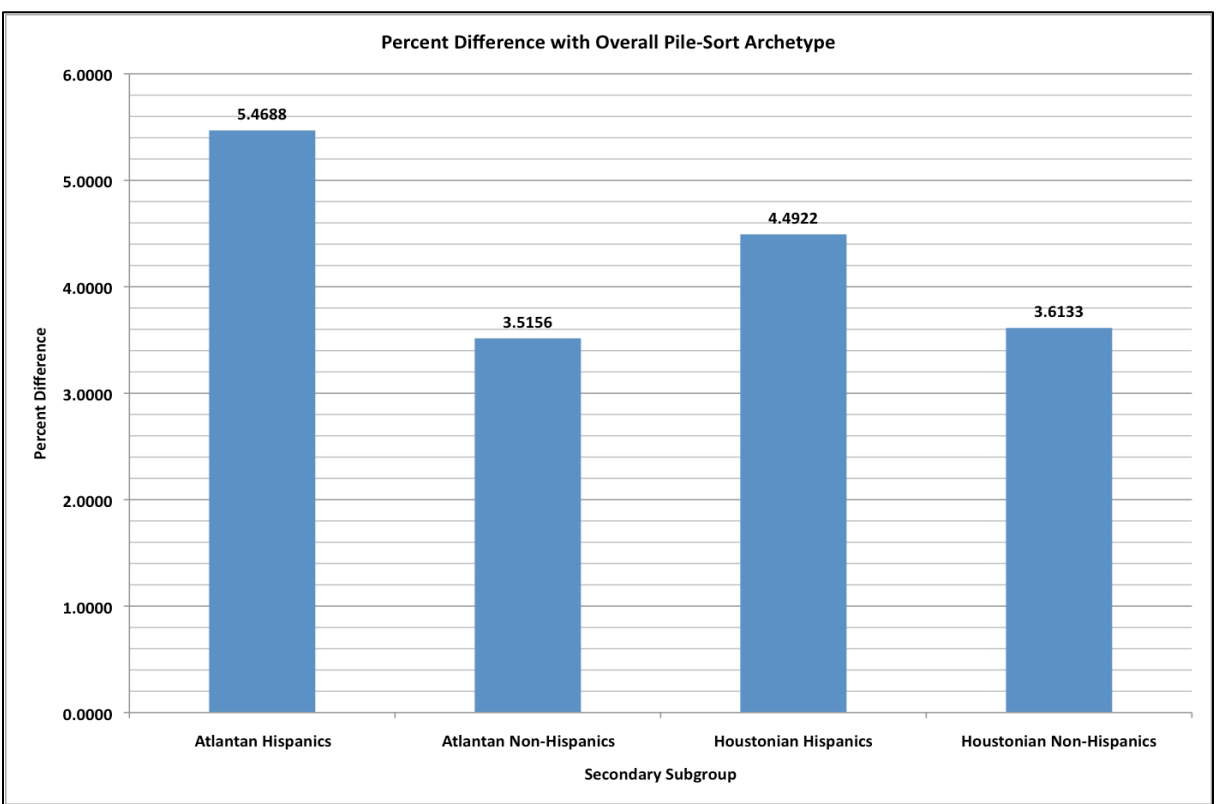


Figure 7.13: Percent Difference with Overall Pile-Sort Archetype

The difference between the Atlanta Hispanics and Houston Hispanics can be credited in part to their small sample sizes. And while the difference between these two is not statistically significant ($H_0: p_1=p_2$, $Z=0.08596$, $P(Z)=0.53425$), it provides some evidence that Houstonian Hispanics are more like the overall archetype than the Atlantan ones. Assuming that culinary acculturation works in both directions (the premise of the second research question), and given that the Hispanic customers I spoke to in Houston were not recent arrivals to the city (whereas all but 1 of the 6 in Atlanta had come to Atlanta within the last 10 years), the difference between the two city's Hispanics simply adds more proof that culinary knowledge is a function of culinary experience.

On the non-Hispanic side of things, the difference between the two non-Hispanic secondary subgroups shown in Figure 7.13 is even smaller than the one between the Hispanics ($Z=-0.01960$, $P(Z)=0.49218$). However, even in just a small way, the Houstonian non-Hispanics are again a bit closer to their Hispanic counterparts' culinary worldviews than the Atlantan non-Hispanics. To refine this line of reasoning, in Table 7.22 I compare each group's binary proximity matrix not to the overall archetype, but rather to the Hispanic one (still using Equation 3 from above).

Table 7.22: Percent Differences with the Aggregate Hispanic Proximity Matrix by Subgroup

Subgroup	Percent Difference with Hispanic Aggregate
All Customers	4.6875
Atlantans	7.6171875
Houstonians	2.5390625
Hispanics	0
Non-Hispanics	6.93359375
Atlantan Hispanics	4.6875
Atlantan Non-Hispanics	8.203125
Houstonian Hispanics	0.5859375
Houstonian Non-Hispanics	5.95703125

With this data we can see the extreme difference between Atlantans and Houstonians, with the latter over 5% closer to the Hispanic archetype than the former. If we again look at just the secondary subgroups, as in Figure 7.14, we see an exaggeration of the trends visible when considering the difference with the overall archetype. There is again a large difference between the two city's Hispanic customers, and given that we are looking at the aggregate of all the Hispanic matrices, almost all of this difference has to do with sampling error, and is unlikely to be significant in any evidentiary sense. What is interesting, on the other hand, is the difference between the Houstonian and Atlantan non-Hispanics. Once again—and I do hope this is not getting boring—the non-Hispanic customers of Houston perceive Mexican food much more closely to what Mexican Americans do than the non-Hispanics of Atlanta. So, just as we concluded with the free-list data above, there is a city-based effect present in this data that shapes both the breadth (from the free-list) and shape of an individual's understanding of Mexican cuisine.

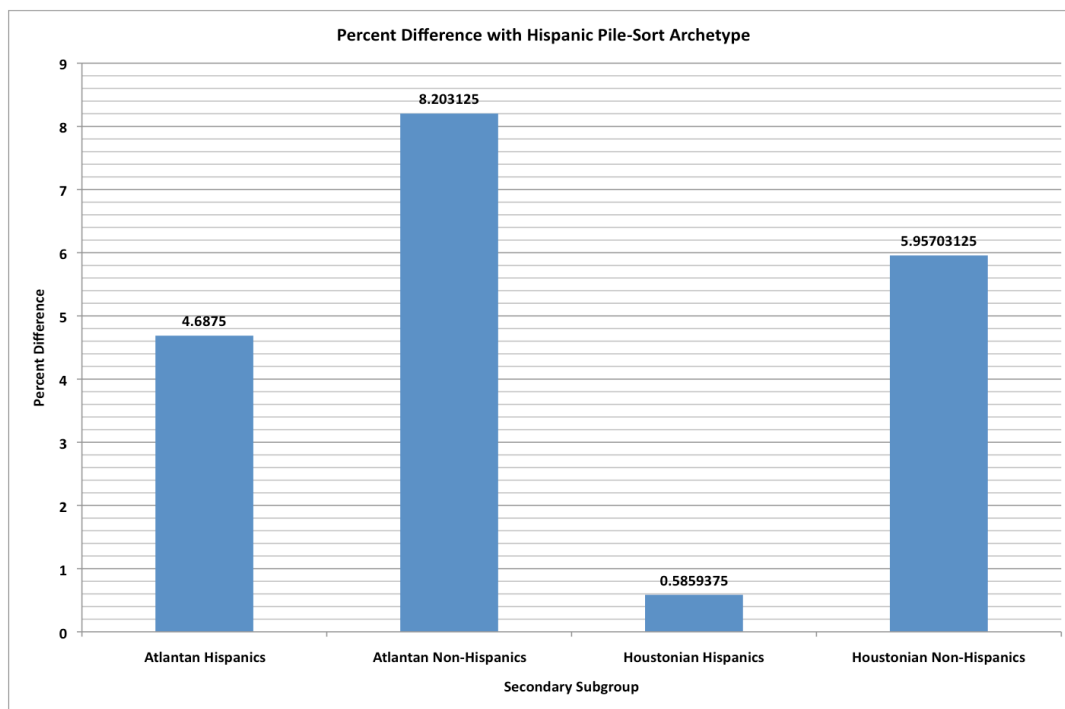


Figure 7.14: Percent Difference with Hispanic Pile-Sort Archetype

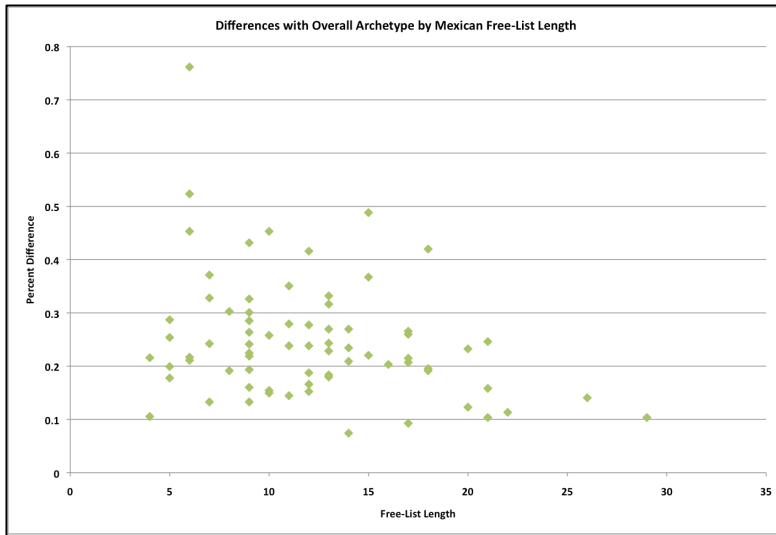
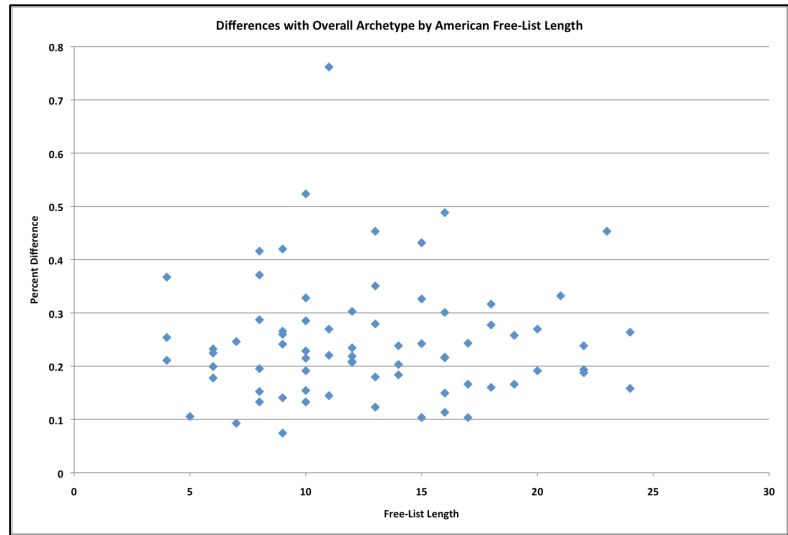
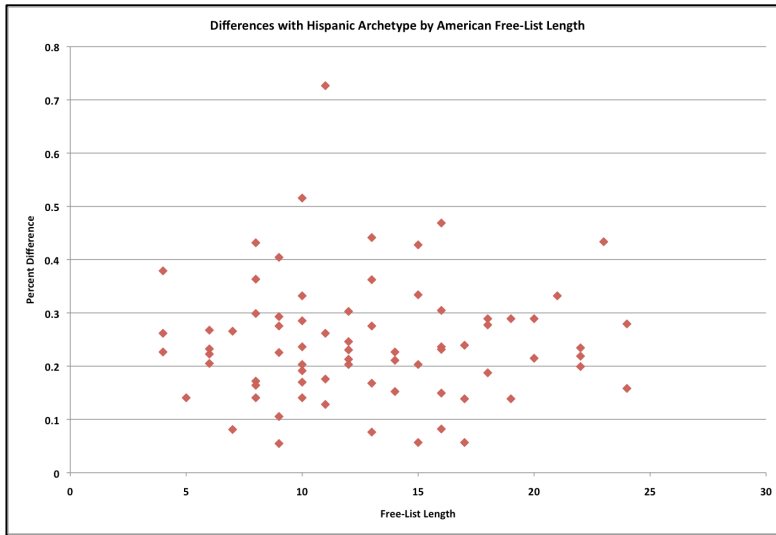
7.2.2: Culinary Experience Data

In order to look at what else might contribute to individuals' different perceptions of a domain beside this city-based effect, we can also look at individual differences with either the overall or Hispanic archetypes. To obtain these data, I took each individual customer respondent's proximity matrix (which were already in binary form) and compared them to both the overall aggregate and the Hispanic aggregate binary matrices using Equation 3. These results, along with other raw data on the customers, are found in Appendix L. The first thing to do with this new series of data is to run it again the customer list lengths to see if they both conform to the same trend. Figures 17.15a through d show the plots of these data, while Table 17.23 presents the linear and logarithmic analysis of these distributions.

Table 17.23: Linear and Logarithmic Analysis of Free-List Lengths vs. Percent Difference from Archetype

		Difference with Overall	Difference with Hispanic
American Free-List Length	<i>Linear r²</i>	0.71694	0.70653
	<i>Linear F</i>	184.89528	175.74433
	<i>Linear P(F)</i>	0.05842	0.05992
	<i>Logarithmic r²</i>	0.78799	0.77657
	<i>Logarithmic F</i>	271.32803	253.72520
	<i>Logarithmic P(F)</i>	0.04824*	0.04989*
Mexican Free-List Length	<i>Linear r²</i>	0.61736	0.59313
	<i>Linear F</i>	117.77790	106.41864
	<i>Linear P(F)</i>	0.07316	0.07696
	<i>Logarithmic r²</i>	0.84486	0.86489
	<i>Logarithmic F</i>	397.54733	467.29565
	<i>Logarithmic P(F)</i>	0.03986*	0.03677*

All four correlations show logarithmic correlation that is significant at the 5% level, but none shows linear correlation. We can see that the correlations between the Mexican Free-lists are a bit stronger, indicating that they have a greater predictive power than the American free-list lengths.



Figures 7.15a through 7.15d: Differences with Archetypes by List Lengths

In addition to these two variables, the survey responses—given as ordinal 1 to 5 values—to cultural and culinary experiences should prove to be illuminating. Thirteen questions from the survey were picked for this further study based on aspects of culinary and cultural preferences and experience that the interviews with both the restaurateurs and customers suggested related in some way to culinary acculturation or cultural incorporation. Table 7.24 lists these questions. The questions asked the respondent to answer on a 1 to 5 scale, with 1 meaning not or never at all, and 5 meaning very often or very much.

Table 7.24: Survey Questions Selected for Statistical Study

(1) "How often do you eat outside your home?"*
(2) "How often do you eat at Mexican restaurants?"*
(3) "How often do you or a member of your household cook Mexican at home?"*
(4) "How frequently do you interact with Mexican Americans or Mexicans?"*
(5) "Do you like to eat at ethnic restaurants?"*
(6) "Do you like to eat at unfamiliar restaurants?"
(7) "Do you like to eat Mexican cuisine?"*
(8) "Do you like to ethnic cuisines?"
(9) "Do you like to eat unfamiliar foods?"*
(10) "Do you like to spicy foods?"*
(11) "How important is authenticity when you eat ethnic cuisines or at an ethnic restaurant?"*
(12) "How important is strangeness when you eat ethnic cuisines or at an ethnic restaurant?"
(13) "How important is the new-ness of the experience when you eat ethnic cuisines or at an ethnic restaurant?"

The answers to these questions will be used as predictor values and either the Mexican free-list length or percent different from the Hispanic archetype will be used as the response values. To begin analysis all thirteen of these sets of data were run against the two response variables and the scatter plots were visually inspected. Those variables that appeared to have some semblance of either linear or logarithmic correlation were selected for regression analysis (and have an asterisks next to them on Table 7.24), while those that showed no hint of correlation were discarded.

The nine variables left were subjected to both logarithmic and linear regression analysis against both Mexican free-list length and the percent difference with the Hispanic pile-sort archetype. The responses from question (1) and question (2) were combined to create a new variable—Mexican Dining (D)—using the following equation:

$$D = \frac{(1)}{5} \times (2) \quad \text{(Equation 4)}$$

The purpose of this was to reconcile how much a person said they ate at Mexican restaurants with the amount they said they ate out on a whole. Being that the amount of culinary experience an individual has lies at the root of the findings in this study so far, it would seem odd to consider the Mexican culinary experiences of someone who says they eat Mexican very often but rarely eat out, and another person who says they eat Mexican very often and frequently eat out, to be the same. Each individual's D value is listed alongside the other variables in Appendix L.

The first set of regression data we will consider is how the 8 predictors from the surveys correlate to the length of Mexican free-lists. Remember that, following Greenwood (1989), we are using free-list length as a proxy for an individual's breadth of knowledge of the culinary domain. Thus a longer list indicates a greater knowledge, whereas a shorter list indicates a more limited knowledge. Table 7.25 shows both the linear and logarithmic regression analysis for the 8 survey variables by the Mexican free-list length, using all 74 respondents as the sample population. The hypotheses tested here are:

$$\begin{aligned} H_0: & \quad r^2 \text{ occurs by chance} \\ H_a: & \quad r^2 \text{ does not occur by chance} \end{aligned}$$

Table 7.25: Regression Analysis of Survey Variables by Mexican Free-List Length

	Linear			Logarithmic		
	r ²	F Statistic	P(F)	r ²	F Statistic	P(F)
Dining Mexican	0.8141	319.5980	0.0445*	0.8363	373.0031	0.0412*
Cook Mexican at Home	0.8369	374.4743	0.0411*	0.8774	522.2656	0.0348*
Interactions with Mexicans	0.8553	431.4888	0.0383*	0.9034	682.4009	0.0304*
Like Ethnic Rests.	0.7753	251.8458	0.0501	0.9031	680.4915	0.0305*
Like Mexican Cuisine	0.8362	372.7748	0.0412*	0.9473	1313.3042	0.0219*
Like Unfamiliar Cuisine	0.7396	207.2849	0.0552	0.8694	485.9312	0.0361*
Like Spicy Food	0.7022	172.1572	0.0605	0.8329	363.7756	0.0417*
Look for Authenticity	0.6974	168.2799	0.0612	0.8228	339.0513	0.0432*

It appears that my initial visual inspection was largely correct. All 8 variables have a logarithmic correlation with Mexican free-list length, and there are 4 linear relationships as well for the dining, cooking, interaction, and preference for Mexican cuisine variables. The probably values derived from the F statistics of these 12 instances suggest that the correlation is not random, and may indeed have predictive power. Here we will focus on those four that show both linear and logarithmic correlation. Figures 16a through 16d show these scatter plots. All appear to have a generally positive relationship with free-list length, indicating that the more experience with Mexican cuisine (or preference for it), the greater an individual's amount of knowledge about the domain will be. Using these four survey variables and the regression analysis data, we can create a model that should predict an individual's breadth of knowledge via their Mexican free-list length. Being that Table 7.25 shows that the logarithmic regression model provides better correlations across the four variables, the model will be logarithmic in nature:

$$\text{Mexican List Length} = 1.3774^{\text{Dining}} * 1.1098^{\text{Cooking}} * 1.1067^{\text{Interaction}} * 1.0926^{\text{Preference}}$$

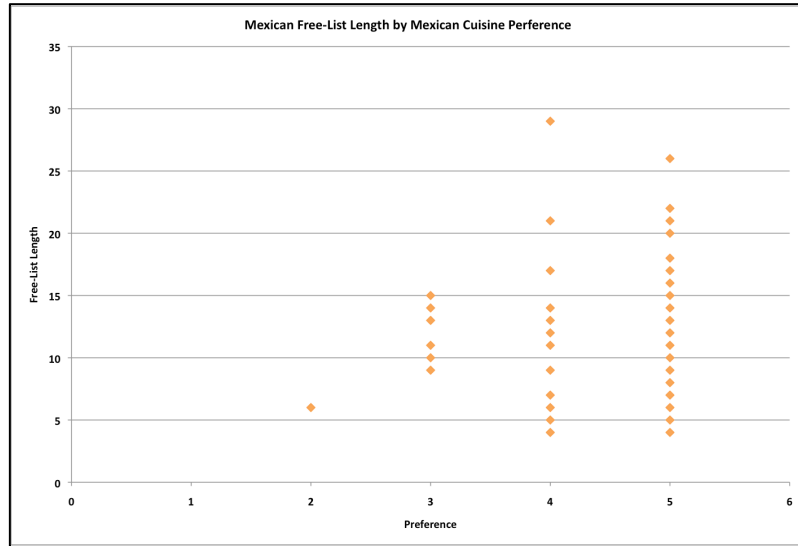
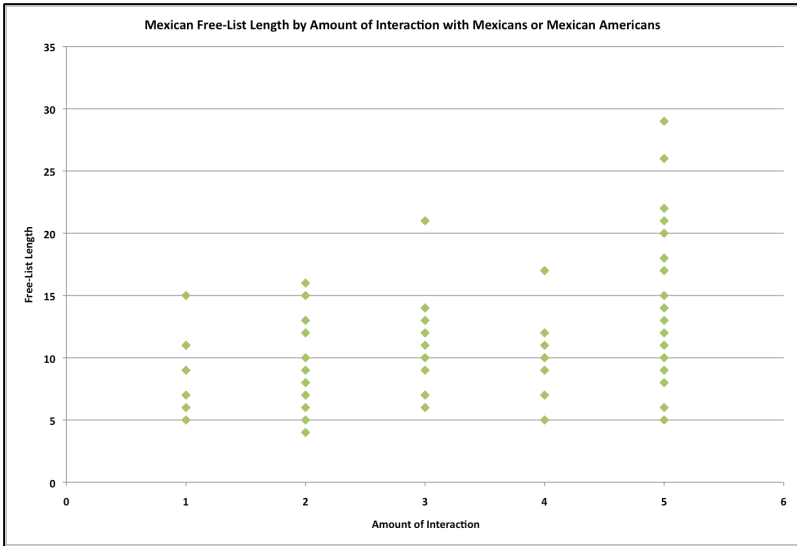
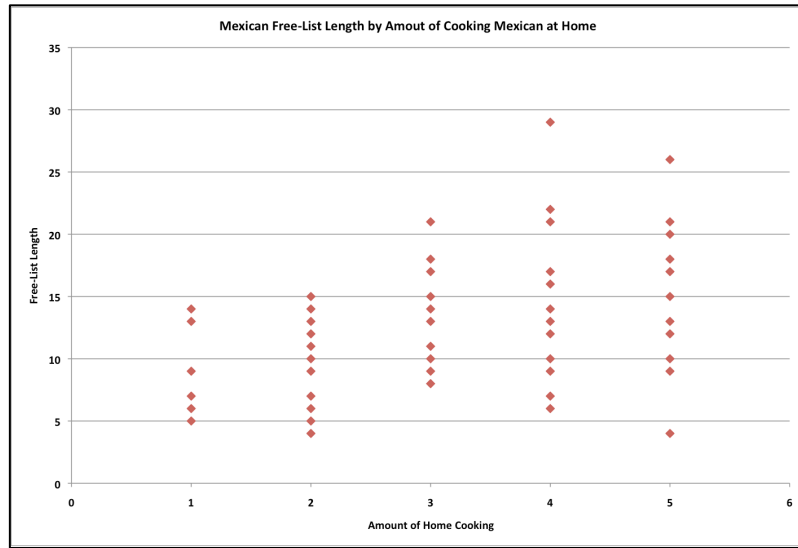
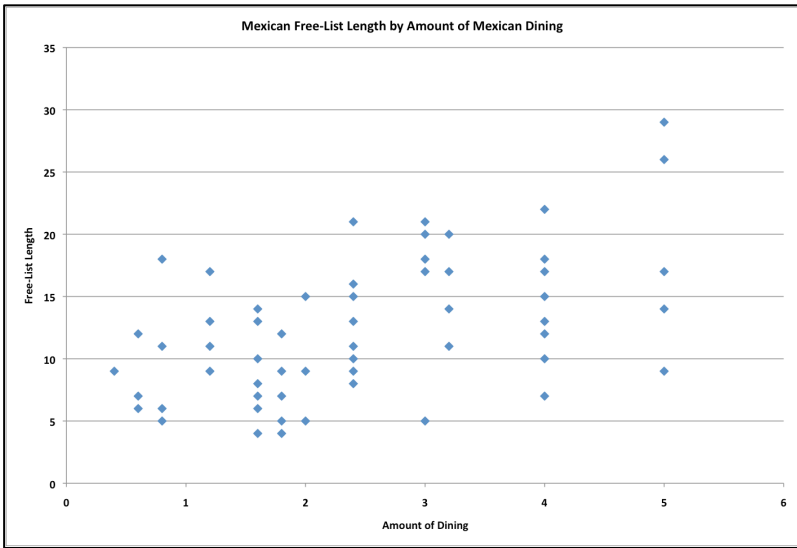
(Equation 5)

If free-list length provides a proxy for breadth of knowledge of the Mexican cuisine domain, percent difference from the Hispanic customer pile-sort archetype is a proxy for *depth* of knowledge of the domain. We can then attempt the same type of analysis that was

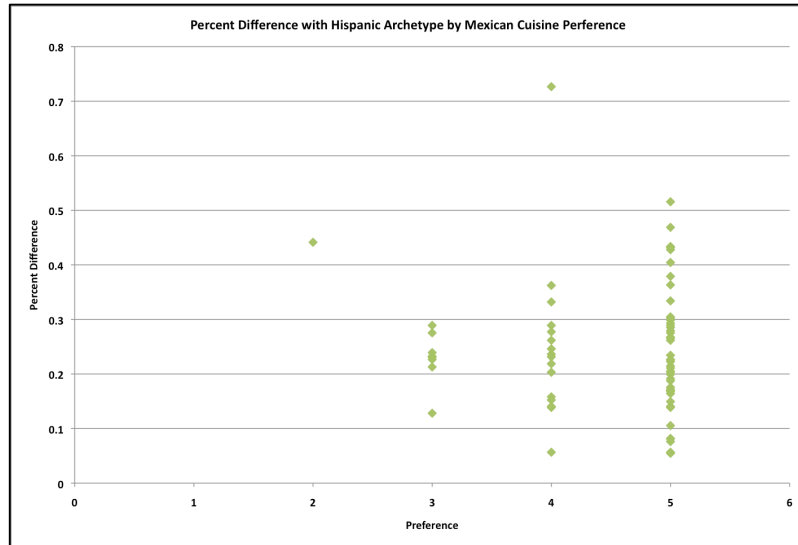
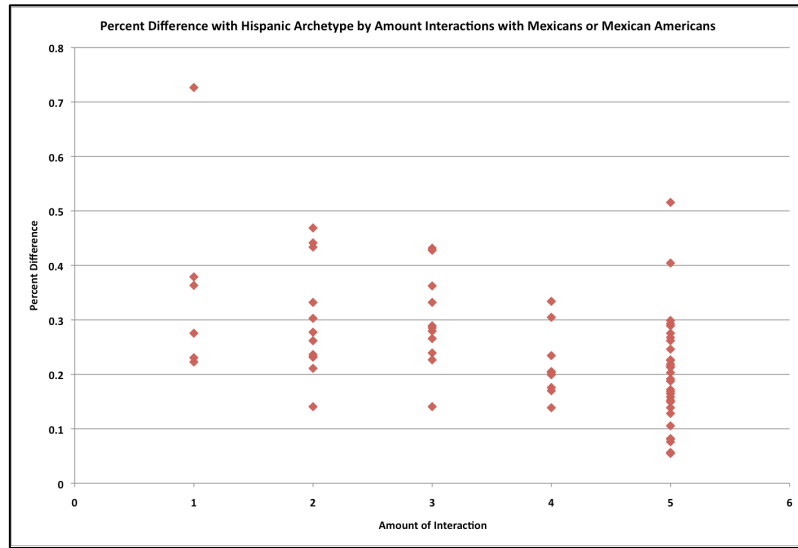
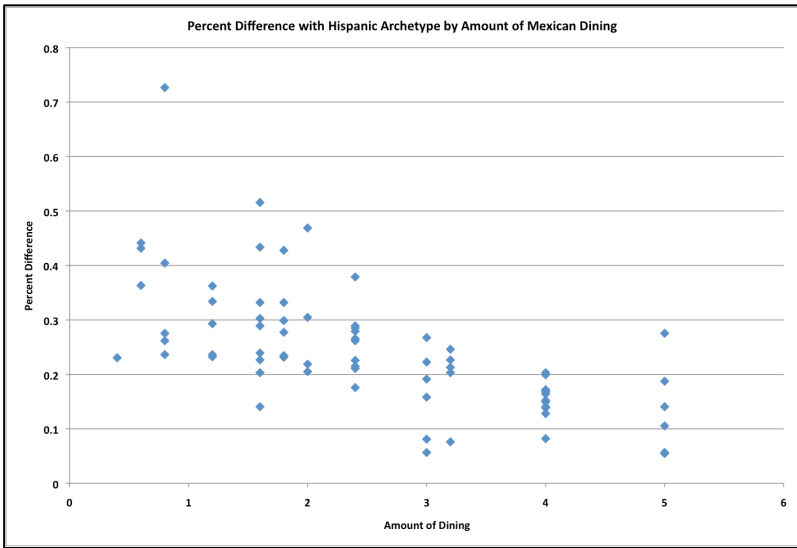
done above in order to create a mathematical model for depth of knowledge. Table 7.26 shows the results of both linear and logarithmic regression on the 8 survey variables with percent difference from the Hispanic archetype. The same hypotheses as used with the free-list data, where the null is that any correlation occurs because of random chance, is used here as well.

Of the 8 variables, when correlated to the measure of knowledge depth, only one—Mexican cuisine preference—displays both significant linear and logarithmic regression. Two others show significant linear correlation alone, while five show logarithmic correlation alone. The scatter plots for the former two, along with Mexican cuisine preference, and the two variables with the next highest r^2 (Dining and Interaction) are shown in Figure 7.17a through 7.17e. All show some form of correlation, though spicy preference and desire for authenticity appear to have the weakest of this subgroup (obvious from their F statistics in Table 7.26).

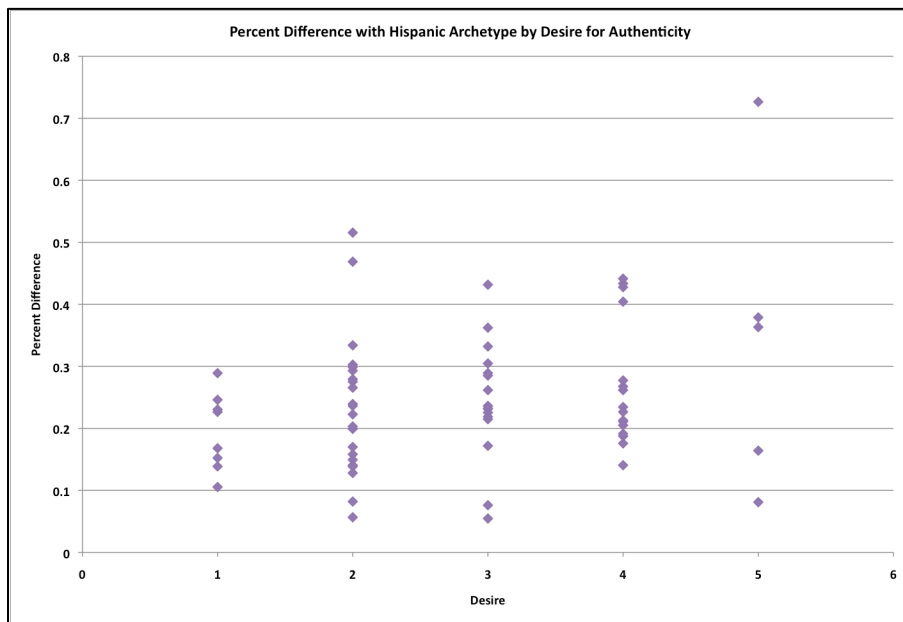
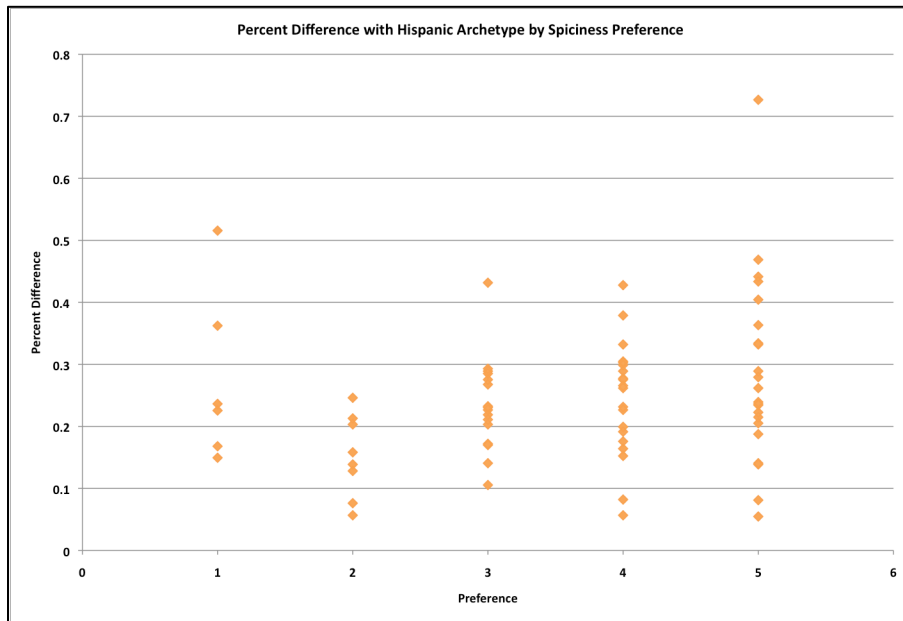
Due to these two weaker correlations, when a multiple regression is run on these five survey variables by the percent difference a significant model is not produced. Linear regression produces a model with an F statistic of 98.1201 (d.f.=69) and a probability of 0.0812. Likewise, logistic regression produces a model with an F of 221.6596 (d.f.=69) and a probability of 0.0534. At an alpha of 5% neither of these two analyses produce a model that can reject the null hypothesis of randomness. Therefore, in order to produce a significant model, at least one variable has to be removed. To determine which one was to be discarded, another 5 logarithmic regressions were run, each with a different variable removed. The results of these iterations are found in Table 7.27.



Figures 7.16a through 7.16d: Mexican Free-List Lengths by Survey Results



Figures 7.17a through 7.17c: Percent Difference with Hispanic Archetype by Survey Results



Figures 7.17d and 7.17e: Percent Difference with Hispanic Archetype by Survey Results

Table 7.26: Regression Analysis of Survey Variables by Percent Difference from Hispanic Pile-Sort Archetype

	Linear			Logarithmic		
	r ²	F Statistic	P(F)	r ²	F Statistic	P(F)
Dining Mexican	0.4690	64.4794	0.0988	0.8901	591.2777	0.0327*
Cook Mexican at Home	0.5917	105.8035	0.0772	0.8588	444.0620	0.0377*
Interactions with Mexicans	0.6042	111.4331	0.0752	0.8850	561.9403	0.0335*
Like Ethnic Rests.	0.7613	232.8481	0.0521	0.8605	450.4714	0.0375*
Like Mexican Cuisine	0.7915	277.1969	0.0477*	0.8864	569.3767	0.0333*
Like Unfamiliar Cuisine	0.7037	173.3352	0.0603	0.8549	430.1115	0.0383*
Like Spicy Food	0.7818	261.6132	0.0491*	0.7716	246.5669	0.0506
Look for Authenticity	0.7872	270.0791	0.0484*	0.7290	196.3677	0.0567

Table 7.27: Multiple Regression Analysis to Correct Knowledge Depth Model

Variable Removed	r ²	F Statistic	P(F), df=70
Authenticity	0.9412	280.0881	0.0475*
Interaction with Mexicans	0.9390	269.2181	0.0484*
Mexican Cuisine Preference	0.9374	262.1387	0.0491*
Mexican Dining	0.9160	190.8931	0.0575
Spiciness	0.9397	272.6209	0.0481*

From this data it is apparent that removing the Mexican dining variable produces the strongest model. Therefore the model predicting domain knowledge depth, via the proxy of percent difference from the Hispanic customer pile-sort archetype includes four variables—desire for authenticity, amount of interaction with Mexicans and Mexican Americans, preference for Mexican cuisine, and preference for spicy food. The logarithmic model is:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{\% Difference from} \\ \text{Hispanic Archetype} &= 1.0501^{\text{Interaction}} * 0.9406^{\text{MexPreference}} * 0.8641^{\text{Spiciness}} * 0.8134^{\text{Authenticity}} \\ &\text{(Equation 6)} \end{aligned}$$

Now that we have constructed two models that incorporate culinary and cultural experience with knowledge of the domain of Mexican cuisine by diners, we should step back from the numbers and re-immense ourselves in the straight ethnographic data that will ground these models in everyday experience.

7.3: Customers' Responses to Culinary Negotiation Strategies

In the last chapter I explained and presented five negotiation strategies, proposed by Long (Long 2004), that allow restaurateurs to move the culinary experiences of their customers along two axes: palatability and familiarity. I also presented the literature on authenticity, much of it out of tourism studies, which explains how and why customers construct, act upon, and care about this construct. The intersection between these two concepts—the negotiation strategies and the hunt for authenticity—is Cohen's (1988; Cohen and Avieli 2004) idea of an "environmental bubble," or an environmental situation within which a person feels comfortable with whatever experience he or she is having at the moment. If, as the authenticity literature strongly suggests, diners are constantly looking for a "real" experience (though certainly the idea of "real" differs greatly among individuals), then restaurateurs must constantly attempt to provide their customers with an experience that: (1) feels authentic or real to the diner, and (2) keeps them in their environmental bubble of comfort such that they will continue to eat and spend money at the establishment. In Chapter 6 I presented both qualitative and quantitative examples and measures of these five strategies as seen through the eyes of the restaurateurs. Here, I will stick qualitative examples of the customers' responses to these five strategies—framing, menu selection, naming/translation, explication, and recipe adaption—and how these responses relate to the above models of culinary knowledge presented as Equations (5) and (6).

7.3.1: *Framing*

Recall that framing is the negotiation technique used to set the scene for the customers. In Chapter 5 I discussed two major aspects of this: physical framing involving architecture and décor, and service-based framing using the front-of-house staff to establish the atmosphere. Customers notice this physical framing. When asked to describe a stereotypical Mexican restaurant, almost all mentioned décor in their descriptions. An interesting aspect of this was how customers perceived this décor. Individuals who considered themselves more experienced with Mexican food thought that these theme park-like decorations common to the romantic décor motif actually showed that a restaurant was not “authentic.” Consider the response of Brad, a 31-year-old engineer in Houston who says he eats Mexican at least twice a week and grew up in South Texas, to my probing about décor:

Brad: You know, when I see picture after picture of Pancho Villa, Zapata and Monté Alban or Chichen Itza, I think...they're trying too hard. Have you been to the really Mexican places? Places on Long Point [Road] or out Bissonnet [Street]? They have a TV, bare walls except maybe a flag, no plants, no nothing: Just a counter and good food⁶²

So it would seem that individuals with greater Mexican culinary experience can recognize that the purpose of the romantic motif is to create either a comforting or exotic setting, but that this does not necessarily relate to the food presented by the restaurateur alongside the décor. But this brings up a good point. Just because a diner can recognize through experiential learning that something is not truly authentic, does not mean that they shun those restaurants. Indeed, when I asked Brad if he went to those authentic places on Bissonnet or the Casa Olé where we met more often, he unhesitatingly told me

⁶² From notes from interview with author, March 7 2010

that he at the less authentic, more romantically-decorated place much more often. When prodded, he replied that:

Brad: This place is closer, and I'm usually in the mood for Tex-Mex.

...

Sometimes I feel like authentic stuff, but it's more of a special trip. I come here, or the Tex-Mex place by my work, at least once a week. Its comfort food, you know...⁶³

Recall Figure 6.8 that showed the relative frequencies of each of the three décor types (romantic, standard, utilitarian) across both cities. 24.7% of Houstonian Mexican restaurants used the romantic—the decidedly less authentic—motif, while only 19.7% of Atlanta restaurants employed it. How then can we reconcile this fact with the trend seen throughout the data showing that Houstonians, with their greater Mexican culinary and cultural experience, have a greater and better understanding of Mexican food? The answer lies in the menu item analysis from Section 6.3.3. There I showed that Houston Mexican restaurants across the clientele categories had a much broader menu selection than those in Atlanta. Returning once again to that epitome of embraced-by-Hispanics-and-feared-by-non-Hispanics dish, menudo, we can clearly see this discrepancy. Of Houston's clientele Category 1 and Category 2 restaurants (the ones that favor non-Hispanic clients), 37 offered menudo on their menus: Which is exactly 37 more than the number of Atlanta Category 1 or 2 restaurants that offered it. So it seems that Mexican restaurant customers in Houston get the best of both worlds—they can eat dishes that are closer to authentic in their opulent oases of ethnic dining. And in a way, this is the ultimate outcome of a culinary experience negotiation. On one hand the restaurateur is able to offer fare that brings

⁶³ From notes from interview with author, March 7 2010

clients closer to their desires for authenticity; on the other hand, the comfortable physical spaces allow for the maintenance of the diners' environmental bubbles.

7.3.2: *Menu Selection*

Menu selection as a negotiation technique is simply the restaurateurs responding to both their desires and to demand from their customers. In fact, the menu domain completed in Section 6.3.3 is really the best explanation of customer response to this technique. If they do not like a dish, they will never order it. If this is a consensus across the clientele, the restaurateur will be forced to remove that dish to save on his or her food costs. There are of course a few things that customers say they absolutely need on a menu in order to even consider it as a dining option. The most commonly cited thing was cheese dip/chile con queso, with margaritas a close second (in my notes, I marked down that 57 respondents talked about cheese dip, while 52 mentioned margaritas). Of course, these items are ubiquitous, with very few restaurants in either city—even those catering to mostly- or exclusively-Hispanic clientele—not carrying either.

In the few instances however where a restaurant was unable to carry these items—either due to short-term ingredient issues or (in the case of margaritas) regulatory hassles—the restaurateurs noted a sharp decline in overall sales. Bardo McDowell, who owns Mi Mexico Grill in Atlanta, notes that because of some filing issues when the ownership of the restaurant transferred to him, he lost his liquor license for a month or so. During that time, his sales and business dropped dramatically.

Paul: Are there things you've had to take off, ah take off the menu because they didn't sell? Things that say your white customers wouldn't eat that the people who come on weekends...

Bardo: Well again, menudo and things. The authentic stuff, so I just focus on what they want, the Tex-Mex things. As long as you have margaritas, people will come! I learned that the hard way.

P: How so?

B: When I bought the restaurant, we could not get the liquor license transferred right away. Some paperwork thing, so I needed a lawyer to sort it out. But we didn't have margaritas or tequila for over a month. We lost a lot of regular customers during that time. People come here after work, and they want a cold margarita and chips and salsa, maybe some cheese dip and tacos. But it's based on the margaritas.

P: It's how you get them through the door...

B: Exactly. So, that month was rough. It wasn't the easiest way to open, you know?

P: Did you get them back? The regulars?

B: Some. But we've built up a new base since then too. In the long run, it wasn't a problem. But that was hard⁶⁴.

On the other side of things, some of the Hispanic customer respondents noted that whether or not a restaurant had a weekend brunch determined if they would go there. For instance Dina, a 35-year-old secretary from Houston who is a 2nd generation Mexican American, told me that while she would eat at more Tex-Mex places during the week, especially at lunchtime, when she and her family went out together they did so on the weekends and they expected a traditional Mexican brunch.

Dina: We want chilaquiles, chiles rellenos—like real ones, not those yellow ones you get in Tex-Mex places—huevos, caldos. We want foods my mother makes, but without having her get up really early to prepare it all.

Paul: So if a place doesn't have a brunch...

Dina: Then we go somewhere that does. There are so many places around, but there are one or two we go to regularly. We do something like Hugo's on special occasions, but there are a few places closer that my mother and father really like⁶⁵.

This then brings us back to the idea of marker dishes, such as the ones I proposed in Table 7.13. The presence of items like chile con queso and margaritas on menus assure

⁶⁴ Interview with the author, July 8 2009

⁶⁵ From notes from interview with author, March 11 2010

customers desiring a more Tex-Mex atmosphere will find one inside that menu's restaurant, while the presence of a weekend brunch special signifies that the restaurant offers a more traditional vision of Mexican cuisine. Thus, the menu selection allows customers to make quick judgments (without committing themselves to actually spending money on something they do not want or would feel uncomfortable with) about how much penetration or maintenance of their comfort bubble will occur at any given restaurant.

7.3.3: *Naming/Translation*

Spanish can act as a strong symbolic barrier between English-speaking clientele and the restaurateurs and restaurant employees—either in a positive or negative way. Even if a menu has descriptions or pictures, there is a sense of intimidation that many English-speaking customers report when faced with an all-Spanish menu. Again, returning to my conversation with Brad:

Brad: I actually like it when the menu is all in Spanish, but I know a lot of my friends don't. Even people who have lived around Houston and Spanish for a long time, there's a feeling that they don't belong...

Ann: [23 year-old scientist who lives in Houston, but grew up in New Jersey] I agree. Sure, most of the things on a Mexican menu are in Spanish anyway, right. Like taco. It's a Spanish word. But I dunno. It's the descriptors, and the writing that's always over a menu. Like telling the restaurant's story or whatever. If that's not in English, it's hard.

Brad: Right. But most of the restaurants that are really authentic, like taquerías, don't have menus really. They have boards over the counter.

Ann: Yeah, and if they don't speak English [the front-of-house staff], there's a lot of pressure. It's not like you can ask them what something is.

Samantha: [24 year-old government contractor from Clear Lake, TX] Just get a taco! Anyway, it's a taquería. That's what you should be eating anyway⁶⁶!

Stan, a 23 year-old college student from Atlanta, made a similar point:

⁶⁶ From notes from interview with author, March 7 2010

Stan: The menus at Mexican places on Buford Highway [a traditionally Hispanic strip in Norcross, GA known for its authentic Hispanic and Asian restaurants] are all in Spanish. You walk into a place like that, and you're the only white person there. I mean, I speak a little Spanish, but like often they don't speak any English. It's a bit weird—uncomfortable—sometimes⁶⁷

More so than any dish, it seems that the language barrier is a major source of intimidation for customers. And, as Ann pointed out, what we are talking about is not necessarily the names of the foods themselves, but rather the spoken language that surrounds you during the culinary experience. And while the above quotes come from non-Hispanic customers, the restaurateurs report that it is an issue for Hispanic clientele as well. For instance Brian Kilber, the general manager of the Pure Taquería chain throughout Metro Atlanta, spoke about his inability to get Hispanic customers to come in to his very popular restaurant, even though the Alpharetta location is just a half-mile from a large Hispanic residential area and the restaurant's menu offers traditional cuisine:

Brian: Ah, we wanted a place where we could eat. This is my dad's end. His partner, through the restaurant, they did it just for fun. And a place for them to enjoy good food...good Mexican food, which is hard to find in the city—going back to that Speedy Gonzales thing.

Paul: Right

B: We didn't expect to be super-busy, and...

P: It's a hit...

B: Yeah, look at it now.

P: So um...do you, do you find...I mean, I'm looking around, I've been here a few times...it seems that your clientele is almost all Anglo or Black. Are there certain things that you want to be able to sell that you...

B: You know, initially, we thought we'd attract some ahh...you know there's some Mexicans done here, there's a little area down here. We thought we'd get some of that. But I guess they're intimidated by it or what. We do get some Hispanics in, ah from time to time, and I think a lot of them around here won't go into an establishment unless it's got...unless it looks like it's run by Mexicans. Because they don't feel comfortable ordering if the servers

⁶⁷ from notes from interview with author, July 27 2009

don't speak Spanish and all that stuff, you know? So, you see a lot of our servers are umm, white boys⁶⁸.

It keeps coming back to these dual concepts of comfort and intimidation. Ernesto Garcia, the owner of El Fresh Taco in Katy, TX explicitly mentions this intimidation by language and ties it to social isolation.

Paul: What about Hispanics...

Ernesto: I'm not that well known in the Hispanic community, because I think a lot of them think this isn't authentic. Because of the name. All the Mexicans want to call it [their taquerias] by their name or where they came from. I wanted it to be more unique. I wanted to show the rest of the community that we could have a true place, with some creativity—we took the time to make a logo, to come up with a name, to keep a nice place. Some of the better-off Hispanics like to come here because it's clean, it's comfortable. They bring their children, and they're not concerned about how clean the restrooms will be, what will be drawn up on the walls. And ah...

P: I'm starting to find this in Houston. In Atlanta, there isn't that large of an established Hispanic population. But the immigrants are intimidated by the places that only whites go to. Not just white-run, but white-looking. Even if they're right next to Hispanic areas. They just see a bunch of whites there. Like this. You can just see from the outside that this isn't like a place on Long Point for instance.

E: Well it isn't just that, Hispanics feel intimidate if they're working, and they're not clean. They don't think it fits for them.

...

And I think that some of the Hispanics, the men who are working, do find it a little intimidating. My gardener comes every Saturday, but I can't get him to eat here. He'll get the food and leave, and sits on his truck outside. He loves the tacos, he loves the food. But, I've never asked him, but I think the reason he doesn't want to—I'm pretty sure he's not concerned they're going to steal it [the truck], it's sitting right outside—but he'll sit right outside and eat on his truck. I think he just doesn't want to be around all of these people who can't talk to him. I mean, drive around to the taco trucks. They're social places. And some of the true Mexicans are like, "you know these tacos are good, all you need is the smell of the street and the smog!"

You know, I speak Spanish and so do all of my workers, but let's face it...I'm pretty light skinned. I think that some Mexicans come here, but they see me and figure that I won't be able to speak with them. I'll usually call out to them in Spanish, but you can tell...⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Interview with author, June 8 2009

⁶⁹ Interview with author, October 20 2009

In one of the more fortuitous instances throughout my research, one of the days I was visiting Ernest was a Saturday afternoon, and his gardener came in while I was there. I offered to buy him lunch, and the gardener, Juan Miguel Lopez, agreed to speak with me outside by his truck. After some prodding (he was very concerned that he would seem insulting to Ernesto), he told me that both of Ernesto's guesses were right to some degree. He usually came right from a worksite for a few tacos, and did not feel like his clothing fit in with the largely upper-middle class vibe of the taquería. He also usually came alone, so he had nobody to talk to, and he felt his English was very bad (though it certainly was not). But most of all, he said he was used to eating tacos outside—particularly when it was nice—like he did most weekdays at taco trucks around his worksites. In other words, he was comfortable there.

7.3.4: *Explication*

Explication, or explaining dishes to the customers, is of course very closely tied to the above discussion on naming and translation. The one major type of explication that differs significantly from translation and language issues is when restaurateurs provide a story. Recall from the discussion of explication in Chapter 6, Carlos Rodriguez of La Cazuela in Atlanta, noted that when he had just one shop he was able to go to individual tables and tell the story behind the dishes. By doing this he said he was able to get customers to try new dishes that they would perhaps otherwise find to be too exotic or unpalatable for their tastes.

The customers did not make a large deal out of this negotiation technique during our conversations, but a few revealed some stories. Mark, a 25 year-old graduate student

now studying in Atlanta, told me that Huevos Rancheros had become one of his favorite Mexican dishes as of late. When I asked why, he told me that he had no clue what they were, but heard them mentioned in—of all places—a song from the Broadway musical *Rent* (“La Vie Bohème” for future reference) that mentioned them. The next time he was at a Mexican restaurant, he asked his waiter what they were and the waiter explained it to him. He gave them a try and found out that he liked them.

Mark: At first when he told me that it was eggs with a chile sauce on top, I was like, why would I want that for breakfast? The waiter asked me if I liked omelets—which I do—and then told me that they’re pretty similar. So I gave them a try. They don’t look anything like omelets by the way. But sure. Maybe there’s a similarity. Anyway, turns out I like them. Who knew⁷⁰?

Apparently his waiter and those crazy kids from *Rent* did, but nonetheless it is interesting to note that it was the restaurant staff member who did the explaining in Mark’s case. I can contrast this with a story from Brad, the Houstonian engineer who is a bit of food adventurer and used to work in a kitchen in high school.

Brad: I remember the first time I had menudo. Or pozole. I honestly forget which. But anyway, the restaurant I used to work in was obviously staffed by Mexicans in the kitchen. One Sunday morning, I came in totally hung-over. One of the cooks, a great guy by the name of Adrian, started laughing at me and told me I should have some menudo. I had no clue, none, what that was. He told me, *caldo de tripas*, and I was like...why would tripe help my hangover? But he insisted that it was a cure, and told me a few stories of his escapades that ended in him hung-over and being magically cured by the stuff. I’m sure he was exaggerating, but anyway the next time I was hung-over I got a few of the guys together and hit up a taquería and tried it. By the way, it did not in any way cure my hangover, but it was a cool experience you know⁷¹?

He received his explanation not from a restaurateur, but rather from a Hispanic friend. While I don’t have much data to show this, it was my general sense that a lot of the

⁷⁰ From notes from interview with author, July 7 2009

⁷¹ From notes from interview with author, March 7, 2010

Houstonian non-Hispanic customers I interviewed got a lot more of their information about Mexican cuisine from Mexican and Mexican American friends, neighbors, and co-workers than Atlantan non-Hispanics did. This would explain why such a strong correlation between the survey question involving interactions with Mexicans and Mexican Americans and the two knowledge proxy variables was found when we were going through the regression analyses above.

7.3.5: *Recipe Adaptation*

There is not much to say about customers' reactions to the negotiation strategy of recipe adaption, as most people do not have anything to compare their experience to. We can get some clue from the comments of individuals who have tried dishes or outside their comfort zone, or who have traveled to non-resort Mexico and tried various dishes there. Returning to the interview with the Atlantan, Stan:

Stan: I've tried real Mexican food. I guess I like it. Again, on Buford Highway and over on Beaver Ruin [Road]. As I said, sometimes its uncomfortable, cause of the language thing. I like it sometimes, but I prefer the stuff at Los Loros or El Toro, even though it's like Tex-Mex. Sometimes, that's what you crave. It just tastes like what I'm used to; even through I know it's for gringos. Actually, I guess that's the point⁷².

This concept of taste is truly ambiguous. When pressed, none of the customers—even those who considered themselves foodies—could give more a few words on the differences between Anglicized Mexican dishes as their traditional counterparts. The most common replies involved ingredients that differed—cheddar cheese, ground beef, sour cream. One person, John—a 25 year-old Asian Houstonian originally from Pennsylvania

⁷² From notes from interview with author, July 27, 2009

who works in the restaurant industry—told me the flavor difference between Mexican and Tex-Mex had to do with spices such as tumeric. Robb Walsh’s history of Tex-Mex agrees with John’s contention, explaining that Tex-Mex cuisine successfully hybridized the flavor profile of European and American Indian cuisines into Mexican dishes.

In Section 6.6 I brought up how Ernesto Garcia had to make his salsas spicier to appease his non-Hispanic customers. I also mentioned how Jamal (1996; 1998) found a similar trend in Southeast Asian restaurants in Britain, where Anglo Brits were demanding spicier curries than Indian or Pakistani Brits were used to. Greg, a 25 year-old Atlantan originally from Louisiana, mentioned this fact when he was telling me about a recent trip to Mexico:

Greg: I was there with my brother, and we decided to ditch the tour group for a while and see if we could find a real Mexican restaurant. So we went into town and found this place that no gringos ever went to—it was pretty cool. But you know, the food was not what I expected. They had the usual array of tacos, enchiladas, quesadillas—they even had burritos, which I thought were American—but the stuff we got tasted really different. The meat was, I dunno how to explain it, sweeter maybe? And the salsas weren’t that hot. Well, the pico was, but just the salsa they had at the counter wasn’t⁷³.

If we consider these data with Jamal’s, it would seem that because a cuisine is known as ethnic, it is also seen as exotic—not only in contents, but also in flavor profile. Much of American cuisine lacks heat, so it seems to be common to extrapolate that other exotic cuisines have that heat. And because the restaurant business is based on customer demand, the restaurateurs adapt their recipes to the tastes of their clients—even though these tastes are, in a lot of cases, simply an expression of the exploration for an authentic experience that does not actually include that flavor profile or magnitude.

⁷³ From notes from interview with the author, May 11 2010

Considering all of the data from the customer respondents together, it appears that a few major points emerge. First, culinary and cultural experience (be it through consumption of a cuisine in a restaurant with Hispanic staff, interactions with Mexicans or Mexican Americans in everyday life, or even from the media and other propagators of pop culture) is the key in the construction of an individual's knowledge of a cuisine. That this experience can be gained on either a personal or impersonal mode is important. Personal interactions and experience lead to embodied memories, which can give a depth of knowledge that those who only understand the cuisine through television, movies, and Taco Bell cannot have. In the final chapter, I will consider these two modes of knowledge acquisition in light of the two models proposed above and all the various data from the restaurants, restaurateurs and customers already presented. In doing so, I hope to show exactly how culinary acculturation—the process by which two groups cuisines come together and hybridize—occurs in contemporary American society.

Chapter 8 Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to investigate how culinary acculturation operates on Mexican and Mexican American cuisine in the American South, and what impacts it may have on cultural incorporation between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. In the previous chapters I have shown that the two fieldsites—Atlanta, Georgia, and Houston, Texas differ in their immigration histories, in their types, magnitudes, and distributions of Mexican restaurants, in how their restaurateurs stage the culinary experiences they present, and in how their customers understand and respond to both this staging and Mexican cuisine as a whole. I have shown that a person's knowledge of a cuisine comes from exposure to pop culture and from culinary and cultural experiences. These experiences lead to embodied memories, which shape how a person understands and views a cuisine. In the end, this project attempts to show how and why a person chooses a restaurant or culinary experience, and how this may relate to his or her perception of either Hispanics or non-Hispanics.

In this final chapter I will first summarize the major findings that have been presented above. I will then place these findings in the context of the literature, particularly within the framework of culinary tourism, and argue for their significance. Given this I will then attempt to explicitly answer the three research questions presented at the end of Chapter 2. I will finish with a short discussion of methodological limitations,

suggestions for future research, and a brief conclusion. I begin with a summation of the major findings.

8.1: Summary of Findings

In this section I will provide a chapter-by-chapter summary of the major findings that will help us understand either how or why customers choose to eat what and where they do. Included are the results from Chapter 3, which deal with the socio-demographics of the two research areas; from Chapter 5, which deal with the restaurants themselves; from Chapter 6, which deal with how the restaurateurs present Mexican food and how they themselves perceive the cuisine; and from Chapter 7, which deal with the customers' responses to the restaurateurs actions and they comprehend Mexican cuisine as a whole. Before going into the chapters, I want to reiterate some of the most basic findings from the restaurant, restaurateur, and customer surveys that form the basis for everything else.

8.1.1: *Basic Results*

In order to provide a sampling population from which restaurateurs and customers could be drawn for both the exploratory and explanatory phases, I surveyed of all the Mexican restaurants that conformed to the sampling frame set in Chapter 3. Once again, this frame allowed restaurants that met the following 5 criteria:

- Their name or advertising materials explicitly label them as "Mexican."
- They are sit-down, full-service restaurants.
- They are open for both lunch and dinner seatings.
- They are not cash-only businesses.

- They are located in Harris County, Texas, or Clayton, Cobb, DeKalb, Fulton, or Gwinnett County, Georgia.

Restaurants were culled from the Yellow Page directories from both cities, and additional ones were added throughout the survey process. In the end, the total number of restaurants included in the sample population was 1,053—with 305 in the Atlanta study area, and 753 in the Houston one.

In addition to attempting to make contact with restaurateurs and customers, and collecting menus, I took some time at each establishment to judge the ethnic make-up of its clientele. I was particular concerned with dividing the population of restaurants into those restaurants that served Hispanic customers and those that did not, under the assumption that Mexicans and Mexican Americans (who, according to Census data, make up the majority of people of Hispanic origin in both Metro Atlanta and Houston) would think about and eat Mexican food differently than non-Hispanics. From these observations, and any additional information I received from the restaurateurs, I classified each restaurant based on the ethnicity of its clientele. In doing this I created a five-category scale, as delineated in Table 8.1. Note that the colors in the table below correspond to the dots used in the maps in Chapter 5. Table 8.2 gives the frequency of each of these clientele categories in both study area, while Figure 8.1 shows the frequency distributions of the proportions of each of the five categories by city.

Table 8.1: Clientele Ethnicity Categories

Category 1	Category 2	Category 3	Category 4	Category 5
Entirely non-Hispanic Clientele	Mostly non-Hispanic Clientele	Mixed Ethnicity Clientele	Mostly Hispanic Clientele	Entirely Hispanic Clientele

Table 8.2: Mexican Restaurants in Each Clientele Ethnicity Category by City

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Atlanta	94	83	48	38	42	305
Houston	129	161	202	180	81	753
Total	223	244	250	118	123	1058

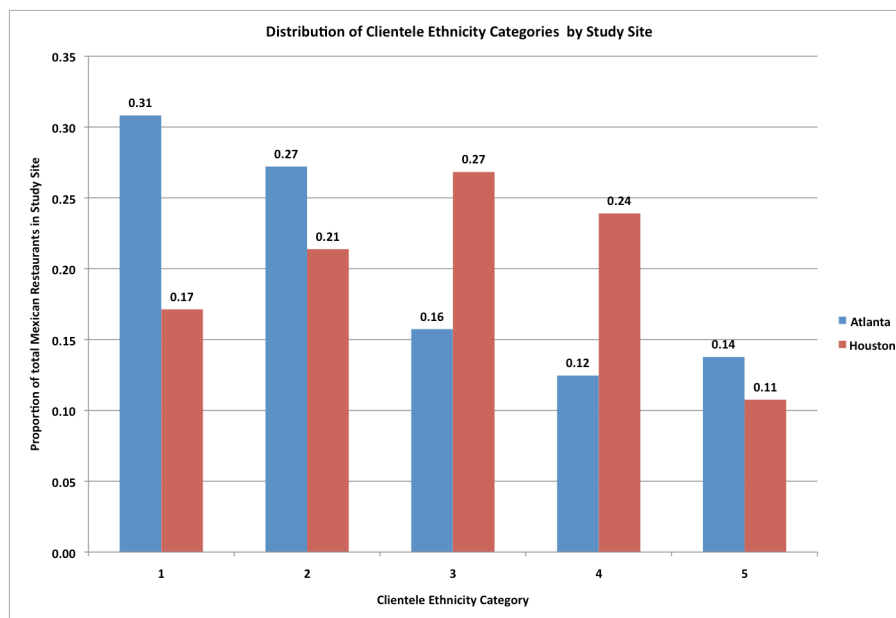


Figure 8.1: Distribution of Ethnicity Categories by Study Site

We can see that the non-Hispanic restaurants are heavily favored in Atlanta, while there is an approximately normal distribution across the five categories in Houston.

In addition to the restaurants, 54 restaurateurs agreed to formal interviews—26 from Atlanta, and 28 from Houston. 74 customers agreed to participate in the survey, with 34 allowing a more formal interview as well.

8.1.2: Findings from Chapter 3: The Fieldsites

In the third chapter we explored the two fieldsites and the urban studies literature, and then applied two measures from that literature—the dissimilarity measure of evenness [D]

and the probability measure of contact and isolation [P^*]¹—to demographic data from the Atlanta and Houston study areas.

I proposed that Atlanta and Houston have very different Hispanic immigration histories, and as such their populations would have very different experiences with Mexican cuisine. Alongside these different immigration histories, the socio-demographic makeup of the cities is very different. While 11.29% of the total Atlanta study area population (of 3,452,622) is of people who claim Hispanic origin, 38.4% of the Houston study area's population do (with a total Houston population of 3,918,326).

The two measures of ethnic segregation were able to not only show differences between the two cities, but also some response to immigration waves and trends. Recall that the dissimilarity index is a 0 to 1 scale of how evenly distributed ethnic groups are across the urban landscape, with 0 representing a completely even distribution. Figures 8.2 and 8.3 reprint graphs showing the evenness of Hispanics, African Americans, and Asians as compared to Anglos in Atlanta and Houston, respectively.

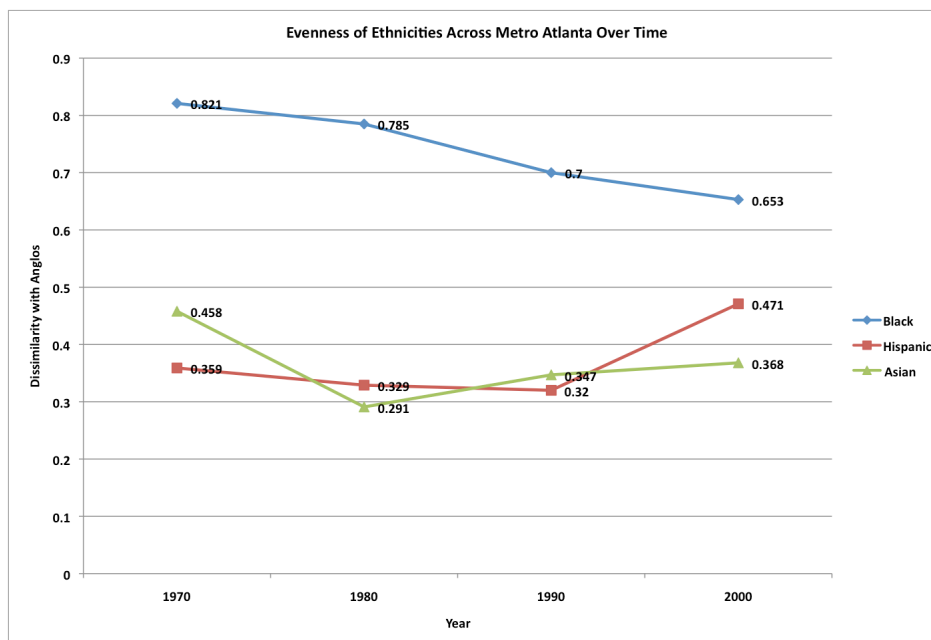


Figure 8.2 (3.3): Evenness of Ethnicities Across Metro Atlanta Over Time

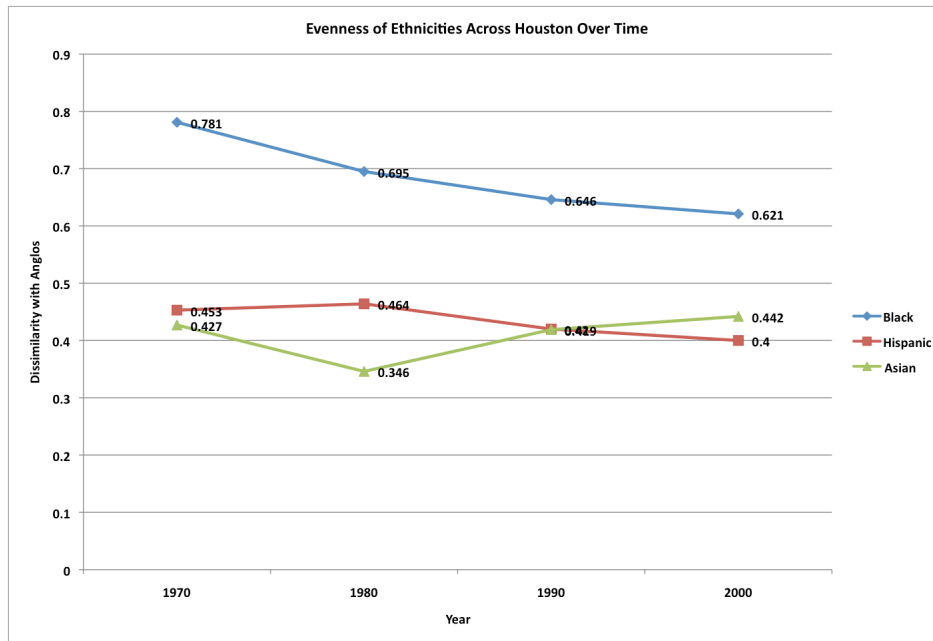


Figure 8.3 (3.4): Evenness of Ethnicities Across Houston Over Time

Both of these charts show us, in a way, when waves of ethnic migration hit either of the cities. For instance, we can see that between 1990 and 2000, the dissimilarity in residence patterns between Anglos and Hispanics in Atlanta rose sharply. We know that the current wave of Hispanic immigration to Atlanta began in the early 1990s when the city received its Olympic bid. As new members moved in, the likelihood that members of that ethnicity would residentially congregate in ethnic neighborhoods or ghettos increased. We can see that in Houston, this dissimilarity between Hispanics and whites reached its peak in 1980, and has been steadily decreasing since then.

Throughout this paper I have presented evidence that shows that non-Hispanics in Houston behave and think differently than non-Hispanics in Atlanta. The core assumption behind making sense of this is that Houstonians have a greater amount of cultural and culinary experience with Mexicans and Mexican Americans (due to the city's longer Hispanics immigration history) than do Atlantans. Figure 8.4, originally 3.5, shows the county-by-county change in dissimilarity between Hispanics and the other ethnicities

between 1990 and 2000. It is plain that Harris County, TX has a vastly different pattern of Hispanic evenness than do the Atlanta counties—that overall people in Houston are more residentially integrated with Hispanics, and that that evenness continues to grow.

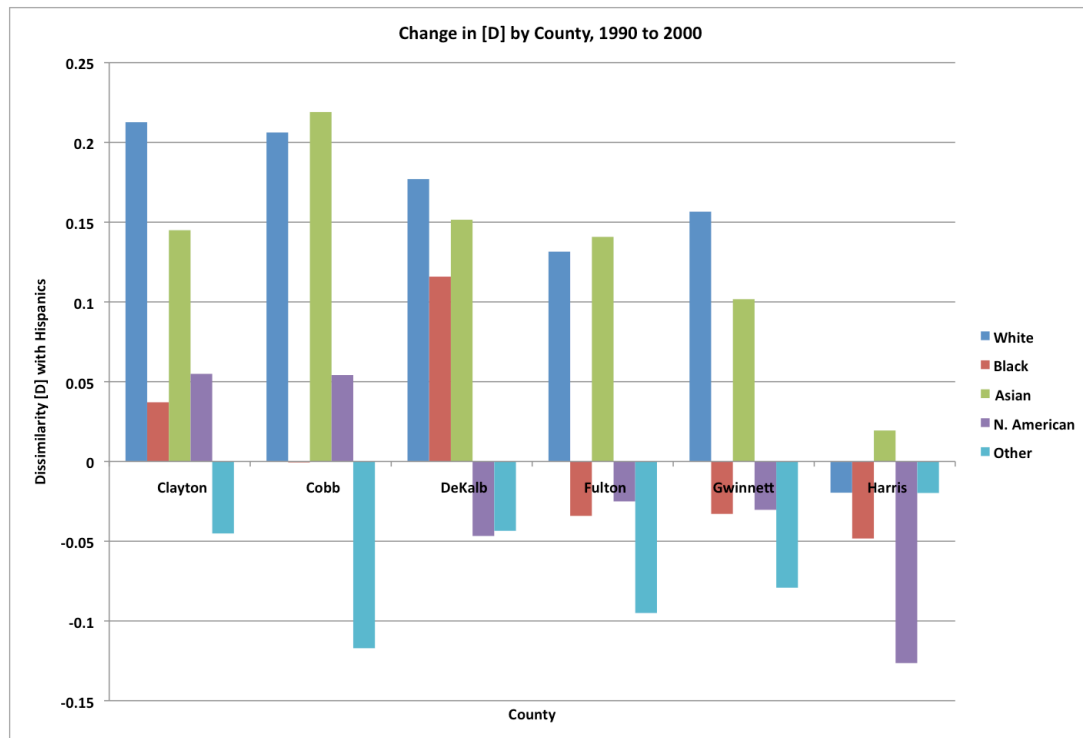


Figure 8.4 (3.5): Change in [D] by County, 1990 to 2000

The other measure I presented in Chapter 3 was the Contact Index $[{}_xP^*_y]$, which is the probability that a member of group X comes into contact with a member of group Y. Of the two measures, this is the most relevant to our discussion. Again, a key assumption in this work is that Houstonians as a whole have more experience with people of Hispanic origin and their culture. Table 3.3 shows exactly this, with Anglos, African Americans, and Asians all greatly increasing their probability of contact with Hispanics over the last 4 decades in Houston, whereas the increases were much smaller in Atlanta.

8.1.3: Findings from Chapter 5: The Mexican Restaurants

The fifth chapter was a detailed look at the Mexican restaurants across the two fieldsites, and primarily focused on their nomenclature and their geographic situation across the two urban landscapes. The nomenclature analysis combined the data from the restaurant survey with archival research in an effort to look at the origins of Mexican restaurants in Atlanta. More notably, a number of naming terms were found to significantly predict whether or not a restaurant had a primarily Hispanic or non-Hispanic clientele base.

To review, I broke each restaurant's name into three sections: the name, the establishment type, and the cuisine descriptor. Using the same example as before, *La Cazuela Mexican Restaurant's* name would be "La Cazuela," its restaurant type would be "Restaurant," and its cuisine descriptor would be "Mexican." I then coded each of these segments of the name by their content. I used eight codes to describe the naming motif⁷⁴, 22 codes to describe the restaurant type⁷⁵, and 10 codes to describe the cuisine descriptors⁷⁶. Tables 5.2 through 5.4 show the proportions of each of the codes by clientele ethnicity category for all 1058 restaurants in the study areas. By running directional z-tests on these proportions (with Categories 1 and 2 combined to form a non-Hispanic \hat{p}) I was able to determine which naming characteristics significantly corresponded to restaurants that either served a large number of Hispanic customers or did not. Table 8.3,

⁷⁴ The name codes are as follows: 0: No Name, 1: General Spanish, 2: General English, 3: Person's Name, 4: Place Name in Spanish, 5: Place Name in English, 6: Food Name, and 7: Spanish/English Mixed Name.

⁷⁵ The restaurant type codes are as follows: 0: Not Noted, 1: Restaurant, 2: Grill, 3: Taquería, 4: Cantina, 5: Ostioneria, 6: Pulpuseria, 7: Casa, 8: Grill and Bar, 9: Bistro, 11: Fonda, 12: Café, 13: Restaurant y [X], 14: House, 15: Kitchen, 16: Place, 17: Factory, 18: Buffet, 19: Deli, 20: Pub, 21: Shop, and 22: Tortilleria.

⁷⁶ The cuisine descriptor codes are as follows: 0: Un-described, 1: Mexican, 2: Tex-Mex, 3: [X]-Mex, 4: Geographic, 5: Seafood, 6: Latino/a, 7: Other Latin Nationality, 8: Pollo Asado/Carne Asada, and 9: Antojitos.

repeating Table 5.9, shows these significant naming elements along with what type of clientele they suggest.

Table 8.3 (5.9): Significant Symbolic Naming Elements

Naming Element	Classification Scheme	Clientele Ethnicity
General English	Naming Motif	Non-Hispanic
Place Name, Spanish	Naming Motif	Hispanic
Un-Signified	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Grill	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Taquería	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Cantina	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Ostioneria	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Pulperia	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Grill and Bar	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Fonda	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Café	Establishment Type	Non-Hispanic
Tortilleria	Establishment Type	Hispanic
Un-Described	Descriptor	Hispanic
Mexican	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic
X-Mex	Descriptor	Non-Hispanic
Geographic	Descriptor	Hispanic
Seafood	Descriptor	Hispanic
Latino/a	Descriptor	Hispanic
Pollo Asado/Carne Asada	Descriptor	Hispanic

I propose that these significant naming elements are marker terms that customers can use to determine the suitability of any given restaurant for his or her dining purposes before they even walk in the door.

The other major section of Chapter 5 dealt with the Mexican restaurants' placements in physical space across the two study areas. I refer you back to Section 5.2 for the series of maps that provided the basis for the geographic analysis. Overall, I noted two major types of majority-Hispanic clientele restaurant agglomerations. One, as exemplified by those on and around Marietta in Cobb County, Georgia, show a radial pattern, with Category 5 restaurants at the center of the distribution radiating out towards restaurants with more of mixed ethnicity. The second type of distribution, whose paragon is the Buford Highway stretch, shows a more or less isolated distribution, with few to none of the mixed clientele or non-Hispanic clientele restaurants in this area. While examples of these two

distributions are also present in Houston, they are much more diluted by the presence of non-Hispanic and mixed restaurants. One important fact relating back to the demographic measures of segregation from Chapter 3, is that these majority-Hispanic restaurants in Houston do not appear to be as tied to areas of Hispanic residence as they are in Atlanta. For instance, in zip codes that had Category 4 and 5 restaurants, the dissimilarity value between Anglos and Hispanics was 0.2735 in Atlanta, whereas it was only 0.2008 in Houston.

8.1.4: *Findings from Chapter 6: The Restaurateurs*

In Chapter 6 I explored how restaurateurs set the scene of the restaurant, and what strategies they use to provide the types of culinary experiences their customers desire. The basis of this chapter is the culinary tourism model as presented by Long (2004). In it, she suggests five separate strategies that restaurateurs can use to move a culinary experience along the two axes of palatability and familiarity. These five strategies—framing, menu selection, naming/translation, explication, and recipe adaptation—are designed to allow restaurateurs to both give their customers the level of perceived authenticity (i.e. access to their backstage) they desire, while maintaining their comfort zone (what Cohen calls the “environmental bubble”).

The negotiation strategy of framing involves preparing and presenting the props throughout the frontstage that is the restaurant, and can be basically divided into décor and architecture-based displays, as well as service-based displays. Throughout the restaurant survey I categorized each restaurant’s décor into one of three categories: romantic, standard, and utilitarian. The romantic motif evokes a largely fictional, hacienda-centric Mexico and provides the customers with an escape from the mundane world of

either Houston or Atlanta. This style is quite common in Houston’s Category 1 and 2 restaurants, though it is present in Atlanta’s non-Hispanic establishments as well. The other extreme of the décor styles is the utilitarian motif—which, depending on its use, evokes either the neighborhood restaurants of Mexican cities and towns, or the currently-popular-among-urbanites industrial look of polished metal surfaces and exposed ductwork. Figure 8.5 (originally 6.9) shows the distribution of these three décor motifs across both cities by the clientele ethnicity categories.

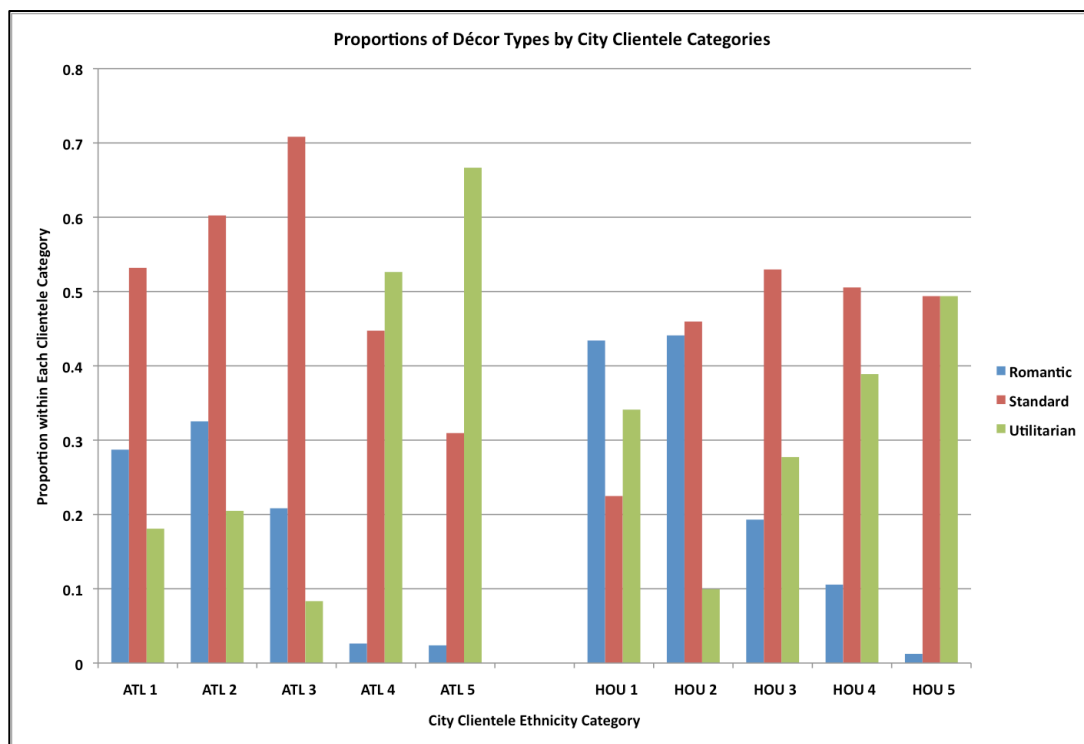


Figure 8.5 (6.9): Proportions of Décor Types by City Clientele Categories

The second negotiation strategy, menu selection, is perhaps the most important of the five to the overall findings of this project. In short, restaurateurs choose their menus based largely on what their customers want to eat and are willing to pay for (of course allowing still for individual variation amongst restaurants and restaurateurs). I used three different methods to measure and analyze menu selection: the presence or absence of

combo meals on the menus collected throughout the restaurant survey, the whether or not the restaurateur offered a weekend brunch, and finally a content analysis of the menus themselves.

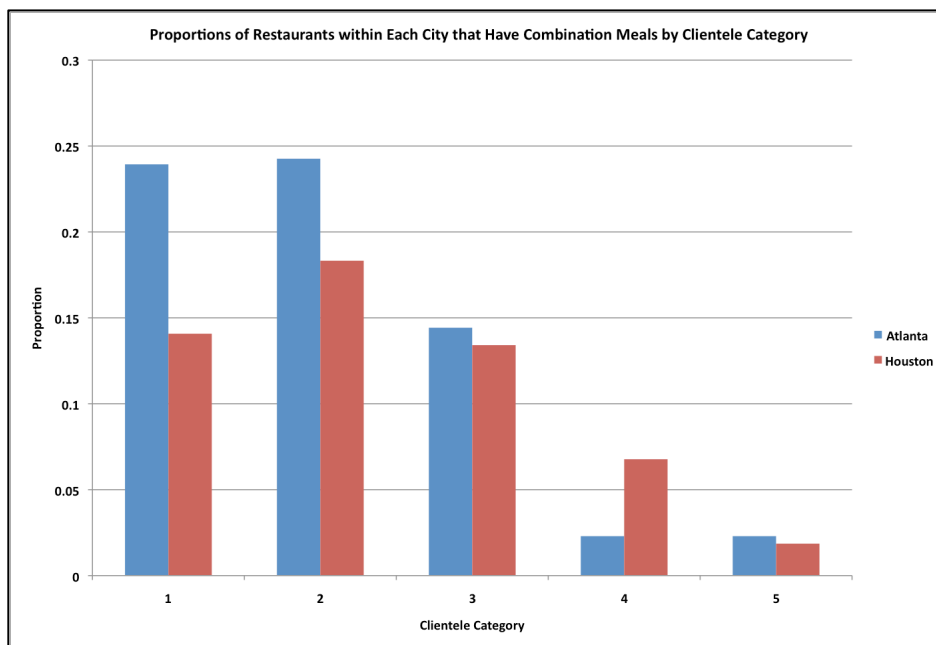


Figure 8.6 (6.8): Proportions of Restaurants within each City that Have Combination Meals by Clientele Category

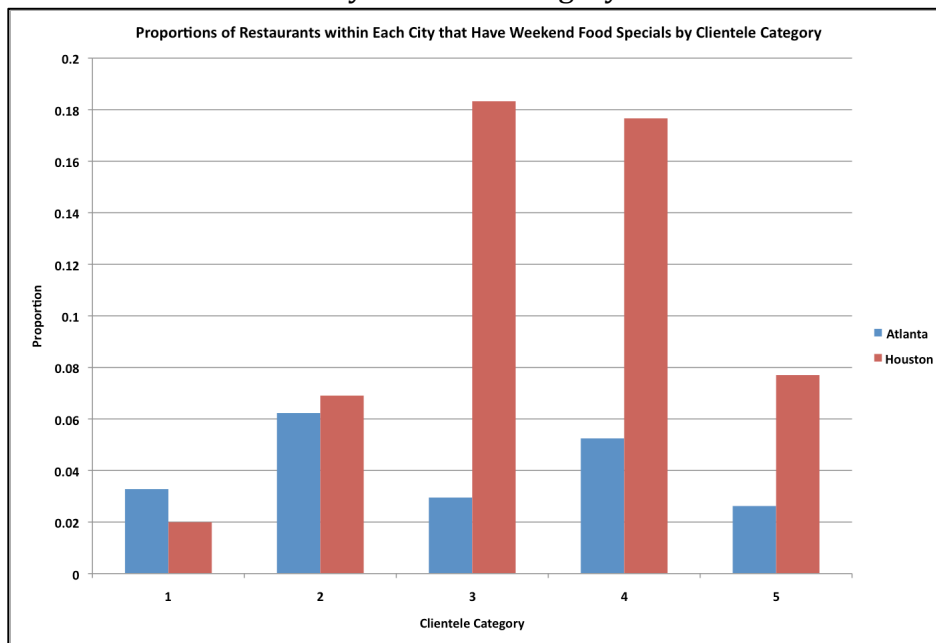


Figure 8.7 (6.9): Proportions of Restaurants within each City that Have Weekend Food Specials by Clientele Category

The content analysis of the menus also showed some difference between the two city's restaurants. Taking each menu as a free-list, I found a domain of 459 items across Atlanta's Mexican restaurants, and a domain of 526 items across Houston's. Examining their unique items closely, it became clear that those items unique to Atlanta were largely Anglicized or pan-Latino dishes, whereas many of Houston's unique items came directly from the traditional Mexican cuisines. Looking at the most frequent dishes in the two city's Category 5 (entirely Hispanic clientele) restaurants, another difference became apparent. While about half of those dishes in the Atlanta top 75 showed a skewed distribution across the five clientele categories towards the Hispanic end (see Figures 6.16-6.18), this was not the case in Houston where the 75 most popular dishes in the most Hispanic restaurants tended to have a much more normal distribution across the customer categories (see Figure 6.19-6.20). This indicates that, if such things as marker dishes (or naming motifs) do in fact have social symbolic significance, they most certainly vary in their meanings across the two cities.

This same trend of seeing a difference between Atlanta restaurants and Houston ones in regards to how characteristics are distributed across the various clientele ethnicities is seen throughout the other three negotiation strategies as well. For instance, the using the term "caldo" to describe soups on menus is limited almost entirely to the Hispanic clientele restaurants in Atlanta, while in Houston the distribution of the term is nearly even across Categories 2, 3, and 4 (with a large spike in Category 5).

In addition to the five negotiation strategies, the restaurateurs' own free-lists of Mexican dishes were presented and explored in Chapter 6. Following Greenwood (1989), we can consider free-list length to be a proxy measure for the breadth of knowledge of the

given domain. There was no significant difference between Hispanic and non-Hispanic or Atlantan or Houstonian restaurateurs in terms of the list lengths—they are all, statistically speaking at least, equally expert in the domain. Furthermore, if mean list position of a salient domain item is a proxy measure for depth of knowledge of the domain, then no significant difference was found between the various groupings of restaurateurs either (see Table 6.27 and Table 6.28).

8.1.4: Findings from Chapter 6: The Restaurateurs

In the last data chapter I presented and analyzed how the customers of Mexican restaurants understand and perceive Mexican cuisine. To do this I showed three major sets of data: customer free-lists, pile-sorts, and experiential survey data.

I collected both Mexican dish and American dish free-lists from the customers. I examined both of these looking both at list lengths and item salience values (using Smith's S). It was evident early on in this analysis that Hispanics, Houstonians, and non-Hispanic Houstonians had similar views of the domain, while non-Hispanics and Atlantans as a whole, and non-Hispanic Atlantans were similar. For instance, in doing content analysis of the various sub-domains, as can be seen in Table 8.4 (7.3), I found the percentages of each subgroup's unique item list that was found in Diana Kennedy's authoritative cookbook on Mexican cuisines follow this trend.

Table 8.4 (7.3): Percentages of Unique Dishes Found in Some Form in *The Essential Cuisines of Mexico*

	Number of Unique Dishes	Percent Found in Kennedy 2000
Houston	11	73%
Atlanta	25	64%
Hispanic	13	92%
Non-Hispanic	36	53%

To better quantify this trend I ran ANOVA and t-tests on all the subgroup pairs, and found that Houstonians have a broader knowledge of Mexican food than Atlantans; that Hispanics have a broader knowledge of Mexican food than non-Hispanics; and that non-Hispanics in Houston have a broader knowledge of Mexican food than their Atlantan counterparts:

Table 8.5 (7.10): Summary of Two-Sample F and T Tests

Pair	P(F)	Variance	T Statistic	P(T)	Result
Atlantans and Houstonians	0.90732	Equal	0.00391	0.99689**	Reject Null if Opposite
Hispanics and Non-Hispanics	0.28548	Equal	7.94111	1.97492E-11**	Reject Null
ATL Hispanics and HOU Hispanics	0.91986	Equal	0.70133	0.49459	Fail to Reject Null
ATL Non-Hispanics and HOU Non-Hispanics	0.81140	Equal	0.00499	0.99604**	Reject Null if Opposite

using the following hypotheses:

$$H_0: \bar{X}_1 = \bar{X}_2$$

$$H_a: \bar{X}_1 > \bar{X}_2$$

Using both the list length and salience measures, combined with frequency distributions across the secondary subgroups (non-Hispanic Atlantans, Hispanic Atlantans, non-Hispanic Houstonians, and Hispanic Houstonians), I proposed a list in Table 7.13 of marker dishes that complement the marker terms found in the nomenclature analysis and presented above as Table 8.3. However, in an attempt to focus the symbolic power of these dishes I suggest that they signify not the ethnicity of a restaurant's customers, but rather the amount of culinary experience and knowledge those customers have. The 18 dishes I focused on were therefore placed into one of four categories: Common and Accepted by all (C), Requires Low Level of Culinary Knowledge (L), Requires High Level of Culinary Knowledge (H), and for the dishes that appear to act as a springboard from the lower level of knowledge to the higher level (T) for Transitory.

Table 8.6 (7.13): Proposed Marker Dishes

Dish	Hispanic Avg Frequency	Non-Hispanic Avg Frequency	Hispanic Smith's S	Non-Hispanic Smith's S	Marker Dish Category
Barbacoa	0.44	0.00	0.17	0.00	H
Burrito	0.31	0.59	0.26	0.36	L
Cajeta	0.31	0.00	0.10	0.00	H
Carne Asada	0.81	0.10	0.54	0.05	T
Ceviche	0.44	0.05	0.21	0.01	T
Chilaquiles	0.56	0.02	0.33	0.02	H
Chile con Queso	0.31	0.36	0.14	0.22	L
Chile Relleno	0.63	0.33	0.43	0.17	T
Enchilada	0.81	0.83	0.64	0.58	C
Fajita	0.31	0.47	0.14	0.35	L
Guacamole	0.38	0.41	0.19	0.17	C
Menudo	0.75	0.02	0.29	0.02	H
Nachos	0.13	0.33	0.04	0.19	L
Pozole	0.50	0.02	0.27	0.00	H
Quesadilla	0.88	0.64	0.64	0.44	C
Taco	1.00	0.90	0.96	0.68	C
Tamale	0.56	0.36	0.40	0.22	T
Taquitos	0.06	0.28	0.01	0.12	L

If the free-lists give some idea of an individual or group's breadth of knowledge about the domain, then the pile-sorts tell us about how deeply that knowledge goes. If you know very little about a domain of cuisine, then you would be likely to divide the foods presented to you in have tried/haven't tried, know/don't know, or normal-looking/strange-looking groups. However, the more knowledge and experience you have with a cuisines, the more likely you would be to divide the dishes into more functional or temporal groups. This seems to be exactly the case with my data, as those non-Hispanics from Houston had pile-sort groupings that were much closer to what Hispanics had than non-Hispanics in Atlanta, as Figure 8.8 (found before as Figure 7.14) shows:

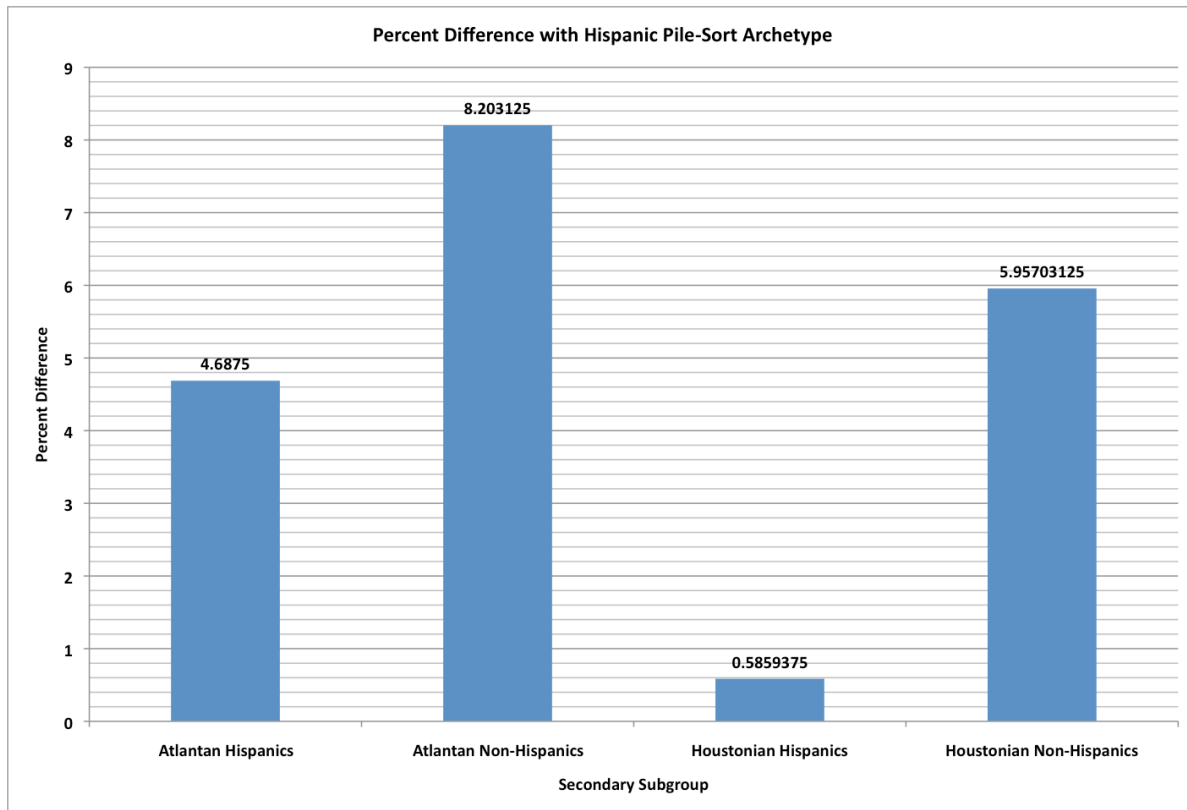


Figure 8.8 (7.14): Percent Difference with Hispanic Pile-Sort Archetype

I next analyzed individual customers' free-list length data and the percent difference from the Hispanic archetype data with their answers to a series of culinary and cultural experiential questions from a survey. I used these data in logarithmic regression analysis to produce two models that predict domain knowledge breadth (via free-list length) and depth (via pile-sort difference). They are as follows:

$$\text{Mexican List Length} = 1.3774^{\text{Dining}} \times 1.1098^{\text{Cooking}} \times 1.1067^{\text{Interaction}} \times 1.0926^{\text{Preference}}$$

and

$$\% \text{ Difference from Hispanic Archetype} = 1.0501^{\text{Interaction}} \times 0.9406^{\text{Preference}} \times 0.8641^{\text{Spiciness}} \times 0.8134^{\text{Authenticity}}$$

where each of the variables was measured on a 1 to 5 scale as explained in Chapter 7.

Besides providing a testable model upon which future surveys can be based, these two models allow us to see exactly what characteristics lead to culinary acculturation,

given that those individuals who have undergone greater acculturation of their dining habits will have a worldview closer to Hispanics than those who have acculturated very little. Thus, we can see that how often a person eats at Mexican restaurants, how often they interact with Hispanics, their preference for Mexican cuisine and their desire for authenticity are significant predictors of an individual's culinary knowledge and, thus, acculturation.

8.2: The Significance of the Findings in the Literature

These findings, while nice on their own, will mean very little if they are not placed in their context vis-à-vis the literature on food anthropology and culinary tourism. All in all, the purpose of the data collection phases were to determine how and why customers choose to eat certain types of Mexican food at certain types of Mexican restaurants, and how that changes over time and with experience.

I suppose the first thing we should focus on is the why of eating Mexican. Why do people, particularly non-Mexicans or Mexican Americans, eat this cuisine? For that matter, why do we eat any food that is not explicitly tied to our ethnicity? Were I to rely simply on the responses of the customer respondents, I would leave this discussion with, "I like it," or "it tastes good." But I believe there is a deeper reason than simple preference—one that in fact gives birth to that preference: cultural omnivorousness.

This term comes from research, primarily in Western Europe, North American, and Israel, that tries to explain why middle class Westerners enjoy consuming things from so many different cultures. Although the action and term is applied to many facets of social

life—from the fine arts to music to travel—some of the pioneering work on this trend was done by Alan Warde on ethnic food dining habits. Warde’s theories—nearly all based on fieldwork and survey data from across the United Kingdom—ties middle class consumption to Bourdieu’s ideas of social distinction and cultural capital (Warde 2000; Warde, et al. 1999; Warde, et al. 2007). Simply put, Bourdieu (2007 [1984]) believed that with the wide number of commodities available in modern life, there had to be a hierarchy of consumption that acted as a social sign indicating a person’s status. Bourdieu then coined the widely used term “cultural capital” as the ordinal value of prestige that any given commodity had (2007 [1984]: 53-54).

Applying the idea of cultural capital to ethnic food consumption, Warde and his colleagues suggest that the act of eating others’ cuisines is also an act of Bourdieuvian distinction. Their later work points out that there is no single monolithic idea of a cultural omnivore across societies, but rather that omnivorous behavior is the norm within the middle classes. The *ability* to consume an odd or uncommon cuisine is a mark of a cultural omnivore; in middle and upper-middle class circles being a cultural omnivore is a mark of prestige. My research directly ties in to two corollaries of this theory of culinary cultural capital (Bell 2004; de Solier 2005): first the fact that individuals acquire the symbolic meaning of omnivorous acts not through experience, but rather through media and the popular culture, and second the observation that as more people engage in a specific act of omnivorousness in order to obtain cultural culinary capital, the less prestige that act carries.

First, the power of the pop culture in directing consumers is unquestionable. What is particularly interesting is how the media convinces people that certain foods or cuisines

are socially distinctive, while others are not. As I was driving the other day through the suburbs of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania—certainly not one of the most high class or elite cities on the East Coast—a series of billboards on the interstate showed things like a full glass of wine on an outside table overlooking a field in the evening, or a cooked lobster and a fruity-looking cocktail on a table on a beach overlooking the ocean. The billboards were not for a grocery store, or a travel agency, but rather for a local bank. The message of course was, keep your money with us, and soon you'll have enough to live the good life, the high-class life. Now of course these billboards in and of themselves have not introduced wine, lobster, cocktails or idyllic landscapes as prestigious things in our culture—and food and cultural historians can spend reams upon reams of paper exploring exactly when these commodities gained their distinctive symbolic power (i.e. Freedman 2007). But without a question billboards such as these—as well as other medias—reinforce and reify the significances of these social symbols. So, through constant and repeated contact and exposure to these pop culture-dictated social symbols, their prestige and the level of cultural capital they provide are internalized on a social psychological level.

I observed this pop cultural process not only on individual dishes, but also on the whole of Mexican cuisine. First, nearly all of the non-Hispanic customers surveyed throughout this project were middle class, if not in economic means (which I did not ask) then in culture and conduct, so I would expect this concept of omnivorousness to apply to my sample population's behaviors. During my conversations with older customers, quite a few suggested that they started to eat at Mexican places when they had children that asked them to go. Much like when I begged my parents for taco night because my friends were doing it, the outside popular culture (of eating Mexican) is able to reach across generations

through strong social ties. For instance the Lees, a family of first-generation Koreans in Houston that I interviewed have a son who is entering high school. They both emigrated from Korea to work with engineering firms in Houston, and do not remember ever having Mexican before they came to the United States. They both said that when their son was in elementary school, he asked them to have a birthday dinner at a local Mexican restaurant, and they agreed. Since then, they have been Mexican regulars and Mr. Lee now considers himself an aficionado.

Whether its intergenerational or not, the fact that people's choices to at least *start* eating Mexican is heavily influenced by outside sources emerges strongly from my data. Nobody specifically mentioned that they derived cultural capital, or that they some gained social stature, by eating Mexican or ethnic foods, but the indicators are there. For instance, as seen above in Section 7.2.2 I asked each customer on their survey how much they liked ethnic cuisines in addition to asking how much they liked eating at ethnic restaurants. 34 respondents, or just over half, indicated that they liked eating at ethnic restaurants more than they liked eating ethnic food. While there could be a plethora of nuance behind this statistic, on the face it indicates that the experiential value of eating out is preferable than simply the act of eating.

And in a way that is nearly impossible to quantify, this makes complete sense. From the ethnographic perspective of a 28 year-old middle class American male, I have absolutely seen and experienced this trend—this power of cultural omnivorousness. I used to hate Indian cuisine, and then my friends in college started eating it and I was left out. It was, in some small way, a marker of distinction between those who ate it and those of us who were not brave enough or who did not have as developed a sense of taste. And so I

forced myself to try it, one dish at a time, until I reached the point where it is my favorite type of ethnic food. All of these food trends—wherein a cuisine or a dish (think about pork fat and bacon in the last few years) becomes incredibly popular—are based on one group thinking it’s “cool” to eat it, and others are left to either deal with their unpopular behavior or scramble to catch up.

Though what I have mostly mentioned up to this point about omnivorousness is at the cuisine level, it certainly occurs at the dish or flavor level as well. Take for instance Jamal’s (1996; 1998) findings that match up exactly with mine about spicy foods. Remember that Ernesto Garcia had to take what he considered to be a very traditional, authentic salsa and change it so that it was as hot as his customers desired. Interestingly, when I asked respondents to list characteristics of American cuisine, bland (alongside fatty and fried) was one of the most frequent responses. Thus, if we are to accept Brown and Mussel’s statement that I presented in Chapter 2:

Mainstream Americans frequently used foodways as a factor in the identification of subcultural groups and find in the traditional dishes and ingredients of “others” who eat differently from themselves a set of convenient ways to categorize ethnic and regional character (Brown and Mussell 1984: 3).

as fact, then this “over-acculturation” of flavors as Jamal (1996:23-24) labels it makes absolute sense. By exaggerating the supposedly unique and authentic flavors and components of a cuisine, Americans are able to clearly differentiate the ethnic food from their mundane everyday fare. And then by consuming this clearly differentiated cuisine, they are able to gain the cultural culinary capital to which doing so entitles them.

So if we now better understand why people would choose to eat ethnic foods and foods that are different than their norm; the question remains as to why they *wouldn’t* do

this. Why, given the cultural capital available, would an individual choose to not do as the popular culture dictates? Why would someone in my college shoes decided to not learn to like curries? Again, there are obvious, surface-level answers—they don't like the taste, they think its weird, they find the texture unbearable, etc. The nuanced answer however brings us back to the culinary tourism scholarship, particular Cohen's idea of an "environmental bubble" within which a consumer feels safe and comfortable (Cohen 1979a).

Throughout the research, as I have mentioned above, the duel concepts of intimidation and comfort emerged as strong factors that drive the actions of both the customers and restaurateurs of Mexican restaurants. I gave instances both in Chapter 6 with the restaurateurs and Chapter 7 with the customers, of feelings of intimidation of either a food, fellow diners, or the restaurant's staff. I think it is important to say that in no way do I mean to suggest that there is any true form of racism behind this intimidation. For indeed, all of the customers I spoke to—and all the customers that the restaurateurs reference—eat at Mexican restaurants, shop at grocery stores, and generally live in a society where interactions with peoples of different ethnicities is the norm. Atlanta and Houston are very multicultural cities, and if an individual from these areas are truly intimidated by other ethnicities *writ large*, then really their only recourse is to never leave the house.

Rather, the intimidation I found would better be labeled as discomfort: a semantic difference to be sure, but a significant one. The discomfort that people indicated they felt when going to unfamiliar restaurants was largely due to being unsure of the correct way to do things, such as order in either Spanish or English—depending on the language of the

diner. Recall that in Section 7.3.3 I quoted one of the customer respondents, Stan from Atlanta, who said that his inability to order in Spanish at Buford Highway restaurants made him “uncomfortable.⁷⁷” He did not say the food made him uncomfortable, nor did he say the staff made him uncomfortable: just his inability to communicate with them. Cohen and Avieli (2004) explicitly tie Cohen’s earlier idea of the environmental bubble with dining behaviors. They argue that culinary tourists, particularly those with neophobic palates, will need to escape to a “culinary environmental bubble” in order to feel comfortable enough to endure the culinary experience. They suggest that, particularly in tourist destinations in the Third World, the environmental bubbles are maintained through recipe adaptation:

The article has shown how they [culinary establishments] provide a “culinary environmental bubble” to tourists. However, through this process aspects of the local cuisine are, to different degrees, filtered and transformed, thus making local dishes accessible to tourists. In the process a tourist cuisine frequently emerges, which, like tourist arts, is not just an impoverished variant of local food, but often features innovative dishes, creatively composed of elements from different origins (Cohen and Avieli 2004: 775).

My data shows that this environmental bubble creation and maintenance occurs not just through recipe adaptation, but through the other four experiential negotiation strategies as well. In the case of Stan above, this bubble could be created simply through language. Mexican restaurateurs also employ architecture and décor, familiar dishes, English-based menus, and detailed explanations in order to provide their non-Hispanic customers with this sense of security and comfort that will ease any discomfort the unfamiliar aspects of the cuisine or experience may have.

⁷⁷ From notes from interview with author, July 27 2009.

The why behind people's reasons for going to Mexican restaurants is well and good, but perhaps the more interesting question is how do they know which ones to go to? If it is true that people choose a restaurant for either omnivorousness or comfort, how exactly do they know which Mexican restaurants out of the couple hundred they have access to fits the bill? This is an aspect that is sorely missing from the literature, and a hole that I set out to fill. I propose that the two most significant aspects of a restaurant that signify these qualities are the restaurant's name and its menu. In Chapter 5 I analyzed the names of the 1058 Mexican restaurants in the survey area and compared these names to their clientele ethnicity. I found 19 naming elements (see Table 5.9 or Table 8.3) that significantly predict the overall ethnicity of a restaurant's customers. Thus, if a diner sees two Mexican restaurants on a road—one named Broad Street Mexican Grill and the other named Taquería and Fonda Bahia de Veracruz—he or she could probably correctly guess that the former serves mostly non-Hispanics and the latter serves mostly Hispanic customers.

Furthermore, in Chapter 7's Table 7.13 (and above in Table 8.6) I propose a list of 18 marker dishes that can suggest the type of menu the restaurant has. By dividing these terms into common, low-knowledge requirement, high-knowledge requirement, and transitory categories I am suggesting that a diner can look at a menu and determine what type of culinary experience the restaurant provides—either one for culinary cultural omnivores, or one that is designed for comfort. These marker dishes appear to work in an opposite manner than the marker terms for nomenclature, as they seem to function in an exclusionary manner. By this I mean that if a person with low culinary knowledge of Mexican cuisine sees "cajeta" or "menudo" on the menu, they are less likely to actually dine

there. I direct you back to the Atlantan Erin's comments in Section 6.3.3, where she said, "...those places on Buford Highway...I don't know anything on their menus⁷⁸." I showed through the menu domain analysis that this was most certainly not true, as even those restaurants that served exclusively Hispanic customers had many of the same dishes found on those menus for all white clientele (i.e. the marker dishes belonging to the "common and accepted by all" category). Thus, it is the presence of unfamiliar or unwanted marker dishes (for people with low and high levels of culinary knowledge, respectively) that informs an individual's actions.

These marker terms are one aspect of the "how," but the deeper question is how do people learn these terms? It seems that there are two modes of learning—from the popular culture, and from embodied memory obtained from experience. We have already discussed how the popular culture can impact a person's views of the prestige of a cuisine or dish above, and it seems clear to me that the same general process can impact an individual's knowledge of a culinary domain. In this case, if a person gets all of the knowledge of Mexican cuisine from the media, and he or she lives in an area with few Mexican American businesses (who might produce commercials that expand an individual's knowledge), he or she will only know what Taco Bell, On The Border, and Chi-Chi's commercials tell them about Mexican food. On the other hand, if a person has experience with the cuisine—eating it at home, school, or in restaurants, then the information from the pop culture will make up a smaller percent of his or her overall knowledge. And as that person increases their culinary experience, they will be able to view that pop cultural knowledge in a critical light and adjust their overall knowledge

⁷⁸ From notes from interview with author, August 2 2009

accordingly. For instance, I had absolutely no idea what a chalupa was when I started this project. Judging from the ubiquitous Taco Bell commercials on television, it seemed to me to be something in the vicinity of a gordita or a wrap. However, when I occasionally brought it up with restaurateurs they told me it was more or less a tostada—a flatish fried plate of masa topped with various meats. And in fact, the best Mexican dish I had throughout this project was a crispy chalupa topped with ceviche and Queso Oaxaca at an ostinoeria in Houston. So, my knowledge—originally based solely on the pop culture source of Taco Bell commercials—was adjusted due to experiential knowledge I obtained over time.

The last theoretical point I want to bring up is tied to one that is mentioned, though infrequently, in the culinary tourism and food studies literatures, and deals with those individuals who have a relatively high level of culinary cultural experience. In a process that Germann Molz (2004) calls “culinary post-tourism,” people with high levels of culinary knowledge sometimes choose foods that are obviously Americanized. For some, this could be simply because they like it (and really, who doesn’t like a nice bowl of chile con queso or nachos sometimes?). For others, it could be an attempt to seem ironic or hip. And in some cases it could be that a person chooses a restaurant whose experience requires lower levels of knowledge so that they can eat with less experienced friends or family. Whatever the reason, such occurrences point out one of the largest problems with models such as Long’s, or Fischer’s (1988) neophylic/neophobic continuum: their static nature. And certainly Long did not intend for this, but her two axis model seems to assume that an individual perceives a culinary experience—say eating a taco—at the same (X,Y) coordinates every

time. Thus, restaurateurs need to continually negotiate that experience from that initial position. As a reminder, Long's basic model is presented below:

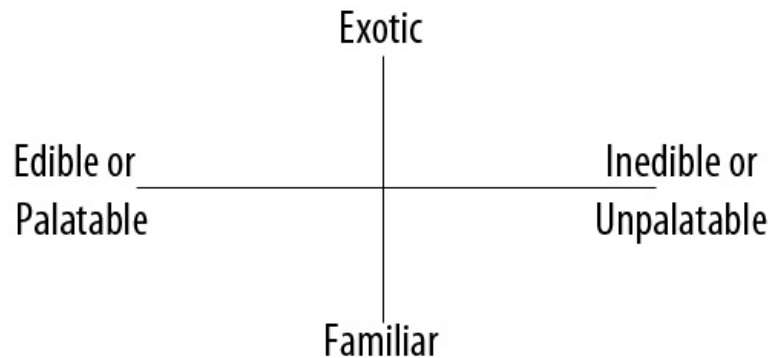


Figure 8.9 (6.1): Long's (2004) Model of Culinary Experiences

Given that people can change the *reason* they are eating the food, it seems that a third axis is needed. Throughout this research, two distinctive types of eating out—both ethnic and otherwise—emerged: everyday and occasional dining. The latter can be further divided into exploratory eating (Long 2004) or what I call special occasion eating. Everyday dining is just that: picking up a pizza on the way home from work, grabbing lunch at the Mexican restaurant across the street, or stopping by a coffee shop in the morning for a bagel. The key characteristic that groups these is the fact that they are normative behaviors. Occasional dining, on the other hand, is not necessarily normative. Special occasion dining can be rather normative, such as birthday dinners or going out with friends to celebrate a good week at work, as long as those events are held at places where the diners place their comfort zones over their desire for culinary cultural omnivorousness. Exploratory eating, however, is those instances where the diners place their desire for new and varied experiences over their desire to remain in the environmental bubble. It is this non-normative type of dining that is the interesting type in terms of culinary acculturation.

If people never tried new things, then the culinary experiences of a society will never change—either through embodied experiences or the pop culture. On the other hand, if a few people start trying new cuisines or dishes through exploratory eating, they can then start influencing the pop culture—which would eventually bring more people to that new cuisine, dish, or flavor.

Because of culinary experiences—at least on the sociocultural level—are so dynamic, a third axis of the model should reflect this potential for change. So I suggest a mundane/exploratory axis—where on the mundane end the act of dining is at places that are normative:

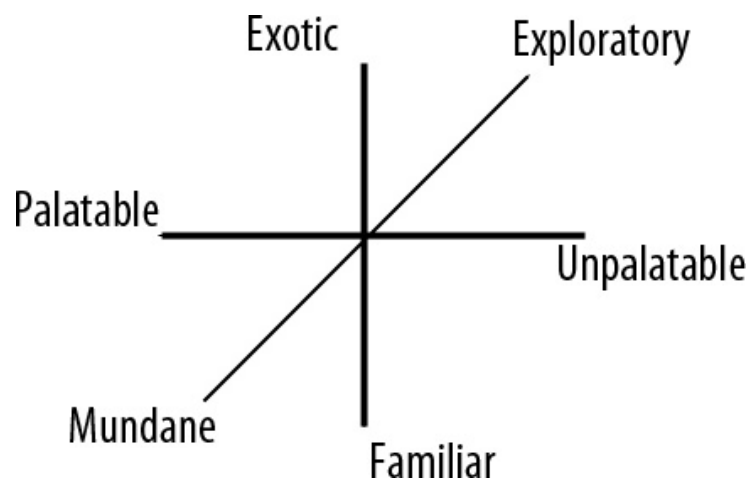


Figure 8.10: Adjusted Model of Culinary Experiences

Using this adjusted model, we can hypothesize a variety of different patterns of dining that describe the stages of culinary acculturation. Experiences that are exotic, exploratory, and unpalatable are dares—the first foray into a new cuisine. Experiences that are exotic, exploratory, and palatable are pioneering—they establish the frontier for the acculturation. Experiences that are exotic, mundane, and palatable are acculturated or Americanized—this is the apex of culinary acculturation wherein consuming a cuisine, dish, or flavor is a normative act for an individual or group. As an individual's experiences

with the food increases, he or she moves from the dare to the pioneering to the normative modes of eating—and in doing so alters the pop culture so that others are encouraged to obtain the same experiences. Looking at this on a societal level, we can thus see how marker dishes in the “common and accepted by all” group have become part of everyday American fare, and hypothesize that those in the transitory group—such as ceviche, tamales, and chiles rellenos—will sooner than later.

8.3: The Research Questions, Revisited

When I set off to collect the data for this project, I based my interview and survey questions around the three research questions presented in Section 2.3. While in some ways my final analysis, as dictated by the data, drifted from these three, it is important to come back to them and see what conclusions we can draw.

8.3.1: *Research Question 1: How and why do meanings and perceptions of Mexican American cuisine differ across ethnic, age, geographic and socioeconomic lines?*

As analyzed quite thoroughly in Chapter 7 and here, there are certainly differences between how various groups view and understand what they call “Mexican” cuisine. The easiest distinction to see was between Hispanics and non-Hispanics, in that Hispanics had a broader and deeper knowledge of Mexican cuisine than did non-Hispanics. However, when considering geography, I also found that non-Hispanics in Houston had a better and deeper understanding of the cuisine than did non-Hispanics in Atlanta. I found no significant correlation between age cohorts, and was not able to collect the proper data to analyze the

differences between socioeconomic cohorts. However, if you take educational attainment to be a proxy for socioeconomic status, then I found no statistical difference between those who attended college degree and those who did not in terms of their understanding of the domain of Mexican cuisine.

Putting these all together, it emerged that culinary or cultural experience with Mexican food and Mexican or Mexican American people, respectively, was the factor that linked the significant findings between ethnic and geographic groups. As a person increases their experience with a cuisine, they are able to form embodied memories of that food that are separate from those provided to the masses via the pop cultural media. In forming those memories, they are able to then critically examine their previous knowledge and adjust it accordingly.

8.3.2: Research Question 2: Do migrants who cook and consume acculturated Mexican foods feel more American and better accept American culture?

As I will discuss in the next section, I was limited by funding and time and was not able to complete the explanatory phase that would have fully answered this question. However, basic qualitative analysis of my interviews with both Mexican and Mexican American restaurateurs and customers indicated that this was not the case.

First of all, it is rare for Hispanic individuals—at least those in the first generation—to eat blatantly Americanized dishes such as chile con queso, nachos, and chimichangas. Secondly, throughout my discussions it seemed to be not the act of eating acculturated Mexican foods, but rather eating more classically American food that changes perceptions. Furthermore, many of the Hispanic customers I talked to reported that it was actively

participating in American life—schools, sports, elections, and other such normative events—that made them perceive themselves as more “used to” the American culture.

8.3.3: Research Question 3: Are Americans who eat Mexican American food more accepting of Mexicans and Mexican Americans?

The same methodological limitations apply to this research question as they did to the second. In this case, I would say that there was an obvious trend that those who ate more Mexican food reported that they were more understanding and knowledgeable of Mexican Americans and Mexican culture. However, as I have stressed throughout the analysis, I believe that any changes are due less to the act of consumption, and more to the interactions that come with it. A person who has no social interactions with Mexicans or Mexican Americans, but who eats an Old El Paso Taco Dinner Kit they bought from Kroger once a week will not magically become more culturally incorporated with Hispanics.

However, as the two models created in Chapter 7 (and presented as Equations 5 and 6) show, there is certainly a correlation between knowledge of a cuisine and how often a person eats it and how strongly a person desires it. Therefore, while I do not have strong evidence that the food itself brings people together, the knowledge that one gains through culinary and cultural experiences tend to bring non-Hispanics’ worldviews (at least in this one domain) closer with their Hispanic counterparts.

8.4: Methodological Limitations and Future Research

As I mentioned above, the funding I received to carry out this project was not sufficient to complete the explanatory phase. Given extra resources, I would have run a survey that included questions relating to the two models presented in Chapter 7 with scales of Acculturation, such as the ARSMA-II and the SMAS (Cueller, et al. 1995; Stephenson 2000), on a large random sample of the populations of both study areas. These data could then quantitatively test the second and third research questions. I would also suggest that future studies apply such a survey to a countrywide sample, in order to better determine the impacts geography and immigration histories have on intercultural incorporation.

A second methodological issue to these findings is the sample population used, particularly in the analysis of the data in Chapter 7. While I feel that the ethnic make-up of the sample population, which heavily favored non-Hispanics and Anglos over Hispanics and other non-Hispanic groups, was appropriate for this study; a future study that uses a similar survey instrument and pile-sort activity as mine could be done with a larger and more randomly selected sample. Doing so would allow for variations within the rather cumbersome group of “non-Hispanics” to become apparent and allow for a more precise resolution of the Hispanic cognitive archetype.

A third future study I suggest would look do the same methodology I have completed in a city with an extremely small or new (within the last 5 years) Mexican immigrant population. Not only would this provide a third set of data to compare the above results to, but if it is a city that is just starting to experience a wave of Hispanic immigration, then it would also allow for the opportunity to see some of the early

negotiation strategies—like menu and recipe adaptation—in action. Candidate cities include Philadelphia, the Washington-Baltimore conglomeration, and Charlotte. Along these lines, it would also be interesting to compare rural and urban areas. In this way, perhaps Philadelphia is the ideal candidate as some of its agricultural exurbs and related rural areas (such as Kennett Square) have been long-time magnets for immigrants, while the more urban and suburban areas are just experiencing Hispanic immigration presently.

8.5: Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to investigate how culinary acculturation operates on Mexican and Mexican American cuisine in the American South, and what impacts it may have on cultural incorporation between Hispanics and non-Hispanics. I have shown, through both qualitative and quantitative data and analysis that culinary acculturation—the process by which two groups' views and understandings of their cuisines come together—is acting on Mexican cuisine and its consumers in the Atlanta, Georgia and Houston, Texas metropolitan areas. I have furthermore adjusted an existing model of culinary experiences and tourism to show the pathway that cuisines, dishes, and flavors go through during this process. I have proposed two logarithmic models that, combined with appropriate scales of acculturation, could definitively show whether or not an individual's view of a cultural group is related to their understanding of that group's cuisine.

People obtain their knowledge about cuisines such as Mexican from both their pop cultural environment and their own personal experiences. As those experiences grow in number and frequency -- and people gain more intercultural interactions -- their views on

the cuisine change. Undoubtedly, as a person eats Mexican food at Mexican restaurants, over time her breadth and depth of culinary knowledge increases. As this happens, she is able to treat the experiences—even with foods and flavors they originally considered unpalatable—more and more as normative events. When eating a dish becomes normative, that person will consider that part of her personal cuisine. Following the argument that people use cuisines to differentiate ethnicities, and that other ethnicities eat food separate from ones' own, the logical conclusion of culinary acculturation is clear. As a food transitions from others' to one's own, the ethnic distinctions and barriers between that person and the other fade as well: Therefore, culinary acculturation *is* cultural incorporation.

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Appendix A: Atlanta's Mexican Restaurants

#	Name	City	ZIP	Clientel	Combos.	Fin de Sem.	Décor	Soup	Expl	Name	Sig	Desc
218	Ambra	Atlanta	30318	1	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	0
325	Amigo's Mexican Restaurant	Duluth	30096	2	1	0	2	3	3	7	0	0
398	Antigua Tex Mex	Suwanee	30024	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
239	Baja Bistro	Atlanta	30326	1	1	0	2	3	3	4	0	2
34	Billy Goat's Cantina	Decatur	30030	1	1	0	1	2	3	4	9	4
111	Border Mexican Restaurant	Smyrna	30080	1	1	0	1	2	2	2	4	0
433	Cancun Seafood	Smyrna	30080	4	0	0	3	1	2	2	1	1
214	Cantina La Casita	Atlanta	30316	1	1	0	2	0	2	4	0	5
196	Caramba Cafe	Atlanta	30306	2	1	0	2	0	2	1	4	0
335	Carlitos Mexican Restaurant	Grayson	30017	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	12	0
293	Carnita's Michocan	Atlanta	30345	5	0	0	2	1	1	3	1	1
302	Casa De Quesadilla	Atlanta	30350	5	0	0	3	1	1	6	0	4
61	Cazadores Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30062	3	1	0	2	2	2	6	7	0
76	Cazadores Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30066	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
97	Ceviche Taqueria & Margarita Bar	Roswell	30075	1	0	1	3	2	3	1	1	1
399	Cheeky Taqueria	Suwanee	30024	1	1	1	1	3	3	6	3	0
338	Chonas Mexican Grill	Lawrenceville	30043	3	1	0	2	2	3	2	3	0
15	Cinco Mexican Cantina	Alpharetta	30005	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	2	1
400	Cinco Mexican Cantina	Suwanee	30024	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	4	1
336	Corralejo Mexican Grill & Bar	Grayson	30017	2	1	0	2	3	3	1	4	1
384	Costa Del Sol	Norcross	30093	4	0	0	3	1	2	1	8	1
427	Coyote's Mexican Grill	Decatur	30047	2	1	0	2	2	2	4	0	0
410	Cuernavaca's Grill and Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30045	3	1	0	2	2	3	2	2	1
82	Don Chilito's Mexican Cuisine	Marietta	30067	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	1	1
347	Don Jose Taqueria y Mariqueria Mexican Grille	Lawrenceville	30044	4	0	0	2	1	3	3	0	0
187	Don Juan Mexican Cantina	Atlanta	30303	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	3	1
248	Don Pablos Mexican Grill & Bar	Atlanta	30329	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	4	1
267	Don Pablos Mexican Grill & Bar	Atlanta	30339	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	8	1
362	Don Pedro Restaurant	Norcross	30071	5	1	1	2	2	2	3	8	1
269	Don Taco	Atlanta	30340	5	0	0	3	0	2	3	1	0
322	Dos Copas	Dacula	30019	1	1	0	2	1	2	6	0	0
220	El Amigo Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30318	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	0	0
385	El Amigo Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30093	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
1	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1

Appendix A: Atlanta's Mexican Restaurants

2	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
27	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30022	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
190	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30305	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
197	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30306	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
205	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30309	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
241	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30328	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
264	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30338	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
339	El Azteca Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30043	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
67	El Barco Mexican Restaurant and Marisqueria	Marietta	30064	4	0	1	2	1	3	1	1	1
356	El Burrito Loco Grill Cafe	Liburn	30047	4	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	1
342	El Esfoguero Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30044	4	0	0	2	2	3	6	12	0
176	El Gallo de Oro Restaurant y Taqueria	Riverdale	30274	5	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1
363	El Indio Restaurant Y Taqueria	Norcross	30071	4	0	0	3	1	1	1	13	0
98	El Jinete Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30075	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	13	0
395	El Jinete Mexican Restaurant	Snellville	30039	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
435	El Jinete Mexican Restaurant	Dacula	30019	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
201	El Myr	Atlanta	30307	3	1	0	3	2	3	1	1	1
62	El Nopal Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30062	2	1	1	2	3	3	1	0	0
144	El Nopal Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30144	2	1	1	2	3	3	6	1	1
300	El Nopal Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30349	2	1	1	2	0	1	6	1	1
428	El Nopal Mexican Restaurant	College Park	30349	1	1	1	2	0	1	6	1	1
429	El Nopal Mexican Restaurant	Riverdale	30274	1	1	1	2	0	1	6	1	1
113	El Norteno Mexican Grill	Smyrna	30080	5	0	0	2	2	2	6	1	1
276	El Norteno Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30341	5	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1
386	El Norteno Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30093	5	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
415	El Pastor Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30340	5	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	1
16	El Porton Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30005	2	1	0	2	2	2	6	1	1
99	El Porton Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30075	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
127	El Porton Mexican Restaurant	Duluth	30097	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
423	El Porton Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30076	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
28	El Potillo Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30022	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
424	El Potillo Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30022	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
249	El Potro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30329	4	0	1	3	0	2	1	1	1
312	El Potro Mexican Restaurant	Buford	30518	3	1	0	2	0	2	1	1	1
55	El Ranchero Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30060	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1

Appendix A: Atlanta's Mexican Restaurants

165 El Rancho Mexican Restaurant	Jonesboro	30236	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
301 El Rancho Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30349	4	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
416 El Rey del Tacos	Doraville	30340	5	0	0	3	3	1	1	1	1
417 El Rey del Tacos	Lawrenceville	30045	5	0	0	3	3	1	6	0	0
77 El Rodeo Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30066	4	0	0	2	1	2	6	0	0
156 El Rodeo Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30152	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	1	1
351 El Rodeo Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30045	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
114 El Taco Veloz	Smyrna	30080	4	0	1	3	0	2	1	1	1
271 El Taco Veloz	Atlanta	30340	4	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
277 El Taco Veloz	Atlanta	30341	4	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
288 El Taco Veloz	Atlanta	30342	4	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
364 El Taco Veloz	Norcross	30071	4	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
56 El Tejanito Mexican Grill	Marietta	30060	4	0	0	2	1	3	6	0	0
107 El Tejar	Roswell	30076	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
128 El Tenampa Mexican Restaurant	Duluth	30097	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	2	1
36 El Tesoro	Decatur	30030	3	1	0	2	3	1	1	0	0
100 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30075	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	0	0
126 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Stone Mountair	30087	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	0	0
253 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30329	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
278 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30341	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
328 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Duluth	30096	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
376 El Torero Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30092	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
44 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Decatur	30033	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
221 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30318	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
242 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30328	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
279 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30341	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
295 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30345	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
296 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30345	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
407 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30062	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
408 El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30068	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
365 El Vaquero Mexican Grill	Norcross	30071	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
21 El Velero Seafood And Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30008	5	0	0	3	1	3	1	1	1
101 El Zorrito Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30075	3	0	1	2	2	3	1	2	1
4 Fajita Grill	Alpharetta	30004	2	1	0	3	2	3	1	1	1
323 Fernando's Mexican Restaurant	Dacula	30019	1	0	0	2	3	3	1	1	1

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366	Fonda San Carlos	Norcross	30071	5	0	1	1	1	3	6	2	0
108	Fresh Mexi-Cali Grill	Roswell	30076	1	1	0	2	0	1	3	1	1
409	Fresh Mexi-Cali Grill	Sandy Springs	30328	1	1	0	2	0	1	4	11	0
204	Frogs Cantina	Atlanta	30308	1	1	0	2	0	3	2	2	3
5	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Alpharetta	30004	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	2	3
29	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Alpharetta	30022	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	0
86	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Marietta	30067	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
129	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Duluth	30097	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
344	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Lawrenceville	30044	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
377	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Norcross	30092	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
388	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Norcross	30093	2	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
389	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Norcross	30093	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
397	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Snellville	30039	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
402	Frontera Mex-Mex Grill	Suwanee	30024	2	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	3
265	Garcia's Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30338	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	2	3
343	Hidalgo's Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30044	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	3
436	Hidalgo's Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30064	2	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1
188	Jalapeno Charlies	Atlanta	30303	1	1	0	2	0	3	4	1	1
191	Jalisco Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30305	1	1	0	2	3	1	4	1	1
206	Joeys Mexican Grill	Atlanta	30309	1	1	0	2	2	2	6	0	0
306	Juanito's Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30354	1	1	0	2	2	1	4	0	0
57	Julia's Taqueria	Marietta	30060	5	0	0	3	0	2	2	2	1
130	La Bamba Mexican Bar And Grill	Acworth	30101	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	1	1
280	La Botana Tex-Mex Restaurant	Atlanta	30341	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	3	0
345	La Botana Tex-Mex Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30044	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	8	1
359	La Botana Tex-Mex Restaurant	Liburn	30047	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	2
70	La Cabana Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30064	3	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	2
313	La Cazuela Mexican Restaurants	Buford	30518	3	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	2
326	La Cazuela Mexican Restaurants	Duluth	30096	3	1	0	1	3	3	1	0	0
340	La Cazuela Mexican Restaurants	Lawrenceville	30043	3	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
354	La Cazuela Mexican Restaurants	Liburn	30047	3	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
403	La Cazuela Mexican Restaurants	Suwanee	30024	3	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
131	La Cocina Mexican Restaurant	Acworth	30101	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
431	La Costa Tacos y Mariscos	Forest Park	30297	4	0	0	3	3	3	1	1	1
163	La Fiesta Mexican Restaurant	Fairburn	30213	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1

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178	La Fiesta Mexican Restaurant	Union City	30291	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	3	5
260	La Fiesta Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30337	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
192	La Fonda Latina	Atlanta	30305	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1
202	La Fonda Latina	Atlanta	30307	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1
421	La Fonda Latina	Marietta	30062	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	11	6
422	La Fonda Latina	Atlanta	30306	3	1	1	1	3	2	1	11	6
390	La Fuente Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30093	3	1	0	2	1	3	1	11	6
281	La Kermex	Atlanta	30341	5	0	0	3	2	1	1	11	6
167	La Oaxaquena Taqueria	Jonesboro	30236	3	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1
6	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0
7	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	2	1	0	1	1	3	4	3	4
71	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30064	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	1	1
72	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30064	2	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
87	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30067	2	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
132	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Acworth	30101	2	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
222	La Parrilla Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30318	2	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
30	La Paz	Alpharetta	30022	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
268	La Paz	Atlanta	30339	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
297	La Rumba Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30345	4	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0
358	La Sabrosita Mexican Restaurant	Liburn	30047	2	0	0	1	2	3	1	0	0
161	La Salsa Mexican Restaurant	Austell	30168	1	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
157	Laredo's Mexican Bar & Grill	Kennesaw	30152	1	1	0	1	3	1	1	1	1
78	Laredo's Mexican Bar & Grill	Marietta	30066	1	1	0	1	3	1	6	1	1
391	Las Brisas	Norcross	30093	5	0	0	3	1	1	4	8	1
51	Las Colinas Mexican Restaurant	Lithonia	30058	1	1	0	2	0	1	4	8	1
180	Las Isabeles Mexican Restaurant and Taqueria	Forest Park	30297	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	0
233	Las Margaritas Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30324	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
437	Las Margaritas Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
149	Las Palmas Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30144	1	1	0	2	2	3	6	0	0
434	Las Palmas Mexican Restaurant	Austell	30106	1	1	0	2	2	3	6	0	0
181	Las Tortas Locas	Forest Park	30297	5	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	1
246	Las Tortas Locas	Atlanta	30328	5	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	1
282	Las Tortas Locas	Atlanta	30341	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
379	Las Tortas Locas	Norcross	30092	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
412	Las Tortas Locas	Norcross	30093	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0

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413	Las Tortas Locas	Marietta	30060	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
414	Las Tortas Locas	Lawrenceville	30045	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
425	Little Mexico	Snellville	30078	2	1	0	2	2	3	6	0	0
64	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30062	2	1	0	2	2	3	6	0	0
261	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30337	2	1	0	2	2	3	2	0	0
310	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Stone Mountain	30083	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
380	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30092	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
45	Los Bravos Mexican Restaurant	Decatur	30033	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
65	Los Bravos Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30062	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
89	Los Bravos Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30067	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
117	Los Bravos Mexican Restaurant	Smyrna	30080	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
228	Los Bravos Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30319	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
158	Los Cabos Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30152	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
37	Los Loros Mexican Restaurant	Decatur	30030	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
406	Los Portales	Powder Spring	30127	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
283	Los Primos Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30341	5	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
303	Los Rancheros Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30350	2	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	0
59	Los Reyes Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30060	1	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	1
150	Los Reyes Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30144	3	0	1	2	0	2	1	1	1
118	Lupita's Mexican Restaurant	Smyrna	30080	5	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
369	Lupita's Mexican Restaurant	Norcross	30071	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
418	Lupita's Mexican Restaurant	Suwanee	30024	4	1	1	2	2	3	3	1	1
189	Mama Ninfa's	Atlanta	30303	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
8	Mama's Taqueria	Alpharetta	30004	4	0	0	3	2	2	3	1	1
162	Margarita's Mexican Cantina	Austell	30168	2	0	0	1	2	3	3	0	0
166	Marisqueria El Tahur	Jonesboro	30236	4	0	0	2	1	2	2	3	0
304	Marquitos Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30350	2	1	0	2	2	2	6	4	1
38	Matador Mexican Restaurant	Decatur	30030	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
39	Maui Tacos	Decatur	30030	1	0	0	3	0	1	2	1	1
381	Maui Tacos	Norcross	30092	1	1	0	3	0	1	5	0	0
314	Mazatlan	Buford	30518	1	1	1	2	3	3	5	0	0
370	MEGA Taco	Norcross	30071	5	0	0	3	3	2	4	0	0
46	Mexico City Gourmet	Decatur	30033	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	0	0
23	Mexico Lindo	Marietta	30008	1	1	0	2	2	2	5	0	0
119	Mexico Lindo	Smyrna	30080	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	0	0

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136	Mexico Lindo	Mableton	30126	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	0	0
133	Mexico Tipico Mexican Restaurant	Acworth	30101	2	1	0	3	2	3	1	0	0
159	Mexico Tipico Mexican Restaurant	Kennesaw	30152	2	1	0	3	2	3	1	1	1
315	Mexico Tipico Restaurant	Buford	30518	4	0	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
324	Mi Mexico Mexican Grill	Duluth	30096	3	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	1
430	Mi Mexico Taqueria and Restaurante	Morrow	30260	5	0	0	2	1	2	1	2	1
25	Mi Rancho Mexican and Salvadorian Restaurant	Marietta	30008	5	1	1	2	2	1	1	13	0
92	Mi Rancho Mexican and Salvadorian Restaurant	Marietta	30067	5	1	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
24	Mi Taco Mexican Taqueria	Marietta	30008	5	0	0	3	1	1	1	0	0
432	Mi Taco Mexican Taqueria	Tucker	30084	5	0	0	3	1	1	6	3	1
31	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30022	2	1	0	2	3	3	6	3	1
109	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Roswell	30076	1	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	1
170	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Jonesboro	30236	1	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	1
341	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30043	2	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	1
348	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Lawrenceville	30044	3	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	1
405	Monterrey Mexican Restaurant	Suwanee	30024	2	1	0	2	3	3	4	1	1
213	No Mas Cantina	Atlanta	30313	1	0	0	2	3	2	4	1	1
223	Nuevo Laredo Cantina	Atlanta	30318	2	0	0	1	1	3	1	4	0
9	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Alpharetta	30004	1	1	0	1	2	3	4	4	4
151	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Kennesaw	30144	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
171	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Jonesboro	30236	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
240	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Atlanta	30326	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
262	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Atlanta	30337	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
319	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Buford	30519	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
331	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Duluth	30096	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	4	1
137	Paco's Mexican Restaurant	Mableton	30126	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	4	1
93	Pappasitos Cantina	Marietta	30067	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	1	1
426	Poblano's Mexican Grill	Lawrenceville	30045	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	4	0
235	Pancho's Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30324	3	1	0	2	2	2	6	2	1
198	Pozole	Atlanta	30306	4	0	1	1	3	2	3	1	1
183	Pupuseria & Taqueria La International	Forest Park	30297	4	0	0	3	1	1	6	0	0
10	Pure Taqueria	Alpharetta	30004	2	0	0	3	2	3	1	6	0
40	Raging Burrito	Decatur	30030	1	0	0	3	0	3	2	3	0
236	Raging Burrito	Atlanta	30324	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
79	Rancho Grande Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30066	1	1	0	2	2	3	6	0	0

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80 Rancho Grande Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30066	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	0	0
349 Restaurant Mexico Salvadoreno Genesis	Lawrenceville	30044	5	0	0	3	1	2	1	0	0
134 Ricardo's Mexican Restaurant	Acworth	30101	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	7
195 Rio Grande Catina Restaurant	Atlanta	30305	3	1	0	1	3	2	3	1	1
184 Rio Grande Mexican Restaurant y Marisqueria	Forest Park	30297	5	0	0	3	1	3	4	1	0
32 Rojo Taqueria	Alpharetta	30022	1	0	0	2	2	1	4	1	0
309 Rosa Mexicano	Atlanta	30318	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	3	0
203 Sabroso	Atlanta	30307	1	1	1	3	2	3	1	0	1
199 SALA	Atlanta	30306	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	0	0
224 Salsa	Atlanta	30318	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	0	0
439 Sangria's Mexican Café	Tucker	30084	3	1	1	1	2	2	6	0	0
411 Si Señor Taqueria	Atlanta	30360	5	0	0	3	0	2	6	12	1
257 Susis Taco Grill	Atlanta	30331	2	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	0
173 Taco Cabana	Morrow	30260	3	1	0	3	0	2	6	2	0
237 Taco Cabana	Atlanta	30324	3	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
350 Taco Depot	Lawrenceville	30044	4	0	0	3	2	3	6	4	0
102 Taco Fiesta	Roswell	30075	5	0	0	3	2	2	6	0	0
74 Taco Loco Mexican Grill	Marietta	30064	5	1	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
104 Taco Prisa	Roswell	30075	5	0	0	3	2	1	6	0	0
60 Tacos Al Carbon	Marietta	30060	5	0	0	3	0	1	6	0	0
13 Tampico Mexican Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	3	1	0	1	2	3	6	0	0
229 Taqueria Acapulco	Atlanta	30324	4	0	0	2	1	1	4	1	0
41 Taqueria del Sol	Decatur	30030	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0
200 Taqueria Del Sol	Atlanta	30306	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0
217 Taqueria del Sol	Atlanta	30317	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0
225 Taqueria Del Sol	Atlanta	30318	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0
238 Taqueria del Sol	Atlanta	30324	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	3	0
285 Taqueria El Asadero	Atlanta	30341	4	0	0	3	1	1	1	3	0
49 Taqueria El Vecino	Decatur	30033	1	0	0	2	2	3	1	3	0
373 Taqueria Hudalgo	Norcross	30071	5	0	0	2	1	2	4	3	0
374 Taqueria Hudalgo	Norcross	30071	5	0	0	2	1	2	4	3	0
287 Taqueria Ixtapa	Atlanta	30341	1	0	0	2	1	1	4	3	0
334 Taqueria La Nortena 2	Duluth	30096	4	0	0	3	0	2	1	3	0
58 Taqueria las Colinas	Marietta	30060	4	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	0
346 Taqueria Los Hermanos	Lawrenceville	30044	3	0	0	3	2	2	1	3	0

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360	Taqueria Los Hermanos	Liburn	30047	2	1	0	3	2	2	1	3	0
185	Taqueria Los Paisanos Mexican Restaurant	Forest Park	30297	4	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	1
94	Taqueria Mi Pueblito	Marietta	30067	5	0	0	3	1	1	1	3	0
333	Taqueria Vallarta	Duluth	30096	5	0	0	3	1	1	4	3	0
174	Taquitos Mexican Restaurant	Palmetto	30268	2	0	1	2	2	2	6	1	1
18	Tarahumata Mexican Grill	Alpharetta	30005	2	1	0	2	3	3	1	2	1
289	Taxco Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30342	2	1	0	2	3	2	4	0	0
50	Tierra	Decatur	30033	1	0	0	1	2	2	1	0	0
19	Tijuana Joe's Mexican Cantina	Alpharetta	30005	1	1	0	1	3	3	7	4	0
96	Tijuana Joe's Mexican Cantina	Marietta	30068	1	1	0	1	3	3	7	4	1
105	Tijuana Joe's Mexican Cantina	Roswell	30075	1	1	0	1	3	3	7	4	0
186	Tijuana Joe's Mexican Cantina	Forest Park	30297	1	1	0	1	3	3	7	4	0
14	Tocayos Mex Restaurant	Alpharetta	30004	3	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
110	Twisted Taco	Roswell	30076	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
154	Twisted Taco	Kennesaw	30144	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
419	Twisted Taco	Atlanta	30346	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
420	Twisted Taco	Atlanta	30309	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
209	Uncle Julio's Casa Grande	Atlanta	30309	1	1	0	2	2	1	3	7	0
383	Vallarta Mexican Grill	Norcross	30092	2	1	0	2	0	3	4	2	1
75	Viva Mexico Mexican Restaurant	Marietta	30064	2	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
141	Viva Mexico Mexican Restaurant	Powder Spring	30127	2	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
438	Wild Taco	Lawrenceville	30044	2	1	0	3	0	1	6	0	0
375	Zapata	Norcross	30071	2	0	1	1	3	3	3	0	0
42	Zocalo	Decatur	30030	1	0	1	1	3	3	1	0	0
210	Zocalo Mexican Restaurant	Atlanta	30309	2	0	1	1	3	3	1	1	1
212	Zocalo Taqueria	Atlanta	30312	2	1	0	1	0	3	1	3	0

Appendix B: Houston's Mexican Restaurants

#	Name	City	ZIP	Clientel	Combo	Fin	c	Décor	Soup	Expl	Name	Sig	Des
1	Victor's Casa Garcia Mexican Restaurant	Katy	77449	2	1	0	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
2	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77520	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
4	El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77520	3	1	0	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
5	El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77520	3	1	0	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
10	Ricardos Mexican Grill	Baytown	77520	4	0	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1
12	Taqueria Ameca	Baytown	77520	4	0	0	3	0	2	2	6	0	0
13	Taqueria Oasis	Baytown	77520	4	0	1	3	2	2	2	1	3	0
14	Taqueria Rositas	Baytown	77520	4	0	0	2	2	2	1	3	3	0
15	Taqueria Sahvayo	Baytown	77520	5	0	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	0
16	Taqueria Tapitia	Baytown	77520	4	0	1	3	1	2	2	1	3	0
17	Taqueria Y Restaurant el Sol de Mexico	Baytown	77520	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	0
20	Bravos Mexican Restraunt	Baytown	77521	3	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
22	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77521	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1	1
24	El Toro Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77521	3	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1	1
26	Luna's Mexican Restaurant	Baytown	77521	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	3	1	1
27	Taqueria Ricardos	Baytown	77521	5	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	0
28	Tortuga Mexican Kitchen	Baytown	77521	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	15	1
29	Armenta's Mexican Restaurant	Channelview	77530	2	1	0	2	1	2	2	3	1	1
30	Best Tacos Mexican and American Food	Channelview	77530	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	6	0	0
31	El Tejano Mexican Restaurant	Channelview	77530	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
32	Elsa's Taqueria	Channelview	77530	5	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	3	0
33	Fajitas Taqueria	Channelview	77530	3	1	1	3	1	1	3	6	3	0
37	Hectors Restaurant	Crosby	77532	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	3	1	0
38	Pesos Mexican Cafe	Crosby	77532	2	1	0	2	0	2	2	1	12	1
39	Alicia's Mexican Grille	Cypress	77429	2	1	0	2	1	3	3	3	2	1
40	Amalia Mexican Grill	Cypress	77429	1	0	0	1	3	2	2	3	2	1
41	Capulcos Mexican Cafe	Cypress	77429	1	1	0	1	1	3	4	4	12	1
42	La Hacienda Mexican Restaurant	Cypress	77429	2	1	0	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
44	La Maria Mexican Restaurant	Cypress	77429	2	1	0	2	2	3	3	1	1	1
45	On The Border Mexican Grill & Cantina	Cypress	77429	1	1	0	1	2	3	3	2	2	1
48	Meson 1910 Mexican Cuisine	Cypress	77433	2	0	0	1	3	3	3	6	4	1
49	Taco De Oro	Cypress	77433	4	1	1	3	0	1	1	6	0	0
50	Las Hadas Mexican Restaurant Inc	Deer Park	77536	2	1	0	2	2	3	3	1	1	1
52	Taqueria El Taco De Ojo Y Mas.	Galena Park	77547	3	0	0	3	2	3	3	1	3	0

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53	Taqueria La Diferencia	Galena Park	77547	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
54	El Rio Mexican Restaurant	Highlands	77562	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
55	Joses Mexican Restaurant	Highlands	77562	3	1	0	2	0	2	3	1	1
57	Ciscos Mexican Restaurant & Deli	Houston	77066	3	0	0	3	0	2	2	13	1
60	Manuels Mexican Restaurant & Taqueria	Houston	77041	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	1
61	Pancho's Mexican Buffet	Houston	77034	3	0	1	3	2	1	3	18	1
66	Cabo The Original Mix-Mex Gril	Houston	77002	1	1	0	1	2	1	4	2	3
67	Cyclone Anaya's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77002	3	1	1	2	3	3	3	15	1
70	Habanero Blue	Houston	77002	1	1	0	1	3	3	6	0	0
76	Macaria's Cocina Mexicana	Houston	77002	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	0	1
79	Ninfa's Express	Houston	77002	1	0	0	3	0	1	3	0	0
81	Taco Nation	Houston	77002	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
82	Taco Taco	Houston	77002	1	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
83	Tacos A GO GO	Houston	77002	1	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
85	Alamo Tamale & Taco	Houston	77003	3	0	0	3	0	2	4	0	0
87	Brothers Taco House	Houston	77003	3	1	0	3	0	2	2	14	0
88	Dona Maria	Houston	77003	3	0	1	2	2	3	3	0	0
89	Merida Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77003	4	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
92	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77003	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
93	Villa Arcos	Houston	77003	3	0	1	1	1	3	1	0	0
94	Spanish Village	Houston	77004	2	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	0
96	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77005	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
99	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77006	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
100	Bocados Restaurant	Houston	77006	1	0	1	2	3	3	1	0	0
103	Chapultepec Lupita	Houston	77006	4	1	1	1	1	2	4	0	0
104	El Paraiso Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77006	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
105	El Patio Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77006	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
106	El Pueblito Place	Houston	77006	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	16	0
108	Maria Selma Restaurant	Houston	77006	3	0	0	2	3	2	3	1	0
113	El Rey Cuban and Mexican Taqueria	Houston	77007	3	1	0	3	2	3	1	3	1
114	Laredo Taqueria	Houston	77007	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	4
116	Los Cucos Mexican Cafe	Houston	77007	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
117	Los Dos Amigos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77007	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
119	Molina's Cantina	Houston	77007	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	4	0
120	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77007	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0

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122	Alma Latina Taqueria y Ostioneria	Houston	77008	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	6
123	Border Stop	Houston	77008	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	0	0
125	La Carreta Restaurant	Houston	77008	3	1	1	2	0	2	1	1	0
127	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77008	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
129	Tecate Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77008	4	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1
131	Tony's Mexican Restaurant and Cantina	Houston	77008	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
134	Casa Grande Mexican Restrnt	Houston	77009	3	0	0	2	1	1	1	1	1
136	Doneraki Carne Asadas	Houston	77009	4	1	1	3	3	3	7	1	0
137	El Taquito Rico	Houston	77009	5	0	1	2	0	1	6	0	0
139	Gorditas Aguascalientes	Houston	77009	4	0	1	3	1	1	4	0	4
142	Laredo Taqueria	Houston	77009	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	4
143	Las Llardas Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Houston	77009	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	1	1
144	Ostioneria 7 Mares	Houston	77009	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	5	0
147	Rico's Triangle Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77009	4	0	0	1	1	2	3	1	1
148	Spanish Flower Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77009	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
149	Taqueria Abasolo	Houston	77009	5	0	1	3	1	1	1	3	0
150	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77009	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
153	Taqueria Tepatitlán	Houston	77009	4	0	1	2	3	2	4	3	4
154	Teotihuacan Mexican Cafe	Houston	77009	3	1	0	1	3	3	4	12	1
155	Teotihuacan Mexican Cafe	Houston	77009	3	1	0	1	3	3	4	12	1
156	Ninfa's At The Park	Houston	77010	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	0	0
157	Taqueria El Alteño	Houston	77011	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	4
161	Mambo Parrilla	Houston	77011	3	0	1	1	2	2	1	2	0
162	Mi Cocina Mexicana	Houston	77011	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	1
163	Original Ninfas on Navigation	Houston	77011	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	0	0
165	La Silla Pollos Asados	Houston	77011	3	0	1	3	2	1	6	0	8
166	Super Torta Acapulco	Houston	77011	4	0	1	3	0	1	4	0	4
169	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77011	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
171	Taqueria y Restaurant el Sol de Mexico	Houston	77011	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	0
173	Tortilleria Zacatecas	Houston	77011	5	0	1	3	0	2	4	22	4
174	Don Carlos Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77012	3	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1
179	Taqueria Allende	Houston	77012	4	1	0	3	1	2	1	3	0
181	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77012	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
182	Morales Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77012	3	0	1	1	1	2	4	3	4
184	Pupuseria Maldonado	Houston	77013	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	6	0

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185	Taqueria La Cebollita	Houston	77013	5	0	1	2	1	2	6	3	0
187	El Carbonero Restaurant Y Pasteleria	Houston	77014	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	13	0
188	El Coral	Houston	77014	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0
189	El Ferri Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Houston	77014	4	0	0	3	1	2	1	2	0
190	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77015	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
191	Doña Lupe Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77015	2	1	0	1	0	3	3	1	1
192	El Imperial Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77015	2	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	1
195	Las Palomas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77015	3	1	0	2	2	1	1	1	1
196	Comala Mexican Café	Houston	77015	4	0	1	2	1	1	1	12	1
197	Monterey's Little Mexico	Houston	77015	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
198	Taco Cabana	Houston	77015	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
199	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77015	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
200	Taqueria el Regio	Houston	77015	5	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
202	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Food	Houston	77015	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
203	Taqueria Refresqueria Los Reyes	Houston	77015	3	0	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
205	Taqueria Tepatitlán	Houston	77015	3	0	1	3	3	2	4	3	4
206	Tito's Taco Shop	Houston	77015	4	0	1	3	0	2	3	21	0
207	Viva Jalisco Taqueria Restaurant	Houston	77015	4	0	0	2	1	3	4	0	4
208	Doña Chela Restaurant	Houston	77017	3	0	0	2	1	2	3	1	0
210	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77017	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
211	Ostioneria Villa Del Sol.	Houston	77017	5	0	0	2	1	1	1	5	0
212	Taco Cabana	Houston	77017	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
213	Tacos D Mundo	Houston	77017	4	0	1	3	1	1	6	0	0
214	Tamales Dona Tere	Houston	77017	4	0	0	2	0	3	3	0	0
216	Taqueria Del Sol.	Houston	77017	3	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
221	Don Teo's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77018	2	1	0	2	0	2	3	1	1
222	El Rey Taqueria	Houston	77018	3	1	0	3	2	3	1	3	1
223	El Tapatio Taqueria	Houston	77018	4	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	0
224	Juanita's Mexican Restaraunt and Cantin	Houston	77018	2	1	0	1	2	2	3	4	1
225	Los Dos Hermanos Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77018	3	1	0	2	1	3	1	1	1
226	Mi Sombrero Restaurant	Houston	77018	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
227	Maria's Tacos and More	Houston	77018	5	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	0
228	Lorenzo's El Tiempo Cantina	Houston	77019	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	0
231	Teala's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77019	2	0	0	2	2	3	3	1	1
233	Mucho Mexico Restaurante & Seafood Bar	Houston	77020	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	13	5

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234	Antonio's Mexican Grille	Houston	77020	3	1	1	2	3	2	3	1	1
235	Ostioneria 7 Mares	Houston	77020	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	5	0
239	Taqueria El Altono	Houston	77020	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	4
243	El Taconazo Veracruz	Houston	77022	4	0	1	2	1	1	4	0	4
245	Laredo Taqueria	Houston	77022	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	4
246	Las Fuentes Taqueria	Houston	77022	3	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
247	Mexico Lindo Y Sabroso	Houston	77022	5	0	1	2	1	3	1	0	0
249	Monterey's Little Mexico	Houston	77022	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
250	Pollos Asados El Regio	Houston	77022	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	8
251	Taco Loco	Houston	77022	5	0	1	3	1	2	6	0	0
253	Taqueria 3 Estadios Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77022	4	0	1	1	1	2	1	3	4
257	Taqueria San Miguel	Houston	77022	4	0	1	3	0	1	4	3	4
259	Fiesta Loma Linda Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77023	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
260	Ostioneria Puerto Vallarta	Houston	77023	4	0	1	2	1	3	4	5	4
262	Taqueria Alma Latina	Houston	77023	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	3	6
263	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77023	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
264	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77024	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
265	Cazadores Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Houston	77024	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
267	Escalante's Fine Tex-Mex	Houston	77024	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	1
268	Guadalajara Hacienda Mexican Bar and (	Houston	77024	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	1
270	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77024	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
271	On The Border Mex. Grill and Cafe	Houston	77024	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	2	1
274	Taco Cabana	Houston	77025	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
275	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77025	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
276	Antonio's Mexican Grille	Houston	77025	2	1	0	2	3	2	3	2	1
278	Texas Taco Express	Houston	77026	5	0	0	3	2	3	5	0	2
279	100 Percent Taquito	Houston	77027	3	0	1	3	3	1	7	0	0
280	Escalante's Fine Tex-Mex	Houston	77027	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	1
282	Don Chile Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77029	3	1	0	3	1	2	6	1	1
283	El Club Restaurante	Houston	77029	4	0	0	3	1	2	1	1	0
284	El Puerto Restaurant	Houston	77029	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
286	El Rancho Taqueria	Houston	77029	3	1	0	2	0	3	1	3	0
287	Ostioneria Michoacan 3	Houston	77029	4	0	0	2	1	3	4	5	4
288	Rio Grande Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77029	4	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	1
290	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77029	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0

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291	Taqueria El Alteño	Houston	77029	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	4
292	Chicharrones El Guero	Houston	77029	5	0	1	3			6	0	0
293	Taqueria El Mezcal	Houston	77029	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
294	Taqueria Tepatitlán	Houston	77031	2	0	1	3	3	2	4	3	4
295	Fajita Flats	Houston	77031	2	1	0	3	3	2	6	0	0
296	Los Gallitos Mex. Cafe No 2	Houston	77031	2	0	0	1	2	3	1	12	1
297	Taqueria 100% Michoacana	Houston	77031	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
300	El Mexsal Taqueria	Houston	77032	4	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
303	Taqueria Bejucos	Houston	77032	4	0	1	3	0	1	1	3	0
306	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77034	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
307	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77034	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
308	Casarez Mex. Restaurant	Houston	77034	3	1	1	2	2	3	3	1	1
309	Gringo's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77034	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	15	1
310	Las Haciendas Mexican Bar and Grill	Houston	77034	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	8	1
311	Molina Blanco Restaurant	Houston	77034	3	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	0
312	Gorditas Aguascalientes	Houston	77034	3	0	1	3	1	1	4	0	4
314	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77034	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
315	Taqueria La Jaliciense	Houston	77034	5	0	1	2	2	2	4	3	4
316	La Silla Pollos Asados	Houston	77034	3	0	1	3	2	1	6	0	8
317	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77035	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
319	Taqueria y Restaurante Los Potrillos	Houston	77035	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
320	Mexico Grill	Houston	77035	5	0	1	2	1	2	7	2	1
322	Taco Cabana	Houston	77035	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
324	Tierra Caliente Taqueria Restaurant	Houston	77035	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
326	Teotihuacan Mexican Cafe	Houston	77035	3	1	0	1	3	3	4	12	1
328	Brenda's Taqueria	Houston	77036	4	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	0
329	Dona Tere Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77036	4	0	0	1	0	3	3	1	1
331	Los Ranchito Restaurant	Houston	77036	5	0	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
333	Ostioneria Michoacan 5	Houston	77036	4	0	0	2	1	3	4	5	4
335	Pollos Asados El Regio	Houston	77036	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	8
337	Restaurante Las Hamacas	Houston	77036	5	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
338	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77036	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
339	Taco Cabana	Houston	77036	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
340	Taco's El Maguey	Houston	77036	4	0	1	3	1	2	6	0	0
341	Tamales Dona Tere	Houston	77036	4	0	0	2	0	3	3	0	0

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342	Taqueria Cancun	Houston	77036	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
343	Taqueria El Campesino	Houston	77036	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
344	Taqueria El Herradero	Houston	77036	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
346	Taqueria Eliz	Houston	77036	5	1	1	2	1	1	3	3	0
349	Taqueria Latino	Houston	77036	5	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	6
350	Taqueria Mexico Lindo	Houston	77036	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
351	Taqueria Tuzantla	Houston	77036	5	1	0	3	1	1	1	3	0
352	Taqueria Viva Michoacan	Houston	77036	5	0	0	2	1	2	4	3	4
354	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Houston	77036	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
356	Antojitos La Esperanza Bienvenidos	Houston	77037	4	0	1	3	1	1	6	0	9
357	Casa Linda	Houston	77037	4	0	0	1	1	2	3	7	0
359	Jalisco's Mexican Food	Houston	77037	3	0	1	3	1	2	4	0	1
362	Taco Cabana	Houston	77037	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
363	Tacos Del Julio	Houston	77037	3	0	0	3	1	2	3	0	0
364	Tampico Seafood & Cocina Mexicana	Houston	77037	3	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	1
368	Taqueria Mi Huetamo	Houston	77037	4	0	1	3	1	2	4	3	4
370	Rico's Deliciosa Comida Mexicana	Houston	77038	3	0	1	1	1	1	1	3	0
374	Alma Latina Taqueria y Ostioneria	Houston	77039	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	6
375	Carlos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77039	3	1	0	2	0	2	3	1	1
376	Pollos Asados El Regio	Houston	77039	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	8
377	Rincon Lation Restaurant and Pupuseria	Houston	77039	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	6	6
378	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77039	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
379	Taqueria Cristobal	Houston	77039	5	0	1	3	1	3	4	3	4
380	Restaurant y Taqueria Mexico Muy Quer	Houston	77039	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	1
381	Taquerias Requena	Houston	77039	4	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
382	El Vaquero Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77039	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1
384	Fajita Willie's Café and Cantina	Houston	77040	1	0	0	3	2	3	6	0	0
385	Texas Taco Express	Houston	77040	5	0	0	3	2	3	5	0	2
386	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Houston	77040	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	12	1
388	Natalita's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77040	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
389	Red Onion Mexican Grill	Houston	77040	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	4	0
390	Taco Cabana	Houston	77040	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
391	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77040	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
393	Taqueria Los Altos de Jalisco	Houston	77040	5	0	0	3	1	2	4	3	4
394	Two Amigos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77040	2	1	0	2	2	2	7	0	0

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395	Hacienda San Angel Mexican Grill	Houston	77041	2	1	0	1	2	2	4	2	4
398	Taqueria Mi Lindo Taxco	Houston	77041	4	0	1	2	0	1	4	3	0
399	Rey's Tacos	Houston	77041	3	1	0	3	0	2	1	0	0
400	Taco Cabana	Houston	77041	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
402	Taqueria El Monarca	Houston	77041	3	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
404	Cantina Laredo	Houston	77042	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	4	4
405	El Palenque Mexican Restaurant & Cantina	Houston	77042	2	1	0	1	1	3	4	4	1
407	Santos The Taste Mexico	Houston	77042	1	0	0	1	1	2	7	0	0
410	Manuels Mexican Restaurant & Taqueria	Houston	77044	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1
413	Su Casa Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77045	5	1	1	2	1	2	1	7	0
414	Taqueria Armenta's	Houston	77045	5	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
417	Taco Cabana	Houston	77046	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
419	Los Sabinos	Houston	77049	5	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
421	Tacos Yoli's	Houston	77049	3	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
422	Taqueria De Jalisco	Houston	77053	4	0	0	2	1	1	4	3	4
423	Taqueria y Restaurante Los Potrillos	Houston	77053	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
425	Marcos Mexican Bar & Grill	Houston	77054	2	1	0	1	2	3	3	2	1
426	Taco Cabana	Houston	77054	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
428	Las Rosas Taqueria	Houston	77055	3	0	0	3	0	3	1	3	0
429	La Cocina Taqueria	Houston	77055	5	0	0	2	1	1	1	3	0
430	La Plaza Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77055	3	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
431	Las Locas Fajitas	Houston	77055	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	0	0
432	Otilia's	Houston	77055	3	0	1	2	1	3	3	1	1
435	Tacos Del Julio	Houston	77055	5	0	0	3	1	2	3	0	0
436	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77055	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
438	Taqueria Cancun	Houston	77055	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
443	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77056	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
444	Canyon Cafe	Houston	77056	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	12	0
447	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77056	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
449	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77056	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	1	1
450	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77056	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
451	Taco Cabana	Houston	77056	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
452	Taqueria Tapatitlán	Houston	77056	4	0	1	2	3	2	4	3	4
454	Taco Milagro Restaurant and Beach Bar	Houston	77019	1	0	0	2	2	2	6	0	0
455	Chacho's Mexican Grill	Houston	77057	2	0	0	2	1	3	3	0	0

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456	Cocina De Colima	Houston	77057	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
457	Cyclone Anaya's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77057	3	1	1	1	3	3	3	15	1
459	El Patio Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77057	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
460	Escalante's Fine Tex-Mex	Houston	77057	2	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	1
464	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Houston	77057	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
465	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77057	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
467	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77057	3	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
468	Don Pico's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77058	2	1	1	1	2	1	3	0	0
469	Durango's Mexican Grill	Houston	77058	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0
470	Mom Alone Mexican Grill	Houston	77058	3	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	1
472	Papa Fajitas Cantina	Houston	77058	1	1	0	2	2	3	6	4	0
473	Taco Cabana	Houston	77058	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
475	Taqueria Quintero	Houston	77058	4	0	0	3	2	3	4	3	4
478	El Pollo de Oro Cocina Centro Americana	Houston	77060	4	0	0	3	0	2	6	0	0
479	Luna's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77060	2	1	0	2	2	3	3	1	1
480	Ostioneria Michoacan	Houston	77060	3	1	1	2	1	3	4	5	4
482	Mejico's Mexican Grill	Houston	77060	3	1	1	2	1	2	4	1	1
483	Taqueria El Dorado	Houston	77060	4	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
484	Taqueria Huetamo II	Houston	77060	5	0	1	2	0	1	4	3	4
485	Taqueria Michoacan	Houston	77060	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	3	4
486	Don Carlos Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77061	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
489	Tortilleria El Cercado	Houston	77061	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	22	0
490	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77062	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
491	El Dorado Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77062	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
492	Los Ramirez Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77062	3	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1
494	Doneraki Carne Asadas	Houston	77063	3	1	1	2	3	3	7	1	0
495	Fajita Flats	Houston	77063	2	1	0	3	3	2	6	0	0
497	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77063	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
498	Los Tios Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77063	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
500	Molina's Cantina	Houston	77063	1	1	0	2	2	3	1	4	0
503	Taco Cabana	Houston	77063	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
504	Tacos La Carreta Asaderos	Houston	77063	4	0	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
505	Brenda's Taqueria	Houston	77063	4	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	0
506	Milas, Taqueria Mexico	Houston	77063	4	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
507	Veracruz Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77063	4	1	1	1	1	2	4	1	1

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508	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77064	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
509	Chapala Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77065	2	1	0	1	1	3	6	1	1
510	El Charro Mexican Restaurant and Cantin	Houston	77065	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	1
513	Taco Cabana	Houston	77065	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
515	Los Jaliscos Taqueria y Restaurant	Houston	77067	4	0	1	2	1	2	4	3	0
516	Taqueria A Todo Mexico	Houston	77067	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
517	Taqueria Los Jaliscos Mexican Food	Houston	77067	5	0	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
518	Tex Mex Taqueria	Houston	77067	3	1	1	3	1	3	2	1	2
519	Eva's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77068	3	1	0	1	2	3	3	1	1
520	Alma Latina Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Houston	77069	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	6
521	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77069	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
522	Doneraki Carne Asadas	Houston	77069	3	1	1	2	3	3	7	1	0
523	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77069	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	0
524	Los Reyes Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77069	3	0	0	1	1	3	1	1	1
526	Balderas Tamale Factory	Houston	77070	3	0	1	3	0	1	3	17	0
527	Casa Imperial Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77070	3	1	0	2	2	2	7	7	0
528	Del Pueblo Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77070	1	1	0	2	3	3	1	0	0
531	El Gallo Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77070	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
532	El Palenque Mexican Restaurant & Cantin	Houston	77070	2	1	0	1	1	3	4	4	1
533	Juanita's Mexican Grill	Houston	77070	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
535	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Houston	77070	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
536	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Houston	77070	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	12	1
538	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77070	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
540	Panchita Mex. Cafe	Houston	77070	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	12	1
541	Rodeo Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Houston	77070	2	1	0	2	0	3	1	1	1
543	Taco Plus Mexican Grill	Houston	77070	3	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
545	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77070	2	0	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
547	Viva Jalisco Taqueria Restaurant	Houston	77070	3	1	1	2	1	3	4	1	4
549	Tacos La Balita	Houston	77072	4	0	1	3	1	3	6	0	0
550	Taqueria Cazadores	Houston	77072	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
551	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77072	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
552	Taqueria Serrano's	Houston	77072	4	0	1	3	1	1	1	3	0
554	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77073	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
555	Pancho's Mexican Buffet	Houston	77073	3	0	1	3	2	1	3	18	1
558	Don Carlos Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77074	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1

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559	La Pupusa Rica	Houston	77074	5	0	0	3	0	1	6	0	0
560	La Roca	Houston	77074	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
562	Michoacana Autentica Cocina Restaurant	Houston	77074	4	0	1	1	1	1	4	1	4
564	Altamirano Restaurant	Houston	77074	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
567	Taqueriay Restaurant La Cierra	Houston	77074	5	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	0
568	Taqueria El Jalisco	Houston	77074	3	0	1	3	1	1	4	3	4
570	Barcenas Mexican Grill	Houston	77075	2	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1
573	Orale Restaurant & Bar	Houston	77075	3	0	0	2	2	2	3	13	0
574	La Silla Pollos Asados	Houston	77075	4	0	1	3	2	1	6	0	8
575	Taqueria El Herradero	Houston	77075	3	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
576	Taqueria Los Jaliscienses	Houston	77075	4	0	1	2	1	3	4	3	4
579	Las Cazuelas	Houston	77076	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	0	0
580	Pancho's Mexican Buffet	Houston	77076	3	0	1	3	2	1	3	18	1
583	Sarita's Taqueria	Houston	77076	5	0	1	3	0	2	3	3	0
584	Ostioneria 7 Mares	Houston	77076	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	5	0
585	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77076	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
587	Taqueria la Fuente	Houston	77076	4	1	0	3	3	1	1	3	0
589	Tostada Regia	Houston	77076	3	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	0
590	Benny's Mexican Cafe & Bar	Houston	77077	2	1	0	2	2	3	3	12	1
591	Cascadas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77077	2	0	0	1	3	3	1	13	0
594	El Matador Bar and Grill	Houston	77077	2	0	0	2	2	3	1	0	0
595	La Fiesta Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77077	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	0
596	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77077	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	1
599	Mexico's Deli	Houston	77077	3	0	0	3	1	3	2	19	0
600	Poblano's Mexican Grill	Houston	77077	3	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	1
601	Sylvia's Enchilada Kitchen	Houston	77077	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	15	0
604	La Fiesta Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77079	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	0
605	La Hacienda Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77079	2	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
606	Los Tios Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77079	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
607	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77079	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
608	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77079	2	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1
609	Taco Cabana	Houston	77079	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
610	El Gallo Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77080	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
611	Juarez Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77080	2	1	0	2	2	2	4	1	1
612	Las Llardas	Houston	77080	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	1	1

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615	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77080	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
616	Taqueria Cancun	Houston	77080	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
617	Taqueria Cancun	Houston	77080	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
618	Taqueria Su Majestad	Houston	77080	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
619	Taqueria Tapatitlán	Houston	77080	4	0	1	2	3	2	4	3	4
621	Pico's Mex-Mex	Houston	77081	1	0	1	2	1	2	3	1	0
623	Gorditas Aguascalientes	Houston	77081	4	0	1	3	1	1	4	0	4
624	Mister Pollo and Grill	Houston	77081	3	0	0	3	1	2	6	2	0
626	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77081	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
627	Taqueria San Luis	Houston	77081	5	1	1	2	0	2	4	3	4
633	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77081	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
634	Taqueria Atotonilco Mexican Food	Houston	77081	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
636	Taqueria y Restaurant el Sol de Mexico	Houston	77081	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	0
637	Taqueria El Alteño	Houston	77081	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	3	4
638	Taqueria El Jalisco	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	1	1	4	3	4
639	Taqueria El Rincon De Jalisco	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	1	1	4	3	4
641	Taqueria La Fogata	Houston	77081	4	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	0
642	Taqueria La Preferida	Houston	77081	5	0	0	2	2	1	1	3	0
643	Taqueria Mi Ilusion	Houston	77081	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
644	Taqueria Mexico	Houston	77081	4	0	1	3	1	1	1	3	0
645	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Houston	77081	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
646	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Houston	77081	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
647	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77081	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
648	Tortilleria & Taqueria La Reyna LLC	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	0	1	1	22	0
649	Luna's Tamales Factory	Houston	77082	4	1	1	3	2	2	3	17	1
650	Taco Cabana	Houston	77082	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
652	El Colonial Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77083	2	1	0	2	3	3	1	1	1
655	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77083	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
657	Tequila Lopez Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77083	1	1	0	2	0	2	3	1	1
658	Taqueria El Jimador	Houston	77084	4	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
660	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77084	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
661	Casa Taqueria	Houston	77084	4	0	0	3	1	1	1	3	0
664	El Vaquero Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77084	3	1	0	2	0	2	1	1	1
665	Fiesta Sombreros Grill & Cantina	Houston	77084	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	4	0
666	Las Palmas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77084	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	1

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667	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Houston	77084	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
668	Los Faroles Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77084	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
671	Petatlan Taqueria 2	Houston	77084	4	0	1	2	0	1	4	3	4
672	Taco Cabana	Houston	77084	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
675	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77084	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
676	Taqueria El Dorado	Houston	77084	4	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
681	El Cerrito Taqueria	Houston	77086	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	3	0
682	Marco Taqueria	Houston	77086	4	1	1	2	0	2	3	3	0
683	Salsas Mexican Cafe	Houston	77086	2	1	1	2	3	2	6	12	1
684	La Rancherita Seafood and Taqueria	Houston	77086	3	1	1	2	1	3	1	3	5
685	Taqueria La Fogata	Houston	77086	4	1	1	2	3	1	1	3	0
686	Taqueria Rodeo de Jalisco	Houston	77086	4	0	1	3	1	2	4	3	4
689	Doneraki Carne Asadas	Houston	77087	3	1	1	2	3	3	7	1	0
694	Taqueria y Restaurante El Potro	Houston	77087	4	1	1	3	1	1	1	3	0
695	Rio Verde Taqueria Y Restaurant	Houston	77087	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
696	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77087	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
699	Taqueria Y Paneria Morelos	Houston	77087	4	0	1	3	0	1	4	3	4
700	Taqueria Mexico	Houston	77087	4	0	1	3	1	1	1	3	0
701	Tio Chava Restaurant	Houston	77087	4	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	0
703	Maya Restaurant	Houston	77088	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
704	Taqueria Rancho El Jalisco	Houston	77088	3	0	1	2	1	3	4	3	4
705	Bravos Mexican Restraunt	Houston	77089	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
706	Taco Cabana	Houston	77089	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
707	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77089	2	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
708	The Casa Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77090	3	1	0	2	2	3	2	7	0
709	Cilantro Cocina Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77090	2	1	0	1	3	3	6	1	1
711	El Imperial Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77090	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
714	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77090	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
715	Mamacita's Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77090	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
718	Taco Cabana	Houston	77090	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
719	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77090	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
722	Don Jose Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77091	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1
723	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77091	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
724	Taqueria y Restaurante La Jalisensia	Houston	77091	4	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
725	Red Onion Mexican Grill	Houston	77092	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	12	0

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726	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77092	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	1
727	Cazadores Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Houston	77092	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
728	Fiesta Tacos	Houston	77092	3	0	1	3	0	2	6	0	0
729	Little Casita Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77092	3	1	1	3	1	2	7	1	1
730	Los Nopalitos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77092	2	0	0	2	0	2	6	0	0
732	Monterey's Little Mexico	Houston	77092	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
733	Pericos Mexican Café and Bar	Houston	77092	3	1	1	2	1	3	1	12	1
735	Texas Taco	Houston	77092	4	0	0	3	2	3	5	0	2
736	Tia Marias Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Houston	77092	2	1	0	1	2	2	3	0	0
737	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77092	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
738	Alma Latina Taqueria y Ostioneria	Houston	77093	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	5	6
739	Crystal Taqueria and Mexican Restaura	Houston	77093	5	0	1	3	1	2	2	13	1
740	El Jalapeno Mexician Cafe	Houston	77093	3	1	0	1	1	3	6	12	1
743	Restaurante El Indio	Houston	77093	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
744	Rosita's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77093	4	0	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
745	Tacos El Portion	Houston	77093	3	0	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
747	El Fresh Taco	Houston	77094	2	1	0	3	0	1	7	0	0
750	Las Lomas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77095	2	1	0	2	0	3	1	1	1
751	Las Palmas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77095	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	1
753	Romero's Las Brazas Mexican Deli	Houston	77095	1	1	1	3	1	2	3	0	0
754	Taco De Oro	Houston	77095	5	1	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
755	El Rancho Mexican Restaurant & Canti	Houston	77096	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	13	1
756	Escalante's Fine Tex-Mex	Houston	77096	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	1
757	Las Delicias Taqueria	Houston	77096	5	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
758	Los Tios Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77096	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
759	Azteca's Margarita Bar & Grill	Houston	77098	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	8	0
760	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Houston	77098	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
761	Cafe Adobe Mexican Tex-Mex Restaura	Houston	77098	2	1	0	1	3	2	7	12	0
762	Red Onion Mexican Grill	Houston	77098	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	12	0
763	Chuy's	Houston	77098	1	1	0	3	2	3	3	0	0
764	Guadalajara Hacienda Mexican Bar and (	Houston	77098	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	1
765	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77098	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
767	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77098	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
768	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77098	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
769	Taco Cabana	Houston	77098	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0

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771	Gordita's Mexico	Houston	77099	5	0	1	3	1	2	1	0	1
772	Lopez Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77099	3	1	0	1	2	1	3	1	1
775	Rinconcito Migueleño Taqueria y Pupuse	Houston	77099	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	6	4
777	Taco Cabana	Houston	77099	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
778	El Sol de Mexico Seafood and Restauran	Houston	77099	5	0	1	1	3	2	1	1	1
780	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Houston	77099	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
781	Los Compadres Mexican Restaurant	Huffman	77336	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
782	Casa Ama's Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Tomball	77375	2	1	0	1	1	2	3	1	1
787	Grannys Tamales Three	Humble	77338	2	0	0	3	0	3	2	0	0
789	La Cabana Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Humble	77338	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	4	1
792	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Humble	77338	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
793	Monterey's Little Mexico	Humble	77338	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
794	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77338	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
795	Noyolas Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77338	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1
796	Pancho's Mexican Buffet	Humble	77338	3	0	1	3	2	1	3	18	1
797	Pappasito's Cantina	Humble	77338	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
799	Taco Cabana	Humble	77338	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
801	Taqueria Arandas	Humble	77338	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
805	El Jalapeno Mexician Cafe	Humble	77346	2	1	0	1	1	3	6	12	1
807	El Senor Fish Mexican Bar and Grill	Humble	77346	1	1	0	2	1	2	6	2	1
808	Las Ramadas Mexican Grill & Bar	Humble	77346	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	4	1
809	La Villa Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77346	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	1	1
810	El Ranchero Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77346	3	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	1
811	Los Vega Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77346	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
812	Manuels Mexican Restaurant & Taqueria	Humble	77346	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	1
814	Taco Cabana	Humble	77346	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
815	Tamales Atascocita	Humble	77346	3	0	0	3	0	3	4	0	0
819	Los Vega Mexican Restaurant	Humble	77396	3	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
820	Cafe Del Sol	Katy	77449	4	1	1	2	2	3	1	12	0
823	El Rancho Mex. Restaurant	Katy	77449	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
824	La Maria Mexican Restaurant	Katy	77449	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
826	Mexican Buffet	Katy	77449	5	0	0	3	2	1	2	18	1
828	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Katy	77450	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
829	El Jarrito Mexican Restaurant	Katy	77450	2	0	0	2	2	1	1	1	1
830	Las Mañanitas Mexican Restaurant	Katy	77450	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	0

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835	Omar's Mex. Restaurant	Katy	77450	4	1	0	2	1	2	3	1	1
839	Vida Mexican Bar and Grill	Katy	77450	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
841	Katys Taco Grande	Katy	77493	2	1	1	3	1	2	6	0	0
845	Chachi's Mexican Bar and Grill	Kingwood	77339	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	8	1
846	El Rancho Mexican Restaurant & Bar	Kingwood	77339	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	13	1
847	Las Palomas Mexican Restaurant	Kingwood	77339	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	1
848	Mexico Restaurante and Cantina	Kingwood	77339	1	1	0	1	2	2	2	4	0
849	Rico's Mexican Grill	Kingwood	77339	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	2	1
851	El Charro Mexican Restaurant and Cantina	Kingwood	77345	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	1
852	El Rancho Mexican Restaurant	La Porte	77571	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
853	El Toro Mexican Restaurant	La Porte	77571	3	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	1
854	Gringo's Mexican Kitchen	La Porte	77571	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	15	1
855	Las Hadas Mexican Restaurant Inc	La Porte	77571	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
856	Ogarrio Mexican Restaura	La Porte	77571	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	1
857	Tortilla's Mexican Restaurant	La Porte	77571	1	1	0	2	2	2	6	1	1
860	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Pasadena	77502	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
861	Tostada Regia	Pasadena	77502	3	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	0
862	Pupuseria Y Restaurante Martinez	Pasadena	77502	5	0	1	3	1	1	3	6	0
864	Tamale House Factory	Pasadena	77502	3	0	1	3	0	3	6	17	0
866	Taqueria Arandas	Pasadena	77502	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
867	Taqueria El Sol. De Jalisco	Pasadena	77502	4	1	1	3	1	2	4	3	4
869	Taqueria Mi Hacienda	Pasadena	77502	5	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	0
870	Taqueria Y Refresqueria San Luis	Pasadena	77502	4	0	0	2	1	2	4	3	4
873	Monterey's Little Mexico	Pasadena	77503	3	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
874	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Pasadena	77503	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
875	Taco Cabana	Pasadena	77503	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
876	Taqueria Agave	Pasadena	77503	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
877	Taqueria Los Compadres	Pasadena	77503	3	0	1	3	2	2	1	3	0
879	Border Grill	Pasadena	77504	2	1	0	1	2	2	2	2	0
881	Los Amigos Tex-Mex Restaurant	Pasadena	77504	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	0	0
882	Taqueria De Jalisco	Pasadena	77504	5	0	0	2	1	1	4	3	4
885	Casa Olé Mexican Restaurant	Pasadena	77505	2	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
886	Johnny Tamale Cantina	Pasadena	77505	2	1	0	1	2	3	6	4	0
887	El Rancho Grande Restaurant	Pasadena	77506	4	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
889	Los Monteros Taqueria y Restaurante	Pasadena	77506	3	1	1	2	1	3	1	0	0

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890	Tacos Puro Monterrey	Pasadena	77506	3	1	0	2	1	1	4	0	4
891	Pico De Gallos Taqueria	Pasadena	77506	4	0	1	3	1	2	6	3	0
892	Sarita's Mexican Restaurant	Pasadena	77506	4	0	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
894	Casa Anita's Mexican Restaurant	Seabrook	77586	2	1	0	1	2	2	3	1	1
895	Gabachos Mexican Grill	Seabrook	77586	1	1	0	1	2	3	3	2	1
896	Don Julio's Mexican Restaurant & Cantin	Seabrook	77586	1	1	0	1	2	3	3	4	1
897	Laredo's Mex. Restaurant	Seabrook	77586	4	0	1	2	1	2	4	1	1
899	Tequila Booms Mexican Restaurant	Seabrook	77586	2	0	0	1	2	3	2	1	1
901	Taqueria La Favorita	South Hous	77587	5	0	1	2	1	2	1	0	0
902	Mariachi's Jalisco	South Hous	77587	3	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	0
903	Ostioneria 7 Mares	South Hous	77587	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	5	0
905	Taqueria Jesus Maria	South Hous	77587	4	0	1	3	1	2	3	3	0
908	Alma Latina Taqueria	Spring	77373	2	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	6
909	Taquila Patio	Spring	77373	2	1	1	1	1	3	6	1	0
913	El Palenque Mexican Restaurant & Cantin	Spring	77373	2	1	0	1	1	3	4	4	1
919	Las Ramadas Mexican Bar and Grill	Spring	77373	2	1	1	2	1	2	3	1	1
921	Pappasito's Cantina	Spring	77024	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
932	Rico's Mexican Grill	Spring	77379	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	2	1
935	Gringo's Mexican Kitchen	Spring	77379	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	15	1
936	Juanita's Mexican Grill	Spring	77379	2	1	0	1	2	2	3	2	1
937	La Maria Mexican Restaurant	Spring	77379	2	1	0	2	2	3	1	1	1
938	Las Delicias Taqueria	Spring	77379	5	0	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
939	Los 3 Ranchitos	Spring	77379	2	1	0	2	3	2	1	1	1
940	Los Generales Mexican Grill and Bar	Spring	77379	2	0	0	2	0	3	1	1	1
942	Mi Rancho Mexican Grill and Bar	Spring	77379	2	1	0	1	0	3	1	0	0
943	On The Border Mex. Grill and Cafe	Spring	77379	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	2	1
944	Las Cascadas Mexican Restaurant	Spring	77388	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	1
945	Las Lomas Mexican Restaurant	Spring	77388	2	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	1
948	Rosita's Mexican Restaurant	Spring	77388	4	0	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
949	Taco Cabana	Spring	77388	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
950	Taqueria el Taconazo TX	Spring	77388	5	0	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
951	Dumass Taco	Tomball	77375	3	0	0	3	0	1	6	0	0
952	El Emperidor Mexican Restaurant	Tomball	77375	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
953	Los Arcos Mexican Restaurant	Tomball	77375	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
954	Los Toros Mexican Grill & Catering	Tomball	77375	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1

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955	Macayo's Mexican Restaurant and Bar	Tomball	77375	2	1	0	1	2	3	1	1	1
956	Rancho Grande Bar and Grill	Tomball	77375	3	0	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
959	Taco Cabana	Tomball	77375	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
962	The Ranchito Taqueria and Restaurant	Waller	77484	4	1	1	2	0	2	1	3	0
963	Berryhill Baja Grill and Cantina	Webster	77598	1	0	0	2	2	3	4	4	4
965	Dos Mas	Webster	77598	3	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	0
969	Las Haciendas Mexican Bar and Grill	Webster	77598	2	1	0	1	1	3	1	8	1
971	Lupe Tortilla	Webster	77598	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
972	Pappasito's Cantina	Webster	77598	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
973	Pinche's Mexican Restaurant	Webster	77598	1	0	0	2	0	3	1	0	0
975	Rivera's Mex. Sal Restaurant	Webster	77598	4	0	1	2	1	1	3	1	7
978	Pablo's Pub	Webster	77598	1	1	0	2	2	2	3	20	0
979	Red Onion Mexican Grill	Houston	77077	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	12	0
980	Red Onion Seafood and Mas!	Houston	77092	3	0	0	2	3	3	2	0	0
981	Fajita Willie's Café and Cantina	Houston	77095	1	0	0	3	2	3	6	0	0
982	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Katy	77494	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
983	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Kingwood	77339	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
984	Los Cucos Mexican Café	Spring	77381	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	12	1
985	Las Lomas Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77070	2	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	1
986	3 Salsas Mexican Restaurant and Cantin	Houston	77084	3	1	0	2	1	2	2	4	1
987	Famous Yoyi's Burgers and Taqueria	Houston	77084	4	0	0	3	0	1	3	3	0
988	Lupita's Restaurant	Houston	77041	3	0	1	1	1	1	3	1	0
989	Balderas Tamale Factory	Houston	77084	3	0	1	3	0	1	3	17	0
990	Bravos Mexican Restraunt	Houston	77092	3	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
991	Rudy's Taqueria	Houston	77449	4	1	1	2	1	3	3	3	0
992	El Corral Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77070	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
993	Monterey's Little Mexico	Houston	77060	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	0	0
994	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77095	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
995	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77084	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
996	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77037	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
997	Tortas Las Llardas	Houston	77082	5	0	0	3	0	1	1	0	0
998	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77002	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
999	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77056	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
1000	Ninfa's Mexican Restaurant	Bellaire	77401	3	1	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
1002	Guadalajara Hacienda Mexican Bar and (The Woodla	The Woodla	77380	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	1

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1003	Guadalajara Hacienda Mexican Bar and (Houston	77002	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	1
1004	Taqueria Cancun	Houston	77055	5	1	1	2	1	2	4	3	4
1005	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77024	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
1006	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77098	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
1007	Lupe Tortilla	Houston	77385	2	1	0	3	0	3	3	0	0
1008	Tony's Mexican Restaurant and Cantina	Katy	77450	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
1009	Hacienda Guanajuato Mexican Restaura	Katy	77450	3	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	1
1010	Taqueria Arandas	League City	77573	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1011	Taqueria Arandas	Baytown	77520	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1012	Taqueria Arandas	Katy	77450	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1013	Taqueria Arandas	Pearland	77581	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1014	Taqueria Arandas	Houston	77086	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1015	Taqueria Arandas	Spring	77386	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	3	0
1016	Tortilleria "La Reyna"	Houston	77080	5	0	1	3	0	1	1	22	0
1017	Poblano's Mexican Grill	Houston	77002	3	1	0	1	2	2	1	2	1
1018	Taqueria Taco Loco	Houston	77099	5	0	0	2	1	3	1	3	0
1019	Chiltepe's Authentic Mexican Grill	Houston	77083	3	1	1	1			1	2	1
1020	Taco and Pupusas House	Houston	77083	5	0	0	3	0	1	6	14	0
1021	Ostioneria Huetamich	Houston	77036	5	0	1	2	1	2	4	5	4
1022	Taqueria Tapatitlán	Pasadena	77587	2	0	1	3	3	2	4	3	4
1023	Taqueria El Charro Authentic Mexican Fc	Houston	77029	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
1024	Isla Ixtapa Mexican and Seafood Grill an	Houston	77077	2	0	1	2	1	2	4	8	1
1025	La Tapatia Mexican Café y Cantina	Houston	77075	4	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
1026	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77025	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
1027	Ruchi's Taqueria El Rincon de Mexico	Houston	77081	4	0	1	2	1	2	3	3	0
1028	Café Adobe	Houston	77024	2	1	0	1	3	2	7	12	0
1029	Taqueria Corona	Houston	77035	4	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	0
1030	Tacos el Mapache	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
1032	Ostioneria Costa Azul Seafood and Oyste	Houston	77074	3	0	1	3	3	2	1	5	5
1033	3 Flavors Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77036	4	1	1	2	3	1	2	1	1
1034	Tacos La Balita	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	1	3	6	0	0
1035	Tacos La Balita	Houston	77081	3	0	1	3	1	3	6	0	0
1036	El Taco Tote	Houston	77057	3	0	0	3	0	3	6	0	0
1037	Cyclone Anaya's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77007	3	1	1	1	3	3	3	15	1
1038	Chacho's Mexican Grill	Houston	77022	2	0	0	2	1	3	3	0	0

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1039	Taqueria De Jalisco	Houston	77587	4	0	0	2	1	1	4	3	4
1040	Chuy's	Houston	77063	1	1	0	3	2	3	3	0	0
1041	Chuy's	Humble	77338	1	1	0	3	2	3	3	0	0
1042	Chuy's	Houston	77065	1	1	0	3	2	3	3	0	0
1043	El Rey Taqueria	Houston	77055	3	1	0	3	2	3	1	3	1
1044	El Rey Taqueria	Houston	77002	3	1	0	3	2	3	1	3	1
1045	Laredo Taqueria	Houston	77009	4	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	4
1046	Lorenzo's El Tiempo Cantina	Houston	77098	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	0
1047	Lorenzo's El Tiempo Cantina	Houston	77007	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	0
1048	Ruby Tequila's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77006	1	1	0	1	2	3	3	15	1
1049	Ruby Tequila's Mexican Kitchen	Houston	77070	2	1	0	1	2	3	3	15	1
1050	La Mexicana Restaurant	Houston	77006	2	0	1	2	3	2	1	1	1
1051	Taqueria Lu Lu	Houston	77004	3	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	0
1052	LeCaroz Mexican Bakery and Taqueria	Houston	77053	4	0	0	3	0	1	1	3	1
1053	Johnny Tamale Cantina	Webster	77598	2	1	0	1	2	3	6	4	0
1054	Taqueria y Restaurant NASA	Seabrook	77586	4	0	0	2	0	1	1	3	0
1055	Leila's Mexican Restaurant	Webster	77058	3	0	0	2	1	2	3	1	1
1056	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77073	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1057	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77057	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1058	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77478	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1059	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77040	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1060	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77054	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1061	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77029	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1062	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77069	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1063	Pappasito's Cantina	Houston	77098	1	1	0	1	3	3	1	4	0
1064	Mamacita's Mexican Restaurant and Can	Webster	77598	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
1065	Mamacita's Mexican Restaurant and Can	Houston	77012	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	4	1
1066	The Don'Key Mexican Food	Pasadena	77505	1	1	0	1	2	2	2	0	1
1067	Ostioneria 7 Mares	Houston	77055	4	0	0	2	1	2	1	5	0
1068	Taqueria Agave	Pasadena	77506	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	3	0
1068	Tostada Regia	Houston	77043	3	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	0
1069	Doña Chela Restaurant	Houston	77012	3	0	0	2	1	2	3	1	0
1070	Casa Mariachi	Pasadena	77505	3	1	0	1	2	1	1	7	0
1071	El Asadero Norteño	Pasadena	77503	4	0	1	2	0	1	1	0	4
1072	La Fonda Taqueria y Carnes Asadas	Pasadena	77506	4	0	1	2	0	2	1	3	8

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1073	Tortilleria Zacatecas	Houston	77015	5	0	1	3	0	2	4	22	4
1074	Nopalitos Doña Maria	Houston	77029	4	0	1	2	1	1	3	0	0
1075	Bet-el Tacos de Trompo	Houston	77029	4	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	0
1076	Iguana Joes Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77049	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	1	1
1077	Iguana Joes Mexican Restaurant	Crosby	77532	1	1	0	1	2	3	2	1	1
1078	El Huarache Restaurant	Houston	77020	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0
1079	El Chinampa Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77049	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
1080	Rancho del Viejo Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77029	3	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1
1081	Aquarius Restaurant and Mexican Food	Houston	77018	4	0	1	2	2	2	2	1	1
1082	Los Nopalitos Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77091	2	0	0	2	0	2	6	0	0
1083	Rosita's Mexican Restaurant	La Porte	77571	4	0	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
1084	Rincon Lation Restaurant and Pupuseria	Houston	77039	4	0	1	2	1	2	1	6	6
1085	Rico's Mexican Grill	Humble	77346	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	2	1
1086	Noyolas Mexican Restaurant	Atascosita	77346	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	1
1087	Tacos Flores	Atascocita	77346	4	0	1	3	0	1	6	0	0
1088	Chilosos Taco House	Houston	77008	3	0	0	3	0	1	6	14	0
1089	Kiko's Mexican Café	Houston	77009	5	0	1	2	1	1	3	12	1
1090	Tampico Seafood & Cocina Mexicana	Houston	77009	3	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	1
1091	Fonda San Angel	Houston	77037	3	1	1	1	2	2	4	11	4
1092	Ramos Taqueria Restaurant	Houston	77037	4	0	0	2	1	2	3	3	0
1093	Tacos Del Julio	Houston	77083	4	0	0	3	1	2	3	0	0
1094	Tacos Del Julio	Houston	77023	4	0	0	3	1	2	3	0	0
1095	La Presa Mexican Restaurant	Spring	77373	3	1	1	2	2	3	1	1	1
1096	La Cabana Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Spring	77388	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	4	1
1097	Cazadores Mexican Restaurant and Cant	Katy	77494	2	1	0	2	2	2	1	4	1
1098	Ostioneria Tierra Caliente Restaurant an	Houston	77076	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	5	0
1099	Taco Cabana	Houston	77086	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1100	Taco Cabana	Houston	77093	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1101	Taco Cabana	Houston	77023	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1102	Taco Cabana	Kemah	77565	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1103	Taco Cabana	Houston	77042	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1104	Taco Cabana	Houston	77042	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1105	Taco Cabana	Houston	77070	1	1	0	3	0	2	6	4	0
1106	Hugo's Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77006	3	0	1	1	1	3	3	1	1
1107	Super Tortas Locas DF Panaderia y Taqu	Houston	77086	4	0	0	3	0	2	6	3	0

Appendix B: Houston's Mexican Restaurants

1108	Rudy's Taqueria	Houston	77086	3	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	0
1109	Ostioneria and Bar Boca del Rio	Houston	77014	5	0	1	3	1	2	4	5	0
1110	Taqueria El Patron	Houston	77090	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	0
1111	Los Pipiles Restaurant	Houston	77067	4	1	0	2	3	1	1	1	0
1112	Alicia's Mexican Grille	Spring	77379	2	1	0	2	1	3	3	2	1
1113	Los Pinos Mexican Restaurant	Tomball	77375	2	1	0	1	0	2	1	1	1
1114	Tio Chucho Mexican Restaurant	Houston	77065	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	1	1
1115	Taqueria el Norteño	Houston	77064	4	0	1	3	1	2	4	3	4
1116	Juan and Lefty's Mexican Cantina	Houston	77064	1	0	0	1	2	3	3	4	1
1117	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77081	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1118	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77076	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1119	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77037	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1120	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77040	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1121	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77055	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1122	Mambo Seafood	Houston	77015	4	0	0	3	1	3	1	0	5
1123	La Fiesta Restaurant	Houston	77024	1	1	0	1	2	2	1	1	0
1124	Sylvia's Enchilada Kitchen	Houston	77057	2	1	1	1	3	2	3	15	0
1125	Santos The Taste Mexico	Houston	77019	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	0	1
1126	Tamales Dona Tere	Houston	77083	4	0	0	2	0	3	6	0	0

Mexican Cuisine:

- Freelist

- Definition of Mexican cuisine?
- How they perceive it differs in the US from Mexico
- Limitations to authenticity?

Customer Impressions:

- Majority ethnicity of customers
- How wide do you perceive their pallet range?
- What do you think customers want in a Mexican Restaurant?
- How do you try to expose Anglo/Black customers to new dishes/flavors?
- Culinary snobbery?
- Do you think food can be a vehicle for cultural incorporation?

Business Operations:

- Menu adjustments to customer response?
- Professional networking?
- Attempt to add regional flavors to menu?
- Snowball Contacts?

Appendix D: Customer Survey**I. Freelist**

Please list all American dishes you can think of:

II. Personal Background

What race or ethnicity do you consider yourself? _____

How old are you? _____

Select a gender: M F

In which county in the Houston Metro Area have you lived the longest? _____

In which Zip Code in the Houston Metro Area have you lived the longest? _____

Please list any other cities or towns you have lived in throughout your life and how many years you lived there:

City/Town	Years?

What is your current occupation? _____

Please circle the highest degree you have received or are in the process of receiving:

- | | | |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|
| Some High School | High School Graduate | Associates Degree |
| Bachelors of Science | Bachelors of Art | Masters Degree |
| Professional Degree (J.D., M.D., M.Ed, etc) | | Doctor of Philosophy |

Religious denomination? _____

Are you married? _____

Do you have children? _____

What languages do you know or speak? _____

III. Culinary and Social Interactions

Are you a(n): omnivore vegetarian vegan

Do you keep Kosher or Halal? _____

Please circle a single number, from 1 to 5, for each of the following questions with 1 meaning "Never at All" and 5 meaning "Very Often."

How often do you eat outside your home? 1 2 3 4 5

How often do you cook at home? 1 2 3 4 5

How often do you order take-out or delivery at a restaurant?

1 2 3 4 5

How often do you eat at Mexican restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

How often do you eat at Chinese restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

How often do you eat at non-Mexican Hispanic restaurants?

1 2 3 4 5

How often do you eat at non-Chinese Asian restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

How often do you eat at other ethnic restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

(Please list the ethnicities here: _____)

How often do you or a member of your household cook Mexican at home?

1 2 3 4 5

How often do you or a member of your household cook Chinese at home?

1 2 3 4 5

How often do you or a member of your household cook other ethnic cuisines at home?

1 2 3 4 5

(Please list the ethnicities here: _____)

How frequently do you interact with Mexican-Americans or Mexicans?

1 2 3 4 5

(Where: _____)

How frequently do you interact with Asian-Americans or Asians?

1 2 3 4 5

(Where: _____)

How frequently do you interact with non-Mexican Hispanic-Americans or Hispanics?

1 2 3 4 5

(Where: _____)

Please circle a single number, from 1 to 5, for each of the following questions with 1 meaning "Not at all" and 5 meaning "Very Much."

Do you like to eat at restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat at ethnic restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat at unfamiliar restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to cook? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you watch food television? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you read food-related books, magazines or journals? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat Mexican cuisine? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat Chinese cuisine? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat Hispanic cuisine? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat Asian cuisine? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat ethnic cuisines? 1 2 3 4 5

(Which ones? _____)

Do you like to eat American cuisine? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat unfamiliar foods? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat spicy foods? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat colorful foods? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat at expensive restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat at cheap restaurants? 1 2 3 4 5

Do you like to eat fast food? 1 2 3 4 5

Please circle a single number, from 1 to 5, for each of the following questions with 1 meaning "Not at all" and 5 meaning "Very Much." How important are the following traits to you when you eat ethnic cuisines or eat out at an ethnic restaurant?

<i>Taste:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Presentation:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Ambience:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Authenticity:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Strangeness:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Adventure:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Spice:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>New-ness of the experience:</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>Something to brag about:</i>	1	2	3	4	5

IV. Freelist

Please list all Mexican dishes you can think of:

*Please list all traits of **Mexican cuisine** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **Mexican culture** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **Chinese cuisine** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **Indian cuisine** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **Italian cuisine** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **American cuisine** that come to mind:*

*Please list all traits of **American culture** that come to mind:*

V. Mexican Cuisine

Rank the following dishes on a 1 to 5 scale on how "Mexican" you think they are. 1 is "Not Mexican," 5 is "Very Mexican."

Dish	Ranking (1 = Not Mexican; 5 = Very Mexican)				
Burritos	1	2	3	4	5
Carnitas	1	2	3	4	5
Chicken Soup	1	2	3	4	5
Chilaquiles	1	2	3	4	5
Chile Relleno	1	2	3	4	5
Chorizo	1	2	3	4	5
Churros	1	2	3	4	5
Cochinita Pibil	1	2	3	4	5
Enchiladas	1	2	3	4	5
Fajitas	1	2	3	4	5
Fish Taco	1	2	3	4	5
Flan	1	2	3	4	5
Fried Tilapia	1	2	3	4	5
Ground-Beef Taco	1	2	3	4	5
Guacamole	1	2	3	4	5
Huevos Rancheros	1	2	3	4	5
Lengua (Tongue) Taco	1	2	3	4	5
Maduros	1	2	3	4	5
Menudo	1	2	3	4	5
Mexican Pizza	1	2	3	4	5
Mole	1	2	3	4	5
Nachos	1	2	3	4	5
Paella	1	2	3	4	5
Pollo con Arroz	1	2	3	4	5
Pozole	1	2	3	4	5
Quesadilla	1	2	3	4	5
Queso (Cheese) Dip	1	2	3	4	5
Shrimp Cocktail	1	2	3	4	5
Sincronizada	1	2	3	4	5
Sopapillas	1	2	3	4	5
Taco Salad	1	2	3	4	5
Tacos al Pastor	1	2	3	4	5
Tamales	1	2	3	4	5
Taquitos	1	2	3	4	5
Tortas	1	2	3	4	5

In the following triads of dishes, circle the dish that does not fit:

Burritos	Tacos	Mole
Burritos	Tacos	Menudo
Burritos	Tacos	Paella
Burritos	Mole	Menudo
Burritos	Mole	Paella
Burritos	Menudo	Paella
Tacos	Mole	Menudo
Tacos	Mole	Paella
Mole	Menudo	Paella
Chilaquiles	Huevos Rancheros	Enchiladas
Chilaquiles	Huevos Rancheros	Pozole
Chilaquiles	Huevos Rancheros	Lengua
Chilaquiles	Enchiladas	Pozole
Chilaquiles	Enchiladas	Lengua
Chilaquiles	Pozole	Lengua
Huevos Rancheros	Enchiladas	Pozole
Huevos Rancheros	Enchiladas	Lengua
Huevos Rancheros	Pozole	Lengua
Enchiladas	Pozole	Lengua

Appendix E: Customer Interview Protocol

Life History

- Connections to Mexico?
 - Where from in Mexico?
 - How long in US/Generation
- Other places lived in US
- Other places lived

Mexican Cuisine:

- Freelist (if no survey)

- When did the start eating it?
 - Stories

- Preference

- Where do they eat it

- Changes noticed

- Definition of Mexican cuisine?

- Authenticity?

- Mexican or Mexican American dishes you dislike/like?

- Eat at home vs Eat in restaurants?

Ethnic Cuisines

- Others eaten
 - When start?

- Why eat it?

- Do parents/children?

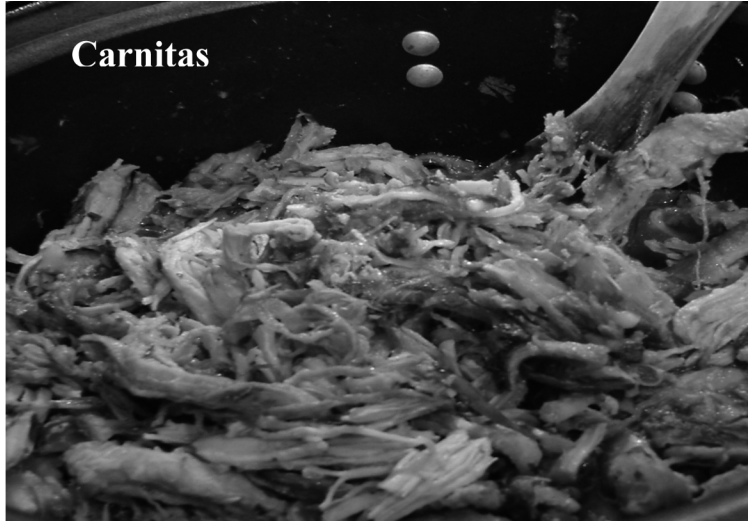
Interethnic

- Talk about interactions with Hispanic/non-Hispanic
 - How often?
- Noticed change?
- Opinions on immigration
- Opinions on language
 - Understand Spanish?

Burrito



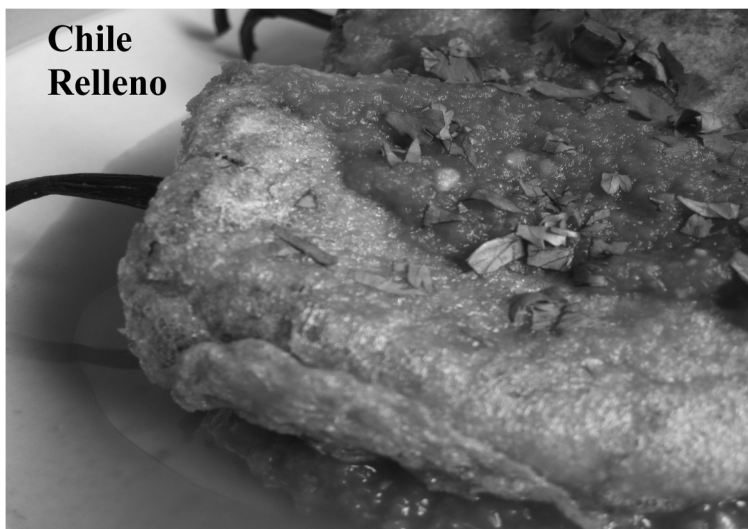
Carnitas



Chilaquiles



Chile Relleno



Choco-Taco



Churros



Enchiladas

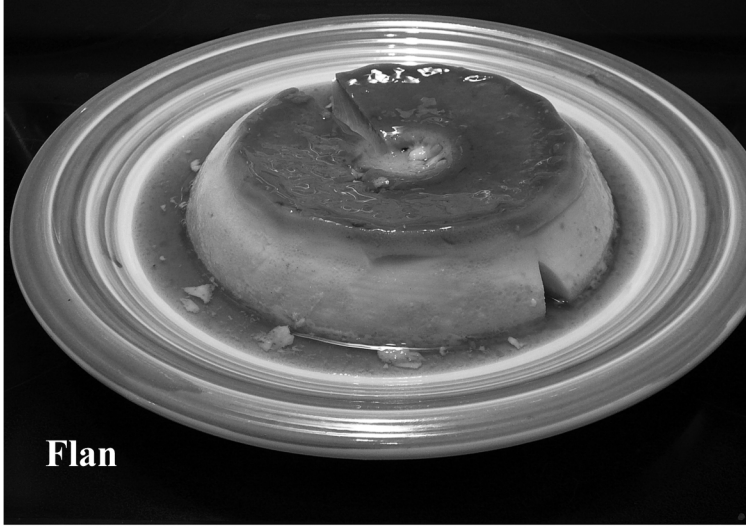


Fajitas

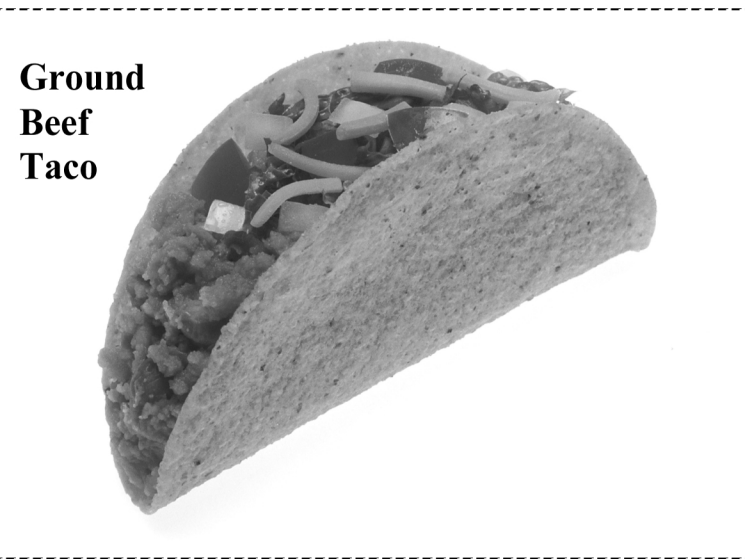




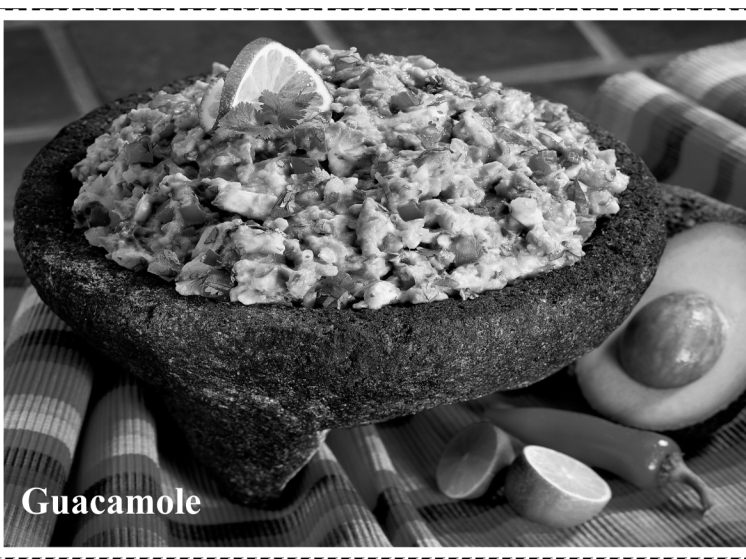
Fish Tacos



Flan



Ground Beef Taco



Guacamole



Huevos Rancheros



Lengua (Tongue) Tacos



Maduros



Menudo

Mole Poblano con Pollo

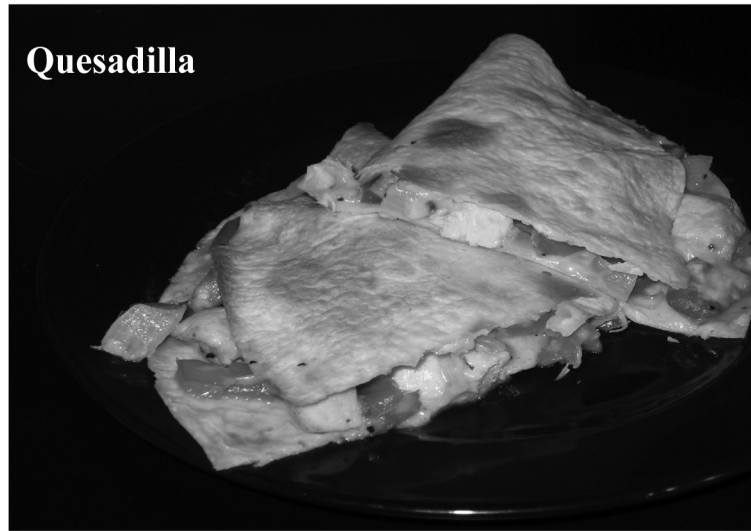


Nachos



Pozole

Quesadilla



**Cheese Dip
(Queso Fundido)**



Shrimp Cocktail



Sopapillas

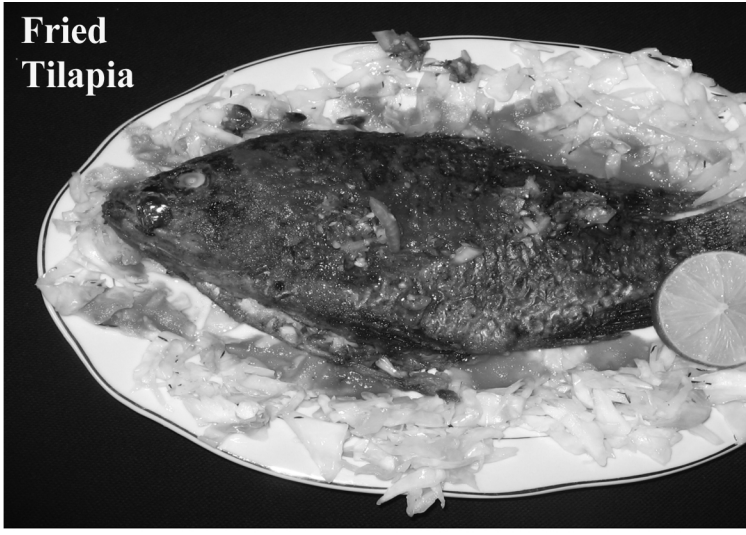
Taco Salad



**Chicken
Soup**



**Fried
Tilapia**



Paella



Arroz con Pollo



Tacos al Pastor



Tamale



Taquitos



Torta



DISH	Overall	1	2	3	4	5
Chicken Taco	219	66	63	40	25	25
Nachos	228	64	74	45	25	20
Cheese Dip	189	63	61	43	16	6
Guacamole	206	63	72	45	17	9
Steak Fajita	207	63	68	40	18	18
Chicken Quesadilla	234	62	74	45	27	26
Chile Relleno	223	60	79	51	23	10
Chicken Fajita	199	59	70	35	18	17
Steak Burrito	182	58	56	27	16	25
Steak Quesadilla	193	56	53	49	15	20
Chicken Burrito	216	55	74	43	22	22
Taco Salad	186	54	60	41	19	12
Chimichanga	192	53	75	36	20	8
Fish Taco	134	53	47	26	7	1
Chicken Enchilada	203	52	74	46	16	15
Shrimp Fajita	175	51	61	31	19	13
Beef Burrito	177	47	66	41	18	5
Carne Asada	178	46	61	36	24	11
Tamale	164	46	58	37	16	7
Steak Taco	197	44	66	32	26	29
Beef Taco	150	40	54	39	14	3
Cheese Quesadilla	183	38	64	37	22	22
Flautas	150	37	54	28	14	17
Shrimp Cocktail	113	37	35	13	15	13
Shrimp Quesadilla	128	35	42	30	11	10
Tostada	138	35	48	26	17	12
Grilled Chicken Breast	116	34	38	20	15	9
Chicken Soup	157	33	69	30	15	10
Taquitos	123	33	45	22	12	11
Wings	114	33	42	15	13	11
Beef Enchilada	154	32	59	44	12	7
Tortilla Soup	66	32	23	7	3	1
Beef Quesadilla	140	31	61	30	11	7
Flan	160	31	57	39	23	10
Steak Salad	84	30	31	13	2	8
Veggie Fajita	102	30	39	28	5	0
Cheese Enchilada	136	29	61	35	7	4
Bean Dip	131	28	61	25	13	4
Carnitas	145	28	62	38	10	7
Chilaquiles	125	28	49	26	13	9
Grilled Chicken Salad	114	27	42	23	9	13
Veggie Burrito	64	27	19	12	4	2
Huevos Rancheros	124	26	51	20	17	10
Queso Fundido	118	26	52	23	8	9
Sopapillas	126	26	54	31	12	3
Bean Burrito	119	25	56	22	14	2
Garlic Shrimp	78	25	25	11	8	9
Caesar Salad	38	24	6	7	1	0

Appendix G: Atlanta Menu Domain

Guacamole Salad	110	24	51	22	10	3
Pollo Ranchero	76	23	28	11	12	2
Steak Ranchero	120	23	51	28	12	6
Empanada	32	22	0	5	3	2
Enchiladas Verdes	84	22	46	9	5	2
Spinach Quesadilla	99	22	37	31	8	1
Chile con Queso	49	20	14	13	2	0
Mushroom Quesadilla	88	20	36	27	3	2
Shrimp a la Diabla	112	20	41	25	11	15
Chicken Strips	43	18	19	4	2	0
Spinach Dip	46	18	12	11	4	1
Veggie Quesadilla	81	18	40	20	2	1
Beef Dip	42	17	13	10	2	0
Cheesecake	40	17	11	3	5	4
Fried Ice Cream	103	17	44	27	11	4
Carnitas Taco	64	16	14	4	8	22
Steak a la Tampiqueña	66	16	26	11	9	4
Ceviche	54	15	15	13	7	4
House Salad	50	15	16	9	7	3
Tossed Salad	54	15	20	15	4	0
Bean Enchilada	38	14	12	9	2	1
Brisket Taco	22	14	1	5	2	0
Fried Chicken Taco	15	14	0	0	1	0
Mojara Frita	53	14	13	4	9	13
Pork Burrito	38	14	18	5	1	0
Pork Chop	39	14	9	11	2	3
Sundae	16	14	2	0	0	0
Veggie Taco	22	14	2	5	1	0
Alambre	44	13	14	9	2	6
Brisket Enchilada	18	13	0	5	0	0
Churros	66	13	23	17	10	3
Jalapeño Poppers	31	13	4	12	2	0
Mexican Pizza	32	13	12	6	0	1
Pork Fajita	38	13	11	10	3	1
Steak a la Mexicana	66	13	28	14	5	6
T-Bone	39	13	12	10	4	0
Grilled Shrimp Salad	64	12	32	14	3	3
Hamburger	43	11	10	13	6	3
Ice Cream	37	11	7	14	2	3
Chili con Carne	41	10	19	8	2	2
Chipotle Chicken	24	10	13	0	0	1
Enchiladas con Mole	23	10	8	4	0	1
Shrimp Soup	48	10	10	3	13	12
Tilapia	73	10	28	18	7	10
Al Pastor Taco	60	9	5	7	14	25
Cheese Burrito	32	9	14	8	1	0
Chili Verde	20	9	7	2	1	1
Fish Fillet	18	9	2	0	5	2
Grilled Chicken Sandwich	29	9	9	7	4	0

Appendix G: Atlanta Menu Domain

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Grilled Shrimp	30	9	12	4	4	1
Strip Steak	25	9	8	8	0	0
Charro Dip	10	8	2	0	0	0
Chicken Cortadillo	10	8	2	0	0	0
Cochinita Pibil	11	8	3	0	0	0
Mexican Salad	11	8	2	1	0	0
Pork Quesadilla	28	8	13	5	1	1
Steak Cortadillo	10	8	2	0	0	0
Apple Crisp	7	7	0	0	0	0
Bean Soup	26	7	6	11	2	0
Chimi Dolce	10	7	2	1	0	0
Choco-Taco	7	7	0	0	0	0
Corn Chowder	7	7	0	0	0	0
Kahlua Ice Cream Pie	7	7	0	0	0	0
Key Lime Pie	9	7	1	1	0	0
Pork Enchilada	21	7	13	0	1	0
Rib-eye	41	7	16	14	4	0
Cole Slaw	6	6	0	0	0	0
Garden Salad	12	6	3	3	0	0
Grilled Salmon	14	6	5	3	0	0
Pollo Loco	17	6	3	4	4	0
Pork Taco	13	6	3	1	2	1
Potato Enchilada	23	6	7	6	2	2
Spinach Salad	6	6	0	0	0	0
Steak Enchilada	21	6	10	1	2	2
Bean Quesadilla	21	5	1	14	1	0
Bean Taco	22	5	6	10	1	0
BLT Taco	5	5	0	0	0	0
Carnitas Burrito	26	5	7	1	4	9
Cheesesteak	23	5	11	3	4	0
Chorizo Taco	57	5	10	6	16	20
Crab Taco	5	5	0	0	0	0
Fish Fajita	7	5	0	1	0	1
Fish Soup	17	5	2	2	2	6
Fried Shrimp	36	5	9	3	9	10
Potato Burrito	11	5	5	0	1	0
Pulled Pork Taco	5	5	0	0	0	0
Ribs	22	5	7	4	3	3
Turnip Greens	5	5	0	0	0	0
Al Pastor Torta	48	4	3	4	14	23
Arroz con Pollo	6	4	0	2	0	0
Avocado Rolls	4	4	0	0	0	0
Barbacoa Burrito	21	4	0	1	9	7
Cheese Sticks	4	4	0	0	0	0
Chorizo Fajita	10	4	4	1	1	0
Citrus Salad	9	4	5	0	0	0
Crawfish Taco	4	4	0	0	0	0
Fish Burrito	11	4	1	4	2	0
Fruit Salad	5	4	0	0	0	1

Appendix G: Atlanta Menu Domain

Lamb Taco	6	4	0	0	0	2
Milanesa	25	4	5	4	3	9
Pulled Pork Sandwich	5	4	1	0	0	0
Shrimp Burrito	21	4	10	3	4	0
Steak Torta	64	4	4	6	14	36
Tilapia Taco	6	4	0	1	1	0
Apple Pie	4	3	1	0	0	0
Brownie	4	3	0	1	0	0
Chicken Dip	3	3	0	0	0	0
Chicken Torta	48	3	3	2	14	26
Chocolate Cake	8	3	2	2	1	0
Eggroll	3	3	0	0	0	0
Fried Calamari	6	3	2	0	1	0
Huevos a la Mexicana	20	3	5	4	7	1
Pollo con Mole Poblano	12	3	5	2	1	1
Pollo Fundido	25	3	14	7	0	1
Al Pastor Burrito	44	2	3	4	11	24
Beef Soup	23	2	7	2	4	8
Breakfast Burrito	9	2	0	2	5	0
Cheese Taco	9	2	0	7	0	0
Chef Salad	5	2	1	2	0	0
Chicken Wrap	15	2	5	7	1	0
Chili Colorado	9	2	2	5	0	0
Chocolate Volcano	2	2	0	0	0	0
Chorizo Burrito	23	2	0	3	9	9
Crab Cake	4	2	2	0	0	0
Cream of Poblano	2	2	0	0	0	0
Fish Quesadilla	7	2	2	1	2	0
Grilled Salmon Salad	7	2	1	4	0	0
Lobster and Poblano Dip	2	2	0	0	0	0
Lobster Taco	4	2	2	0	0	0
Mahi-Mahi	11	2	8	1	0	0
Mousse	2	2	0	0	0	0
Mushroom Fajita	3	2	1	0	0	0
Poblano Burrito	5	2	3	0	0	0
Potato Taco	8	2	3	0	2	1
Pozole	18	2	1	2	4	9
Scallops	3	2	0	0	1	0
Spinach Burrito	3	2	0	1	0	0
Al Pastor Quesadilla	22	1	0	2	10	9
Aztec Soup	2	1	1	0	0	0
Bacon-Wrapped Shrimp	3	1	1	0	0	1
Beef Stew	2	1	0	0	0	1
Beef Tips	2	1	1	0	0	0
Beef Wrap	1	1	0	0	0	0
Brisket Burrito	6	1	0	5	0	0
Brisket Quesadilla	8	1	7	0	0	0
Buche Burrito	5	1	0	1	0	3
Buche Taco	7	1	0	1	0	5

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Buche Torta	3	1	0	0	0	2
Cabeza Burrito	10	1	0	1	1	7
Cabeza Taco	14	1	0	1	1	11
Cabeza Torta	8	1	0	1	1	5
Campechana	18	1	2	1	4	10
Carnitas Quesadilla	7	1	0	1	2	3
Carnitas Torta	27	1	0	1	4	21
Catfish	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chicken Alfredo	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chicken Florentina	2	1	0	1	0	0
Chicken Parmesan	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chocolate Chip Cookie	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chorizo and Egg Torta	4	1	0	0	1	2
Chorizo Quesadilla	25	1	2	12	5	5
Chorizo Torta	37	1	0	3	12	21
Crab	1	1	0	0	0	0
Cream of Elote Soup	1	1	0	0	0	0
Crepes con Cajeta	6	1	3	2	0	0
Fried Chicken Salad	3	1	2	0	0	0
Fried Mushrooms	1	1	0	0	0	0
Frog Legs	1	1	0	0	0	0
Garlic Fish	2	1	1	0	0	0
Huevos con Tocino	3	1	0	1	1	0
Lengua Burrito	28	1	1	2	11	13
Lengua Taco	36	1	1	5	16	13
Lengua Torta	19	1	0	2	10	6
Lobster Ravioli	1	1	0	0	0	0
Lobster Soup	3	1	0	0	0	2
Mexican Stew	12	1	2	8	1	0
Mushroom Taco	4	1	0	1	0	2
Nopal Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Orange Cake	1	1	0	0	0	0
Oyster Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Oysters	17	1	0	0	5	11
Papas Ranchero	2	1	0	1	0	0
Parrillada	9	1	0	5	2	1
Pasta	1	1	0	0	0	0
Pizza	1	1	0	0	0	0
Platanos Fritos	10	1	0	6	2	1
Po Boy	1	1	0	0	0	0
Pollo con Mole	25	1	14	5	3	2
Pollo con Mole Verde	1	1	0	0	0	0
Pork Ranchero	2	1	0	1	0	0
Potato Quesadilla	1	1	0	0	0	0
Potato Skins	1	1	0	0	0	0
Puerca en Salsa Verde	1	1	0	0	0	0
Puerco con Mole Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Quail	5	1	1	0	0	3
Scallop Fajita	7	1	0	6	0	0

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Scallop Quesadilla	1	1	0	0	0	0
Seafood Soup	34	1	4	6	9	14
Shrimp Ranchero	8	1	0	1	1	5
Steak Wrap	5	1	4	0	0	0
Strawberry Cake	2	1	0	1	0	0
Suadero Burrito	4	1	0	1	0	2
Suadero Taco	4	1	0	1	0	2
Suadero Torta	3	1	0	0	0	2
Talipia Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tiramisu	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tofu Fajita	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tofu Taco	2	1	0	1	0	0
Tres Leches Cake	17	1	5	4	3	4
Veal Parmesan	1	1	0	0	0	0
Veggie Enchilada	16	1	2	6	3	4
Agua Chili	1	0	0	0	1	0
Ahogada Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Al Pastor	7	0	0	6	0	1
Al Pastor Enchilada	1	0	0	0	0	1
Al Pastor Fajita	1	0	0	0	0	1
Al Pastor Wrap	1	0	0	0	1	0
Arrachera Poblana	1	0	0	0	1	0
Artichoke Dip	4	0	0	4	0	0
Bacon Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	1	0
Bacon Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Bananas Foster	1	0	1	0	0	0
Barbacoa Taco	29	0	0	2	12	15
Barbacoa Torta	22	0	1	1	10	10
Beef Consommé	10	0	0	0	0	10
Beef Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Brain Taco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Bread Pudding	2	0	1	1	0	0
Brisket	2	0	1	1	0	0
Buche Quesadilla	1	0	0	1	0	0
Budín Cazuela	1	0	0	1	0	0
Buñelos	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cabeza	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cabeza Quesadilla	5	0	0	1	1	3
Cabrito	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cabrito Burrito	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cabrito Quesadilla	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cabrito Soup	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cabrito Taco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Carne Guisada	5	0	0	4	1	0
Carne Guisada Burrito	1	0	0	1	0	0
Carnitas Enchilada	2	0	0	2	0	0
Carnitas Fajita	1	0	1	0	0	0
Carrot Cake	4	0	1	3	0	0
Cecina	2	0	1	1	0	0

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Cecina Taco	2	0	1	1	0	0
Chalupa	4	0	0	1	2	1
Cheese Fondue	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cheese Torta	9	0	0	1	0	8
Chicharrón Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chicharrón Taco	11	0	0	1	1	9
Chicharrones	2	0	0	1	0	1
Chicken a la Diabla	1	0	0	0	0	1
Chicken Consommé	4	0	2	0	1	1
Chicken Kebab	4	0	4	0	0	0
Chicken Molcajete	2	0	0	0	1	1
Chili Verde Burrito	1	0	1	0	0	0
Chili Verde Taco	1	0	1	0	0	0
Chipoltes en Escabéche	1	0	0	1	0	0
Chipotle Salmon	7	0	7	0	0	0
Chipotle Shrimp	1	0	1	0	0	0
Chipotle Shrimp	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chipotle Tilapia	2	0	0	0	1	1
Chorizo Dip	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chorizo and Egg Quesadilla	2	0	0	0	0	2
Chorizo Enchilada	2	0	1	0	1	0
Chorizo Wrap	1	0	0	0	1	0
Cochinita Pibil Burrito	1	0	0	0	1	0
Cochinita Pibil Taco	9	0	0	0	1	8
Cochinita Pibil Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Crab Burrito	2	0	0	2	0	0
Crab Dip	7	0	7	0	0	0
Crab Legs	1	0	0	0	1	0
Crab Soup	2	0	0	0	2	0
Cuban Torta	7	0	1	5	0	1
Duck Sopes	1	0	0	1	0	0
Egg and Ham Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Egg Sandwich	1	0	0	0	1	0
Egg Torta	17	0	0	1	3	13
Elote	5	0	0	4	1	0
Enchiladas Rojas	4	0	0	3	0	1
Entomatada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Filet Mignon	4	0	2	2	0	0
Fish Enchilada	4	0	0	4	0	0
Fish Molcajete	1	0	0	0	0	1
Fish Torta	7	0	0	0	0	7
Fish Veracruzana	5	0	0	5	0	0
Fried Chicken	2	0	1	0	0	1
Fried Chicken Burrito	5	0	0	2	3	0
Fried Fish	6	0	0	0	5	1
Gazpacho	6	0	0	6	0	0
Gordita	11	0	1	2	4	4
Grilled Fish Salad	4	0	1	3	0	0
Ham Quesadilla	16	0	1	1	6	8

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Ham Salad	1	0	0	0	1	0
Ham Sandwich	2	0	0	1	1	0
Ham Torta	32	0	1	3	11	17
Hawaiian Torta	20	0	0	1	4	15
Head Cheese Torta	7	0	0	0	0	7
Huarache	36	0	2	2	12	20
Huevos con Carne	7	0	0	1	5	1
Huevos con Chorizo	9	0	0	0	0	9
Huevos con Jamón	15	0	1	1	10	3
Huevos con Papas	1	0	0	0	1	0
Huevos con Salchicha	13	0	0	0	6	7
Huevos Divorciados	13	0	1	1	9	2
Huevos Estrellados	2	0	0	0	2	0
Huevos Revueltos	25	0	10	8	3	4
Jello	2	0	0	0	2	0
Lamb Barbacoa	2	0	0	0	0	2
Lengua	8	0	0	1	6	1
Lengua Quesadilla	15	0	0	2	8	5
Liver and Onions	6	0	0	1	2	3
Lobster	3	0	0	0	1	2
Lobster Burrito	1	0	1	0	0	0
Lobster Enchilada	1	0	1	0	0	0
Maduros	5	0	0	5	0	0
Mango Pie	6	0	0	0	5	1
Margarita Pie	3	0	1	2	0	0
Marlin	1	0	0	0	1	0
Meatloaf	2	0	0	2	0	0
Menudo	32	0	0	3	14	15
Mexican Steak	5	0	0	0	5	0
Milanesa Quesadilla	2	0	0	0	0	2
Milanesa Torta	29	0	0	3	13	13
Molcajete of Steak	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mushroom Burrito	3	0	0	1	0	2
Mushroom Crepê	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mushroom Dip	1	0	0	1	0	0
Mushroom Torta	2	0	0	0	0	2
Mussels	2	0	1	0	1	0
Nopalitos	1	0	0	0	1	0
Octopus	2	0	0	0	2	0
Octopus Burrito	1	0	0	0	1	0
Octopus Cocktail	9	0	1	1	2	5
Octopus Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	1	0
Octopus Soup	1	0	1	0	0	0
Octopus Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Omelette	7	0	0	1	5	1
Oyster Cocktail	3	0	0	1	1	1
Oyster Soup	2	0	0	0	1	1
Paella	9	0	2	7	0	0
Palm Salad	2	0	0	2	0	0

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Pastrami Sandwich	1	0	0	1	0	0
Picadillo	7	0	7	0	0	0
Pierna Quesadilla	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pinto Bean Cakes	1	0	1	0	0	0
Poblano Crepê	1	0	1	0	0	0
Poblano Quesadilla	3	0	2	0	1	0
Poblano Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pollo con Mole Oaxaqueño	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pollo con Mole Torta	8	0	0	1	0	7
Pollo con Papas	4	0	1	0	2	1
Pollo Monterrey	5	0	0	5	0	0
Pollo Relleno	4	0	2	0	0	2
Pork and Sausage Torta	1	0	0	0	0	1
Pork Chops con Mole	7	0	7	0	0	0
Pork Molcajete	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pork Rib Taco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pork Torta	2	0	0	1	1	0
Potato Soup	7	0	7	0	0	0
Puerco en Salsa Verde	5	0	0	0	5	0
Pupusa	17	0	0	3	8	6
Quail con Mole	1	0	0	0	1	0
Rice Pudding	15	0	0	2	9	4
Rice Soup	1	0	0	0	0	1
Roasted Chicken	4	0	0	3	1	0
Ropa Vieja	3	0	0	2	0	1
Ropa Vieja Taco	2	0	0	2	0	0
Salchicha Torta	13	0	0	0	5	8
Salmon Quesadilla	2	0	0	2	0	0
Seafood Buritto	7	0	7	0	0	0
Seafood Enchilada	4	0	3	1	0	0
Seafood Fajita	6	0	5	1	0	0
Seafood Quesadilla	7	0	7	0	0	0
Seafood Taco	1	0	1	0	0	0
Shish Kabob	5	0	4	0	1	0
Shrimp a la Mexicana	4	0	2	2	0	0
Shrimp Casserole	1	0	0	0	0	1
Shrimp Chowder	2	0	1	1	0	0
Shrimp Molcajete	3	0	2	0	1	0
Shrimp Pasta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Shrimp Torta	2	0	0	0	0	2
Sincronizada	15	0	1	6	7	1
Snails	1	0	0	0	1	0
Snapper	4	0	4	0	0	0
Sopes	21	0	2	3	8	8
Spinach Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Spring Salad	5	0	0	5	0	0
Steak a la Veracruzana	7	0	7	0	0	0
Strawberries and Cream	1	0	0	0	1	0
Suadero Quesadilla	3	0	0	1	0	2

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Tilapia Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	1	0
Tilapia Torta	2	0	1	1	0	0
Tlayuda	2	0	0	2	0	0
Tofu Burrito	1	0	0	1	0	0
Tofu Quesadilla	1	0	0	1	0	0
Tostaguac	6	0	0	3	2	1
Tostones	1	0	0	0	1	0
Tripe Burrito	5	0	0	1	0	4
Tripe Quesadilla	4	0	0	1	0	3
Tripe Taco	16	0	0	3	3	10
Tripe Torta	4	0	0	0	0	4
Tuna	1	0	0	0	1	0
Tuna Torta	1	0	0	1	0	0
Turkey Torta	7	0	0	0	0	7
Veggie Soup	2	0	1	1	0	0
Veggie Torta	4	0	2	0	2	0
Veggie Wrap	5	0	4	0	1	0
Vuelva a la Vida	5	0	0	0	2	3
Yucca	4	0	0	0	2	2

DISH	Overall	1	2	3	4	5
Steak Fajita	541	120	145	147	108	21
Chicken Fajita	508	120	141	137	90	20
Chicken Taco	558	118	141	162	109	28
Chicken Quesadilla	515	116	135	137	106	21
Nachos	486	116	147	136	72	15
Cheese Enchilada	486	115	132	139	83	17
Steak Taco	542	114	136	151	111	30
Beef Enchilada	456	110	139	124	68	15
Beef Taco	427	103	116	125	67	16
Grilled Chicken Salad	315	102	97	55	57	4
Flautas	500	101	147	143	92	17
Steak Quesadilla	423	93	104	111	94	21
Beef Burrito	355	89	114	95	47	10
Chicken Enchilada	497	87	147	149	90	24
Taco Salad	373	85	125	105	47	11
Chicken Burrito	435	82	118	125	88	22
Chile con Queso	404	81	140	117	56	10
Cheese Quesadilla	310	79	79	92	54	6
Tamale	306	78	125	69	29	5
Tortilla Soup	230	76	102	50	2	0
Steak Salad	247	74	111	35	24	3
Guacamole	343	68	93	106	69	7
Fish Taco	153	67	49	33	4	0
Carne Guisada	304	65	77	82	67	13
Queso Fundido	304	62	120	82	34	6
Chimichanga	290	58	109	88	30	5
Steak Burrito	352	57	99	103	72	21
Breakfast Burrito	250	55	22	64	85	24
Bean Burrito	150	55	49	43	2	1
Grilled Chicken Breast	381	53	131	115	72	10
Chile Relleno	332	47	131	84	60	10
Ribs	218	47	60	64	43	4
House Salad	152	47	53	30	21	1
Shrimp Quesadilla	305	45	84	85	74	17
Flan	304	44	110	94	44	12
Shrimp a la Diabla	254	43	48	68	79	16
Tostada	365	42	77	136	94	16
Sopapillas	151	41	20	53	27	10
Shrimp Fajita	206	40	97	31	28	10
Grilled Shrimp	343	38	95	105	90	15
Steak Enchilada	242	37	79	69	47	10
Carne Asada	280	37	82	78	74	9

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Tres Leches Cake	227	37	85	70	32	3
Grilled Shrimp Salad	122	37	27	27	30	1
Bacon-Wrapped Shrimp	136	37	64	19	16	0
Seafood Enchilada	77	37	26	13	1	0
Roasted Chicken	71	35	5	17	13	1
Carne Guisada Taco	101	34	9	20	34	4
Carne Guisada Burrito	77	34	6	15	18	4
Chicken Soup	262	33	69	73	68	19
Hamburger	184	32	47	46	47	12
Spinach Quesadilla	114	31	55	27	1	0
Quail	137	30	46	26	35	0
Ceviche	146	28	36	42	32	8
Beef Quesadilla	192	28	43	77	38	6
Fried Shrimp	299	27	75	92	88	17
Shrimp Cocktail	301	24	64	106	91	16
Enchiladas Verdes	214	24	81	65	37	7
Fish Fillet	156	24	37	55	36	4
Jalapeño Poppers	156	23	73	35	23	2
Guacamole Salad	153	22	80	39	9	3
Taquitos	96	22	42	12	20	0
Cheesecake	179	20	48	69	35	7
Cheese Puff	107	20	52	33	2	0
Migas	158	19	20	49	59	11
Veggie Enchilada	52	19	26	6	1	0
Mojara Frita	243	17	33	79	99	15
Veggie Fajita	89	17	54	12	6	0
Empanada	56	17	24	6	9	0
Caesar Salad	54	17	25	7	5	0
Veggie Quesadilla	72	16	46	10	0	0
Grilled Chicken Sandwich	35	16	5	2	12	0
Chilaquiles	221	15	20	83	83	20
Enchiladas con Mole	91	15	37	26	12	1
Alambre	136	15	48	57	16	0
Huevos Rancheros	284	14	47	103	92	28
Rib-eye	71	14	33	22	2	0
Chipotle Chicken	33	14	6	5	8	0
Parrillada	285	13	70	106	80	16
Carnitas	124	13	47	42	9	13
Snapper	80	13	34	18	12	3
Fried Ice Cream	77	13	45	18	1	0
Aguacate Relleno	72	13	42	17	0	0
Steak Ranchero	121	12	27	28	46	8
Steak a la Tampiqueña	162	12	42	64	37	7

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Mushroom Quesadilla	44	12	9	15	5	3
Ice Cream	54	12	27	11	3	1
Crepes con Cajeta	18	12	1	5	0	0
Garlic Shrimp	161	11	34	52	57	7
Wings	49	11	21	6	10	1
Chocolate Chip Cookie	11	11	0	0	0	0
Pork Chop	137	10	33	42	41	11
Steak a la Mexicana	131	10	30	33	47	11
Pork Taco	41	10	16	11	2	2
Fish Burrito	11	10	0	0	1	0
T-Bone	187	9	46	74	51	7
Pollo con Mole	76	9	18	28	19	2
Pork Fajita	72	9	24	33	4	2
Cheese Dip	64	9	18	12	23	2
Pollo Loco	27	9	13	5	0	0
Grilled Salmon Salad	14	9	2	3	0	0
Chicken Torta	272	8	32	101	103	28
Huevos a la Mexicana	220	8	23	79	85	25
Milanesa	204	8	28	66	80	22
Carnitas Taco	84	8	25	21	18	12
Omelette	119	8	31	37	38	5
Gazpacho	10	8	2	0	0	0
Corn and Poblano Chowder	8	8	0	0	0	0
Corn Enchilada	8	8	0	0	0	0
Roasted Red Pepper Soup	8	8	0	0	0	0
Tossed Salad	8	8	0	0	0	0
Steak Torta	260	7	23	100	93	37
Menudo	270	7	27	102	106	28
Huevos con Papas	193	7	17	80	68	21
Bean Soup	39	7	18	9	4	1
Churros	55	7	37	11	0	0
Chicken Strips	41	7	26	5	3	0
Bell Pepper Relleno	36	7	21	8	0	0
Chocolate Cake	36	7	6	8	15	0
Shrimp Relleno	29	7	8	8	6	0
Fried Calamari	11	7	4	0	0	0
Huevos con Tocino	175	6	19	50	80	20
Seafood Soup	190	6	21	70	79	14
Chicken Fried Steak	18	6	5	5	1	1
French Toast	13	6	3	1	3	0
Eggroll	11	6	5	0	0	0
Brisket Taco	8	6	0	2	0	0
Corn Bisque	8	6	2	0	0	0

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Machacado	163	5	12	69	60	17
Shrimp Soup	165	5	24	46	76	14
Gordita	204	5	14	82	90	13
Shrimp Ranchero	87	5	24	20	33	5
Pollo Ranchero	39	5	17	9	8	0
Catfish	30	5	14	6	5	0
Sundae	26	5	15	0	6	0
Brownie	15	5	10	0	0	0
Mahi-Mahi	6	5	1	0	0	0
Huevos con Jamón	188	4	16	72	78	18
Fried Chicken	52	4	7	11	27	3
Tilapia	18	4	9	2	2	1
Buñelos	14	4	4	5	0	1
Veggie Burrito	52	4	9	29	10	0
Carnitas Enchilada	27	4	12	10	1	0
Grilled Salmon	13	4	4	5	0	0
Corn Cake	4	4	0	0	0	0
Egg Enchilada	4	4	0	0	0	0
Barbacoa Taco	191	3	8	78	79	23
Al Pastor Taco	240	3	32	94	90	21
Ham Torta	117	3	10	28	56	20
Carnitas Quesadilla	27	3	4	5	8	7
Sopes	74	3	13	21	33	4
Campechana	36	3	3	10	17	3
Chicken Wrap	32	3	22	7	0	0
Bean Dip	29	3	22	4	0	0
Spinach Dip	18	3	15	0	0	0
Cochinita Pibil	17	3	8	4	2	0
Veggie Taco	12	3	4	5	0	0
Spinach Salad	10	3	7	0	0	0
Cream of Poblano	7	3	3	1	0	0
Brisket Enchilada	5	3	2	0	0	0
Country Fried Chicken	3	3	0	0	0	0
Beef Soup	263	2	36	104	99	22
Milanesa Torta	159	2	9	62	65	21
Al Pastor Torta	183	2	15	73	73	20
Barbacoa Torta	146	2	4	63	59	18
Carnitas Torta	33	2	3	3	9	16
Barbacoa Burrito	132	2	4	58	53	15
Shrimp Burrito	130	2	15	47	54	12
Fish Soup	64	2	6	19	26	11
Beef Torta	78	2	5	39	24	8
Huevos Revueltos	68	2	5	39	18	4

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Tripe Taco	49	2	4	15	24	4
Enchiladas con Mole Poblano	15	2	0	4	5	4
Enchiladas Rojas	62	2	13	24	20	3
Pollo con Mole Poblano	34	2	7	9	13	3
Fish Torta	21	2	1	5	10	3
Huarache	33	2	7	5	17	2
Cabrito	21	2	6	9	3	1
Shrimp a la Mexicana	19	2	6	6	4	1
Lobster	17	2	2	1	12	0
Chili con Carne	14	2	8	3	1	0
Key Lime Pie	14	2	4	7	1	0
Strip Steak	12	2	9	0	1	0
Veggie Soup	11	2	8	0	1	0
Tripe	10	2	1	5	2	0
Apple Crisp	8	2	6	0	0	0
Veggie Torta	8	2	0	6	0	0
Brisket Quesadilla	5	2	2	1	0	0
Brisket Burrito	4	2	2	0	0	0
Crab Quesadilla	4	2	2	0	0	0
Greek Salad	4	2	2	0	0	0
Tuna	3	2	0	1	0	0
Kahlua Ice Cream Pie	2	2	0	0	0	0
Pasta	2	2	0	0	0	0
Al Pastor Burrito	113	1	7	29	58	18
Pozole	134	1	8	54	55	16
Al Pastor Quesadilla	115	1	5	32	61	16
Ham Quesadilla	49	1	6	10	20	12
Pancakes	116	1	8	55	41	11
Chicharrón Taco	100	1	5	30	53	11
Carnitas Burrito	28	1	5	5	7	10
Chicharrón Torta	59	1	2	17	30	9
Sincronizada	59	1	2	17	34	5
Huevos con Nopales	19	1	1	5	7	5
Barbacoa Enchilada	12	1	1	5	1	4
Chorizo Taco	29	1	2	9	14	3
Entomatada	21	1	6	7	4	3
Huevos Divorciados	19	1	0	7	9	2
Chorizo Quesadilla	18	1	4	6	5	2
Huevos con Chicharrones	13	1	0	4	6	2
Mushroom Enchilada	6	1	3	0	0	2
Chicharrones	46	1	3	26	15	1
Beef Dip	40	1	25	7	6	1
Chorizo Burrito	19	1	2	7	8	1

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Ham Sandwich	7	1	0	2	3	1
Potato Enchilada	6	1	0	2	2	1
Chorizo Enchilada	5	1	2	1	0	1
Cheese Taco	3	1	0	0	1	1
Potato Quesadilla	3	1	0	0	1	1
Octopus Cocktail	30	1	1	10	18	0
Bean Taco	26	1	15	9	1	0
Garden Salad	19	1	10	5	3	0
Apple Pie	15	1	13	1	0	0
Choco-Taco	11	1	10	0	0	0
Platanos Fritos	10	1	1	1	7	0
Cochinita Pibil Taco	9	1	6	1	1	0
Puerco Asado	9	1	4	4	0	0
Crawfish Enchilada	8	1	6	1	0	0
Grilled Tuna Salad	8	1	2	4	1	0
Steak Wrap	8	1	0	7	0	0
Pork Enchilada	6	1	3	1	1	0
Chipotle Steak	5	1	2	2	0	0
Pollo con Mole Oaxaqueño	5	1	1	0	3	0
Cecina	4	1	0	2	1	0
Crab Cake	4	1	0	3	0	0
Poblano Enchilada	4	1	1	2	0	0
Seafood Quesadilla	4	1	3	0	0	0
Chicken and Corn Chowder	3	1	2	0	0	0
Chicken Consommé	3	1	0	1	1	0
Club Sandwich	3	1	1	0	1	0
Crab Taco	3	1	2	0	0	0
Filet Mignon	3	1	1	1	0	0
Pollo con Mole Verde	3	1	0	2	0	0
Brisket Torta	2	1	0	1	0	0
Chicken a la Mexicana	2	1	0	1	0	0
Chiles en Nogada	2	1	0	1	0	0
Chorizo Fajita	2	1	0	1	0	0
Meatloaf	2	1	0	1	0	0
Pecan Pie	2	1	1	0	0	0
Baked Potato	1	1	0	0	0	0
Beef Stew	1	1	0	0	0	0
Calzone	1	1	0	0	0	0
Catfish Quesadilla	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chicken Chowder	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chilango Torta	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chili Pie	1	1	0	0	0	0
Corn Chowder	1	1	0	0	0	0

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Crab Pasta	1	1	0	0	0	0
Fried Chicken Salad	1	1	0	0	0	0
Fried Scallops	1	1	0	0	0	0
Grilled Portabella	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mexican Pizza	1	1	0	0	0	0
Octopus Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Pollo con Mole Negro	1	1	0	0	0	0
Scallop Burrito	1	1	0	0	0	0
Scallop Taco	1	1	0	0	0	0
Sping Rolls	1	1	0	0	0	0
Swordfish	1	1	0	0	0	0
Lengua Taco	164	0	4	65	73	22
Lengua Burrito	127	0	4	51	53	19
Lengua Torta	154	0	6	59	71	18
Pupusa	34	0	1	5	10	18
Lengua Quesadilla	105	0	3	48	39	15
Milanesa Burrito	61	0	2	33	15	11
Milanesa Taco	54	0	2	30	11	11
Ham Burrito	26	0	1	3	11	11
Milanesa Quesadilla	53	0	2	29	13	9
Al Pastor	33	0	1	6	17	9
Chorizo Torta	25	0	0	6	11	8
Lengua	45	0	2	13	23	7
Nopal Torta	41	0	2	8	24	7
Cuban Torta	27	0	0	10	10	7
Cheese Torta	10	0	0	2	1	7
Shrimp Torta	126	0	5	52	63	6
Pierna Torta	79	0	1	36	36	6
Nopal Taco	62	0	2	16	38	6
Nopal Quesadilla	35	0	2	5	22	6
Nopal Burrito	32	0	2	5	19	6
Hawaiian Torta	16	0	1	0	9	6
Ham and Egg Torta	9	0	0	2	1	6
Egg Torta	8	0	0	0	2	6
Salchicha Torta	7	0	0	0	1	6
Tuna Torta	7	0	0	0	1	6
Sardine Torta	6	0	0	0	0	6
Huevos Fritos	46	0	2	29	10	5
Tripe Torta	24	0	2	4	13	5
Tripe Burrito	24	0	2	4	14	4
Al Pastor Enchilada	10	0	0	5	1	4
Birria	10	0	2	1	3	4
Lengua Enchilada	9	0	0	5	0	4

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Nopal Enchilada	9	0	0	1	4	4
Vuelva a la Vida	33	0	1	13	16	3
Liver and Onions	23	0	0	8	12	3
Tripe Quesadilla	22	0	2	4	13	3
Mushroom Taco	16	0	9	1	3	3
Mushroom Burrito	6	0	1	0	2	3
Mushroom Torta	6	0	0	1	2	3
Ham Enchilada	3	0	0	0	0	3
Carne Guisada Torta	41	0	4	11	24	2
Aguacate Torta	35	0	0	8	25	2
Aguacate Quesadilla	29	0	1	5	21	2
Chicharrón Quesadilla	21	0	0	7	12	2
Huevos con Barbacoa	18	0	2	6	8	2
Chicharrón Burrito	16	0	0	7	7	2
Huevos con Carne	8	0	1	3	2	2
Pork Burrito	8	0	0	5	1	2
Pork Torta	6	0	0	4	0	2
Buche Taco	5	0	0	0	3	2
Buche	2	0	0	0	0	2
Milanesa Enchilada	2	0	0	0	0	2
Pierna Taco	78	0	1	40	36	1
Rice Pudding	50	0	1	32	16	1
Aguacate Taco	47	0	1	12	33	1
Aguacate Burrito	21	0	1	5	14	1
Huevos Estrellados	11	0	0	4	6	1
Nopalitos	10	0	1	5	3	1
Tinga Taco	10	0	1	0	8	1
Cheese Burrito	6	0	1	3	1	1
Quail Enchilada	6	0	0	1	4	1
Pollo con Mole Enchilada	5	0	0	0	4	1
Potato Torta	3	0	0	1	1	1
Chicharrón Enchilada	2	0	0	1	0	1
Pollo con Mole Rojo	2	0	0	1	0	1
Potato Burrito	2	0	1	0	0	1
Potato Taco	2	0	0	0	1	1
Tinga Burrito	2	0	0	0	1	1
Tinga Quesadilla	2	0	0	0	1	1
Bacon Burrito	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bacon Enchilada	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bacon Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bacon Taco	1	0	0	0	0	1
Bacon Torta	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cabrito Consommé	1	0	0	0	0	1

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Fried Fish	1	0	0	0	0	1
Pierna Burrito	60	0	1	33	26	0
Pierna Quesadilla	52	0	0	31	21	0
Oysters	33	0	2	14	17	0
Carne Guisada Quesadilla	27	0	0	9	18	0
Jello	25	0	0	25	0	0
Chef Salad	22	0	2	13	7	0
Guacamole Taco	22	0	19	3	0	0
Pollo Relleno	19	0	14	4	1	0
Fried Mushrooms	15	0	15	0	0	0
Fried Oysters	15	0	1	3	11	0
Gumbo	15	0	0	3	12	0
Elote	14	0	1	1	12	0
Oyster Cocktail	14	0	0	4	10	0
Crab	13	0	2	2	9	0
Cabeza Taco	12	0	0	5	7	0
Cobb Salad	12	0	12	0	0	0
Huevos con Salchicha	12	0	0	4	8	0
Lettuce Wrap	12	0	12	0	0	0
Fried Catfish	10	0	5	2	3	0
Lamb Taco	10	0	2	2	6	0
Scallops	9	0	0	4	5	0
Lamb Torta	8	0	2	1	5	0
Yucca	8	0	0	1	7	0
Lamb Burrito	7	0	2	1	4	0
Carrot Cake	6	0	1	4	1	0
Enchiladas con Mole Rojo	6	0	2	1	3	0
Hen Soup	6	0	0	0	6	0
Lamb Quesadilla	6	0	2	1	3	0
Mexican Lasagna	6	0	6	0	0	0
Octopus	6	0	0	1	5	0
Panucho	6	0	4	0	2	0
Pork Quesadilla	6	0	1	3	2	0
Shrimp Pasta	6	0	0	0	6	0
Bean Quesadilla	5	0	3	0	2	0
Cabeza Burrito	5	0	0	1	4	0
Cabeza Torta	5	0	0	1	4	0
Crab Soup	5	0	0	0	5	0
Cream of Cilantro Soup	5	0	4	1	0	0
Gringa	5	0	0	4	1	0
Lobster Enchilada	5	0	2	3	0	0
Mousse	5	0	5	0	0	0
Pollo con Mole Quesadilla	5	0	0	1	4	0

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Pollo con Mole Taco	5	0	0	1	4	0
Pollo con Mole Torta	5	0	0	1	4	0
Spinach Burrito	5	0	3	2	0	0
Strawberries and Cream	5	0	1	3	1	0
Cabeza Quesadilla	4	0	0	0	4	0
Carne Guisada Enchilada	4	0	0	0	4	0
Chicken a la Diabla	4	0	3	0	1	0
Chorizo	4	0	1	1	2	0
Cuban Taco	4	0	0	4	0	0
Hotdog	4	0	0	1	3	0
Lamb Consommé	4	0	0	1	3	0
Mango Pie	4	0	0	4	0	0
Ropa Vieja	4	0	0	4	0	0
Ropa Vieja Taco	4	0	0	4	0	0
Ropa Vieja Torta	4	0	0	4	0	0
Caldo Tlalpeño	3	0	3	0	0	0
Carne Guisada Taco	3	0	1	2	0	0
Cheese Sticks	3	0	3	0	0	0
Chicken Stew	3	0	0	2	1	0
Heuvos Rancheros	3	0	0	0	3	0
Puerco con Mole Verde	3	0	0	3	0	0
Bacon Fajita	2	0	2	0	0	0
Bean Enchilada	2	0	2	0	0	0
Buche Burrito	2	0	0	0	2	0
Buche Quesadilla	2	0	0	0	2	0
Buche Torta	2	0	0	0	2	0
Cabrito Taco	2	0	0	1	1	0
Cabrito Torta	2	0	0	1	1	0
Catfish Soup	2	0	0	0	2	0
Chipotle Tilapia	2	0	2	0	0	0
Clams	2	0	0	0	2	0
Crawfish	2	0	0	2	0	0
Crawfish Quesadilla	2	0	2	0	0	0
Crawfish Taco	2	0	2	0	0	0
Fried Hen	2	0	0	0	2	0
Fruit Salad	2	0	0	1	1	0
Garlic Fish	2	0	1	1	0	0
Hen Torta	2	0	0	0	2	0
Huevos con Chorizo	2	0	1	0	1	0
Huevos con Lengua	2	0	0	1	1	0
Machacado Burrito	2	0	0	0	2	0
Machacado Quesadilla	2	0	0	0	2	0
Machacado Taco	2	0	0	0	2	0

Machacado Torta	2	0	0	0	2	0
Maduros	2	0	0	1	1	0
Mushroom Soup	2	0	0	2	0	0
Nopal Salad	2	0	1	1	0	0
Onion Soup	2	0	1	1	0	0
Oyster Torta	2	0	0	2	0	0
Pan Dulce	2	0	0	1	1	0
Salmon Taco	2	0	0	2	0	0
Seafood Taco	2	0	1	1	0	0
Tlacoyos	2	0	0	0	2	0
Turkey Torta	2	0	2	0	0	0
Aguacate Enchilada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Alambre Taco	1	0	1	0	0	0
Augacate Torta	1	0	1	0	0	0
Aztec Soup	1	0	1	0	0	0
Banana Pie	1	0	0	1	0	0
Bananas Foster	1	0	1	0	0	0
Beef Consommé	1	0	0	1	0	0
Beef Tips	1	0	0	0	1	0
BLT	1	0	0	1	0	0
Brain Burrito	1	0	0	0	1	0
Brain Quesadilla	1	0	0	0	1	0
Brain Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Brain Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Bread Pudding	1	0	1	0	0	0
Brisket	1	0	0	0	1	0
Cabrito Burrito	1	0	0	0	1	0
Carne Adobada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cebollas Oaxaqueñas	1	0	0	1	0	0
Chalupa	1	0	0	1	0	0
Champiñones a la Mexicana	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chapulines	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cheesesteak	1	0	0	1	0	0
Chicken Alfredo	1	0	0	0	1	0
Chorizo and Potato Torta	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cochinita Pibil Enchilada	1	0	1	0	0	0
Cole Slaw	1	0	1	0	0	0
Corn Quesadilla	1	0	1	0	0	0
Crab Cake Torta	1	0	0	1	0	0
Duck	1	0	0	1	0	0
Egg Taco	1	0	0	0	1	0
Fish Enchilada	1	0	0	0	1	0
Fish Primavera	1	0	1	0	0	0

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Fish Veracruzana	1	0	0	0	1	0
Flounder	1	0	0	1	0	0
Fruit Cobbler	1	0	0	1	0	0
Grilled Cheese Sandwich	1	0	0	1	0	0
Grilled Fish Salad	1	0	1	0	0	0
Grilled Seafood Salad	1	0	1	0	0	0
Grits	1	0	0	1	0	0
Ham and Cheese Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Ham Salad	1	0	0	0	1	0
Huevos al Mole Poblano	1	0	0	1	0	0
Huevos con Asado	1	0	0	0	1	0
Huevos con Frijoles	1	0	0	0	1	0
Huevos con Queso	1	0	0	0	1	0
Huitlacoche	1	0	0	1	0	0
Lamb Chop	1	0	0	1	0	0
Lobster Soup	1	0	0	1	0	0
Margarita Pie	1	0	1	0	0	0
Mexican Salad	1	0	0	0	1	0
Mexican Stew	1	0	0	0	1	0
Mud Pie	1	0	0	1	0	0
Mussels	1	0	0	1	0	0
Nopal Fajita	1	0	0	0	1	0
Oxtail Soup	1	0	0	1	0	0
Papas Ranchero	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pastelito de Carne	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pastrami Torta	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pata de Res (Cow Foot) Burrito	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pierna Enchilada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pizza	1	0	0	0	1	0
Poblano Quesadilla	1	0	1	0	0	0
Pollo Fundido	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pollo Monterrey	1	0	0	0	1	0
Pork Chop Taco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pot Roast	1	0	1	0	0	0
Potato Skins	1	0	0	1	0	0
Potato Soup	1	0	1	0	0	0
Quail Fajita	1	0	1	0	0	0
Ruben	1	0	0	1	0	0
Salchicha Taco	1	0	0	1	0	0
Seafood Fajita	1	0	1	0	0	0
Shrimp a la Veracruz	1	0	0	0	1	0
Shrimp en Nogada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Shrimp Enchialda	1	0	0	1	0	0

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Snails	1	0	0	1	0	0
Squash Soup	1	0	0	1	0	0
Steak con Mole Negro	1	0	0	1	0	0
Stir-Fried Veggies	1	0	0	1	0	0
Stuffed Eggplant	1	0	0	1	0	0
Suadero Taco	1	0	1	0	0	0
Tripe Enchilada	1	0	0	1	0	0
Trout	1	0	0	1	0	0
Tuna Sandwich	1	0	0	0	1	0
Tuna Taco	1	0	1	0	0	0
Waffle	1	0	1	0	0	0

DISH	ATL	ATL HIS	ATL N-HIS	HOU	HOU HIS	HOU N-HIS	HIS	N-HIS
Taco	26	17	9	28	16	12	33	21
Enchilada	24	16	8	27	16	11	32	19
Quesadilla	23	16	7	24	16	8	32	15
Menudo	16	11	5	17	11	6	22	11
Ceviche	17	10	7	15	10	5	20	12
Carne Asada	9	5	5	21	14	7	19	12
Fajita	8	2	6	20	9	11	11	17
Pozole	9	5	4	18	11	7	16	11
Tamale	10	8	2	17	12	5	20	7
Barbacoa	13	11	2	13	9	4	20	6
Chicken Soup	14	10	4	11	8	3	18	7
Huevos Rancheros	7	6	1	16	10	6	16	7
Steak	12	9	3	10	5	5	14	8
Al Pastor	7	5	2	14	11	3	16	5
Chilaquiles	9	8	1	11	10	1	18	2
Cajeta	11	9	2	8	8	0	17	2
Mojarra	13	10	3	6	6	0	16	3
Mole Poblano	12	8	4	7	3	4	11	8
Guacamole	11	8	3	5	1	4	9	7
Beef Soup	9	8	1	6	3	3	11	4
Burrito	6	3	3	9	2	7	5	10
Gordita	7	6	1	8	5	3	11	4
Sope	7	6	1	8	8	0	14	1
Carnitas	3	1	2	11	7	4	8	6
Lengua	7	3	4	7	5	2	8	6
Tres Leches Cake	5	3	2	9	4	5	7	7
Carne Guisada	1	1	0	12	4	8	5	8
Shrimp Cocktail	3	1	2	10	9	1	10	3
Chile con Queso	0	0	0	12	4	8	4	8
Chili con Carne	5	2	3	7	2	5	4	8
Churros	3	2	1	9	6	3	8	4
Cabrito	7	6	1	4	4	0	10	1
Chicken	5	4	1	6	3	3	7	4
Tostada	7	5	2	4	1	3	6	5
Flan	7	5	2	3	2	1	7	3
Pescado	3	2	1	7	6	1	8	2
Sopapillas	5	3	2	5	2	3	5	5
Torta	5	3	2	5	4	1	7	3
Tripas	4	3	1	6	6	0	9	1
Birra	5	3	2	4	4	0	7	2
Migas	2	1	1	7	5	2	6	3
Nachos	1	0	1	8	2	6	2	7

Elote	4	4	0	4	3	1	7	1
Puerco Asado	2	0	1	6	4	2	4	3
Nopales	4	4	0	3	3	0	7	0
Refried Beans	4	2	2	3	2	1	4	3
Sincronizada	2	2	0	5	3	2	5	2
Machacado	2	2	0	4	3	1	5	1
Pico de Gallo	4	4	0	2	1	1	5	1
Salsa	4	2	2	2	0	2	2	4
Taco Salad	0	0	0	6	1	5	1	5
Chalupa	2	1	1	3	0	3	1	4
Chili Verde	1	0	1	4	2	2	2	3
Milanesa	2	2	0	3	2	1	4	1
Chiles en Nogada	2	2	0	2	1	1	3	1
Chiles Relleno	0	0	0	4	3	1	3	1
Chiles Rellenos	3	2	1	1	0	1	2	2
Chorizo	3	1	2	1	0	1	1	3
Huarache	2	2	0	2	2	0	4	0
Pierna	2	2	0	2	2	0	4	0
Chicharrones	1	1	0	2	1	1	2	1
Empanada	3	2	1	0	0	0	2	1
Entomatada	1	1	0	2	2	0	3	0
Gringa	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	0
Seafood Soup	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	0
Shrimp Soup	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	0
Tlayuda	1	0	1	2	1	1	1	2
Tortillas	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	2
Tostones	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	2
Chapulines	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1
Consomme	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	0
Flauta	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0
Huevos a la Mexicana	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0
Huevos Divorciados	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0
Platanos Fritos	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Pollo Ranchero	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	0
Queso	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Squash Soup	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	1
Tequila	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1
Aguacate Relleno	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Arroz con Pollo	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Atole	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Buñuelos	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Cecina	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Charro Beans	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

Chimichanga	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cochinita Pibil	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Dolce de Leche	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Hamburger	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Huevos con Carne	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Huevos Motuleños	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Huitlacoche	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Lobster	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Pulque	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Queso Oaxaca	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Shrimp	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Shrimp a la Diabla	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Taquitos	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Yucca	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1

Dish	All	ATL	HOU	HIS	N-HIS	ATL HIS	HOU HIS	ATL N-HIS	HOU N-HIS
Taco	68	37	31	15	53	5	10	32	21
Enchilada	61	32	29	12	49	4	8	28	21
Quesadilla	51	24	27	13	38	4	9	20	18
Burrito	39	27	12	4	35	1	3	26	9
Fajita	32	8	24	5	27	0	5	8	19
Guacamole	31	14	17	6	25	2	4	12	13
Tamale	29	13	16	9	20	4	5	9	11
Chiles_Rellenos	28	13	15	9	19	3	6	10	9
Tortillas	28	12	16	5	23	1	4	11	12
Rice_and_Beans	27	16	11	5	22	3	2	13	9
Salsa	27	11	16	3	24	1	2	10	14
Chile_con_Queso	26	9	17	4	22	2	2	7	15
Nachos	21	10	11	2	19	1	1	9	10
Carne_Asada	20	10	10	13	7	5	8	5	2
Flan	18	10	8	5	13	1	4	9	4
Taquitos	17	11	6	0	17	0	0	11	6
Gordita	15	7	8	11	4	4	7	3	1
Steak	15	5	10	6	9	2	4	3	6
Huevos_Rancheros	13	6	7	8	5	2	6	4	1
Menudo	13	5	8	12	1	4	8	1	0
Tostada	13	5	8	6	7	2	4	3	4
Chicken_Soup	11	5	6	8	3	3	5	2	1
Chilaquiles	11	5	6	10	1	4	6	1	0
Chimichanga	11	6	5	0	11	0	0	6	5
Churros	11	7	4	2	9	2	0	5	4
Mole	11	8	3	1	10	0	1	8	2
Al_Pastor	10	4	6	10	0	4	6	0	0
Ceviche	10	3	7	7	3	2	5	1	2
Chorizo	10	8	2	3	7	2	1	6	1
Carnitas	9	5	4	5	4	2	3	3	1
Chalupa	9	6	3	0	9	0	0	6	3
Elote	9	5	4	8	1	4	4	1	0
Margarita	9	6	3	0	9	0	0	6	3
Pozole	9	2	7	8	1	2	6	0	1
Chili	8	1	7	2	6	0	2	1	5
Empanada	8	7	1	0	8	0	0	7	1
Refried_Beans	8	4	4	1	7	1	0	3	4
Taco_Salad	8	0	8	0	8	0	0	0	8
Barbacoa	7	4	3	7	0	4	3	0	0
Shrimp_Cocktail	7	1	6	6	1	1	5	0	1
Sope	7	3	4	6	1	2	4	1	0
Tortilla_Soup	7	1	6	0	7	0	0	1	6

Beef_Soup	6	2	4	6	0	2	4	0	0
Lengua	6	2	4	6	0	2	4	0	0
Pico_de_Gallo	6	3	3	1	5	1	0	2	3
Torta	6	5	1	4	2	3	1	2	0
Cabrillo	5	2	3	5	0	2	3	0	0
Cajeta	5	3	2	5	0	3	2	0	0
Carne_Guisada	5	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	5
Mojarra	5	1	4	4	1	1	3	0	1
Mole_Poblano	5	2	3	4	1	1	3	1	0
Fish_Taco	4	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0
Flauta	4	1	3	0	4	0	0	1	3
Tres_Leches_Cake	4	0	4	2	2	0	2	0	2
Sopapillas	3	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	2
Al_Pastor_Taco	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Atole	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Birria	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0
Dulce_de_Leche	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Fried_Ice_Cream	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Grilled_Onion	2	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	0
Mexican_Rice	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Migas	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0
Nopales	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Platanos_Fritos	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Poblano_Chile	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Pupusa	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Aguacate_Relleno	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Arroz_con_Pollo	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Avacado	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Bean_Dip	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Chiles_en_Nogada	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Enchiladas_Rojas	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Enchiladas_Verdes	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Fried_Banana	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Fruit	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Guinea_Pig	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Hot_Chocolate	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Hot_Sauce	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Huevos_con_Chori	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Huevos_Divorciados	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Machacado	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Maduros	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Mojarra_Frita	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Mole_de_Cadera	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Appendix J: Customers' Mexican Food Domain

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Pollo_con_Mole	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Salsa_Verde	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Tacos al Carbon	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tapas	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Tequila	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Tomatillo	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tostones	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0

Dish	All	ATL	HOU	HIS	N-HIS	ATL	HIS	HOU	HIS	ATL	N-HIS	HOU	N-HIS
Bacon	6	3	3	2	4	1	1	1	2				2
Baconaise	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Bagels_and_Cre:	8	4	4	0	8	0	0	4	4				4
Baked_Beans	9	4	5	2	7	0	2	4	3				3
Baked_Potatoes	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1				1
Banana Bread	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Banana_Puddin	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				0
Banana_Split	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2				2
Barbeque	28	16	12	8	20	2	6	14	6				6
Barbeque_Chick	13	8	5	2	11	1	1	7	4				4
Beef_Stew	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1				1
Beer	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Biscuits	7	6	1	1	6	0	1	6	0				0
Bison	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
BLT	4	4	0	1	3	1	0	3	0				0
Boiled Peanuts	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Breakfast_Burrit	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	0				0
Brownies	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Brunswick_Stew	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	0				0
Burrito	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Caesar_Salad	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1				1
Cake	9	4	5	1	8	1	0	3	5				5
Casseroles	5	3	2	0	5	0	0	3	2				2
Cereal	6	1	5	0	6	0	0	1	5				5
Cheesesteak	8	5	3	0	8	0	0	5	3				3
Cheesy Rice	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Chicken Fingers	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Chicken Salad	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Chicken_Dumpli	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1				1
Chicken_Fried_	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3				3
Chicken_Masala	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1				1
Chicken_Nugget	3	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	1				1
Chicken_Soup	7	1	6	0	7	0	0	1	6				6
Chili	7	4	3	1	6	0	1	4	2				2
Chili_Dog	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Chinese_Food	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Chipotle_Chicke	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1				1
Chitlins	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1				1
Choco-Taco	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0				0
Chocolate_Chip_	4	2	2	1	3	0	1	2	1				1
Chop_Suey	6	3	3	3	3	1	2	2	1				1
Clam_Chowder	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Club_Sandwich	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0				0
Cobb_Salad	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1				1

Appendix K: Customers' American Food Domain

Coffee	2	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0
Coke	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Cole_Slaw	10	3	7	3	7	0	3	3	4
Collard_Greens	11	6	5	3	8	1	2	5	3
Corn_Bread	4	3	1	0	4	0	0	3	1
Corn_Dogs	8	5	3	0	8	0	0	5	3
Corn_Fritters	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Corn_on_the_Cc	14	11	3	2	12	1	1	10	2
Cornbread	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Crab	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cranberry_Sauce	4	3	1	1	3	0	1	3	0
Crawfish	7	2	5	1	6	0	1	2	4
Cream_of_Whea	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Double_Baked_I	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Doughnut	6	1	5	2	4	0	2	1	3
Flounder	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
French_Fries	36	17	19	11	24	4	7	13	11
Fried_Chicken	41	25	16	9	32	4	5	21	11
Fried_Eggs	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
Fried_Fish	3	2	1	0	3	0	0	2	1
Fried_Green_Toi	2	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Fried_Okra	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Fried_Pickles	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Fried_Snickers	3	1	2	0	3	0	0	1	2
Funnel_Cake	5	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Garlic_Bread	4	0	4	1	3	0	1	0	3
Green_Beans	8	3	5	2	6	0	2	3	3
Grilled_Cheese	5	1	4	1	4	0	1	1	3
Grilled_Chicken	4	3	1	1	3	0	1	3	0
Grilled_Portabel	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Grilled_Veggies	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3
Grits	5	5	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Gumbo	9	4	5	1	8	0	1	4	4
Ham	4	1	3	1	3	0	1	1	2
Hamburger	62	35	27	13	49	5	8	30	19
Hard_boiled_eg	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hogie	4	3	1	0	4	0	0	3	1
Hopping_John	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hotdog	53	32	21	9	43	3	6	28	15
Hush_Puppies	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Ice_Cream	5	4	1	3	4	2	1	3	1
Jalapeño_Poppe	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Jello	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Ketchup	4	2	2	1	3	0	1	2	1
Kolache	4	0	4	1	3	0	1	0	3

Appendix K: Customers' American Food Domain

Kung_Pao_Chick	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Lasagna	5	2	3	1	4	0	1	2	2
Latte	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Liver and Onion	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Macaroni_and_C	15	5	10	2	13	0	2	5	8
Mashed_Potatoe	16	8	8	2	14	0	2	8	6
McDonald's	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Meatloaf	15	6	9	3	12	1	2	5	7
Mozzarella Stick	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Mudbugs	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Muffin	3	1	2	1	2	0	1	1	1
Nachos	6	0	6	1	5	0	1	0	5
Oatmeal	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Okra	5	4	1	0	5	0	0	4	1
Omellete	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Onion_Rings	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Orange_Juice	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Oysters_Rockefe	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Pancake	12	6	6	4	8	2	2	4	4
Pannini	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Pasta	21	8	13	4	17	0	4	8	9
Pasta_Salad	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1
Peach_Cobbler	3	2	1	0	3	0	0	2	1
Peanut_Butter_a	15	8	7	1	14	0	1	8	6
Perogies	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Pie	23	12	11	4	19	2	2	10	9
Pizza	43	20	23	7	36	2	5	18	18
Po_Boy	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Popcorn	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Popscicles	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Pork_Chop	10	1	9	3	7	0	3	1	6
Pot_Pies	3	1	2	1	2	1	0	0	2
Pot_Roast	6	2	4	1	5	0	1	2	3
Potato_Chips	14	6	8	3	11	1	2	5	6
Potato_Salad	9	3	6	2	7	0	2	3	4
Pretzels	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Prime_Rib	6	3	3	2	4	1	1	2	2
Pumpkin	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Ribs	16	9	7	4	12	2	2	7	5
Rice_and_Beans	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0
Roasted_Turkey	12	6	5	3	9	0	3	6	3
Ruben	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Salad	13	6	7	6	7	3	3	3	4
Salmon	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1

Appendix K: Customers' American Food Domain

Salsa	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Sandwich	27	16	11	7	20	4	3	12	8
Sausage	9	3	6	4	5	2	2	1	4
Scrambled_Eggs	4	2	2	1	3	1	0	1	2
Seafood	6	4	2	1	5	1	0	3	2
Shrimp	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Sourdough	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Soy_Milk_Latte	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Squash	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Steak	24	13	11	5	19	2	3	11	8
Steamed_Veggie	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Stew	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Stir_Fry	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Strawberry_Shc	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Stromboli	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Sundae	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Sushi	6	3	3	0	6	0	0	3	3
Sweet Tea	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Sweet_Potatoes	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Taco	7	3	4	1	6	0	1	3	3
Toast	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tofu	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Tomato_Soup	2	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2
Tortillas	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	1
Tuna_Salad	4	1	3	0	4	0	0	1	3
Turnover	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Twinkies	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1
Veggie_Soup	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
Waffle	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Watermelon	4	2	2	0	4	0	0	2	2
Wings	5	3	2	1	4	1	0	2	2
Wraps	2	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1

Appendix L: Raw Customer Data

Subject	City	Gender	Ethnicity	Zip Code	UNI?	Age	EAT OUT	EAT MEX	MEX D	CK MEX	INRCT MEX	LIKE ETHR
1	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30064	In	21	5	4	4	1	3	5
2	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30064	In	22	4	2	1.6	4	3	5
3	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30030	BA	25	5	2	2	2	4	4
4	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30064	In	23	2	1	0.4	3	1	4
5	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30064	In	21	3	2	1.2	2	2	5
6	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30005	In	19	4	5	4	2	5	5
7	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30022	In	19	4	5	4	4	4	4
8	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30005	In	19	4	3	2.4	4	2	5
9	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30319	In	20	4	1	0.8	2	2	5
10	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30101	In	20	2	2	0.8	2	1	4
11	Atlanta	Female	Black	30066	In	19	3	2	1.2	1	2	3
12	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30064	In	19	4	4	3.2	3	5	5
13	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30152	In	19	3	3	1.8	2	2	4
14	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30350	In	20	2	2	0.8	1	2	4
15	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30101	In	19	4	3	2.4	3	3	4
16	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30338	In	21	5	2	2	2	4	4
17	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30328	BS	22	3	2	1.2	3	4	5
18	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30350	BA	24	3	1	0.6	4	1	5
19	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30076	BA	23	3	5	3	1	1	5
20	Atlanta	Male	Hispanic	30097	MS	52	4	5	4	5	5	5
21	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30075	BS	21	1	3	0.6	4	3	5
22	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30004	BA	25	4	5	4	2	4	5
23	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30004	In	22	3	3	1.8	2	5	4
24	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30004	In	21	3	3	1.8	2	3	5
25	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30004	No	17	2	4	1.6	5	2	5
26	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30307	BA	23	4	5	4	5	5	5
27	Atlanta	Male	Asian	30326	MA	36	4	4	3.2	3	4	4
28	Atlanta	Female	Asian	30326	PhD	35	5	5	5	4	3	4
29	Atlanta	Male	Hispanic	30329	No	29	3	4	2.4	5	3	5
30	Atlanta	Male	Hispanic	30329	In	32	2	3	1.2	5	5	5
31	Atlanta	Female	Hispanic	30329	In	30	5	5	5	5	5	4
32	Atlanta	Male	Black	30095	BA	53	4	4	3.2	4	5	5
33	Atlanta	Female	Black	30095	BS	53	4	3	2.4	3	3	2
34	Atlanta	Male	Black	30095	MS	29	4	5	4	4	4	4

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35	Atlanta	Female	Hispanic	30341	No	26	3	5	3	5	5	2
36	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30064	BA	43	1	3	0.6	2	2	1
37	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30101	BS	43	2	4	1.6	4	4	3
38	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30084	MA	57	4	1	0.8	1	1	4
39	Atlanta	Female	Anglo	30084	MA	56	3	3	1.8	2	2	4
40	Atlanta	Male	Anglo	30084	No	16	4	5	4	5	5	2
41	Atlanta	Male	Hispanic	30236	No	28	5	5	5	5	5	5
1	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77040	BA	41	5	5	5	3	5	5
2	Houston	Female	Hispanic	77040	In	36	4	5	4	3	5	4
3	Houston	Male	Asian	77024	BS	31	3	3	1.8	2	4	4
4	Houston	Female	Anglo	77058	MS	23	4	2	1.6	2	5	5
5	Houston	Male	Anglo	77058	BS	25	4	3	2.4	2	4	5
6	Houston	Male	Asian	77062	BS	25	5	5	5	3	5	4
7	Houston	Female	Anglo	77058	MS	25	2	3	1.2	2	3	3
8	Houston	Female	Anglo	77379	BS	22	3	5	3	5	5	2
9	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77058	MS	28	3	4	2.4	5	5	3
10	Houston	Male	Anglo	77062	BS	27	4	5	4	3	5	4
11	Houston	Female	Hispanic	77058	BS	26	3	5	3	4	5	5
12	Houston	Female	Anglo	77058	In	24	4	2	1.6	3	3	4
13	Houston	Male	Anglo	77024	In	22	2	4	1.6	2	3	5
14	Houston	Male	Anglo	77338	In	21	3	3	1.8	2	2	4
15	Houston	Female	Asian	77379	In	21	4	3	2.4	4	5	4
16	Houston	Female	Black	77024	In	22	4	3	2.4	1	3	5
17	Houston	Male	Anglo	77094	BA	61	4	2	1.6	3	2	3
18	Houston	Female	Black	77094	MA	58	2	5	2	2	2	4
19	Houston	Female	Black	77094	In	17	4	5	4	4	5	5
20	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77055	No	23	3	5	3	4	5	5
21	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77055	No	23	4	4	3.2	5	5	3
22	Houston	Male	Anglo	77009	No	52	2	5	2	5	5	4
23	Houston	Female	Asian	77598	BA	32	4	4	3.2	2	5	4
24	Houston	Male	Asian	77598	MS	36	3	4	2.4	3	1	3
25	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77050	No	27	2	2	0.8	3	5	4
26	Houston	Female	Hispanic	77050	BA	28	5	5	5	4	5	2
27	Houston	Female	Hispanic	77004	In	18	2	4	1.6	1	5	4
28	Houston	Male	Anglo	77004	In	19	4	2	1.6	2	2	4

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29	Houston	Male	Black	77004 In	19	2	4	1.6	1	3	2
30	Houston	Female	Anglo	77004 In	21	3	5	3	3	5	3
31	Houston	Male	Anglo	77004 In	21	4	5	4	4	5	5
32	Houston	Female	Asian	77040 BS	25	4	3	2.4	3	5	2
33	Houston	Male	Hispanic	77040 BA	42	4	5	4	4	5	4

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Subject	UNFMRs	LIKE MEX	ETHFd	UNFMFd	SPICE	AUTH	STRNG	NEW	AM List	MX List	DIFF	OVERAI	DIFF	HISP
1	5	4	5	5	3	4	2	4	8	7	0.1328125	0.140625		
2	3	5	3	2	3	1	1	2	4	6	0.2109375	0.2265625		
3	3	5	3	4	4	3	2	3	16	9	0.30078125	0.3046875		
4	5	3	4	2	3	1	2	3	12	9	0.21875	0.23046875		
5	5	3	5	5	3	3	4	5	6	9	0.224609375	0.232421875		
6	5	5	4	5	4	5	2	4	8	12	0.15234375	0.1640625		
7	4	5	5	5	3	2	2	4	10	10	0.154296875	0.169921875		
8	5	5	5	5	3	4	2	3	14	16	0.203125	0.2109375		
9	4	4	4	4	5	3	2	3	4	5	0.25390625	0.26171875		
10	4	3	4	4	4	2	2	4	13	11	0.279296875	0.275390625		
11	2	4	4	3	1	3	2	3	10	13	0.228515625	0.236328125		
12	4	3	5	4	4	4	2	4	14	11	0.23828125	0.2265625		
13	5	4	3	4	4	3	3	5	16	4	0.215820313	0.231445313		
14	3	4	3	3	5	2	1	3	16	6	0.216796875	0.236328125		
15	4	5	4	5	5	2	4	5	24	9	0.263671875	0.279296875		
16	5	5	4	5	5	4	2	3	6	5	0.177734375	0.205078125		
17	5	5	5	5	5	2	3	2	15	9	0.326171875	0.333984375		
18	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	3	8	7	0.37109375	0.36328125		
19	4	5	5	5	5	2	2	3	6	5	0.19921875	0.22265625		
20	3	5	4	5	5	2	2	3	19	12	0.166015625	0.138671875		
21	4	5	4	3	3	3	1	1	8	12	0.416015625	0.431640625		
22	5	5	4	5	4	2	2	5	22	12	0.1875	0.19921875		
23	5	5	3	2	4	2	2	1	8	5	0.287109375	0.298828125		
24	4	5	4	3	4	4	3	3	15	9	0.431640625	0.427734375		
25	4	5	5	5	5	2	4	5	5	4	0.10546875	0.140625		
26	4	3	4	4	2	2	2	3	11	15	0.2203125	0.128125		
27	3	5	4	3	2	2	1	4	10	17	0.21484375	0.203125		
28	2	4	2	4	3	2	4	4	10	9	0.1328125	0.140625		
29	5	5	5	4	4	2	2	2	7	21	0.24609375	0.265625		
30	2	5	3	3	3	2	2	2	9	17	0.265625	0.29296875		
31	3	5	4	2	3	2	3	3	9	17	0.259765625	0.275390625		
32	4	4	3	4	2	1	4	4	12	14	0.234375	0.24609375		
33	2	3	5	3	4	3	4	3	19	10	0.2578125	0.2890625		
34	5	4	4	3	2	1	3	5	17	12	0.166015625	0.138671875		

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35	1	5	2	4	3	4	2	1	6	20	0.232421875	0.267578125
36	3	2	4	4	5	4	5	2	13	6	0.453125	0.44140625
37	4	5	5	5	2	2	1	5	15	7	0.2421875	0.203125
38	4	4	3	2	5	5	2	2	11	6	0.76171875	0.7265625
39	5	4	4	1	4	4	1	4	18	12	0.27734375	0.27734375
40	3	5	5	5	1	2	5	5	16	10	0.149414063	0.149414063
41	5	5	4	4	3	1	2	5	9	26	0.140625	0.10546875
1	2	5	1	5	5	3	2	2	9	14	0.07421875	0.0546875
2	3	5	4	4	3	3	2	3	8	18	0.1953125	0.171875
3	2	5	3	2	5	4	2	1	22	12	0.23828125	0.234375
4	5	5	5	5	1	2	1	1	10	6	0.5234375	0.515625
5	5	5	5	5	4	4	2	2	11	11	0.14453125	0.17578125
6	4	5	4	4	5	4	3	5	18	9	0.16015625	0.1875
7	5	4	4	5	1	3	4	5	13	11	0.350585938	0.362304688
8	3	5	2	3	4	4	3	2	10	18	0.19140625	0.19140625
9	2	5	4	4	4	4	2	3	11	13	0.26953125	0.26171875
10	3	4	4	5	3	2	2	5	12	17	0.20703125	0.203125
11	5	5	3	3	2	2	3	3	15	21	0.103515625	0.056640625
12	3	3	3	2	5	2	2	3	17	13	0.243164063	0.239257813
13	2	4	4	3	4	3	3	2	21	13	0.33203125	0.33203125
14	4	4	5	3	5	3	1	2	10	7	0.328125	0.33203125
15	5	5	2	5	1	3	2	4	9	9	0.241210938	0.225585938
16	2	5	3	4	3	3	1	3	10	9	0.28515625	0.28515625
17	2	5	4	5	4	2	2	4	12	8	0.302734375	0.302734375
18	4	5	4	5	5	2	1	1	16	15	0.48828125	0.46875
19	2	5	3	5	1	1	1	3	13	13	0.1796875	0.16796875
20	3	5	4	4	5	5	2	4	7	17	0.092773438	0.081054688
21	4	5	2	3	2	3	3	3	13	20	0.123046875	0.076171875
22	5	4	3	4	3	3	4	3	22	9	0.193359375	0.21875
23	4	3	3	5	2	4	1	4	12	14	0.208984375	0.212890625
24	2	5	1	5	4	5	2	2	4	15	0.3671875	0.37890625
25	1	5	2	2	5	4	3	1	9	18	0.419921875	0.404296875
26	3	4	5	3	4	2	3	5	17	29	0.103515625	0.056640625
27	4	5	3	3	5	3	2	2	18	13	0.31640625	0.2890625
28	3	5	3	1	5	4	2	4	23	10	0.453125	0.43359375

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29	4	4	1	1	3	1	2	3	20	14	0.26953125	0.2890625
30	5	4	3	3	2	2	3	5	24	21	0.158203125	0.158203125
31	5	4	5	5	4	1	4	5	14	13	0.18359375	0.15234375
32	3	5	4	5	5	3	2	4	20	8	0.19140625	0.21484375
33	3	5	4	4	4	2	3	4	16	22	0.11328125	0.08203125