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Clare T. Carlson

The College of Wooster, ccarlson16@wooster.edu

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From Fried Bologna Sandwich to Butternut Squash Prosciutto Flatbread: Examining Food Culture as a Multivocal Dominant Symbol in the Wessex, Ohio Restaurant Foodscape

by Clare Carlson



Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of Senior Independent Study Thesis

Supervised by: Pamela Frese

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
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Abstract

This Independent Study explores the restaurant foodscape in the rural city of Wessex, Ohio and examines how two different sets of restaurants in this foodscape identify themselves as emblematic of the city. Restaurants opened in Wessex over the last ten years that have been selected for inclusion on Wessex Food Tours comprise the first set of restaurants examined. These restaurants are a curated set of local businesses that Wessex Food Tours presents to visitors as representative of a rejuvenated, contemporary Wessex. The other set of restaurants examined are those restaurants that have existed in Wessex for over 50 years, but are not included on the food tours. While not included on the food tours, these older restaurants are deeply embedded in the city's history and remain a quintessential component in the city's restaurant foodscape. This study investigates how the older restaurants and tour restaurants both attest to be representative of Wessex through the foods served and the dining spaces created. In order to understand how each set of restaurants envisions themselves as illustrative of Wessex's food culture, I conducted participant observation on the Wessex Food Tours and at the older restaurants. Additionally, I conducted nine formal interviews with representatives from both sets of restaurants and the owner and manager of Wessex Food Tours. Lastly, I completed content analysis of menus from both sets of restaurants. Employing a symbolic anthropological perspective, I found that food culture in Wessex is a multivocal and polysemic dominant symbol surrounded by a spectrum of referents. Both sets of restaurants manipulate these referents, such as heritage, home, nostalgia, family, local, and community, in their production of Wessex food culture.

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Chapter One: Introduction

“What’s a Wing Ding?” I asked my companion as we sat in our booth at Lunch Pail, a long-standing Wessex diner with a blue-collar theme. On that October afternoon, I was still pinning down the exact aspects of the food culture in Wessex that I wanted to examine for my Independent Study. “Swiss Steak?” I asked uncertainly, imagining an Alpine-inspired dish. My companion gesticulated energetically to illustrate the method of pounding the beef and then described braising it in a sauce of peppers, onions, and tomatoes. Neither of us, however, could discern a correlation between the dish and anything “Swiss.” While tempted to try the fried bologna sandwich, I ordered instead the grilled cheese and bacon sandwich made with thick Texas toast, a familiar comfort food. After glimpsing the luscious pies in the front cooler behind the bar, my companion and I agreed that a perfect end to the meal would be a slice of homemade butterscotch pie. Shortly thereafter, my comfort food memory experience at Lunch Pail would be juxtaposed against a new food memory in the making as I savored syrupy roasted dates stuffed with earthy goat cheese and a slice of butternut squash prosciutto flatbread at Milliways Gastropub, one of the new restaurants included on Wessex Food Tours. These disparate food experiences reflect the multifaceted restaurant foodscape of Wessex. The contrasting experiences ignited my interest in investigating the production of food culture at Wessex and sparked a desire to learn more about the restaurants that have been operating in Wessex for decades and the new restaurants that are viewed as more reflective of the contemporary Wessex foodscape. My Independent Study examines how two different sets of restaurants in the Wessex restaurant foodscape identify themselves as

emblematic of the city and participate in the construction of the city's food culture through the foods served and the dining spaces created.

The City of Wessex, the site of this restaurant foodscape, greets visitors with a welcome sign proclaiming “Keeping Tradition a Part of Our Future.” Established in 1808, Wessex is the county seat of Grayson County, Ohio. According to the 2010 census, Wessex has a population of 26,119 of which 91.2% are white (US Census Bureau 2010, accessed March 5, 2016). Cleveland, the nearest metropolitan area, is an hour drive northeast of the Wessex. Wessex is relatively isolated from other towns and exurban sprawl with the closest cities being about 30 miles away. Institutions of higher education in the city include a small liberal arts college as well two subsidiaries of a major state school specializing in agricultural technology and research. In terms of business districts, Wessex can be divided into the North End and Downtown. I do not include eateries located in the North End in my study as those restaurants are primarily national chain restaurants opened in the 1980s and 1990s. As one of my restaurant contributors noted, “We stay away from [chain restaurants] because they’re all the same.” I focus my study on the restaurants in and around the Downtown district where Wessex Food Tours and nearly 300 other businesses operate (Main Street Wooster, accessed March 2, 2016).

The diverse assemblage of restaurants and the manner in which they construct the food culture in Wessex drives the research of this study. Restaurants provide intriguing sites for ethnographic research. Anthropologists understand restaurants as “third spaces” or social and economic spaces that “blend distinctions between work and leisure, home and work, and even sacred and profane” (Oldenburg 1989; Erickson 2009: 8). Restaurants as ethnographic sites exhibit “forms of exchange, modes of production, and the symbolism behind

consumerism” as well as “a context in which questions about class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality all play out” (Beriss and Sutton 2007:1). Additionally, restaurants can also be representative of “the ethos of cities, regions, ethnic groups, and nations” (2007: 1). My research engages with scholarly conversations on how restaurants can represent the “ethos” of a city, specifically how restaurants create a food culture within a city. This study revolves around the question of how two seemingly dissimilar sets of restaurants both attest to be representative of Wessex through the foods served and the dining spaces created. In order to understand how each set of restaurants envisions themselves as illustrative of Wessex’s food culture, I used three methods. I employed participant observation on the Wessex Food Tours and at the older restaurants. I conducted nine formal interviews with representatives from both sets of restaurants and the owner and manager of Wessex Food Tours. Lastly, I completed content analysis of menus from both sets of restaurants. Employing a symbolic anthropological perspective, I found that food culture in Wessex is a multivocal and polysemic dominant symbol surrounded by a spectrum of referents. Both sets of restaurants manipulate the referents of *heritage*, *home*, *local*, and *community* in the production of food culture in Wessex.

Restaurants opened in Wessex over the last ten years that have been selected for inclusion on Wessex Food Tours comprise the first set of restaurants examined. Starting with a “soft opening” in 2013, Wessex Food Tours began regularly scheduled tours in spring of 2014. The tour itinerary is comprised of a curated set of local businesses that Wessex Food Tours presents to visitors as representative of a rejuvenated, contemporary Wessex. The ability to host food tours in Wessex is dependent on the growing restaurant and artisan food scene in Wessex. In the last decade, many new businesses have opened in the downtown

district which makes the food tours feasible. The concept of a food tour in Wessex utterly confounded an alumnus relative who attended the College of Wessex in the late 1970s. She could not possibly conceive of a Wessex where a food tour could effectively operate, as her only salient food memory of Wessex was eating franchisee hot dogs at a college-run eatery. Today, Wessex Food Tours emphasizes the image of a revitalized downtown, brimming with restaurants, noting that “Downtown Wessex has gone through a renaissance in the last 20 years. Dozens of restaurants have put down their roots in the historic district, creating an unparalleled concentration of choices” (Wooster Food Tours, accessed March 2, 2016). These relatively new restaurants, who “have put down their roots” in Wessex, have acted as catalysts in redeveloping Wessex’s historic downtown district.

The other set of restaurants examined in the study are those restaurants that have existed in Wessex for over 50 years, but are not included on the food tours. While not included on the food tours, these older restaurants are deeply embedded in the city’s history and remain a quintessential component in the city’s restaurant foodscape. I was interested in investigating the role of these older restaurants in the creation of Wessex’s food culture juxtaposed with the burgeoning food scene in downtown Wessex. By bringing these older restaurants into the study, I am able to observe how the conception and production of food culture differs between the older restaurants and the tour restaurants.

Following this Chapter One: Introduction, my research is presented through four subsequent chapters. In Chapter Two, I review literature and theory by scholars examining the intersection of food, community, and identity. In addition, I analyze literature and theories on the economic, environmental and social impact of culinary tourism. Chapter Three explains the three methods I used to collect data: participant observation, formal

interviews, and content analysis. Discussion of my results is presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 4 begins with the history and background of the restaurants studied. Following this background information, I examine food culture in Wessex as a multivocal dominant symbol in relation to the themes found at the older restaurants and tour restaurants. Lastly, Chapter Five concludes the paper, evaluating the significance of my findings and the possible implications of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theory

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature and accompanying theories reviewed in the three sections of this chapter concentrate on the multiple meanings food holds in a community as well as how food expresses the identity of members within the community. The literature review begins with an analysis of four food ethnographies that examine the foodways and foodscapes that shape local communities. Through food ethnographies, Carole Counihan (2009, 2012) and Nir Avieli (2012) focus on foodways in smaller, rural communities, while Sharon Zukin (2010) and Rachel Black (2012) study larger, urban foodscapes. The next section in the literature review delves deeper into the role of food in creating and maintaining identity. Food can express a regional identity within a community, rooted in a specific geographic location (Smith 2003; Latshaw 2009). A single food commodity can also symbolize a community's history as well as its envisioned future (Haverluk 2002; Blue 2007). The literature in this section also addresses individual restaurant choice as reflective of identity (Srinivas 2007) and examines the ways in which restaurants attract customers by creating familiar, "neighborhood" spaces that evoke an idealized community past (Pardue 2007). The final section of the literature review investigates the role of culinary tourism in presenting a community's identity. This section begins by defining culinary tourism and exploring its characteristics (Long 2004). Following this theoretical examination of culinary tourism, the literature review continues with specific case studies of culinary tourism in which scholars debate culinary tourism as a way for tourists to consume "otherness" through eating the "authentic" foods of a certain location (Germann Molz 2004; 2007; Long 2010). The section

concludes with literature that examines the environmental, economic, and social sustainability of culinary tourism and the impact of culinary tourism on regional identity and culinary heritage (Everett and Aitchison 2008; Sims 2009).

2.2 FOOD ETHNOGRAPHY

Food ethnographies encompass an array of anthropological literature, including single food commodities and substances, food and social change, food insecurity, eating and ritual, and eating and identity (Mintz and Du Bois 2002). This section primarily focuses on ethnographies of communities that demonstrate “how different facets of identity are negotiated and reconstructed through culinary choices and eating preferences” and “highlight food’s ability to bear multiple and even contrasting meanings” (Avieli 2012:15). The fieldwork sites range from the local foodways of small towns (Counihan 2009, 2012; Avieli 2012) to the shifting foodscapes of large urban centers (Zukin 2010; Black 2012).

Anthropologist Carole Counihan’s food ethnography *A Tortilla is like Life: Food and Culture in the San Luis Valley of Colorado* (2009) uses the methodology of food-centered life histories to explore the different roles of food in the lives of women and the ways in which food reflects a community’s identity. Counihan conducted fieldwork from 1996 to 2006 in the small, primarily Hispanic town of Antonito, Colorado. She collected food-centered life histories by interviewing 19 Hispanic women about their foodways, or “their beliefs and behaviors surrounding food production, distribution, preparation, and consumption” (3). To create her ethnography, Counihan writes that she gathered the most insightful pieces from her interviews and “strung them together like beads on a chain of linking commentary,” which revealed, through the medium of food, “past and present diet,

relation to land and water, gender roles in provisioning and cooking, and family and community relations surrounding commensality” (21, 192).

Three years later, Counihan revisited her Antonito research in the article “Mexicanas Taking Food Public: The Power of the Kitchen in the San Luis Valley” as part of the anthology *Taking Food Public: Redefining Foodways in a Changing World*. In reviewing her work in Antonito, Counihan delves deeper into food practices outside the home and in the community rather than focusing on food practices inside the home. Counihan looks at how taking food public is an important way for the women “to be actors in the public sphere and build social alliances” (497). Foodstuffs that the women produce and sell include *queso*, tortillas, tamales, burritos, cheese, eggs, produce from fields or gardens, and empanadas. These items are sold at community fundraisers, farmers markets, and restaurants owned and operated by some of the women. Public food exchanges allowed the women “to help friends, have an influence on the community, and earn money” (498). The money earned gives women economic power and the ability to contribute to family wellbeing, both materially and emotionally.

Another dimension of Antonito’s foodways in which the women are active participants is combating food insecurity. Food sharing in Antonito “was normative in their culture...demonstrated by informal food gifts and frequent community dinners for funerals or anniversaries” and especially in the Antonito food bank (501). The women of Antonito play a significant role in the food bank, “administering it and organizing food drives through the churches” (503). Counihan contends that the women’s work with the food bank “promoted public food sharing, combated hunger, and maintained values of mutual aid” (503). Counihan concludes, “in women’s public feeding, the personal becomes political” (504). When women

take food public, they “take family values with them—values of mutual responsibility and sharing” and have the opportunity to “sustain, themselves, their families, and their communities” (505). Through participant observation, interviews, and food-centered life histories, Counihan uses ethnographic methods to illuminate the often-overlooked involvement and agency of women in the public foodways of a community.

Similar to Counihan’s work, Nir Avieli’s (2012) food ethnography *Rice Talks: Food and Community in a Vietnamese Town* views the culinary systems and practices of a community as “arenas and processes that produce culture...and where differing ideologies evolve” (13). Since 1998, Avieli has conducted fieldwork in the provincial Vietnamese town of Hoi An. Avieli gathered data through interviews, participant observation, and analysis of relevant historical and religious texts. The ethnography covers both private and public foodways in Hoi An, including: the home-eaten, daily meal; the feasts offered at ancestor-worship ceremonies; and, the celebratory eating at community festivals. For his research, Avieli examines how food and foodways reflect the social order and cultural arrangements of the Hoianese as well as how the Hoianese reproduce, negotiate, and alter food and foodways. Anthropologist Don Handelman’s (1998) theoretical framework of “models, mirrors and re-presentations” underlies Avieli’s research questions on Hoi An foodways. Understanding foodways as “mirrors” means viewing the symbolic qualities of foods as “‘statements, mirror-images [and] reflections’ of the fundamental characteristics of the existing social order” (Avieli 2012:14). Hoianese festive dishes serve as an example of how food functions as a mirror of social values because festive dishes, such as the “bird-and-egg” dish, “consistently symbolize proper family relations and fertility” (238). Next, Avieli interprets specific culinary events in Hoi An foodways as “models” that are “devised so as to

transform and replace the existing order of things” (241). Avieli understands the *dai ban* or “inviting friends” party, a modern addition to Hoianese wedding festivities, as a “model” that overturns the existing social order. At the *dai ban* attended by Avieli, the bride and groom rejected social norms and upended guest-host relations by having a Western-style buffet meal. The buffet meal replaced the four-staged feast of traditional dishes that is served to guests according to a hierarchy of age and gender. Lastly, Avieli interprets foodways in the context of “re-presentations” by viewing the culinary sphere of Hoi An as “an arena of negotiation and experimentation rather than production” (242). Re-presentations “question the existing social order, challenge it, and negotiate it by outlining and enacting alternatives” (14). According to Avieli, Hoianese public food events and the culinary realm offer opportunities for experimentation with new and foreign ideas that would not be tolerated in other cultural contexts.

While not strictly a food ethnography, Sharon Zukin’s (2010) multi-sited urban ethnography *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places* examines the role of food in transforming urban neighborhoods. Zukin’s (2010) case study of the East Village in New York presents food as an “anchor of redevelopment” and a mode for producing feelings of authenticity and locality in a community. Zukin’s insights and conclusions come from participant observation, personal experiences living in New York, and informal interviews with residents and local business owners in each of the neighborhoods studied. New restaurants and shops have reshaped the East Village’s strong sense of local authenticity from political and cultural rebellion to trendy consumption. The East Village offers an interesting case study through which to examine how new food venues that attract and encourage the growth of “foodie” culture can spur changes in a neighborhood’s identity and demographics.

Zukin examines “food as anchor of redevelopment” through the establishment of food venues, such as Dean & DeLuca and Greenmarket, which transformed the East Village (2010:116). Zukin argues that new food venues in the East Village attracted food lovers from more affluent neighborhoods and suburbs, transforming the derelict and dangerous East Village into the “cradle of cultural innovation for the new middle class” (2010:116). Such venues acted as catalysts for transformation because these stores attracted middle-class visitors and residents who wanted to consume “authentic” and “local” food. Ultimately, Zukin finds that New York has invested in a “destination culture” in many of its neighborhoods that “does not do enough to protect the rights of residents, workers, and shops—the small scale, the poor, and the middle class—to remain in place” (2010:31).

In addition to restaurants and festivals, marketplaces are critical sites for studying the role of food in a community. Anthropologist Rachel Black’s (2012) food ethnography, *Porta Palazzo: The Anthropology of an Italian Market* examines the social and cultural significance of food markets in maintaining an urban neighborhood community. The ethnography is the result of seven years spent visiting and working at Porta Palazzo market in Turin, Italy as part of her investigation into why open-air markets, given their economic inefficiency, still exist in European cities and remain popular hubs of commerce and social activity. Beginning fieldwork in May 2002, Black initially approached the market through structured observation and archival research. She quickly realized that just observing and shopping at the market limited her to “one side of the fence” (14). In order to gain access to the world of the vendors and understand their perspective, Black began working at vendor stands in the marketplace. By the time her fieldwork was completed in 2009, Black had sold food at more than fifteen different stands. The book revolves around five main themes: food as a source of anxiety;

food as a form of moral evaluation; food and migration; culinary tourism; and the relationship between the farmers' market and production of local food. Black comes to the conclusion that, despite the growing encroachment of the more streamlined and efficient supermarkets, the complex social life of the open-air markets enables these institutions to remain vibrantly alive and a vital part of the local community.

Black's study highlights the significance of food markets in creating place and community in urban neighborhoods as well as the tensions that can accompany interactions among peoples of different cultures. One interesting aspect of the Porta Palazzo marketplace is that it has always been a receiving area for migrants who bring with them their culinary culture. Black points out that not only do the stalls at the marketplace allow the migrants to maintain their identity and cultural practices but food also "serves as a pretext for communication and sociability" between groups of different people (45). During her research at the market, Black focused on how the recent immigrant groups of Moroccan vendors and Nigerian shoppers shape the interactions at the market. For both groups she finds that food builds community and sustains cultural identity, writing that food "helps maintain relations in kin groups, strengthens ties to home and is often deeply linked to memory" (2014: 94). In addition, the market is often the first place where immigrants and locals come in contact with each other. While this contact can at times create tension and misunderstandings, this marketplace contact can also be quite positive, facilitating conversation and cultural exchange.

2.3 FOOD AND IDENTITY

Foods that individuals choose to eat can affirm membership within a larger community, such as ethnicity, race, class, or religion (Keller Brown and Mussell 1984; Caplan 1997) or membership within geographically defined communities such as cities, regions, and nations (Bell and Valentine 1997). The literature in section 2.3.1, “Food and Identity in Communities,” explores how food can embody a regional identity in a way that is not necessarily restricted by an individual’s geographic location (Smith 2003; Latshaw 2009) and how a single food commodity can become a symbol of a community’s history, both real and imagined, which projects a vision of the community’s future (Haverluk 2002; Blue 2007). The literature in Section 2.3.2, “Food and Identity at Restaurants,” examines the role of restaurants in shaping individual and community identity (Srinivas 2007; Pardue 2007).

2.3.1 Food and Identity in Communities

Food as an expression of regional identity can be seen in the Appalachia region of the United States as observed by sociologist Christi Smith (2003). Smith lived with Appalachian residents and out-migrants during the summer of 1998 in five towns located in Indiana and Kentucky. During that time period, she conducted twenty-one interviews with participants whose ages ranged from 21 to 88 years. The socioeconomic status and level of education of the participants varied considerably. Smith’s profile of the participants did not specify race or ethnicity. The purpose of the interviews was to investigate the role of food in “constructing, maintaining and transforming a sense of regional identity” (64). Smith conducted semi-formal interviews with open-ended questions pertaining to food memories, current food practices, family memories, employment, and education. While participants

thought “traditional” regional foodways were important to their contemporary food practices, Smith found that Appalachian residents and out-migrants “participate in larger cultural productions and find ways to incorporate both the familiar ways and mass food culture into understandings of what it means to be Appalachian” (64).

With the influx of mass food culture and prepackaged food products in the region, Appalachian residents have separated food preparation from the procurement of food. Smith draws on Tribe and Oliveri’s (2000) study of Appalachian foodways for their definition of Appalachian food: “raise/butcher their own meat, pick wild berries, grow their own vegetables, hunt/cook wild game, gather nuts and season vegetables with bacon grease or ham hocks” (67). Smith writes that residents “can choose which products they will continue to produce or procure themselves and select those products which they would prefer to purchase” (67). Procuring foods from the wild, such as hunting frogs, squirrel, and possum, has shifted from a necessary source of sustenance to a source of entertainment that is an “active interpretation of earlier Appalachian life and foodways” (67). Smith asserts that “rather than abandon old foodways, Eastern Kentuckians manipulate the increased influx of food products to allow for new tastes and convenience while at the same time easing the preparation of familial foodways” (67). When interviewing out-migrants, Smith found that food signified a sense of belonging to Appalachian culture. Out-migrants challenged the idea that regional identity is reliant on geography because these out-migrants were able to maintain their Appalachian foodways outside of the geographic boundaries of Appalachia. Smith contends that for out-migrants, who are “constantly engaged in the process of enculturation,” preparing “Appalachian” food “is an active and deliberate display of adherence to Appalachian culture” (70).

Another regional food case study is Beth Latshaw's (2009) analysis of the power and meaning of southern food. In her article, Latshaw addresses the assertions made by culinary and scholarly writings regarding how the traditional foodways in the South "have the potential to bind southerners and to be an accessible medium to use in finding cohesion or creating a context for the celebration and performance of southern identity" (108). The purpose of Latshaw's study is to answer "whether everyday southerners themselves do, in fact, celebrate, prefer, and consume southern foods, and thereby gain a sense of regional commonality upon doing so" (109). Additionally, Latshaw is interested in whether one's place of residence, race, articulated regional identity, or the interplay between these factors plays a role in one's conception of southern food. To answer these questions, Latshaw analyzed the results from the University of North Carolina's Southern Focus Polls conducted between 1991 and 2001. The Center for the Study of the American South (CSAS) and Odium Institute for Research in Social Science (IRSS) administered the polls through telephone calls, twice yearly, to a random sample of 800 to 1,200 southerners and 400 to 500 non-southerners. The polls included open-ended questions, such as "What do you think about southern food?", as well as closed-ended questions, such as "Now I'm going to list some unusual foods. For each one tell me whether you eat it often, sometimes, seldom, or never" (111). Examining the results of all nineteen polls, Latshaw focused her analysis on information regarding regional residence, race, southern identity, food salience and the consumption of southern foods. Latshaw isolates the individual southern foods asked about in the poll that she has seen highlighted by southern cookbooks and food histories as "among the foods most emblematic of the cuisine": okra, chitlins, fried tomatoes, pork rind, sweet potato pie, catfish, boiled peanuts and moon pie (111).

Latshaw found that the major differences in notions and consumption of southern food was influenced by regional identity. The most evident difference in opinion and consumption of southern food was between self-identified southerners and non-southern residents of the United States. There was also variation in southern food consumption by religious affiliation, social class, and educational attainment. Protestants and members of the lowest income bracket with lower levels of education appear to consume southern food more often than others. African American and White southerners regard southern food equally as important. However, across the entire United States, African Americans in general recognize the importance of southern food more than Whites. Additionally, the polls show that African American southerners are overall more likely to eat southern food and have significantly higher consumption rates for certain southern foods, such as sweet potato pie and chitlins.

Latshaw finds that the suggestion by present-day southern cookbooks and food writers that “by gathering around a table, southern foods might serve as a potential site of social, racial and regional reconciliation and cohesion” is “still open to debate” (124). While there appears to be some commonality between the food patterns of African American southerners and White southerners, the data from the polls, as well as other historians and scholars, suggests that “southern food might be particularly meaningful to African Americans because of its associations with times of enslavement: symbolizing a cultural pride, ingenuity, and perseverance in the face of adversity” (124). This point is reflected in the data by the results that African Americans in the United States are more likely than Whites to think that “southern food is very important in defining today’s South” (124). However, as stated in the previous paragraph, when comparing only the results of residents of the South, African Americans and White southerners are equally likely to believe that southern food is a

significant element in defining contemporary Southern identity. According to Latshaw, these findings suggest that, for African Americans, residence may not be the most significant factor in influencing whether or not southern food is important, “perhaps because for African Americans in and outside the south, southern food might be important due to its connection to a cultural legacy and southern past” (124). Latshaw concludes with the opinion that if southerners intend to use southern foodways to establish a sense of community, cohesion, and unity, “perhaps it is not the divergences but parallels in consumption tendencies and food salience amongst African American and white southerners that should be remembered and embraced” (125).

While Latshaw (2009) examined the role of a regional cuisine in defining identity, Terrence Haverluck (2002) explores how a single food commodity can become a symbol of a community’s identity. Haverluck studies the historical and contemporary significance of chiles in Pueblo, Colorado and addresses how elites in the city use neo-localism and heritage tourism to reinvent the identity of Pueblo. Haverluck argues that local elites in Pueblo, comprised of Chamber of Commerce members, merchants, and landowners, “have appropriated the chile and through its symbolization are attempting to create and reproduce a cultural identity based on local foodways and local historical geography” (45). Haverluck studies contemporary Pueblo through participant observation at annual festivals and content analysis of promotional literature. Haverluck finds that heritage tourism occurring in Pueblo today “coalesces around the consumption pattern of the majority of Pueblo’s population—Latinos” and relies on the history and local products of the Southwest and not the Midwestern identity that the steel industry forced upon the city for the past century (58). Using the chile as the official symbol of contemporary post-modern Pueblo is “more in tune

with the original, multiethnic Fort Pueblo,” which the steel companies endeavored to eliminate through various assimilation policies during the steel epoch in Pueblo from the mid 19th century to the late 20th century (58).

In order to understand the importance of chiles to Pueblo’s identity, Haverluk breaks down the history of chiles in Pueblo into three historical epochs, arguing that food symbols, such as the chile, “are common and powerful symbolic media through which ideologies are transmitted”(47). In the first epoch (1842-1859), chile *ristras*, strings of chiles hanging from the pared logs of adobe homes drying in the sun, served as a sign of civilization and wealth in the Southwest, “just as peppers and spices did in Europe” (48). During this epoch, Mexicans primarily occupied Fort Pueblo, “with a few Ute, Comanche, and Arapahoe Indians, and even fewer Anglos” (48). In the second epoch (1859-1976), with the establishment of the steel industry in Pueblo, chiles were a symbol of backwardness. Steel companies worked to assimilate employees by urging them to buy processed foods from the Midwest and use “American” food preparation techniques rather than follow Mexican food preparation customs, which were deemed unhealthy.

Lastly, in the third epoch, the Pueblo Chamber of Commerce reinvented itself by designating the Mirasol chile as the official Pueblo symbol of the city. The city needed to create a new identity for itself because the powerful and influential steel companies who once defined the city’s identity were downsizing and leaving Pueblo. The new symbol of the Mirasol chile led to the creation of the Chile and Frijole Festival as a way to extoll the virtues of Pueblo and reinvigorated the market for chile production in Pueblo. Haverluk writes that “the mirasol is a rediscovered symbol charged with culture significance that Pueblo elites hope will engender a specific response—i.e., consuming chiles, which will in turn support

local farmers and recreate an emergent social structure based on multiculturalism that is both product and producer of this structure” (55). By using the Mirasol chile as a symbol of identity, along with other Southwestern symbols found at the chile festivals, such as frijoles, jalapeños, Native American dancers, and Conjunto bands, the heritage tourism agenda in Pueblo expresses an ideology of economic development through local food products that celebrate multiculturalism, “a sharp contrast to the industrial, assimilationist ideology of the steel epoch” (55).

Similar to Haverluk (2002) who studied the historical and contemporary significance of a single food commodity in shaping a community’s identity, Gwendolyn Blue (2007) examines the historical and contemporary significance of the beef industry in the region of Alberta, Canada as a defining feature of Albertan identity. Blue argues that “cattle production and beef consumption are not natural, inevitable nor politically neutral features of Alberta’s history and culture. Rather they have been established as such by tourist marketing, industrialization and market globalization” (70). Blue analyzes tourist materials and the advertising literature of Alberta Beef Producers (ABP) that have transformed Alberta beef into an “authentic” feature of the province’s heritage. These marketing materials arise from ABP’s award-winning marketing campaign in the late 1980s entitled “If it ain’t Alberta, it ain’t beef” whose key imagery included three cowboys working with a vast mountain range as the backdrop. Blue also drew on marketing literature from the second campaign, begun in 2002, in which the central figures were female Albertan “rancHers,” who “reflected the contribution made by women to Alberta’s ranching legacy as well as women’s role as primary household food purchasers” (76).

Blue contends that Alberta beef works as a marker of identity for the region “only to the degree that it links with prior beliefs and assumptions about Alberta as a region” (74). These assumptions of Alberta as a region emerge in tourist literature and the marketing strategy of ABP. Promotional materials present the popular mythos of Alberta as “a maverick agrarian region that is distinct, politically, socially and economically from the rest of Canada” (74). The image of Alberta that ABP portrays in their marketing is “a wholesome, wild, unsettled cattle country, relatively untouched by the advances of urban and technological culture, and miraculously retaining the spirit of the wild western frontier” (75). However, as Blue astutely notes, this bucolic frontier image “belies the reality of Alberta’s contemporary beef production industry, which is technological and deeply integrated with international markets” (75). Because of its abundance of raw materials, Albertan history is tinged with “perceived alienation” from the rest of Canada as the region “has been characterized by core-periphery power relations”, with the extraction of its resources for large manufacturing centers in Ontario and Quebec (74). Blue posits that using Alberta beef as a marker of identity works to fulfill Albertan Canadians’ desire overcome its past as a marginalized extraction economy and “to occupy a viable national and global subject position” because the commodity of Alberta beef allows the region’s economic and political presence to be recognized in the global market.

2.3.2 Food and Identity at Restaurants

Restaurants make intriguing sites for exploring the interface of food and identity because they “form a bustling microcosm of social and symbolic processes focused on the formation and maintenance of identities in the context of highly sensory environments”

(Beriss and Sutton, eds. 2007:3). The literature in this section analyzes how individuals express identity through restaurant choice (Srinivas 2007) and how restaurants employ ambience, local memorabilia, and décor to create a space that evokes a familiar “neighborhood” feel and an idealized community past (Pardue 2007).

Tulasi Srinivas (2007) studies how food consumption choices at restaurants reflect the identity of the middle class in contemporary Bangalore, which has undergone rapid globalization in the past decade. Using content analysis, Srinivas examined food writings of and in Bangalore, primarily concentrating on the three largest English newspapers read by the cosmopolitan Bangalorean middle class. Srinivas finds that the food writings of the middle class engage in two paradoxical discourses: “gastro-adventure” and “gastro-nostalgia.” In addition to content analysis, Srinivas conducted participant observation of restaurants and food vendors in Bangalore, with intermittent interviewing at Bangalorean restaurants between 1997 and 2004. Responding to the forces of globalization, diners in Bangalore “search for ways in which the dining experience can become part of the performance of identity” (102). The identity of middle class Bangaloreans “changes from being a ‘taken for granted self’ to a constructed and changeable self, and is defined through choice, including one’s choices of food consumption and their attendant discourse” (102).

The first discourse found in Bangalore food writings is “gastro-adventure” or “adventure through eating the authentic food of the other” (88). According to Srinivas, gastro-adventure “is constructed as being cosmopolitan and chic, leading to self-realization and individuation” (102). Through reading the food writings and restaurant reviews written for the Bangalore bourgeoisie reader, Srinivas finds that the primary motivation for the middle class Bangalore diner is adventure and the “possibility of intimacy with a strange

culture” (93). As evidenced in their discussion of travel destinations, images of tourism, and frequent, laudatory use of “exotic” and “oriental” to describe food, food critics “attempt construct the ‘exotic,’ strange, mysterious, to give the feeling of adventure and authenticity to the gustatory experience” (93). Srinivas argues that actual food presented at these restaurants is secondary to the symbolic capital one gains by eating the “Other.” In their reviews of restaurants, food writers will provide readers with a quick, superficial history about the culture whose cuisine the writers are consuming and reviewing. However, it is the responsibility of the Bangalore diner “to be knowledgeable about the authenticity of the cuisine” and “cultural minutiae of how and when the food is served and eaten” (96). Therefore, the foods at these “gastro-adventure” restaurants “become a vehicle by which diner/actor can demonstrate agency in gathering and demonstrating cultural knowledge and awareness” (96). For this growing new middle class of mobile young migrant professionals, gastro-adventure dining is understood “as educational, as self-transformative, and as enhancing one’s social value as a collector of certain kinds of experiences” (97).

The second discourse found in Bangalore food writings is “gastro-nostalgia,” or “the eating of the authentic food of one’s affinal and tribal group” (88). Gastro-nostalgia “is constructed as the realization of one’s given place in a community and home through the reiteration of one’s caste/ethnic roots through a nostalgic eating of ‘home cooked foods’” (102). A growing niche in the Bangalore restaurant scene, these restaurants present the cuisine of nostalgia “through an illusion of rediscovery” (101). Food writers portray restaurateurs as unearthing traditional, antique recipes and presenting these treasured, authentic dishes to cultivated diners. Srinivas found that some gastro-nostalgic restaurateurs viewed themselves as cultural protectionists. One restaurant owner described the nostalgic

cuisine at his restaurant as an attempt to persuade Bangalore citizens to “appreciate their traditions” and for newcomers to experience the region’s “glorious culinary traditions” (101). Srinivas concludes that these two opposing discourses of gastro-adventure and gastro-nostalgia allow middle class Bangaloreans “to operate in a multidimensional global space by constructing selves that engage both the local and the global” (102).

In his ethnography of casual dining restaurants in central Illinois, Derek Pardue studies “the construction and maintenance of ‘community’ and ‘the familiar’ within the ‘casual dining’ restaurants franchise” (66). Pardue argues that “a significant aspect of the meaning of ‘casual dining’ can be located in the intentional practices of sound production and visual decoration” (66). The aspects of design that Pardue focused on are visual decoration and layout style (interior design) and musical atmosphere (sound design). Between 2000 and 2004, Pardue interviewed servers, bartenders, managerial staff and kitchen staff in three casual dining franchise restaurants in central Illinois. In 2004, he distributed questionnaires to customers during lunch and dinner shifts at two of the three restaurants on weekdays and weekends. These questionnaires contained a range of questions that Pardue believes captured “to what extent customers recognize, appreciate, and evaluate the features and intent of the sound and image design” at these casual dining restaurants (67).

Pardue found that décor and memorabilia as well as the sound engineering in the restaurants aimed to create feeling of familiarity for the customers because familiarity “engenders conversation, memories, and other everyday practices of identification” (77). Pardue observes that a common objective of casual dining restaurants is the production of familiarity because “people associate familiar experiences with places, i.e. locality and community, and thus tend to choose one restaurant over another on the basis of such

feelings” (77). Familiarity is a powerful component of restaurant design for multinational corporations who “try to situate their restaurants as ‘our own neighborhood restaurant’” (69). Pardue concludes his article by emphasizing, especially in the anthropological and sociological study of restaurants, the value of analyzing the “micro-levels of how social structures and ideologies are made manifest in the graphic and sonic design of public places of food consumption” (77). These micro-level processes at casual dining franchise restaurants are essential to accomplishing the “construction and maintenance of ‘community’ and ‘the familiar’” (77).

2.4 CULINARY TOURISM

The literature in this section offers a definition of culinary tourism and addresses the impact of culinary tourism on local communities. The first source by Lucy Long (2004) provides an overview and introduction to the concept of culinary tourism. The next group of studies examines the concepts of “otherness” and “authenticity” in relation to culinary tourism from the perspectives of producers and consumers (Germann Molz 2004, 2007; Long 2010). The final group of studies assesses the environmental, economic, and social sustainability of culinary tourism (Everett and Aitchison 2008; Sims 2009).

An essential piece of literature on culinary tourism is the widely cited anthology *Culinary Tourism* (2004), edited by folklore scholar Lucy Long. In her *Culinary Tourism* article, Long defines key concepts relating to culinary tourism and analyzes strategies that restaurants and festivals use in the United States to market foods to tourists. According to Long, culinary tourism is “the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of an other—participation including the consumption, preparation, and presentation of a food item,

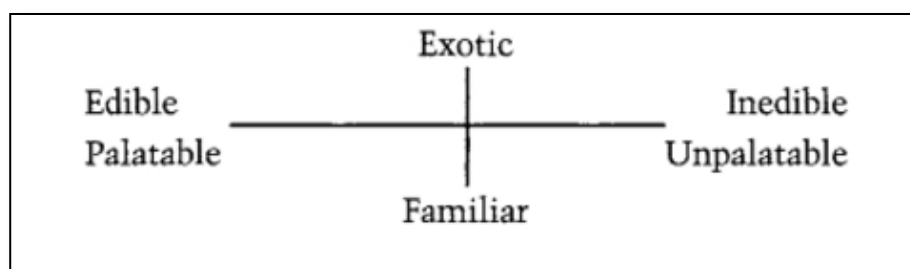
cuisine, meal system, or eating style considered to belong to a culinary system not one's own" (21). By using the concept of "foodways" in her definition, Long understands food as a "network of activities and systems—physical, social (communicative), cultural, economic, spiritual, and aesthetic" (23). Long expands upon folklorist Don Yoder's idea of foodways (1972), who adapted the concept as originally theorized by anthropologist John J. Honigmann (1961). In terms of culinary tourism, foodways allow tourists to explore food systems beyond simply eating and can transform routine activities, such as shopping at a market and cooking, into tourist experiences.

A second concept linked to culinary tourism that Long defines in her article is "otherness." In the context of foodways, Long elucidates five different categories that distinguish food as "other": culture, region, time, ethos/religion, and socioeconomic class. "Culture" as other includes aspects such as ethnicity and national identity. "Region" refers to a spatial distance occurring within national boundaries. "Time" as other encompasses "foodways of eras other than the present," such as foods from the past recreated in cookbooks or served at historical reenactment feasts, or, futuristic foods that adhere to techniques of an imagined future (26). Holiday celebrations or rituals, events that are "time out of time," are other ways where time distinguishes certain foods as other (28). Religious "culinary other" includes food taboos and proscriptions regarding meal preparation as seen in religions such as Judaism, Islam, and Seventh Day Adventist. Vegetarians, veganism, and organic foods exemplify the ethos "culinary other," a form of otherness akin to the religious other but less associated with the spiritual world. Lastly, the socioeconomic class as culinary other "divides foodways according to recognized social levels within a society" (31). In the United States, different class-bound genres of culinary "otherness" include "white trash"

cookbooks satirizing lower-class cuisine, the home cooking of the middle class at local diners, and the gourmet food of upscale, fine-dining restaurants. Long posits that “all of these others can be enacted in a variety of arenas” which serve as “interfaces between individuals and cultures, reflecting the expectations and contexts bearing upon each exchange” (32).

According to Long, “otherness,” in relation to foodways, involves four realms of culinary experience: the exotic, the familiar, the edible/palatable, and the inedible/unpalatable. Using a diagram (*Figure 1.1*), Long depicts these realms as axes that cross each other, creating four quadrants. A food’s location in the realm of culinary experience is not static, often fluctuating in location according to the changing understanding of edibility and exoticness as perceived by individuals or society. Producers, who want to attract non-native consumers, such as culinary tourists, have to balance edibility and palatability with exoticness because while culinary tourists may want to experience “otherness” in the form of new, exotic foods, they may also avoid foods that they perceive as inedible.

Figure 1.1: The four realms of culinary experience



Finally, Long understands culinary tourism as negotiation between the producer and consumer, observing that restaurants and festivals use five basic strategies for negotiating the culinary realms of exoticness and edibility: framing, naming or translation, explication, menu selection, and recipe adaptation. The first strategy, framing, “involves designing a context

surrounding a food item that then defines that food's edibility and exoticness" (38). Framing can be achieved in restaurants through the language used on menus and signs, décor, spatial arrangement of dining areas, and the location of public and private areas. Naming or translation, which is the second strategy, refers to the identification of items, whether through literal translation of a dish's name or the invention of a new name. Explication involves "description and explanation of the ingredients, manner of cooking, context for eating, or history and symbolism of the item" (39). Menu selection refers to calculated decisions by the producers to choose dishes that best represent the cuisine and will be most appealing to consumers. Recipe adaptation, the final strategy of negotiation, involves the "manipulation of the ingredients and preparation methods of particular dishes in order to adapt to the foodways system of the anticipated consumers" (43). These strategies of negotiation reveal that culinary tourism is located in "the perspectives of the individuals involved...tourism is in the eye of the beholder" (44). Consequently, discrepancies can occur between the meanings assigned to foods by the producers and the meanings assigned to these same foods by the consumer or culinary tourist. Acknowledging the political implications and ethical considerations of tourism, Long concludes her article with an overall positive understanding of culinary tourism, writing that curiosity about other experiences and other ways of life is the "basic and universal impulse" that motivates culinary tourism (45).

2.4.1 Consuming "Otherness" and Experiencing "Authenticity"

The theoretical framework for culinary tourism which Long (2004) presents in her article is applicable to studies of culinary tourism that explore issues of "otherness" and "authenticity." When producers manipulate food to be "exotic but safe" in order to meet

tourist expectations of “otherness” and address perceptions of edibility, issues of authenticity arise. A topic that scholars examine in tourism literature is how certain foods come to be viewed as “authentic” representations of regions or cultures (Cohen 1979, 1988; Germann Molz 2004; Heldke 2005). Germann Molz (2007) notes that there is scholarly debate as to whether tourists consume these “authentic” foods to gain knowledge and insight into another culture or to achieve status and bolster a self-perceived level of cosmopolitanism.

Six years after editing *Culinary Tourism* (2004), Lucy Long (2010) applied her theoretical framework to studying the role of culinary tourism in creating a new Appalachian cuisine. In her article, Long investigates the changing perceptions of Appalachian food by examining both the stereotypes and realities of Appalachian food as well as the recent upsurge of culinary activity and tourism in Asheville, North Carolina. Long observes how region, in this case the Appalachian region in the United States, can be a marker of otherness in terms of food. Long draws on anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s (1990) typology of five different *-scapes* in which people, things, and ideas interact and disjunctively flow in a constantly changing and interconnected world. The author uses “foodscapes” as framework that situates the culinary activity of Asheville in relation to historical and contemporary Appalachia.

While never explicitly outlining her research methodology, Long draws on personal experience, data from analyzing the menus of 250 restaurants in Asheville, and fieldwork as a participant observer at Asheville restaurants and at the annual Belle Chere festival in 2008. Long’s experience with Asheville began in her youth with frequent visits to the city during the 1960s and 1970s while staying with her grandparents in Montreat twenty miles east of Asheville. During the 1970s, a “hippie culture” arose in Asheville with the arrival of

members of the “back-to-the-land” counter culture as well as artists looking for welcoming communities and affordable housing. Visiting the city in the late 1990s, Long began to notice changes in the foodscape as an influx of retirees and second-home owners entered into this mix of residents. This evolving community of residents created a food culture with an “appreciation for organic, community-based food production and consumption” (11). The contemporary Asheville foodscape, with its various farmers markets, thriving restaurant scene, and involvement in food organizations, such as Slow Food and The Southern Food Alliance, reflects the city’s cultural and historical background.

The compelling research question in Long’s article is in what ways does this new “foodie” identity of Asheville shape the items that restaurants and festivals offer as well as the city’s representation of Appalachian cuisine. Long finds that the array of restaurants in Asheville may draw culinary tourists but the vibrant restaurant scene is not “a celebration of Appalachian food so much as a celebration of food created in a specific and unique area of Appalachia” (15). The food culture of Asheville emphasizes local produce but “does not attempt to connect that produce with the cultural heritage of the area” (15). Long writes, “heritage seems to be forgotten so that neither the hillbilly stereotype nor the romanticized Elizabethan ancestor image is referenced” in the Asheville’s foodscape. Ultimately, Long finds that the food culture of Asheville has opened up the public identity of Appalachia to redefining. The implication of this redefinition could be the emergence of a new Appalachian cuisine that “draws from a variety of cultural resources—international, ethnic-American, as well as regional—mixing and blending those resources” (17). With its new cuisine, Asheville represents the American ideal foodscape of “local, place based food communities closely tied to the natural cycles of resources and seasons” (18). Therefore, Long concludes,

“culinary tourism has created a public identification of Appalachia as a distinctive cultural region that is no longer ‘Other’ to mainstream America, but a potential centering for a new American identity” (18).

In addition to region as “other,” ethnicity is another distinguisher of “otherness” in culinary tourism. In an article within the aforementioned anthology *Culinary Tourism*, sociologist Jennie Germann Molz (2004) examines authenticity, “a quality often held as the ideal in tourism,” within the framework of culinary tourism at Thai restaurants in Texas (51). Germann Molz views ethnic restaurants as places where tourists can encounter “otherness” without leaving their home city or town. For her research, Germann Molz carried out participant observation at ten Thai restaurants, eating, observing, taking notes and photographs and talking informally to waitstaff and/or owners. Studying the interface of Thai restaurants where American diners encounter the other, Germann Molz observes how restaurants attempt to create a sense of authenticity in relation to the ways in which diners construct their own notions of authenticity.

According to Germann Molz, authenticity “is one means of understanding the processes of identity construction and validation that take place in arenas of culinary tourism” but the author cautions that “the concept of authenticity is an invention of Western modernity” (72). For her primary theoretical perspectives, Germann Molz discusses Dean MacCannell’s (1973) concept of staged authenticity and draws on Erik Cohen’s (1979) typologies of tourists and tourism experiences. However, Germann Molz notes that MacCannell’s concept of “staged authenticity,” the middle ground tourists experience between the back and front regions of social performance at tourist sites, is limited in its application to culinary tourism. Germann Molz contends that, in terms of culinary tourism, a

more productive way of contemplating “authenticity” is “as a mutually negotiated concept where the diners’ perceptions are as responsible for the construction of authenticity as is the representation produced by the Thai restaurant” (61). In contrast to MacCannell’s interpretation of “authenticity” as an objective quality, Germann Molz views “authenticity” as constructed as much by the perceptions of tourists as by the host culture.

A more useful framework than “staged authenticity” for understanding how culinary tourists engage with the concept of “authenticity” is Erik Cohen’s (1979;1988) typology of tourists and tourist experiences. Cohen addresses “authenticity” in his typology of tourists by classifying tourists on a “scale of touristic experience” which ranges from “existential” tourists to “diversionary” tourists (Germann Molz 2004:67). The existential tourist is “intensely interested in the authenticity of his or her experience and maintains a very rigid and objective set of criteria for judging that authenticity” (2004:67). At the other end of the scale, the diversionary tourist does not view authenticity as important and is not concerned with the authenticity of his or her experience. Diversionary tourists “seek mere oblivion and diversion on their trip” (Cohen 1988: 377). Between these two extremes, Cohen then labels tourists as “experimental,” “experiential,” or “recreational” in descending order based on the importance placed by the tourist on “authenticity.” Applying Cohen’s tourist typologies, Germann Molz (2004) proposes that a tourist’s emphasis on authenticity is “indicative not only of the depth of experience they desire, but also of the identity characteristics they are likely to express or try to validate in their interactions with the culinary other” (2004:68). The “existential,” “experimental,” and “experiential” tourists understand their experiences as reflective “of their own sophistication and competence” (2004:68). Recreational and diversionary tourists prioritize enjoyment and entertainment over authenticity.

In her study of Thai restaurants, Germann Molz found that through elements, such as menu items, ingredients, and décor, Thai restaurants create a sense of authenticity that is “generally a formulaic representation that mirrors American expectations of Thai-ness rather than reflecting the reality of Thai culture” (67). For social and economic reasons, Thai restaurants cater to customers’ Western perceptions of Thai-ness, “constructing a new definition of authenticity, one that is based on an American perception of Thai culture rather than on a purely Thai point of view” (62). Consequently, Germann Molz concludes the encounter of American diners at Thai restaurants “reveals more about the Western mindset and culture in which the Thai restaurant operates than it reveals about the other that the restaurant purports to represent” (67).

Germann Molz (2007) expands upon her understanding of culinary tourism in her later investigation into the motives of globe-trotting culinary tourists who engage in “eating the Other.” Studying the population of white, Western culinary tourists, Germann Molz contends that culinary tourism is not necessarily about experiencing or knowing another culture. This discovery deviates from her previous article in which she acknowledged that the majority of culinary tourists at Thai restaurants desired to experience Thai culture, even if this version of Thai-ness was a construction of Western perception. In her research of surveying travelogues from 200 travel websites and interviewing two dozen travelers, Germann Molz found that round-the-world culinary tourists eat foreign foods and culinary styles in order to perform a sense of cosmopolitan competence, adventure, adaptability and “openness” to any culture. For culinary tourists, “embodied engagement with food can be seen as a kind of commodity fetishism in which the food experience bolsters the tourist’s identity and social status” (91). Ingesting the food of the host culture substitutes for actual

engagement with local people and is simply a way of “tasting” the culture and collecting new food experiences without deeply engaging with or immersing in a place or culture.

2.4.2 Sustainability of Culinary Tourism

In addition to examining how tourists interpret “otherness” and “authenticity,” scholars are also interested in how culinary tourism impacts the regional identity and culinary heritage of rural areas. This section reviews recent case studies (Everett and Aitchison 2008; Sims 2009) on the emerging industry of culinary tourism in rural areas that suggest that culinary tourism may be one solution to achieving “the triple bottom line” of sustainable environmental, economic, and social tourism practices.

Sally Everett and Cara Aitchison (2008) examine the role that culinary tourism plays in retention and development of regional identity and sustaining cultural heritage in their study of rural culinary tourism in Cornwall, England. After conducting interviews with twelve restaurateurs in four popular tourist locations in Cornwall, Everett and Aitchison observe that culinary tourists encompass two different lifestyles: empty nesters over fifty and young, childless couples. Everett and Aitchison, however, find the term culinary tourist or “food tourist” to be too broad in scope and break down the term into different categories created by combining three different tourist typologies (Cohen 1979; Enteleca Research 2001; Mitchell and Hall 2003). The authors use their interview data and build upon the typologies of other tourism scholars to construct a diagram illustrating the correlation between types of food tourists and interest levels and potential for facilitating regional sustainability. Everett and Aitchison define the most engaged tourist as the “existential-gastronome-food tourist.” Restaurateur interviewees unanimously agreed that this tourist has

the highest propensity to pay more for local food, participate in food-related activities, partake in cultural transmission and education, and possesses the most potential for facilitating regional social-cultural sustainability. Everett and Aitchison, drawing on the three tourist typologies, designate the least engaged tourist as the “recreational-familiar foods-laggard tourist” who interviewees described as having the lowest interest level in food-related activities and the least potential for facilitating regional sustainability.

Everett and Aitchison observed that culinary tourism aided the conservation of traditional culinary heritage skills. Within the Cornwall region, culinary tourism has encouraged the production of Cornish cheese, butter, and pasties, and supported the local industries of farming and fishing. At the same time, these regional food traditions do not remain frozen in time. Strict adherence to the guidelines of traditional regional cuisines would stifle local innovation and creativity. Instead, global culinary and urban food trends are diversifying distinctive rural regional products and skills in places such as Cornwall where, for example, the tradition of cheese making has expanded from one type of Cornish cheese to the emergence multiple Cornish cheeses that use different spices and herbs.

Echoing the findings of Everett and Aitchison, Rebecca Sims (2009) argues that local food products “can improve the economic and environmental sustainability of both tourism and the rural host community” because tourist interest in these products encourages sustainable agricultural practices, supports local businesses, and assists in “building a ‘brand’ that can benefit the region by attracting more visitors and investments” (322). Studying the role of culinary tourism in the Lake District and Exmoor regions of England, Sims conducted 78 semi-structured interviews with tourists across these rural regions during a four-month

period from July to October 2005. In addition, Sims interviewed 24 café, pub, and restaurant owners and 17 local food and drink producers.

Sims argues that tourists understand local foods as a way to make a stronger connection with a place because these foods connect them with local producers and provide powerful sensory memories of eating foods that they perceive as “authentic” pieces of regional culture. The foods and products that tourists deem “authentic” are “socially constructed according to a person’s beliefs and circumstances” (332). When eating local foods, tourists are more than enjoying the physical taste of the food; they see themselves as consuming the meaning and story behind the foods. During her research, Sims found that restaurateurs and producers were aware of the symbolic importance of food for tourists and “attempted to ‘stage’ the authenticity of their products accordingly” (332). Furthermore, Sims contends that when eating the local foods of a rural destination, culinary tourists perceive themselves as “good travellers” rather than “irresponsible tourists.” Culinary tourists associate eating regional specialties and local foods “with a host of values, such as being better for the environment, conserving ‘traditional’ rural landscapes and supporting the local economy and, there is, therefore, a ‘feel-good’ factor associated with consuming them” (328). Sims concludes that the tourist desire for “authentic” local food and drink products encourages the implementation of sustainable initiatives in rural regions and provides these enterprises with a better chance of success.

2.5 CONCLUSION

When studying the role of food in a community, scholars use multiple approaches as highlighted in the literature review. Food ethnographers who utilize a more holistic approach

will examine the entire foodways or foodscape of the community, rather than focusing on one aspect (Zukin 2010; Counihan 2009, 2012; Avieli 2012; Black 2012). In contrast, other researchers will choose to focus on certain foods and related customs that affirm membership within that community, whether it be a regional cuisine (Smith 2003; Latshaw 2009) or single food commodities laden with multiple meanings (Haverluk 2002; Blue 2007). Another approach seen in the literature reflects the use of restaurants as sites for exploring identity, both for understanding an individual's identity as well as capturing and displaying an idealized community identity (Srinivas 2007; Pardue 2007). In the context of culinary tourism, the relevant literature encompasses perspectives of both producers and consumers and reveals complementary and contrasting motivations for revering "local," "authentic" foods (Long 2004; Everett and Aitchison 2008; Sims 2009). Scholars deliberate whether consuming "authentic" foods provides tourists with a deeper understanding of a culture or locale (Long 2010) or if consuming "otherness" is a way to achieve status and distinction through increasing one's cosmopolitanism (Germann Molz 2004; 2007). Overall, the approaches and methods used by researchers to study food and community vary depending upon the breadth and purpose of the research. In the next chapter, I discuss my methodology for researching the role of food in shaping community identity. My discussion describes my three research methods: formal interview, participant observation, and content analysis. The chapter also assesses the benefits and drawbacks of these methods and how my positionality and methodology affected my results.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 INTRODUCTION

I employed three research methods during my study: participant observation, formal interview, and content analysis. Initially, I intended to use only formal interview and participant observation as my research methods. Yet, as my research progressed, I found that my study lacked examination of a key element in the foodscape about which my contributors are so passionate: the food itself. The food that is served by a restaurant is the essential component of a restaurant's identity and reveals the restaurant's place within the Wessex foodscape. I, therefore, added content analysis of restaurant menus to my research methods. I applied and received approval for participant observation and formal interviews from Human Subjects Research Committee (HSRC) at the College of Wessex. HSRC gave me permission to interview the managers or owners of restaurants in Wessex as well as the owner or manager of Wessex Food Tours. Additionally, HSRC approved my plan for participant observation on Wessex Food Tours and at restaurants in Wessex. The following discussion describes the process of my research methodology; why the methods I chose best fit my research question; the benefits and drawbacks involved in employing these methods; and, how my positionality impacted my access to the field and data collection.

3.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

The first method I used is participant observation, a method that is “not just the collection of data, but a way of thinking about the people from whom one collects those data” (Tierney 2007:12). After speaking with the tour manager of Wessex Food Tours about my research, I purchased tickets for the two tours offered by the company and attended the

tours as a regular paid tour participant. I recorded my notes after the completion of the tour on the places visited, foods provided, and the vision of Wessex that is presented on each tour. I observed the types of people who went on the tours but did not interview them. My experience on the Wessex Food Tours is outlined in detail as follows below. I also conducted participant observation before interviewing the owners of the older restaurants not featured on the tours. Participant observation before interviewing allowed me to gain a general sense of the restaurant, letting me explore the area before I met an owner or manager. Participant observation often sparked new interview questions and helped me shape my existing questions to match the character of each restaurant. I gained access to the field as a customer of the restaurant. I went to these four restaurants, as a participant observer, studying the patrons, food, and environment of these restaurants. Friends accompanied me since I would draw attention to myself if I were alone. When we were seated, I chose the seat that gave me the best vantage point to observe the action of restaurant, taking meticulous notes throughout the meal. I discuss the results of my participant observation at the older Wessex restaurants in the data analysis chapter.

In order to understand how Wessex Food Tours portrays Wessex through culinary tourism, I began my research by participating in the two tours that are currently offered by Wessex Food Tours. Through the company's website, I signed up for the Afternoon Tour and the Twilight Tour, each tour taking place on a different day of the week. A ticket for the Afternoon Tour cost \$45 while a ticket for the Twilight Tour costs \$55. After purchasing the tickets, I then contacted the tour manager to tell her about myself and explain the focus of my independent study research. The tour manager agreed to meet with me for an interview after I had participated in both tours and informed the tour guide about my research. Accompanied

by a friend on each tour, I partook in the tours like a regular paying participant, deciding not to take notes during the tour but rather immersing myself in the experience. Not taking notes during the tour allowed me to interact with the tour guide and fellow tour participants in an engaged manner. I recorded my observations immediately after the tours ended.

I first participated in the Afternoon Around Town Tour on Saturday October 24. The tour group met at 1:00pm in the lobby of the St. Meinrad, a “clean, sleek, and modern” boutique hotel in downtown Wessex (St. Paul Hotel, accessed January 29, 2016). Brienne, our gregarious tour guide, welcomed us and we began the tour. I had assumed the tour met at St. Meinrad because the location was a convenient meeting place. I did not realize that a St. Meinrad employee would give us a tour of the intimate, stylish 12-room hotel, showing us around the various suites, and provide a brief history of the building. Built in the 1800s, the building changed its name from the Greenwood Hotel to Hotel St. Meinrad in the 1920s. Along with a name change, the hotel gained a seedy reputation as a hub for card games and gambling. A non-profit group bought the hotel in the 1970s and turned the building into subsidized housing. Following the close of the non-profit in 2008, Rick Tyrell, owner of the adjacent (now closed) D.O.P. Wine Cellar, bought and renovated the building, transforming it into the contemporary boutique hotel that opened in 2011.

After the tour of the St. Meinrad, our group walked over to Local Harvest, the food co-op that houses both a market with artisan, locally produced goods and foods as well as a small café. As would become a routine at the other stops on the tour, a manager came out to explain the foods we were served as well as the background of the establishment. Contented and warmed by the soup and panini at Local Harvest, our group walked over to the next stop on our tour, Liberty Public House. Liberty Public House, known for their public debates as

well as burgers, beer, and bourbon, served us a generous portion of their Barry Goldwater, a sandwich filled with honey chipotle pulled pork and house-made jalapeno coleslaw. We took a break from eating after Liberty Public House and went across the street to the new shop, Hoople's Oils, which specializes in flavored olive oils and balsamic vinegars. Leaving Hoople's Oils for our last destination, the group stopped in Market Square, the center of downtown, to take a moment to learn a few facts about the history of the town of Wessex. The final stop on the tour was Rózsa where we enjoyed an exquisite selection pastries and tiny cakes. The tour ended around 4:00pm. Each participant was then asked to complete a survey regarding the tour experience before departing. The survey included questions such as where were participants from and did the tour introduce them to new places in Wessex. Before I left, I confirmed with the tour guide that I would see her next week for the Twilight Tour.

On the following Thursday evening at 6:00pm, I participated in the Twilight Tour. Tickets for the Twilight Tour are priced slightly higher than the Afternoon Tour which I infer is because alcohol is served at two of the Twilight Tour stops. Similar to the Afternoon Tour, participants on the Twilight Tour met at St. Meinrad and received a tour of the hotel. We then walked up the street to Market Chophouse where we savored bruschetta and seafood bisque accompanied by a Spanish white wine. The next stop was Milliways Gastropub, a new restaurant affiliated with the established Wessex restaurant Broken Rocks. We dined on wood-fired, Neapolitan-style pizza and shared roasted dates stuffed with goat cheese. Given the distance to our fourth stop, we went back to our cars to drive to the new incarnation of Apollo Grill. Apollo Grill was previously a café and bakery until it moved into its new location and transformed into a cavernous bar and grill. After the sleek, modern, streamlined

interior and sound design of the previous two restaurants, the bustling bar atmosphere of Apollo Grill was a little jarring. We were served a fascinating concoction titled the Vesuvius, which is a salad topped with a hamburger patty, poppy seed dressing, and crushed Doritos. The Twilight Tour concluded with a tour of the DMC Brewery. Flights of beer were provided and paired with an assortment of cupcakes that Wessex Food Tours had brought from the local bakery, Sugar Bliss Cakes. At the end of the tour, our tour guide asked each participant to complete a survey, the same as given on the Afternoon Tour, to evaluate the tour experience.

Participant observation has benefits and drawbacks as a research method. One benefit of participant observation is that the researcher has direct access to the field and can observe the field through first-hand experience. A second benefit is that participant observation is an adaptable research method that can be used to study many different topics of ethnographic research. There are also many different gradations of participant observation from passive participation to complete participation, allowing the researcher to choose levels of involvement that best suits the study. Yet, participant observation has drawbacks because it is a more intrusive method in comparison to a method such as content analysis. When conducting participant observation as a researcher, I always remained cognizant of ethical concerns regarding interaction with contributors. Another drawback of participant observation is being overloaded with information from all the action occurring around the researcher. A final drawback of participant observation is that the researcher cannot rely solely on the method to interpret the social phenomenon under investigation. For the most accurate analysis, observation must be paired with another research tool. Accordingly, I used formal interview and content analysis in conjunction with participant observation.

3.3 FORMAL INTERVIEW

Following the completion of participant observation at all the restaurants, I began to conduct formal interviews with the owners or managers of Wessex Food Tours and the restaurants. A formal interview is a data-collection technique defined as an interview in which “subjects will be broached in a planned fashion, often at a precisely set time of day” (Crane and Angrosino 1992: 57). The method of formal interview suited my research topic because that method allowed owners in the bustling, fast-paced restaurant industry to choose a time and date where they could speak with the least amount of distraction. Formal interviews allowed me to hear the owners describe their restaurant and their role in the community of Wessex in their own words. During an interview, I can immediately clarify terminology or other points of interest that come up in my contributor’s responses. Probe questions are another particularly effective aspect of the interview process. I noticed in a few of my interviews that my contributor would initially respond to some questions with brief, vague answers. When I followed up with probe questions, I was able to obtain more detailed, descriptive responses. Another benefit of a face-to-face formal interview is that I can develop a relationship with the contributor which adds a human dimension to research that may be lacking in anonymous survey responses. Successfully developing a positive relationship during an interview was important to my research because it led to one of my contributors, the tour manager for Wessex Food Tours, connecting me with another contributor, the marketing advisor for Market Chophouse and Local Harvest. Appendix A, B, and C contain a table of interview contributors, the interview consent form, and the interview question guides.

The process of conducting interviews was relatively consistent among all my contributors. I initially contacted contributors by email. If I did not hear back from the selected contributors by the end of the week, I would contact them again by calling their restaurant. For one restaurant, I talked directly with the owner in person to schedule an interview rather than through email or telephone. I usually interviewed contributors during their off-hours when they were not working or the restaurant was closed. When I arrived for each interview, I would first describe the focus and purpose of my research. I then gave the interview consent form to the contributor to sign, explaining to my contributor the parameters of contributor participation in the project. With notepad and pen in hand, I turned on the digital tape recorder and began to ask questions. I only experienced one instance where a contributor had to end the interview early. In this particular case, the owner of the restaurant barely had time to talk with me and seemed quite distracted during our scheduled interview time. The owner explained that the restaurant was understaffed during the busy lunch hours because multiple employees had called off that day. Fortunately, we were able to meet again for a follow-up interview. Yet, the experience reveals the time-intensive nature of interviews, a drawback when interviewing people in the food service industry who are usually quite busy with fast-paced jobs, and the likelihood with any interview of an unavoidable disruption which prevents the contributor from either continuing with the interview or fully participating. I found that most contributors were only able to set aside 15 minutes to 30 minutes for an interview.

Another drawback of formal interviews, especially when having the narrow window of time of an academic semester, is reliance on the schedules of contributors or others upon whom the researcher must be dependent for assistance. Research can become more

frustrating and complicated when contributors fail to respond to interview requests, cancel scheduled interviews, or are unavailable because of sudden schedule conflicts. I underestimated the difficulty of pinning down the busy owners of restaurants. I possessed no contacts within the Wessex foodscape and consequently gained access to the field through the “cold turkey” method. I “cold-called” and emailed interview requests to the restaurants that I had visited on the food tours and the four older eateries at which I conducted participant observation. Scheduling interviews proved exasperating at times. In some cases, owners, managers, or restaurant staff would simply not respond to my original interview request. In other cases, I was told that the appropriate person would follow-up and provide a time when available for an interview, but then the potential contributor would never call back. Ultimately, I was able to conduct nine interviews with key players in the Wessex food scene. While their collective knowledge may not represent the entire story of food in Wessex, the knowledge that they shared illuminates important aspects regarding the role of food and food tourism in the Wessex community.

The final step in the interview process is to transcribe the interview. Not only is the interview itself time intensive, transcribing the interview and analyzing the data also requires a significant investment of time. I uploaded the recordings to my computer and began transcribing the interviews over winter break, a few weeks after I had conducted the interviews. Nancy Redfern-Vance’s (2007) article “Analyzing Narrative Data” guided me in formatting my interview transcription. While transcribing, I deleted “uhhs” and “umms” but did not change my contributor’s words, grammar, or sentence structure. With ethical considerations in mind, I changed names of people and locations to protect the contributor’s

identity. While transcribing the interviews, I noticed key themes emerging. I will discuss these themes in the next chapter.

3.4 CONTENT ANALYSIS

For my third research method, I conducted content analysis on the menus of the restaurants featured on the food tours as well the menus of the four older restaurants I visited during participant observation. Content analysis of a text can be defined as “systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding” (Stemler 2001). The foods that restaurants serve and the descriptions of these foods on the menu provide insights about how the restaurant perceives and presents itself within the community. Additionally, by analyzing the foods served and menu descriptions, I was able to examine whether any overlapping or contrasting themes emerged between restaurants featured on the food tours and older restaurants not chosen to be featured on the tours.

I analyzed the menus of the four older restaurants (MK’s, Lunch Pail, Di Lucca’s, and Maple Leaf) and six tour restaurants (Market Chophouse, First Amendment, Local Harvest, Apollo Grill, Milliways Gastropub, and Rózsa). I did not examine the beverage menu at the eateries nor did I consider the menus of the establishments featured on the tour that did not possess a full food menu. Therefore, I did not include DMC Brewery, Hoople’s Oils, or Sugar Bliss Cakes. In terms of the menus, I systematically analyzed the lunch/dinner menus of the ten aforementioned eateries and did not include breakfast menus because only four of the ten eateries serve breakfast.

I divided the content analysis into two categories: tour and old. Within each of these two categories, I created a “menu item” category and “menu description” category. An

example to illustrate these categories is the Southwest Burger at Market Chophouse. The name “Southwest Burger” is tallied in the menu item category under (*cheese*)*burgers* while the burger’s accompanying description (Tobacco onions, Bourbon BBQ sauce and cheddar cheese) is tallied in the menu description category. When I finished tallying, I made a list of the highest count nouns as well as the highest count adjectives in each category for the tour and old restaurants. These high-count elements of the text were labeled as manifest themes, while the implicit patterns and ideas that emerged from my textual analysis were categorized as latent themes. At the end of the final tally count is a list of proper names and places that appeared in the text but were not included in the count. Appendix D contains the “menu description” and “latent themes” counts for both sets of restaurants.

The research method of content analysis has both benefits and drawbacks. An initial benefit of content analysis is that content analytic procedure operates directly on the text. If I only conducted interviews, I would only have my contributor’s descriptions of the foods served at the restaurant. With content analysis, I am able to expand upon these descriptions, going into more detail about what the menu includes and how the menu selections and descriptions reflect the restaurant. Additional benefits of the content analysis method include being able to work at one’s own pace and not having to be reliant on other people or schedules as well as having access to both quantitative and qualitative data. A third benefit of content analysis is that, using the same sources, another researcher can potentially replicate the analysis. A researcher could conduct content analysis on the same set of restaurant menus that I used and obtain almost identical data. This aspect of content analysis contrasts with the research method of formal interview. Data collected from an interview cannot be duplicated by another researcher because there are too many social variables to be controlled that impact

the results of the interview. In comparison with other research methods such as interviews, content analysis is less obtrusive because neither the sender nor receiver of the message is aware that it is being analyzed. As in the case of my own content analysis concerning food in Wessex, most restaurants publish menus that are available in the public domain. I accessed menus on the public websites and the social media pages created by the restaurants.

3.5 CONCLUSION

Using the three ethnographic methods of participant observation, formal interview, and content analysis allowed me to study Wessex's restaurant foodscape in a more comprehensive manner. The experiential nature of participant observation allowed me to study the restaurants in the field and was particularly valuable for understanding the food tours. Participant observation also helped shape the questions I asked contributors during formal interviews. Through formal interviews with managers and owners of the restaurants and Wessex Food Tours, I was able to clarify any questions that arose during participant observation and to probe deeper into how the restaurants construct their identities. Content analysis of restaurant menus provided textual evidence to validate how each restaurant, through the type and description of foods served, envisions itself within the foodscape. In the next chapter, I will briefly discuss the background of each restaurant in the context of Wessex's history. I then analyze the data gathered through my research methods and identify the major themes that emerged from participant observation, interviews, and content analysis.

Chapter Four: Findings, Analysis, and Discussion

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The food culture that I observed at the restaurants in Wessex can be discussed as a dominant symbol, occupying a central position in the local culture of Wessex and possessing multiple meanings. Victor Turner (1967) theorized that dominant symbols possess “a ‘fan’ or ‘spectrum’ of referents, which are interlinked by what is usually a simple mode of association, its very simplicity enabling it to interconnect a wide variety of significata” (Turner 1967: 50). The referents of *heritage*, *home*, *local*, and *community* constitute the “spectrum” or “fan” encircling the dominant symbol of food at the Wessex restaurants. Discussion of the data analysis that supports my findings is presented in the following three sections. The first section begins with an overview of the history and background of the city of Wessex and a history and background of the restaurants I visited. This section discusses what I experienced while conducting participant observation. Following this background section, I analyze the themes that emerged at the older restaurants. Theoretical frameworks that help make sense of the data from the older restaurants include Karla Erickson’s “production of home” (2009) and Christine Yano’s (2007) work on the “culture of nostalgia” as realized at small, independent family-run restaurants. Lastly, I explore the themes that manifest at the tour restaurants. The literature on culinary tourism reviewed in Chapter Two provides theoretical frameworks for understanding many of the referents comprising the multivocality of food at the tour restaurants. Especially useful for my results are Lucy Long’s (2004) theories on the five different categories that distinguish food as “other” and the five basic strategies for negotiating culinary realms. Additionally, I draw on Sharon Zukin’s

(2010) theory of food as an “anchor of redevelopment” and Rebecca Sims (2009) study on the role of culinary tourism in “building a brand” for the host community (2009).

4.2 BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RESTAURANTS

German and Italian immigrants were two influential communities in Wessex’s early history. As will be examined later in the data analysis of the older restaurants, German and Italian roots emerge in certain aspects of the food landscape today in Wessex. During the late 1700s and early 1800s, many German immigrants migrated from Pennsylvania to Ohio (Ohio History Central, accessed February 10, 2016). As a result, a large percentage of the early settlers of the city of Wessex and Grayson County were German. Italian immigrants arrived later with the first wave of immigrants settling in Wessex in the 1860s (Previte 2014, accessed February 12, 2016). Most Italian immigrants, however, arrived during the “New Immigration” from 1880-1920 drawn to Wessex by labor recruiters, *paesani* networks, and networks of family and friends (Previte 2014). The following section provides descriptions, locations, and background for the tour and older restaurants that I studied in Wessex. The process of the Wessex Food Tours and the foods served on the tours are described earlier in Chapter Three: Methodology.

In examining the restaurants included on Wessex Food Tours, I observed that a key element of the tours is placing the newer restaurants in the context of Wessex’s historic downtown. Our tour guide wove into the tour the history of Wessex and the downtown historic district, as well as plans for the city’s future. At each of the tour restaurants, in addition to describing the foods served, restaurant staff discussed both the history of the restaurant itself and that of the building occupied by the restaurant. All the establishments

selected for the Wessex Food Tours are located in the heart of downtown Wessex in the area known as the Market Square, bounded by Capitol, Plaza, and Willow Streets. As discussed in Chapter Three, I visited three establishments on the tours that were not restaurants and, therefore, are not included in the data analysis. These establishments are Hoople's Oils, DMC Brewery, and Sugar Bliss Cakes.

On Plaza Street, the tour visited Rózsa Pastry and Coffee Shop and Market Chophouse. Rózsa sits in the heart of Market Square in a meticulously renovated 1888 building. The eatery evokes the feel of a quaint, European café with round marble tabletops paired with the classic curving, open loop chairs that echo the steam-bent wood chairs at café tables in 19th century Paris. Past the chalkboard menu, on the exposed brick walls are framed newspaper and magazine articles about the café and a large black and white photograph of an ornate Belle Époque building in Budapest. Emilia, a manager at Rózsa and the daughter of the owner, says her mother opened the pastry café in 2004 to bring a piece of Hungary, the Old World, to Wessex. Her mother and another Hungarian baker create the sweet and savory pastries and breads. In addition to pastries and coffee drinks, Rózsa serves soups, "European" open-faced sandwiches, and rolled omelettes. For each of the four desserts that we were served on the tour, Emilia told us the Hungarian name and the English translation along with the story behind the pastry's significance and meaning in Hungary.

Market Chophouse is located a few buildings south of Rózsa, occupying the Germania Hall building. As we dined at Market Chophouse on the tour, the assistant manager recalled for us the history of Germania Hall. Built in 1878, the building formerly housed a meat market, saloon and restaurant, and a dance hall on the third floor. At one point during its history, the building contained a one-cell jail where rowdy customers spend the night until

they sobered up in the morning. Adam Thornton opened Market Chophouse in 2008 after researching and visiting steakhouses in Chicago and New York. Prior to deciding to proceed with the steakhouse, Thornton had successfully launched Plaza Bistro, which gave Wessex “chef-driven, seasonal, innovative cuisine.” Thornton then felt that Wessex needed a “more meat and potatoes type restaurant that was still casual fine dining.” Regarding the food served at Market Chophouse, Thornton says, “It’s intended to be a very traditional menu [...] It’s intended to be that comfort food that people associate with a great steakhouse.” Bringing a big city steakhouse to a small town means modifying the concept to accommodate the clientele. Market Chophouse contains three different elements: the formal, classic steakhouse dining room with white cloth covered tables and plush leather booths; the casual yet refined marble topped bar area; and the year-round patio with metal latticed outdoor furniture and fairy lights strung throughout the ceiling.

On Capitol Street, the cross street forming Market Square with Plaza Street, the tour made stops at Liberty Public House, Milliways Gastropub, and Apollo Grill. Liberty Public House is located in the Miller Block building, built in 1900 on the corner of Capitol and Willow. During the tour visit to the restaurant, the owner stressed that Liberty Public House is a family owned and operated restaurant. When the owner Chloe spoke to us, she emphasized that Liberty Public House came into being because she and her father wanted to create a space for public discussion and debates where people had the freedom to discuss issues openly. In terms of food and drink, Liberty Public House can be described in three words: burgers, beer, and bourbon. The dark wood bar and pew seating brings to mind the images of early public houses in colonial America. The patriotic, Americana décor brightens the space with red walls paired with the blue ceiling covered in large white stars. Through its

décor and the content of the menu, Liberty Public House presents a very specific restaurant identity and purpose as public house for open discussion. Although featured on the tour, the restaurant unfortunately closed at the end of December 2015.

Milliways Gastropub is an extension of the restaurant Tabard Inn, which is housed in the Clark Building on Capitol Street. Clark Building was built in 1875 after a fire destroyed the previous building, Lumidome Hall, a space used for lectures, concerts, theatre, and exhibitions (Locher 2008). As a “gastropub,” Milliways combines the casual atmosphere of a pub with the more upscale food of a gourmet restaurant. The items on the food and drink menus are carefully curated, with place or origin or appellation noted. When the tour visited the restaurant, Milliways staff proudly highlighted the treasure of their gastropub: a high temperature masonry open flame oven that creates thin and chewy Neapolitan style pizzas. The interior design of the restaurant reflects casual refinement of a gastropub. Exposed brick walls are sparsely decorated with a few large canvas artworks. The bar is made of wood and colored bubbled glass, above which is an angular, jutting ceiling design that brings dynamism to the space.

A few blocks east of Milliways, and exuding a completely different atmosphere, is Apollo Grill. Apollo Grill, which used to be in the Brenner Brothers building on Capitol, is now the farthest tour restaurant from Market Square. Although it is still on Capitol, the restaurant now occupies a renovated commercial garage built in 1951. East Capitol Street lacks the development and aesthetically pleasing historic buildings of the Market Square area. In our interview, Rachel Corcos, the manager of Wessex Food Tours, noted that she hopes to see the types of businesses near Market Square expand to where Apollo Grill is located on East Capitol to fill in the vacancies in the rather ramshackle area. Apollo Grill

radiates a boisterous atmosphere, with loud music, multiple TV screens broadcasting sports games, and consciously eclectic, mishmashed American pop culture décor. Apollo Grill identifies itself as a bar and grill. The restaurant spins the typical American grill food into something new, not in an upscale style like Milliways, but in distinctly over-the-top, indulgent American way. An example is the quesadilla which can be ordered as Reubendilla, stuffed with the fillings of a Reuben sandwich, or the buffwingdilla, conjuring the American bar food staple of Buffalo wings and blue cheese dressing.

Lastly, on Willow Street, around the corner from Liberty Public House, is Local Harvest. Opened in 2009, Local Harvest differs from the other tour restaurants because it is primarily a year-round farmers market selling local meats and produce, prepared foods, and artisan crafts in addition to serving food. The market area bustled with people when we visited on the tour as customers socialized with each other as they shopped. While Local Harvest employs a few full-time and part-time employees, member volunteers of this producer-consumer co-op put in several hours of work each month at the market. Our tour went to the back seating area to feast upon the café's daily offerings which exemplify the mission of Local Harvest. We were offered a salad of greens from the nearby hydroponic farm. The salad, garnished with radishes pickled in-house from leftover produce, was topped with raspberry dressing made from raspberries frozen from the summer harvest. A cup of roasted pork soup made from the whole pig bought directly from the local producer was accompanied by a sandwich of grilled cheese and caramelized onions overflowing with apples from a nearby orchard. The menu offerings at Local Harvest café change with the seasons and the inventory in the market so that the menu reflects the items the producers bring to sell. Local Harvest is comprised of approximately 500 members and relies on the

support and passion from producers and consumers to remain a lively hub in the Wessex community.

While the tour restaurants are clustered together in the downtown area with Market Square as the focal point, the older restaurants are dispersed throughout the city. None of the older restaurants occupy historic buildings as do the majority of the new restaurants on the tour. Yet, these older restaurants have a deep connection with the community having been operating in Wessex for at least 50 years. Of note is that for three of the four older restaurants examined, a single family has owned and operated the restaurant over multiple generations, catering to a steady, regular clientele. While conducting participant observation at these restaurants, I noticed that the décor at each restaurant conveyed the eclecticism of someone's home where a hodgepodge of items from different phases of life are collected and syncretized over time. Such furnishings contrast with the interiors of the newer tour restaurants that are designed to reflect the carefully crafted unified theme of the restaurant where all décor and design elements are in sync or, in the case of Apollo Grill, reflect an artificially created atmosphere of keepsakes and memorabilia designed to appear as if amassed over the years.

The older restaurant that is closest to downtown is MK's, located on Capitol Street, the main thoroughfare that cuts through downtown and forms Market Square with Plaza Street. Max Martell and Kenny Bolton opened MK's in 1964 with the intent to create a restaurant where customers could enjoy fine-dining and drinks. Peggy, the office manager at MK's, noted that when MK's opened "There were really no restaurants in Wessex at the time where you could go and have a steak and a beer. It was either a bar or restaurant. [MK's] was really the first one you could do both at in Wessex." Today, Martell's son, Albert, owns and

operates the restaurant. One observation that struck me at MK's is that my companions and I were the youngest people in restaurant by about 30 years when we went for dinner on a Friday night. When I asked Peggy about the clientele, she told me that "at dinner, the average age is probably 50. A lot of the time husband and wife will meet here after work rather than go home and cook." In terms of food, Peggy believes "MK's is known for fish, steaks, and pasta." The food offerings at MK's are slightly more upscale than at the three other older restaurants in that one can order higher priced fillets of fish and cuts of steak, yet the atmosphere is still very low-key and cozy. My companion noted that the restaurant reminded her of her aunt's living room with the low ceiling, wood-paneled walls, family portraits on display, and the eccentric mix of objects adorning the walls.

Directly south of downtown is Lunch Pail Restaurant. Lunch Pail differs from the other three older restaurants because the ownership of the diner has passed through the hands of different families. With help from the memories of long-time customers and employees, Darlene, the current owner, pieced together the Lunch Pail history during our interview. The building was constructed in 1920 and opened as a diner in the 1940s. The bar and attached stools are original pieces from the first incarnation of the restaurant. Long-time regulars told Darlene that they could not recall the names of the original owners because "We just called them Mom and Pop," which was also the name of the restaurant. After Mom and Pop's, the restaurant became Blue Comet, named after the feed mill company that formerly operated in a nearby building. When ownership changed, Blue Comet became Jean Louise's and then, finally, two owners before Darlene, the restaurant became Lunch Pail. Lunch Pail is deeply rooted in the community through the regulars who continue to come to the restaurant regardless of changes in ownership. Over the four years that she has owned the restaurant,

Darlene has taken pictures of the regulars who come in each week and has put these photos into a framed collage which hangs in the front of the restaurant. In addition to photos of customers, the décor includes various hard hats lining the walls and other construction-themed items and framed photos of the restaurant during various phases of its history. Unlike the menus at most restaurants visited, the Lunch Pail menu does not contain descriptions of the dishes because what is in the dish is assumed to be self-evident. However, according to one customer, the menu dishes were previously named after people and this aspect of the menu has changed with the new owner (Dr. Pamela Frese, personal communication, February 17, 2016). Lunch Pail is cash only and customers pay at the cash register at the front of the restaurant, similar to Di Lucca's discussed below. During my visit, I enjoyed bacon grilled cheese on Texas toast. I finished the meal with butterscotch pie topped with whipped cream, all made from scratch by the owner herself. The daily specials written on the whiteboard next to the kitchen and the laminated one page menu showcase the simple but satisfying "comfort" food that draws customers back to the Lunch Pail each week.

East of downtown, past Lafayette Ave, across the railroad tracks, and nestled in a more working class, residential area, is Di Lucca's. Giovanna "Ginny" Di Lucca opened the pizzeria/restaurant in 1958 with the assistance of her daughter Francesca and son-in-law Anthony Massaro. Di Lucca opened the restaurant in the lower section of her home, serving people in what used to be her living room (Johnson 2008). Offering an assortment of Italian and American dishes, Di Lucca's is most famous for the homemade "Abruzzi style" pizza. Di Lucca's tucks the toppings beneath the bubbling cheese on the thick, hearty pizza. The eatery emphasizes the fact that their pizza is made to order and takes at least 20 minutes to cook, noting that they "feel that 'old world' quality and consistency is a better bargain than 'new

age' speed at all costs" (Coccia House, accessed February 12, 2016). Today, Di Lucca's envisions itself as an "independent family owned restaurant proudly catering to the families of our community" (Coccia House). Ownership of the restaurant now extends to the third generation with Vincent and his sister Catherine Massaro operating the restaurant along with their parents Anthony and Francesca.

From the outside, Di Lucca's still resembles a long, narrow bungalow house. Yet, the interior has been transformed into a casual eatery and pizzeria. Pizza ovens blaze behind a counter for to-go order pick-up in the anteroom before the dining area. The restaurant is cash only and two cash registers sit at the second back counter for bill payment for those dining in the restaurant. The dining area consists of white stucco walls ornamented with wine-theme arts and craft décor. Unlike the other older restaurants, no music or radio plays in the background. Conversations and the bustle of the wait staff rushing in and out of the kitchen comprise the soundscape.

When I visited Di Lucca's for participant observation on a Friday evening around 6:30pm, only a few people were in the dining area, but the front anteroom for to-go orders was humming. The high traffic of people flowing in and about the anteroom perhaps explains why the dining area itself is quite nondescript compared to the character of the outer room. The anteroom showcases the longstanding role of Di Lucca's in the Wessex community and the history of the restaurant. Hanging along the walls of the anteroom are plaques and newspaper articles honoring Di Lucca's. Proudly displayed as well are the colorful drawings from young customers. Di Lucca's apparel is on display behind the cash registers for purchase. Painted on the center of the wall facing the to-go counter is a mural recounting the history of Di Lucca's, a mural that is visible whether picking up food to-go or

dining-in. After dining, I brought my check to the cash register where Anthony Massaro, now in his nineties, rings up customers every evening. His children are also present, visiting with regular customers while overseeing the dining area. Conducting participant observation at Di Lucca's reinforced that family and community ties are clearly essential pieces of Di Lucca's identity.

Maple Leaf, located northeast of downtown on Mayfield Road where the road turns into Ohio State Route 3, is the last of the four older restaurants included in my study. When Gerald and Adeline Brandt opened the restaurant in 1965, the location was not yet part of the city of Wessex and had previously operated as a floral shop. From my interview with the owner, I also learned the history of the "Maple Leaf" name. Kevin, Gerald's grandson who currently owns and operates the restaurant, says "My Grandpa always went to Canada so he always liked the maple leaf and that's where leaf came from. That's kind of our trademark, the maple leaf." A distinct aspect of Maple Leaf is that they have a drive-in facility, in addition to the dining room. The drive-in remains a popular feature of the restaurant today, especially for families who Kevin says may not want to "get their kids out of the car, if they're acting up." Kevin describes the restaurant as "family-style" catering to "more older clientele and families." This description of clientele corroborates with my notes from participant observation at the restaurant on a Sunday morning. Customers appeared to be couples over 70 or parents under 40 with young children. Kevin describes the food served at Maple Leaf as "home-style, a lot of homemade items, and a lot of comfort foods." He says the restaurant's most iconic dish is the "classic steak sandwich" which has been "the number one sandwich sold and that was from day one." The square ground steak patty is topped with sliced onion and a "special sauce," served on a rye bun made for the restaurant that "you

can't find in the store. That's part of the secret to what makes it so good." Additionally, Kevin noted that the homemade pies, which sit in the cooler case behind the counter, and the hand-breaded fried chicken are also quite popular with customers.

The lived-in and laidback atmosphere of the restaurant may also be due to the friendly waitresses who call you "honey" and "sweetie" as well as the homey decor. Immediately inside the entrance to the restaurant is a large tropical fish tank and a sign that says "Please Wait to Be Seated." Next to the sign is the register, which sits on a glass case containing candies and mints for purchase. A large professional photograph of a baby in a basket is prominently displayed behind the register. Past the register is a counter with bar seating that faces the kitchen window where orders wait to be delivered to tables. Near the kitchen window, the cooler case, a remnant from when the building was a floral shop, is filled with pies, jello, and salads. In addition to counter seating, one can sit at the patterned, upholstered booths and Formica tables in the dining area. The pentagonal back wall is surfaced with large beige stones while the rest of the walls are a combination of wood-paneling and printed wallpaper. Kevin tries to keep the décor relatively unchanged, saying "I've done updates over the years, just remodeling, improvements, just to keep things looking good. You always have a little change but not anything drastic because people don't like that." The Maple Leaf reflects this sentiment with its mix of eclectic décor from different time periods, which appears to be the result of 50 years of preserving certain elements, adjusting others to match the times, and adding in new elements to "keep things looking good."

4.3 MANIFESTATION OF THEMES AT OLDER RESTAURANTS

The older set of restaurants in Wessex manipulates the meanings of *heritage*, *home*, *local*, and *community* that surround the dominant symbol of food in Wessex. *Heritage* emerges in the older restaurants through the menu items with ties to early German and Italian settlers of Wessex. *Heritage* also appears in the restaurants in the form of time and nostalgia. The older restaurants historicize their relationship to the foods that are served by keeping the restaurant menus relatively unchanged over multiple decades. Interconnected with temporality and nostalgia at the restaurants is the theme of *home*. *Home* is communicated at the restaurants through the importance placed on “homestyle” and “homemade” foods, family, and the appreciation for, and reliance upon, the regular clientele for whom the restaurants produce *home*. While not emphasized to the extent found at the tour restaurants, the older restaurants also engage with *local* and *community* through their “landmark” status in Wessex and clientele who have been visiting the establishments for decades.

As noted in Section 4.2, German and Italian immigrants settled in Wessex during the early and late 1800s. Consequently, foods with Italian and German cultural connotations appear on the menus of many of the older restaurants. Content analysis of the menus revealed the numerous occurrences of these German and Italian foods. The ingredients and food words with specific cultural connotations are primarily of Italian origin. Such terms include: *aglio e olio* (1), Asiago (7), capicola (1), ciabatta (1), crostini (1), fettucini (2), focaccia (5), Genoa salami (1), Italian (4), lasagna (1), pancetta (1), Parmesan (5), penne (3), pepperoncini (2), pesto (2), pizza (5), Primavera (1), prosciutto (2), Provolone (14), ricotta (1), Roma (1), Romano (2). The aforementioned terms were culled from the menu item descriptions and do not include the terms used for the Italian dishes found in the content analysis of menu dish

names, such as Oven Baked Manicotti, Sicilian Lasagna, or Shrimp Scampi Linguini. The foods appearing on the menus also reflect German heritage. German influences can be seen in menu items such as beef and noodles, sauerkraut, hamloaf, sausages, and several types of potato dishes. German heritage was especially expressed in the high manifest count of bread offerings (19). Bread is a crucial element in German cuisine as seen in the fact that the country produces 300 varieties of dark and white breads and over 1,200 varieties of rolls and mini-breads (German Food Guide, accessed February 17, 2016). This high manifest bread count was not present in the manifest themes of the tour restaurants.

From my data analysis and interviews, I argue that the people preparing these foods and those regularly eating meals at these older Wessex restaurants would not consider the German and Italian food terms “exotic” but rather local and part of the city’s ethnic heritage. As folklorist Susan Kalcik notes, “regional and ethnic foodways are often intertwined,” with the seemingly foreign ethnic foods coming to stand for the local, regional foods (1984: 39). The presentation of ethnic heritage foods as local and familiar and not exotic in the older Wessex restaurants differs from what cultural geographer Barbara Shortridge (2004) found in her study of ethnic heritage food in two small Midwestern towns that were originally European ethnic settlements. Shortridge found that the ethnic heritage foods in Lindsborg, Kansas (a Swedish settlement established in 1869) and New Glarus, Wisconsin (a Swiss settlement established in 1845) helped reinvent these towns into “heritage destinations for tourists” (2004: 268). Shortridge argues that the ethnic foods of New Glarus and Lindsborg serve “provide tangible reminders of times past” as well as “establish a heritage experience” and “awaken food memories of past eating occasions” (2004:270). Unlike New Glarus and Lindsborg, the city of Wessex does not produce “carefully constructed displays of ethnicity”

by emphasizing ethnic heritage food as a means to draw tourists (2004: 271). With an established area of heritage tourism in nearby Watson County, of which a major aspect is Amish heritage foods, one can speculate that the city of Wessex does not want to compete with that industry. Instead, culinary tourism in Wessex highlights new foods in historic downtown settings while the “ethnic heritage foods” remain at the older restaurants that are not included on the food tours.

Another aspect that connects the four older Wessex restaurants to the theme of *heritage* is “time” and “nostalgia”. Discussing how foodways create bonds among community members, Susan Kalcik writes “food links people across space and time, so that it helps creates a bond with past members of the group as well as between living ones” (1984: 59). The four older restaurants link the present, contemporary Wessex with the past, historical Wessex. Kevin, owner of Maple Leaf, captures this connection to the past when he notes about his restaurant that, “Everything’s stayed very much the same as it did in 1965.” While these older restaurants may experience renovations, slight modifications to the menu and décor, they remain staunchly fixed in the original identity and intention of the establishment. Operating in the present laden with such history makes these restaurants feel like spaces out of time. These restaurants contain relics that are vestiges of Wessex’s past, both the real, experienced past and the imagined, re-created past. These restaurant relics, whether it be the style of service, the décor, or the food dishes offered, are emblematic of a different time and engender nostalgia in the present. Nostalgia, a form of memory, can be viewed in respect to food as “re-experiencing of emotional pasts” as well as “longing for times and places that one has never experienced” (Holtzman 2006: 367). With the second type of nostalgia as described by Holtzman, people do not need to have experienced the past

that these restaurants evoke because these restaurants are associated with “a nostalgized sense of kitchens past” (Yano 2007: 58). These four older restaurants in Wessex “historicize their relationship to food,” creating meals and experiences that become embedded in people’s “personal and shared social histories” (Autio, et al 2013). Darlene, the newest owner of Lunch Pail, illustrates the importance of possessing the personal and shared social histories to the viability of the restaurant. Darlene has only operated the restaurant for the last four years and does not yet have the personal shared histories with the restaurant and her customers. However, Darlene recognizes that shared collective histories are essential to the restaurant’s existence and has been working with longtime employees, regular clientele, and past owners to learn more about the history of the restaurant. Without these shared histories and historicized relationship to food, the older restaurants could not create an ambience of nostalgia around the foods served at their establishments.

A type of “gastro-nostalgia” exists at these four restaurants though the preservation and handing-down of recipes through the years. Srinivas (2007), discussed previously in Chapter Two, defines “gastro-nostalgia” as “self-conscious return to the eating of the food of one’s particular ethnic, caste, or kin group” achieved through “a nostalgic eating of ‘home-cooked foods’” (97,102). The “gastro-nostalgia” operating at the Wessex restaurants differs from what Srinivas (2007) found in his study where new restaurants presented the cuisine of nostalgia “through an illusion of rediscovery” (2007: 101). There is no sudden rediscovery of nostalgic foods at the older restaurants in Wessex. Instead, the restaurants present these nostalgic foods, which exist in the living memory of the clientele, as fixed emblems of the past that have withstood the passage of time. During interviews, owners proudly declared that menus have changed very little over time. Of course, none of the four restaurants are

unchanging, static entities; they are dynamic sites of economic exchange and social interaction. Yet, over the years, these restaurants have purposely preserved elements that connect them to, and anchor them in, the past. Darlene of Lunch Pail noted that “pretty much everything stayed on [the menu]. Nothing has really changed.” Darlene continues to make old recipes but also adds in the occasional new dish as a daily special, noting that she tries to “have the same stuff they had before and I try to put in different things in there.” While most customers enjoy having the old menu items with a few new dishes mixed in, Darlene observes that “some people get kind of upset because I don’t have this or that like it used to be.” Similar to the lack of change in the Lunch Pail menu, Kevin at Maple Leaf remarked:

Not much has changed. We’ve added some new items over the years. But that’s what people like; they like the same food. They don’t like change. And it’s worked out well. Some places may lose business because there’s no change but here people, they almost get upset if you take something off the menu. So it’s a good thing that we don’t change much.

“Gastro-nostalgia” is also present at MK’s where manager Peggy notes, “There’s always things that people want that they request that we used to have.” To placate these customers, Peggy says that occasionally “we’ll do a menu from days gone by,” bringing back menu items from different eras of MK’s history.

Entwined with this “gastro-nostalgia” is the theme of *home*. Scholar Karla Erickson’s (2009) “production of home” theory captures what is occurring at these four older restaurants in Wessex. Erickson argues that creating an inviting, friendly atmosphere that evokes family and home allows customers to “lay down roots and stake a claim,” a practice that benefits the restaurants because it “inspires loyalty among customers” (2009: 67). The four older restaurants exemplify this concept of evoking an ambience of family and home that attracts a loyal, regular clientele. “Family,” a central component of *home*, serves as an important

element in each of the four restaurants. A single family through multiple generations has operated three of four restaurants. Lunch Pail, which has been operated by multiple families over the years, began its “production of home” when the restaurant first opened as “Mom and Pop’s” in the 1940s. *Home* is central to the identity of Di Lucca’s as evidenced by the restaurant’s origin on the first floor of Giovanna Di Lucca’s home. As noted earlier in the chapter, Di Lucca’s describes itself as an “independent family owned restaurant proudly catering to the families of our community” (Coccia House, accessed February 12, 2016). “Family” is the first thing that people see when they walk into MK’s. Peggy explains, “When you walk in we have pictures of [the owner’s] family hanging on the wall. People stop and look at that and ask ‘What are they doing now?’ and ‘Where are they now?’” At Maple Leaf, Kevin emphasized that the restaurant attracts families because it offers “home-style, home food that nowadays not many people want to cook because both parents are working and they get home and last thing you want to do is cook for the family.” Additionally, Kevin noted that people can “bring the whole family out” because “our prices are affordable.” The emphasis on family at these restaurants attracts families and other customers to “carry their socializing out of the house and into the marketplace” (Erickson 2009: 147) where many eventually become loyal, regular clientele who end up contributing to the overall ambience of *home*.

The “production of home” also appears in the content of the restaurant menus. Content Analysis of the menus uncovers high counts of the words “homemade” (21), “house” (24), and “housemade” (4). Additionally, interview contributors used words such as “homemade,” “home-style,” and “comfort foods” to describe the type of foods offered by the restaurants. As I did not interview restaurant customers, it is difficult to pinpoint what

“homemade” and “comfort foods” means to customers. Scholar Christine Yano theorizes that, for customers, the *home* that a restaurant produces “is not home as lived so much as imagined through the lens of nostalgia” (2007: 62). In her ethnography of small, family-run *okazuya* or “side dish kitchens” in Hawai’i, Yano found that customers interpreted the foods at *okazuya* as “home-style cooking,” even if “this is not food that is typically made at home these days” (2007: 58). Yano contends that people may experience “home-style cooking” and a “sense of home” at restaurants because “the food serves as a mnemonic for meals made at home, not that it tastes quite like the food of one’s home (or even one’s grandmother)” (2007: 62). In terms of Wessex restaurants, Yano’s findings on “home-style cooking” leads to the conclusion that, regardless of the foods served in their own homes, customers of the older Wessex restaurants can experience and participate in the production of *home* because they associate words such as “homemade,” “home-style,” and “comfort” with an imagined, nostalgic vision of home.

At the older restaurants, *Local* and *community* are more subtly expressed themes than themes of *heritage* and *home*. Unlike the tour restaurants, the older restaurants do not sell *local* as an “exotic other” to visitors nor do the older restaurants actively work to develop and “build a ‘brand’” around the Wessex community. Words describing food as *local* do not appear on the menus of the older restaurants, even though the restaurants do source much of their foods from local producers. Peggy of MK’s notes:

All summer long we go to the Mt. Hope produce auction and buy almost everything or we get them just from Mower’s which a local farming place here... We’ve gotten Aucker Meats locally. We buy from Beaver Meats which is in Smithville. And we have local farms that we buy from throughout the year.

When Peggy spoke of where they source their food from, she stated it in quite matter of fact manner as if sourcing local foods everyday aspect of their operation. Kevin at Maple

Leaf expressed ambivalence of sourcing local ingredients, remarking “When I can I shop local as far as produce. It varies quite a bit. The beef we all get locally. Otherwise there are canned items that are the same and it doesn’t really matter where we get them.” One can credibly conclude that the older restaurants do not need to emphasize the concept of *local* in order to create a “sense of place” and community. Rooted in Wessex for at least fifty years, the older restaurants may not experience the “placeless-ness” that anthropologist James Bielo (2013) argues is currently facing late modern America. As a result, these older restaurants do not need to manipulate *local* nor create a community “brand” like the tour restaurants. Kevin of the Maple Leaf captures the strong sense of place and community already present at the older restaurants, noting, “We do very little advertising. Just because of word of mouth and we’re a landmark. People come from out of town, ask ‘Hey, where’s a good place to eat?’ and they send them here.”

4.4 MANIFESTATION OF THEMES AT TOUR RESTAURANTS

The tour restaurants present an image of Wessex targeted to outsiders who are the primary participants on the tour. As Mallory, the marketing consultant for Market Chophouse and Local Harvest, explained in her interview, restaurants use different marketing strategies according to who is their audience. She noted, “We change the message based on where we’re targeting.” The audience that the restaurants target on the food tours are primarily outsiders, not Wessex residents. According to Rachel Corcos, manager of Wessex Food Tours, the tour participants are visitors from outside of Wessex. Rachel says “almost all the visitors we get are from out of town or it’s somebody who lives in town who are bringing their out of town guests as a way to show off a bunch of different things in one night.”

Consequently, restaurants on the tours manipulate the referents of *heritage* and *home* for the benefit of outsiders, not local residents. The older restaurants and the tour restaurants can deploy *heritage* differently because, as Lucy Long writes, “heritage is a construction of the past based on contemporary identity and represents the interpretive stance and purpose of whoever is doing the interpreting” (2004: 28). For most of the restaurants on the tour, *heritage* is not expressed through the ethnic heritage foods of Wessex or nostalgia for a bygone Wessex, but through a physical connection to the historic downtown building in which the restaurants are located. *Home* is manifest in the tour restaurants through the promotion of “homemade” artisanal, craft foods. The tour restaurants place the most emphasis on manipulating the referents of *local* and *community*. Through their inclusion on the food tours, the restaurants participate in the process of building a “brand” (Sims 2009) that revolves around downtown Wessex as a rejuvenated asset of the community as well as a promising tourist destination.

Given that the tour restaurants do not have the position or benefit of time in the community that the older restaurants possess, these newer restaurants engage with *heritage* through “framing,” a strategy of negotiating culinary realms in tourism (Long 2004: 37). The restaurants “frame” their cuisines in the context of the historic downtown buildings that the restaurants occupy, juxtaposing the new with the old. At the beginning of the tour at each restaurant, a representative of the restaurant meets with the tour participants to describe the establishment. At that time, the tour restaurant representative describes the history of the building before it became the current restaurant. Rachel, the manager of the Wessex Food Tour company, noted during our interview how she values the “people who know a lot about the history of the place” because they create a more enjoyable, “fun” tour. Rachel

conjectured that the increased presence during the last few years of restaurants in the historic buildings of downtown Wessex is related to a law concerning rehabilitating buildings and receiving a liquor license. Rachel noted:

If you put enough money into an existing structure, then you were eligible for a liquor license because, in Ohio, liquor licenses are done by population and since Wessex's population is kind of small there weren't a lot of them available for downtown. Then they worked on this legislation...[The legislation] changed a lot because it then allowed more establishments to come into Wessex.

Besides allowing restaurants to receive a liquor license, rehabilitated buildings give restaurants a physical connection to the heritage of Wessex. As described in the first section of this chapter, the majority of tour restaurants are located in buildings constructed in the late 1800s whose history is proudly presented on the tours. By giving the restaurant a sense of history in Wessex, the restaurants use the "framing" strategy of negotiation. In culinary tourism, the strategy of "framing" "involves designing a context surrounding a food item that then defines that food's edibility and exoticness" (38). The restaurants "frame" their cuisine within the context of Wessex's history, even though the foods that are served lack a direct connection to Wessex's heritage. To outsiders on the tour, this strategy of "framing" presents the restaurants as both illustrative of Wessex's contemporary identity and physically linked to Wessex's past.

The tour restaurants use "naming," another strategy of negotiation, to manipulate *home*. Long writes that "naming" "involves the identification of items" and draws "attention to the exotic quality of otherwise familiar foods" (2004: 39). At the tour restaurants, naming foods as "homemade" or "housemade" elevates foods from the ordinary to exotic for the tour participants. As revealed through content analysis, the menus of the tour restaurants express the latent theme of *home* with high counts of words such as homemade (7), housemade (20),

and house (12). Yet, *home* for the tour restaurants carries a different meaning than *home* for the older restaurants. The meaning of *home* at the tour restaurants reflects the booming artisanal, craft food trend in the United States. The descriptors “homemade” and “housemade” at the tour restaurants are used to elicit a connection with handcrafted, artisanal, made-from-scratch food products. Associating “homemade” familiar foods with artisanal craft food production transforms these foods into exclusive items. The foods appear “special” and “exotic” in contrast to anonymously created, homogenized, mass-produced foods that result from industrialized agriculture.

In addition to *heritage* and *home*, the tour restaurants manipulate the meaning of *local*. Labeling foods as *local* in terms of “region” and “ethos” makes foods “exotic” for outsiders visiting on the tour. As noted in Chapter Two, “region” and “ethos” are categories that distinguish foods as “other” (Long 2004). The concept of *local* as distinguished by “region” and “ethos” appears in contributor interviews, on Wessex Food Tours, and as a latent theme on tour restaurant menus. On the menus, tour restaurants designate foods as *local* through the use of the following words: local (8), Ohio-sourced (3), seasonal (4), authentic (1), and cage-free (1). “Region” and “ethos” intersect in distinguishing *local* food as “other,” which echoes Long’s assertion that categories of “otherness” “frequently overlap” (2004: 24). Another *local* term frequently appearing on the menu, and mentioned by almost every restaurant on the food tours, is Certified Angus Beef (17). Certified Angus Beef is an Angus beef brand located in Wessex that has a reputation for having high quality standards in selling Angus beef. Liberty Public House, Market Chophouse, and Apollo Grill in particular extolled the relationship with Certified Angus Beef, suggesting to tour participants that these tour restaurants serve a special, exclusive type of beef.

In distinguishing foods as “other,” the category of “region” refers to the idea that regions offer “a localization of a broadly cultural foodways as well as a foodways unique to and distinctive of that geographic area” (Long 2004:24). In the context of culinary tourism, eating foods sourced from Wessex’s surrounding environment “serves as a window into the histories, ethos, and identities of the specific cultures tied to that environment” (Long 2004:24). Tess, the owner of Wessex Food Tours, believes the idea of “eating like a local” is significant in terms of culinary tourism:

The expression “eat like a local” has trended lately. It is deeper than that simple phrase and I believe the phrase has merit. “Eating like a local” means “experiencing like a local”. I often say, “food is the hook” because the appeal for an attendee to eat a lot of great food allows us to show off a much broader aspect of a community, region, or city.

According to Tess, the appeal of eating generous amounts of different foods “hooks” customers into initially signing up for the tour. However, through “eating like a local,” the customer’s experience is then elevated beyond simply consuming to the more meaningful, “experiencing like a local.” For tourists, “eating locally” is more than a form of nutrition and sustenance in that it can also be a symbol of place and culture.

In addition to the idea of “local” in relation to “region”, the ethical underpinnings of eating “local” foods is also an important distinguishing concept. “Ethos” as culinary “other” refers to “worldview and systems of evaluating human actions and products” (29). “Ethos” as culinary other in relation to “local” was explicitly expressed at Local Harvest and Market Chophouse. In the worldview of these establishments, eating local, seasonal sustainably produced foods is imperative. Adam, the owner of Market Chophouse, believes that a restaurant should reflect the local environment saying:

We’ve really made an effort over the last couple years to make seasonal changes because any restaurant that wants to have a good, progressive culinary practice has to

be serving local, seasonal food. It's used to be the new thing and now it's pretty much expected by most of the guests that come into your restaurant. If you're not cooking seasonally and buying locally, it's just kind of a lazy practice

On the tour, Local Harvest also expressed an "ethos" that distinguished its food as "other." Café menu items at Local Harvest are "always made from scratch using basic, whole foods with a focus on local ingredients. We never use any GMOs, highly processed or artificial ingredients and always offer Vegan, Vegetarian and Gluten-Free selections" (Local Roots, accessed February 28, 2016). Local Harvest states that their mission is to "encourage healthy eating, expand local economic development, promote community involvement and sustainable living" (Local Roots, accessed February 28, 2016). While analysis of the views of tour participants is not part of my research, and I cannot definitively state how participants feel about the ethics of eating locally, I contend that the participants on the tour may mirror the perspectives observed by Rebecca Sims in her research. As reviewed in the literature in Chapter Two, Sims (2009) argues that culinary tourists associate local foods "with a host of values, such as being better for the environment, conserving 'traditional rural landscapes and supporting the local economy'" (328). Associating these values with eating locally, tourists experience a "feel-good factor associated with consuming them" (328). From the perspective of the restaurants, eating locally means serving food that is environmentally sustainable, in terms of serving seasonal foods with low "food mileage," as well as economically sustainable, in terms of supporting the enterprises of producers in the local area.

Lastly, enhancing *community* and "building a brand" is another theme found among the tour restaurants. During our interview, Laura Ames, a co-founder of Local Harvest, expressed the desire to build community, saying she thinks Local Harvest "could bring food culture, culture surrounding the concept of food to Grayson County." For Laura, "food is

very important” and she believes Local Harvest could help people see the importance of food “and develop community around it.” Ultimately, Laura believes Local Harvest “can reach a place where we can just be here in this community and serve the needs of the people who want to have us here.” Similarly, Tess Whitby, owner of Wessex Food Tours, articulated how she hopes the food tour fosters community. When creating tours, Tess strives to immerse participants in the community that they are touring, noting that she wants the tours to “convey a sense of history, current economic projects, to showcase small businesses and the people behind them, and the direction the city is headed in the next five-ten years.” Wessex Food Tours wants to acquaint participants with the downtown Wessex community as representative of the entire city and, as discussed later in this section, the area around which Wessex is building a “brand.”

When asked to talk about the changes in Wessex over the years, Wessex Food Tours manager Rachel stated that she has enjoyed watching downtown Wessex develop over the past few years because downtown had become “a little scary for a while—not scary in an unsafe way but what’s going to happen with downtown Wessex.” Rachel sees the development as “really innovative and also a lot of spirit and a lot of belief in Wessex [...]When I think of food in Wessex, I immediately think of downtown. And I like that a lot just because I think of showing it off. Everything looks so good downtown now and it’s fun to be there.” From Rachel’s perspective, the growth of food establishments has played an essential role in revitalizing downtown Wessex. Rachel’s perspective on the changes occurring in Wessex echoes Sharon Zukin’s (2010) theory of food as an “anchor of redevelopment” as previously discussed in the literature in Chapter Two. Zukin’s theory developed from her case study on how the emergence of new food venues in the East Village

in New York transformed the neighborhood from a seedy, dangerous neighborhood into the “cradle of cultural innovation for the new middle class” (2010:116). Food venues in Wessex act as “anchor of redevelopment,” contributing to the revitalization process of a declining downtown.

Through the stated objective to enhance Wessex as a community, Wessex Food Tours contribute to “building a ‘brand’” in Wessex. Rebecca Sims argues that culinary tourism assists in “building a ‘brand’ that can benefit the region by attracting more visitors and investments” (332). In Wessex, the tour restaurants play a role in building the “brand” of Wessex as a rural food destination. Along with the City of Wessex and Main Street Wessex, a community development corporation, Wessex Food Tours is a key player in promoting this image of Wessex. Mallory, marketing consultant for Market Chophouse and Local Harvest, observed that Wessex has become “trendier.” She highlighted that the Cleveland publication, *Edible Cleveland*, visited Wessex to write about the Wessex food scene. Mallory noted that *Edible Cleveland* focuses on “locally sourced, farm-to-table kind of food. Their readership is primarily food-driven people, chefs, people who appreciated dining, especially independent restaurants.” When the magazine visited Wessex and toured the town, Mallory thought they were “quite impressed with the scene here for being a town of 25,000 people. Especially being surrounded by a very rural community.” Mallory finds that there has been “a lot of press in the last three to four years, actually I’d say two to three years, about Wessex being a food destination.” According to Mallory, this media attention about Wessex’s burgeoning food scene “has built local entrepreneurs’ confidence in opening whatever passionate food-based restaurant they want to open. The development is just continuing.” Other contributors, such as Adam Thornton, owner of Market Chophouse, and Brienne Hughes, Wessex Food

Tour guide, discussed food as a catalyst for the present downtown redevelopment occurring in Wessex as well as for the future of the city. A city sponsored development plan called "Wessex Envisioned," mentioned frequently on the food tours, is the city's blueprint for implementing further revitalization of downtown Wessex, leveraging off of the food destination "brand" that the tour restaurants have created for Wessex. Building Wessex's "brand" as a food destination appears to be not only emboldening food entrepreneurs to open new food venues but also encouraging the city to invest in developing of the downtown area. Perhaps the "brand" of Wessex will change with time, ultimately making the downtown not just a food destination, but, in the words of Mallory, "a young professionals destination to live."

4.5 CONCLUSION

Data analysis reveals how the older and tour restaurants manipulate the referents of *heritage*, *home*, *local*, and *community* which surround the dominant symbol of food in Wessex. As a result of operating in a city for over fifty years, the older restaurants place more emphasis on *heritage* and *home* than on *local* and *community*. *Local* and *community* are more implicitly maintained at the older restaurants in contrast to the more explicit, intentional use of *local* and *community* at the tour restaurants. While the tour restaurants do engage in manipulating the referents of *heritage* and *home*, the tour restaurants lack the historical roots in Wessex to deploy these concepts as effectively as the older restaurants. Consequently, the tour restaurants focus more on promoting *local* and developing and enhancing *community*. Further discussion of the implications of data analysis continues in the final chapter of the paper.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

Exploring the restaurant foodscape in Wessex, Ohio reveals how restaurants imagine their place and identity within a community. Restaurants construct their identity within the restaurant foodscape by manipulating the referents of *heritage*, *home*, *local*, and *community*, which surround and comprise Wessex's food culture. These referents appear at both the older and tour restaurants but the restaurants diverge in their manipulation of these concepts. The older restaurants engage with the referents of *local* and *community* but primarily focus on time, "nostalgia," and "family," in connecting to *heritage* and producing *home*. The tour restaurants connect to *heritage* through their buildings and evoke *home* in their artisanal foods but place more emphasis on *local* and enhancing *community* as they "build a 'brand'" in Wessex. These differences do not set the restaurants in opposition to each other, but rather further enrich and develop food culture in Wessex.

Older restaurants in Wessex view themselves as fixtures within the Wessex community, attracting a loyal clientele, particularly families, who have been coming to a particular restaurant for decades. These restaurants connect themselves to Wessex's heritage through the German and Italian ethnic heritage foods that are served which are not presented as exotic or foreign but familiar and local. As evidenced by relatively unchanged menus and décor, the older restaurants use ambience and food to evoke a "gastro-nostalgia." Entwined with this "gastro-nostalgia" is the production of "home" at these restaurants through foods labeled as "homestyle," "comfort" and "homemade." Family also plays a role in the production of home at the older restaurants. The restaurants attract families as clientele and stress in their narratives the importance of their histories as multi-generational, family-run

establishments. The tour restaurants also manipulate the concepts of *heritage* and *home* although in distinct ways. *Heritage* at the tour restaurants is not expressed through the foods served but through a physical connection to the historic downtown building in which the restaurants are located. In a similar manner, the concept of *home* is conveyed at the tour restaurants not through “homestyle,” “comfort foods” but “homemade” in association with handcrafted, artisanal and craft food products. In addition to home and heritage, tour restaurants manipulate *local* to distinguish their foods as “other” for tour participants. Lastly, the tour restaurants underscore the importance of developing and enhancing *community*. The culinary tourism occurring in Wessex becomes a tool for “building a ‘brand’” around the historic Downtown district of Wessex.

If I were to expand this study and conduct further research, I would include interviews with customers dining at the restaurants as well as the background, training, and methods of the chefs and cooks who develop the recipes at each set of restaurants. I did not collect information regarding the people attending the food tours or dining at the older restaurants as such research went beyond the scope of this study. The additional data provided by studying the identity of restaurant customers, determining how they perceive the restaurants, and why they frequent certain restaurants would provide valuable insights for a comprehensive evaluation of the Wessex foodscape. Such data would be especially useful when examined in comparison to how the restaurants position themselves to be perceived and how they intend to portray themselves to customers. As noted in Chapter One of this study, anthropologists David Beriss and David Sutton contend that restaurants “provide a context in which questions about class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality all play out” (2007: 1). In my own research, I saw glimpses of these issues but my research question and its

parameters did not allow me to further explore these questions. If I were to interview customers, I believe I could more fully examine issues of class, race, ethnicity, and gender and how they play out at the restaurants.

Implications of this study include implementing culinary tourism as a strategy to showcase a town's entrepreneurial food endeavors to outsiders and encourage other forms of non-food related development. Highlighting the history and culture of a locale through food, the "hook" as Tess calls it, can attract visitors to engage with a locale in a way that can be socially, economically, and environmentally sustainable. Scholars have found that culinary tourism has the potential to reinforce regional identity, preserves and transmits skills and ways of life to new generations, helps maintain distinctive, local culinary heritage, and enhances environmental sustainability and awareness (Bessière 1998; Everett and Aitchison 2008; Gyimóthy and Myletun 2008; Shortridge 2004; Sims 2009). However, one must keep mindful of who has the power to decide which restaurants and businesses should be included and represent a locale, how the locale is chosen to be portrayed to outsiders, and who benefits and who is excluded from this portrayal.

Through my research, I found that the tour and older restaurants in Wessex construct and create multiple meanings around food, forging the food culture of Wessex into a multivocal and polysemic dominant symbol surrounded by a spectrum of referents. My Independent Study has illustrated how two different sets of restaurants can successfully participate in the construction of the city's food culture through the foods served and the dining spaces created. The evolution of Downtown Wessex as a food destination has been a catalyst for even more revitalization as seen in the "Wessex Envisioned" redevelopment plan. The restaurant foodscape of Wessex continues to shift and change and adapt with the inflows

of new people, ideas, and funding as part of the larger city landscape. Wessex's food culture, a composition of fried bologna sandwiches with a slice butterscotch pie, prosciutto flatbread, and roasted dates stuffed with goat cheese, engages the past as it moves forward, keeping tradition a part of Wessex's future.

Appendix A—Interview Contributors

Contributors from Tour Company and Tour Restaurants

<u>Name</u>	<u>Establishment</u>	<u>Title</u>
Adam Thornton	Market Chophouse	Owner
Chloe Hughes	Liberty Public House	Owner
Laura and Tom Ames	Local Harvest	Board Members
Mallory Finch	Market Chophouse & Local Harvest	Marketing Director
Rachel Corcos	Wessex Food Tours	Manager
Tess Whitby	Wessex Food Tours	Owner

Contributors from Older Restaurants

<u>Name</u>	<u>Establishment</u>	<u>Title</u>
Darlene	Lunch Pail	Owner
Kevin	Maple Leaf	Owner
Peggy	MK's	Office Manager

Appendix B—Interview Consent Form

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY COLLEGE OF WOOSTER

Food as Reflection of Identity and Community in Wooster

Principal Investigator: Clare Carlson

Faculty Advisor: Pamela Frese, Ph.D., Department of Anthropology

I am a student at The College of Wooster, and I am conducting interviews for my Senior Independent Study. I am researching how the food culture in Wooster, Ohio is reflective of the different populations living in and visiting the community.

During this study, you will be asked to answer some questions as to the history and role of restaurants in the Wooster community. This interview was designed to be approximately a half hour in length. However, please feel free to expand on the topic or talk about related ideas. Also, if there are any questions you would rather not answer or that you do not feel comfortable answering, please say so and we will stop the interview or move on to the next question, whichever you prefer.

All the information will be kept confidential. I will keep the data in a secure place. Only myself and the faculty supervisor mentioned above will have access to this information. Upon completion of this project, all data will be destroyed or stored in a secure location.

Participant's Agreement:

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary and I affirm that I am 18 years of age or older. I understand the intent and purpose of this research. If, for any reason, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give an explanation.

The researcher has reviewed the individual and social benefits and risks of this project with me. I have the right to review, comment on, and/or withdraw information prior to the Senior Independent Study submission. The data gathered in this study are confidential with respect to my personal identity unless I specify otherwise. I understand if I say anything that I believe may incriminate myself, the interviewer will immediately stop the audio recorder and delete the potentially incriminating information. The interviewer will then ask me if I would like to continue the interview.

If I have any questions about this study, I am free to contact the student researcher (Clare Carlson, ccarlson16@wooster.edu, 708-833-1238) or the faculty adviser (Prof. Pamela Frese prfrese@wooster.edu, 330-263-2256).

I have been offered a copy of this consent form that I may keep for my own reference.

I have read the above form and, with the understanding that I can withdraw at any time and for whatever reason, I consent to participate in today's interview.

Participant's signature

Date

Appendix C—Interview Guides

Questions for owners of older restaurants in Wessex not included on Wessex Food Tours

- Please tell me about the history or background of [restaurant]
- What prompted you to open [restaurant] in Wessex?
- Could you explain the type or genre of restaurant that is [restaurant]?
- What three words come to mind to describe [restaurant]?
- How was the name of the restaurant chosen?
- How does the location of the restaurant impact business?
- How would you describe the clientele who frequent the restaurant?
- What type of cuisine or foods does [restaurant] serve?
- What is the most popular item on the menu?
- How has the menu changed since the restaurant opened?
- From where do the recipes for the dishes on the menu come?
- How has the number and type of food establishments in Wessex changed since [restaurant] opened?
- Recently, a company called Wessex Food Tours launched in Wessex. If you could organize a food tour that captured the history and identity of Wessex, what eateries in Wessex would be included on the tour?
- If you could serve one food or dish on the tour that would represent your restaurant, what would that be?

Interview questions for restaurants included on Wessex Food Tours

- Please tell me about the history or background of [restaurant]
- What prompted you to open [restaurant] in Wessex?
- Could you explain the type or genre of restaurant that is [restaurant]?
- What three words come to mind to describe [restaurant]?
- How was the name of the restaurant chosen?
- How does the location of the restaurant impact business?
- How would you describe the clientele who frequent the restaurant?
- Are there differences between your usual clientele and the tour participants?
- What type of cuisine or foods does [restaurant] serve?
- What is the most popular item on the menu?
- How has the menu changed since the restaurant opened?
- From where do the recipes for the dishes on the menu come?
- How has the number and type of food establishments in Wessex changed since [restaurant] opened?
- As a restaurant featured on Wessex Food Tours, how is [restaurant] reflective of the community of Wessex?
- How does the dish/food that [restaurant] serves on the tour symbolize/reflect/represent your establishment?

Questions for representatives of Wessex Food Tours

- What was the impetus for creating Wessex Food Tours?
- How did you become a tour manager for Wessex Food Tours?
- How has the Wessex food scene changed since you've lived in Wessex?
- How did local businesses initially feel about the prospect of a food tour in Wessex?
- Has that view changed?
- Did Wessex Food Tours get input from local community or eateries?
- How did the tour company choose the restaurants featured on the tour?
- Do the places you visit on each tour change?
- How do you decide what places you will visit on each tour?
- Have any restaurants or eateries been subsequently added or dropped? If so, why?
- How do the restaurants on the tour itinerary decide what foods and drinks to serve on the tour?
- Are the tour participants comprised of locals, tourists, or a mixture of both?
- Does Wessex Food Tours solicit feedback from restaurant participants?
- Has the focus of the tours evolved based on participant feedback or feedback from the eateries?
- Do you know of other culinary tourism initiatives in Grayson County or other neighboring counties?
- How is culinary tourism used to express and promote the identity of a certain locale or culture?
- What aspects are necessary to make a food tour or culinary tourism successful?
- How do you envision the food scene of Wessex evolving in the next ten years?

Appendix D—Content Analysis Counts

MENU DESCRIPTION

Older Restaurants

aglio e olio: 1	bread: 18
anchovies: 1	nine grain: 1
artichokes: 1	club: 1
artichoke spinach dip: 2	French: 3
absolutely delicious: 1	grilled: 6
creamy: 1	homemade: 6
hot: 1	multigrain: 1
au jus: 3	pita: 1
bacon: 13	rye: 2
chopped: 1	sourdough: 3
basil: 8	toasted: 2
fresh: 7	(whole) wheat: 2
beef: 4	white: 2
seasoned: 1	bread crumbs: 2
sliced: 3	seasoned: 2
tender: 2	brisket: 1
beef broth: 1	smoked: 1
rich: 1	broccoli: 2
beef patty(ies): 3	brownie: 1
quarter pound: 1	fudge: 1
beef roast: 1	thick: 1
fresh: 1	bun: 17
beets: 1	brioche: 1
roasted: 1	ciabatta: 1
black beans: 1	grilled: 3
	rye: 2
	seeded: 2
	sesame seed: 8
	split top: 1
	toasted: 1
	triple decker: 1
	(cheese)burger: 5
	Black Angus: 1
	chicken: 2

grilled: 1
 half-pound: 1
 housemade: 2
 turkey: 1

butter: 7
 garlic: 2

banana: 1

capicola: 1

caramel: 1

carrots: 2

cayenne: 1

cheese(s): 55

- American: 7
- Asiago: 7
- bleu: 3
- breaded: 1
- Brie: 2
- bubbly: 1
- cheddar: 8
- crumbled: 3
- double: 1
- famous: 1
- feta: 3
- fried: 2
- goat: 1
- herbed: 2
- imported: 1
- Italian: 1
- melted: 12
- mozzarella: 13
 - fresh: 4
 - sliced: 1
- Parmesan: 5
- pizza: 2
- Provolone: 14
- ricotta: 1
- Romano: 2
- shredded: 3
- Swiss: 11

cheese curds: 1

- deep fried: 1
- freshly breaded: 1
- golden brown: 1
- Wisconsin white cheddar: 1

cherries: 1

chicken: 24

- blackened: 1
- boneless: 1
- breaded: 4
 - lightly: 1
- breast: 8
- broiled: 3
- buffalo: 1
- crispy: 2
- fresh: 4
- fried: 6
- golden brown: 1
- grilled: 9
- hand breaded: 1
- juicy: 1
- Julienne: 1
- marinated: 4
- pan-fried: 1
- pecan crusted: 1
- sautéed: 1
- skinless: 1
- spicy: 2
- tenders(loins): 3
- teriyaki: 1

chili: 1

chocolate: 1

coconut: 1

corned beef: 1

crab cake(s): 2

- homemade: 2
- pan seared: 1

crab meat: 2
 cranberries: 1
 dried: 1
 cream cheese: 1
 spiced: 1
 croissant: 1
 buttery: 1
 crostini(s): 3
 focaccia: 2
 homemade: 1
 toasted: 1
 crouton(s): 3
 homemade: 2
 cucumber (slices): 5
 dough: 2
 fresh: 1
 homemade: 1
 dressing: 15
 balsamic: 2
 Caesar: 4
 housemade: 1
 chipotle: 1
 house: 1
 Italian: 2
 lime ginger: 1
 ranch: 5
 Thousand Island: 1
 white French: 1
 edamame: 1
 egg: 7
 diced: 2
 hardboiled: 3
 eggplant: 1
 fresh: 1
 fillet/filet: 3
 blackened: 1
 breaded: 1
 crispy: 1
 fish: 1
 fresh fried: 1
 grouper: 1
 lemon pepper: 1
 fish: 1
 blackened: 1
 flatbread: 3
 crispy: 1
 pita: 1
 flour tortilla: 8
 focaccia: 4
 grilled: 1
 toasted: 1
 frank: 1
 all beef: 1
 fries: 8
 French: 6
 house: 1
 fruit: 5
 garlic: 6
 fresh: 1
 roasted: 2
 garnish: 1
 glaze: 1
 orange bourbon bbq: 1
 gravy: 2
 country: 1
 red eye: 1
 signature: 1
 green beans: 2

greens: 17
 balsamic: 4
 crisp: 1
 fresh: 3
 garden: 2
 house: 1
 mixed: 3
 tossed: 2

grouper: 3
 blackened: 1
 breaded: 1
 crispy: 1
 fried: 2

guacamole: 1

ham: 7
 chipped: 1
 diced: 1
 fresh: 1
 grilled: 1
 shaved: 1
 steak: 1
 thick sliced: 1

herbs: 4
 light: 1

honey mustard: 1

hot fudge: 3
 rich: 1
 warm: 1

ice cream: 1
 creamy: 1
 vanilla: 1

jam: 1
 roasted tomato: 1

lamb: 1

lasagna: 1

lemon: 2

lettuce: 25
 romaine: 5
 chopped: 2
 crisp: 1

linguini/e: 2

mandarin oranges: 1

marmalade: 2
 bacon: 2

mayo(nnaise): 9
 dijon: 2
 wasabi: 2

meats: 1

meatballs: 5
 baked: 1
 beef and sausage: 1
 homemade: 1
 Italian: 1
 marinated: 1

meatloaf: 2
 roasted: 1

mushrooms: 9
 portobello: 1
 sautéed: 2

mussels: 1

nuts: 1
 candied: 1

olives: 7
 black: 2
 kalamata: 2

olive oil: 4

- onion(s): 30
 - crispy: 5
 - green: 1
 - grilled: 2
 - red: 6
 - sautéed : 2
 - sliced: 1
 - sweet: 2
 - thick: 1
 - white: 1
- onion rings: 3
 - battered : 2
 - fresh fried: 2
- oregano: 1
- pasta: 10
 - angel hair: 1
 - fettucini: 2
 - penne: 3
 - Primavera: 1
 - tubes: 1
- pastry: 1
 - deep fried: 1
 - delicate: 1
 - steamed: 1
- peanut butter: 1
- pepper(s): 16
 - banana: 1
 - charcoal: 2
 - green: 5
 - hot: 2
 - roasted: 2
 - red: 2
 - sautéed: 2
 - sweet: 2
 - yellow: 1
- pepperoncini: 2
- pepperoni: 10
 - crisped: 1
- pesto: 2
 - basil: 1
 - homemade: 1
- pickle(s): 3
 - dill: 1
- pie: 6
 - apple: 1
 - cherry: 1
 - chocolate: 1
 - coconut cream: 1
 - fresh daily: 1
 - in season: 1
 - peach: 1
 - peanut butter cream: 1
 - rich: 1
 - tasty: 1
- pineapple: 3
 - fresh: 1
- pita pieces/chips: 2
- pizza: 1
- pizza crust: 3
 - garlic oiled: 3
- pork: 2
 - BBQ: 1
 - shredded: 2
- potato(es): 9
 - (oven) baked: 3
 - mashed: 6
 - garlic: 5
- (potato) chips: 14
 - house: 6
- prime rib: 1
 - slow-roasted: 1
- prosciutto: 2

- recipe: 3
 - family: 2
- red cabbage: 1
 - shredded: 1
- rice: 12
 - house: 5
 - pilaf: 1
- roll: 1
 - dinner: 1
 - warm: 1
- salad: 20
 - chicken: 2
 - dinner: 3
 - fresh: 1
 - garden: 1
 - homemade: 4
 - house: 2
 - micro: 8
 - seafood: 2
 - tuna: 2
- salami: 3
 - Genoa: 1
- salmon: 5
 - grilled: 3
- salsa: 1
- sauce: 49
 - alfredo: 4
 - creamy: 1
 - barbeque: 1
 - house: 1
 - BBQ: 3
 - homemade: 1
 - buffalo: 1
 - cajun alfredo: 1
 - chili lime: 1
 - chili soy: 1
 - chipotle: 1
 - cocktail: 2
 - horsy lemon: 1
 - cucumber: 1
 - cusabi: 2
 - dipping: 1
 - honey hickory: 1
 - honey mustard: 1
 - hot chili: 1
 - lemon-caper white wine cream (beurre blanc): 3
 - marinara: 13
 - homemade: 1
 - house: 1
 - zesty: 3
 - piquant: 1
 - red: 8
 - classic: 7
 - sesame: 1
 - special: 7
 - spicy cream: 1
 - sweet Thai chili: 1
 - taco: 1
 - tartar: 5
 - orange: 3
 - tomato cream: 1
- sauerkraut: 1
- sausage: 5
 - housemade: 1
 - spicy: 1
- shallots: 1
- shrimp: 6
 - breaded: 1
 - fresh fried: 1
 - Jumbo: 1
 - petite: 1
 - sautéed: 1
 - succulent: 3
- slaw: 1
 - pineapple: 1

soup: 2
 homemade: 1

sour cream: 2

spaghetti: 3
 thin: 1

spareribs: 1

spice: 1

spinach: 5
 fresh: 1

steak: 6
 beef: 1
 breaded: 1
 chopped: 3
 filet mignon: 1
 fried: 1
 golden brown: 1
 grilled: 2
 hand-cut: 1
 juicy: 2
 large: 1
 select-cut: 1
 (choice) sirloin: 2
 tender: 2

strawberry(ies): 2

tilapia: 2
 baked: 2
 Cajun: 1
 lemon-pepper: 1

tomato(es): 52
 blistered: 1
 cherry: 3
 diced: 1
 ripe: 1
 roasted: 1
 Roma:
 sundried: 1

toppings: 1
 delicious: 1

tortilla chips: 1

tortilla shell: 1
 crisp: 1

traditional Italian: 1

turkey: 6
 shaved: 1
 sliced: 1

veggies/vegetables: 18
 Asian: 1
 fresh: 1
 house: 5
 seasonal: 2
 stir-fry: 1

vinaigrette: 3
 balsamic: 1
 hazelnut: 1
 Italian pancetta: 1
 warmed: 1

walleye: 1
 pan seared: 1

walnuts: 1
 candied: 1

whipped cream: 2

white fish: 2
 breaded: 2
 delicious: 1
 fresh fried: 1
 golden brown: 1
 mild: 1

wine: 5
 white: 4

wonton wrappers: 1
hand-stuffed: 1

zucchini: 1

Proper Names

Chef Frank's

Di Lucca's

Diane's

Grandma Di Lucca's

Maple Leaf's

Prince Edward Island

MK's/ MK's Trio

MENU DESCRIPTION

Tour Restaurants

aioli: 2	grilled: 1
apple butter: 1	bread: 10
roasted red pepper: 1	fresh: 2
almond(s) (flakes): 3	gluten-free: 1
smoked: 1	grilled: 4
toasted: 1	Italian: 1
apple(s): 4	marble rye: 2
roasted: 1	nine-grain: 2
applesauce: 1	whole wheat: 1
housemade: 1	breast: 6
apricot: 3	chicken: 4
artichokes : 1	duck: 1
marinated: 1	glazed: 1
asparagus: 2	grilled: 3
avocado: 1	marinated: 1
bacon (lardons) (crumbles): 21	turkey: 1
ground: 1	Brie: 1
Baja Yammy: 1	brisket: 1
balsamic (vinegar) (reduction): 3	broccoli: 1
creamy: 1	sautéed: 1
beef (patty): 6	buffwingdilla: 1
Certified Angus Beef: 3	bun: 4
corned: 1	brioche: 2
ground: 2	house-made: 1
shaved: 1	pretzel: 1
black beans: 2	(cheese)burger(s): 11
bologna: 1	beef: 2
all beef: 1	black bean: 1
	Certified Angus Beef: 3
	chicken breast: 1
	grilled: 1
	half-pound: 1
	hot: 1
	Luna: 1

prime graded: 1
 regular: 1
 steak: 2
 veggie: 1
 Waygu: 1

butter: 4
 drawn: 2
 roasted garlic: 1
 truffle asparagus: 1

buttercream: 4
 chocolate: 1
 raspberry flavored: 1
 rich: 1
 vanilla: 1
 walnut custard:

butternut squash: 1
 roasted : 1

cake (layers): 4
 caramel-glazed: 1
 crunchy: 1
 delicate: 1
 dense: 1
 famous: 1
 flavorful: 1
 soft: 1

capicola: 1

carrots: 1

cashews: 2
 roasted: 1
 smoked: 1

celery: 1

charcuterie: 1

cheese(s): 42
 American: 6
 Asiago: 1
 Bleu: 6

cheddar: 12
 English: 1
 four-year aged: 1
 melted: 1
 shredded: 1
 white: 2

Derby: 1
 sage: 1

desert fire: 1

Feta: 4
 fresh: 1

Goat: 5

Gouda: 2
 aged: 1
 Parano: 1

local: 1

Muenster blend: 1

Parmesan/Parm: 11

pepper-jack: 2

pimento: 1
 homemade: 1

Provolone: 9
 shaved: 1

sheep's milk: 1

shredded: 1

Stilton: 1
 white: 1

Swiss: 9

cheesecake: 1
 deep-fried: 1

cheese curds: 1

cherry: 1
 Maraschino: 1

chicken: 13
 barbeque: 1
 buffalo: 2
 grilled: 2
 Italian-breaded: 2
 Paprikash: 1

chips: 1
 house-made: 1

chocolate: 1
 dark: 1
 chuck: 1
 chutney: 1
 apple: 1
 homemade: 1
 cilantro: 1
 coating: 2
 dark chocolate: 1
 pecan: 1
 special: 1
 sugary: 1
 coconut flakes: 1
 collards: 1
 cookies: 3
 generously-sized: 1
 Linzer: 2
 sandwich: 1
 tiny: 1
 crab meat: 1
 cranberry(ies): 5
 dried: 1
 crayfish: 1
 cream/crema: 12
 chipotle: 1
 intense: 1
 lemon: 1
 refreshing: 1
 sour: 4
 sriracha: 1
 whipped: 4
 crème Anglaise: 1
 raspberry: 1
 crêpes: 2
 tasty: 1
 thin: 1
 crescents: 2
 croissants: 1
 generous-sized: 1
 crostinis: 1
 croutons: 4
 garlic: 1
 housemade: 2
 crumble: 1
 graham cracker: 1
 cucumbers: 3
 (cured) meats: 2
 Italian: 1
 custard: 3
 chocolate: 1
 smooth: 1
 vanilla: 2
 delicacy: 1
 rich: 1
 truffle-like: 1
 demi-glace: 1
 mushroom: 1
 Doritos: 1
 crushed: 1
 dough: 6
 buttery: 2
 hand-stretched: 1
 Linzer: 2
 parchment thin: 1
 pecan-filled: 1

yeast: 1

walnut (cream): 2

dressing: 12
 Bleu cheese: 2
 Caesar: 2
 creamy: 2
 housemade: 3
 Italian: 1
 mayonnaise-vinaigrette: 1
 Parmesan-peppercorn: 1
 poppy seed: 2
 Thousand Island: 2
 traditional: 1

dumplings: 1
 homemade: 1

egg(s): 9
 cage-free: 1
 fried: 1
 hard cooked: 1
 local: 1
 soft boiled: 1
 wedges: 2

eggplant: 1
 local: 1
 roasted: 1

endive: 1

filet mignon (medallions): 2
 Certified Angus Beef: 2
 twin center-cut: 2

filling(s): 10
 apple: 1
 cheesecake: 1
 cherry: 1
 finely ground: 1
 light: 1
 milk chocolate cream: 1
 pecan: 1
 poppy seed: 1
 tasty: 1
 velvety-rich: 1

flatbread: 1
 grilled: 1

flavor(s): 5
 authentic: 1
 Buffalo: 1
 dry rub: 1
 flaming hot: 1
 Habanero-Honey Mustard: 1
 Hawaiian Redneck: 1
 honey BBQ: 1
 hot BBQ: 1
 hot Italian: 1
 Hungarian: 1
 Tropic Heat: 1

fries: 2
 French: 2

frisee: 1

frosting: 1
 chocolate: 1

fruit (mix): 3
 fresh: 1
 quality: 1
 seasonal: 1

garlic: 4
 roasted: 1

glaze(s): 6
 chocolate-rum: 1
 flavorful: 1
 lemon: 1
 port wine: 1
 refreshing: 1
 (cinnamon) white chocolate: 2

gravy: 2
 beef: 1
 homemade: 1

greens: 14
 mixed: 12

 guacamole: 1

 ham: 3
 cooked: 1

 herbs: 1

 honey: 1
 local: 1

 honey cake: 2
 delicately spiced: 1
 triangle-shaped: 1

 ice cream(s): 3
 chocolate: 1
 strawberry: 1
 vanilla bean: 2

 ingredients: 1
 fresh: 1
 seasonal: 1

 jalapeno(s): 2

 jam: 4
 apricot: 2
 raspberry: 3

 jo jos: 2

 kale: 1

 ketchup: 1

 lobster: 3
 tails: 1

 latkes: 1
 potato-wild rice: 1

 lemon wedge: 1

 lettuce: 11
 crisp: 1
 fresh: 1
 half a head: 1
 Iceberg: 3
 Romaine (hearts): 3

 mac'n'cheese: 2
 cheeseburger: 1
 homemade: 1

 marmalade: 1
 Orange: 1

 marshmallow: 1
 house-made: 1

 mayo(nnaise): 7
 garlic red pepper: 1
 ranch: 1
 sriracha: 3
 tofu: 1

 meatballs: 3
 Certified Angus Beef: 1
 housemade: 1

 meatloaf: 1
 homestyle: 1

 meringue: 1

 monument: 1
 6lb.: 1

 mortadella: 1
 grilled: 1

 mozzarella: 5
 fresh: 1

 mushroom(s) (slices): 16
 button: 1
 grilled: 1
 Oyster: 1
 Portobello(as): 2

sautéed: 1
 Shiitake: 1
 wild: 1

mustard: 7
 beer: 1
 deli: 1
 Rosemary: 1
 spicy Cuban: 1
 whole grain: 2
 yellow: 1

noodles: 3
 Chinese: 2
 Hungarian: 1

nuts: 1
 chopped: 1

oil: 2
 Basil: 1
 truffle: 1

olives: 4
 black: 2
 green: 2
 kalamata: 1

omelette (slices): 3
 rolled: 1

onion(s): 40
 caramelize: 7
 green: 1
 grilled: 2
 red: 9
 sautéed: 1
 Tobacco: 1
 whole: 1

onion rings: 2

option: 1
 local: 1

oranges: 1

Mandarin: 1

oven: 1
 high temperature masonry: 1
 open flame: 1

pancetta: 1

pasta: 1

pastry(ies): 4
 buttery: 1
 crispy: 1
 Eastern European: 1
 feather-light: 1
 flaky: 2
 golden: 2
 marbled: 1
 traditional: 1

pâté: 1
 Hungarian Goulash: 1

patty: 3
 3lb.: 1
 Certified Angus Beef: 2

peanuts: 1
 spicy: 1

pears: 1
 poached: 1

pecans: 1
 toasted: 1

pepper(s) (slabs): 20
 banana: 6
 green: 2
 pickled: 1
 red: 5
 roasted: 5
 spicy: 1

pepperoni: 2

pesto: 1
 pickle(s): 8
 Dill: 1
 house-made: 2
 seasonal: 1
 pineapple: 1
 pizza(s): 2
 Neapolitan style: 1
 plate: 1
 beer cheese: 1
 wine cheese: 1
 pork: 5
 BBQ: 1
 Hawaiian Redneck: 1
 loaf: 1
 pulled: 1
 slow-roasted: 3
 potato(es): 6
 mashed: 1
 prawns: 1
 preserves: 1
 apricot: 1
 raspberry: 1
 prosciutto: 1
 Berkshire: 1
 prune: 1
 pudding: 1
 Belgian chocolate: 1
 pumpkin: 1
 housemade: 1
 local: 1
 roasted: 1
 rack (of ribs): 1

dry: 1
 full: 1
 half: 1
 wet: 1
 radish: 2
 raisins: 2
 raspberry(ies): 3
 fresh: 1
 recipes: 1
 Hungarian: 1
 traditional: 1
 relish: 1
 corn: 1
 remoulade: 2
 Cajun: 1
 green onion: 1
 house: 1
 Reubendilla: 1
 rice: 2
 brown: 1
 roll: 1
 French: 1
 hoagie: 1
 salad: 14
 albacore tuna: 3
 buffalo chicken: 2
 Caesar: 1
 egg: 2
 garden: 1
 house: 9
 small: 1
 salami: 2
 hard: 1
 Hungarian Paprikash: 1

salmon: 1
 oven roasted: 1
 salsa: 6
 black bean: 2
 fresca: 1
 housemade: 1
 Southwest: 1
 sampling(s): 2
 sandwich(es): 4
 grilled cheese: 1
 most photographed: 1
 open-faced: 1
 sauce: 30
 ala Vodka: 1
 Alfredo: 2
 Andouille cream: 1
 Apple Bourbon: 1
 Béarnaise : 1
 Bourbon BBQ: 1
 caramel: 1
 cherry-raspberry: 1
 chocolate: 2
 cocktail: 1
 cucumber dill: 1
 Frank's hot: 1
 honey chipotle BBQ: 1
 housemade: 4
 lemon cream: 1
 Lobster cream: 1
 marinara (cream): 3
 pan: 1
 red: 2
 roasted beet reduction: 1
 roasted shallot: 1
 special: 1
 spicy: 1
 tartar: 2
 Vodka Ginger: 1
 (sauer)kraut: 3
 sausage: 6
 homemade: 1
 Hungarian: 1
 Italian: 2
 smoked: 1
 scallops: 1
 short-rib: 1
 shrimp: 8
 blackened: 2
 chilled: 1
 fried: 1
 grilled: 1
 pan-seared: 1
 spicy: 1
 vanilla-poached: 1
 signature steak seasoning: 1
 sirloin (steak): 3
 Certified Angus Beef: 2
 grilled: 1
 Ohio-Sourced: 2
 thinly sliced: 1
 Top: 2
 (cole)slaw: 11
 broccoli: 3
 cabbage: 1
 jalapeno-cilantro: 3
 soup(s): 3
 bisque style: 1
 homemade: 1
 house: 1
 Tuscan Tomato: 1
 specialty: 1
 deliciously moist: 1
 pink-glazed: 1
 pretty: 1
 rum and cherry-flavored: 1
 spices: 1

spinach: 12
 fresh: 1

sponge cake: 4
 chocolate: 2
 delicate: 2
 European: 1
 individually-baked: 1
 vanilla: 1

spread: 7
 Blue cheese: 1
 housemade: 1
 Lipateur cheese: 1
 olive: 1
 roasted red pepper: 1
 shrimp-cheddar: 1
 smoked salmon-artichoke: 1
 spicy crab: 1

steak: 5
 aged: 1
 Certified Angus Beef: 5
 grilled: 1
 hand-cut: 1
 highest-quality: 1
 New York Strip: 1
 Ohio-sourced: 1
 pepper-studded: 1
 ribeye: 1
 tender: 1

stock: 1
 meat: 1
 vegetable: 1

sunflower seeds: 2

sweetened milk: 1

tapenade: 1
 olive: 1

tater tots: 3
 sweet potato: 1

toast: 1
 white cheddar: 1

tomato(es): 23
 cherry: 1
 diced: 2
 grape: 1
 heirloom: 1
 local: 1
 roasted: 1
 sundried: 1
 whole: 1

tofu: 1

toppings: 7
 gourmet: 1
 special: 1

torte: 1
 delicious: 1

tortilla: 1

turkey: 1

vanilla sugar: 1

vegetables: 3
 diced: 1
 fresh: 1
 grilled: 1
 local: 1

vinaigretteL 3
 bacon: 1
 bacon & maple white balsamic: 1
 house/housemade: 2

walnuts: 6
 crushed: 1
 finely ground: 1
 maple syrup: 1
 toasted: 1

wrap: 1

grab and go: 1
veggie:1

zucchini: 1

Proper Names

Black Swamp

Budapest, Hungary

Café Gerbeaud

Certified Angus Beef

Cleveland

Coombre Castle

Elizabeth's

Harmony

Hortobagyi Palacsinta

Istara

Ohio

Red Dragon

LATENT THEMES

Older RestaurantsFOREIGN

aglio e olio: 1
 Asiago (cheese): 7
 Asian: 1
 balsamic (dressing; greens; vinaigrette): 7
 beurre blanc: 3
 Bleu (cheese): 3
 Brie (cheese): 2
 brioche: 1
 Cajun: 1
 capicola: 1
 cayenne: 1
 chipotle sauce: 1
 ciabatta: 1
 cusabi sauce: 1
 croissant: 1
 crostini: 3
 Dijon: 1
 edamame: 1
 feta (cheese): 3
 fettucini: 2
 focaccia: 5
 French (bread; dressing): 5
 Genoa (salami): 1
 goat (cheese): 1
 guacamole: 1
 Italian (cheese; meatballs): 4
 Julienne (chicken): 1
 kalamata olives: 2
 lasagna: 1
 linguini/e: 2
 mandarin orange: 1
 oregano: 1
 pancetta: 1
 Parmesan: 5
 penne: 3
 pepperoncini: 2
 pesto: 2
 pita (flatbread; pieces): 3
 pizza: 5
 Primavera (pasta): 1
 prosciutto: 2

Provolone (cheese): 14
 ricotta (cheese): 1
 Roma: 1
 Romano (cheese): 2
 sauerkraut: 1
 sweet Thai chili (sauce): 1
 Swiss (cheese): 11
 taco (sauce): 1
 teriyaki: 1
 tortilla: 10
 wasabi (mayo): 1
 wonton wrappers: 1

QUALITY

(absolutely) delicious: 3
 bubbly: 1
 classic: 7
 creamy: 3
 crisp(y): 11
 delicate: 1
 hot: 3
 juicy: 2
 light: 1
 mild: 1
 petite: 1
 rich: 3
 ripe: 1
 special: 7
 spiced: 1
 spicy: 4
 succulent: 3
 sweet: 3
 tasty: 1
 tender: 3
 thick: 2
 thick sliced: 1
 warm(ed): 3
 zesty: 3

HOME

homemade: 21
 housemade: 4
 house: 24
 hand-breaded: 1
 hand-cut: 1

hand-stuffed: 1
 traditional: 1

LOCAL/FRESH/HEALTHY

Black Angus: 1
 fresh: 20
 fresh fried: 5
 garden: 3
 9 grain: 1
 multigrain: 1
 seasonal: 2
 whole wheat: 3

PREPARATION

(oven) baked: 4
 battered: 2
 blackened: 4
 breaded: 11
 broiled: 3
 candied: 1
 chipped: 1
 chopped: 3
 diced: 2
 [deep] fried: 11
 grilled: 15
 marinated: 5
 mashed: 6
 melted: 12
 pan fried: 1
 pan seared: 1
 roasted: 7
 sautéed: 8
 shaved: 2
 shredded: 3
 smoked: 1
 steamed: 1
 stir-fry: 1
 toasted: 2

AMERICAN

American (cheese): 7
 (orange bourbon) BBQ: 1
 BBQ pork: 1
 BBQ/barbeque sauce: 4
 buffalo (chicken): 1
 Caesar (dressing)

chili: 1
 country (gravy): 1
 cranberries: 1
 cream cheese: 1
 peanut butter: 1
 (apple, cherry, chocolate, coconut cream,
 peach, peanut butter cream) pie: 6
 Ranch (dressing): 5
 turkey: 6
 Wisconsin white cheddar (cheese): 1

COLOR

black: 3
 golden brown: 4
 green: 6
 red: 16
 white: 6
 yellow: 1

LATENT THEMES

Tour RestaurantsFOREIGN

aioli: 2
 Andouille cream: 1
 Asiago: 1
 balsamic (vinegar; reduction): 4
 Belgian: 1
 Béarnaise: 1
 bisque-style: 1
 Bleu (cheese; dressing): 9
 Brie: 1
 brioche: 2
 Cajun: 1
 capicola: 1
 charcuterie: 1
 Chinese: 2
 chipotle crema: 1
 chutney: 1
 cilantro: 2
 crème Anglaise: 1
 crêpes: 2
 croissants: 1
 crostinis: 1
 Cuban: 1
 demi-glace: 1
 Derby (cheese): 1
 endive: 1
 English: 1
 (Eastern) European: 2
 Feta: 4
 French: 1
 frisee: 1
 Goat (cheese): 5
 goulash: 1
 guacamole: 1
 Hungarian: 6
 Italian: 8
 jalapeno(s): 2
 kalamata olives: 1
 latkes: 1
 Linzer: 3
 Lipateur cheese: 1
 mandarin oranges: 1

meringue: 1
 mortadella: 1
 Muenster: 1
 Neapolitan: 1
 pancetta: 1
 Paprikash: 2
 Parmesan: 11
 (Parano) Gouda: 2
 pate: 1
 pesto: 1
 Portobello: 2
 (Berkshire) prosciutto: 1
 Provolone: 9
 remoulade: 2
 salsa (fresca): 6
 sauerkraut: 3
 Sheep's milk (cheese): 1
 Shiitake: 1
 sriacha: 4
 Stilton: 1
 Swiss (cheese): 9
 tapenade: 1
 tofu: 2
 torte: 1
 tortilla: 1
 truffle: 2
 Tuscan: 1
 Waygu: 1

QUALITY

aged: 1
 buttery: 3
 chilled: 1
 creamy: 3
 crisp(y): 2
 crunchy: 1
 delicate: 3
 delicately spiced: 1
 delicious: 1
 dense: 1
 dry: 1
 famous: 1
 finely ground: 2
 flaky: 1
 flavorful: 2
 generously-sized: 2

gluten-free: 1
 gourmet: 1
 hard: 1
 heirloom: 1
 high temperature masonry (oven): 1
 highest quality: 1
 (flaming) hot: 2
 intense: 1
 (feather) light: 2
 marbled: 1
 (deliciously) moist: 1
 open flame (oven): 1
 parchment thin: 1
 pretty: 1
 prime graded: 1
 quality: 1
 refreshing: 2
 (velvety) rich: 3
 small: 1
 smooth: 1
 soft: 1
 special: 2
 spicy: 6
 sugary: 1
 tasty: 2
 tender: 1
 thin: 1
 thinly sliced: 1
 tiny: 1
 truffle-like: 1
 wet: 1
 whole: 2
 wild: 1

HOME

homemade: 7
 homestyle: 1
 house: 12
 housemade: 20
 hand-cut: 1
 hand-stretched: 1
 traditional: 3

LOCAL/FRESH/HEALTHY

authentic: 1
 cage-free: 1

Certified Angus Beef: 17
 fresh: 10
 garden: 1
 local: 8
 nine grain: 2
 Ohio-sourced: 3
 seasonal: 4
 whole grain: 2
 whole wheat: 1

PREPARATION

blackened: 2
 breaded: 2
 caramelized: 7
 chopped: 1
 cooked: 1
 crushed: 1
 (deep) fried: 3
 diced: 3
 dried: 1
 dry rub: 1
 glazed: 1
 grilled: 20
 ground: 3
 hard cooked: 1
 marinated: 2
 mashed: 1
 melted: 1
 pan-seared: 1
 pickled: 1
 (vanilla) poached: 2
 pulled: 2
 (oven) (slow) roasted: 18
 sautéed: 3
 shaved: 2
 shredded: 2
 smoked: 3
 soft boiled: 1
 sundried: 1
 toasted: 3

AMERICAN

American cheese: 6
 apple(s): 6
 apple butter: 1
 applesauce: 1

(bourbon; chipotle; honey; hot)
 BBQ/barbeque: 6
 buffalo: 5
 Caesar: 3
 cherry: 1
 corn: 1
 corned beef: 1
 graham cracker: 1
 hoagie: 1
 maple syrup: 1
 pimento (cheese): 1
 pumpkin: 1
 Ranch: 1
 Southwest: 1
 sweet potato: 1
 turkey: 2

COLOR

black: 3

golden: 2
 green: 5
 pink-glazed: 1
 red : 16
 white: 2
 yellow: 1

UNUSUAL NAMES

Baja Yammy
 buffwingdilla
 desert fire
 grab-and-go
 Hawaiian Redneck: 2
 jo jos
 Luna (burger)
 Reubendilla
 Tobacco (onions)
 Tropic Heat

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