MEXICAN RESTAURANTS IN BOWLING GREEN, OHIO: SPACES FOR MUSIC COMMODITIZATION

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A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate College of Bowling Green State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF MUSIC

August 2013

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This thesis explores the connection between music and architecture by investigating how
music shapes people’s understanding of space and, alternatively, how space impacts musical
perception. It focuses on the use of music in four Mexican restaurants in Bowling Green, Ohio:
Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle. These restaurants fall into two main categories:
Mexican American owned restaurants (El Zarape Mexican Restaurant & Bar and Cinco de Mayo
Mexican Bar and Grill) and national chain restaurants with Mexican themes (Qdoba Mexican
Grill and Chipotle Mexican Grill). Additionally, this thesis explores the following themes:
ethnicity, authenticity, identity, commoditization, aesthetics, foodways, perception, and music
genres.

In the restaurants, background music reflects aspects of Mexican culture (including sub-
genres of Mexican and Latin American popular musics) and is associated with mainstream North
American popular music (rock and pop). This thesis investigates the differences and similarities
between these two types of establishments and how they reflect and/or shape ideas about
Mexican and Mexican American identity. This thesis also examines musical perception. In order
to investigate musical perception, the workers and managers/patrons who interact with the music
in the Mexican restaurants of Bowling Green, Ohio were interviewed and a sample of the
restaurants’ customers were given a written survey. Ten employees of the establishments were
interviewed and seventy-five customers filled out the survey. These interactions explored
customers’ awareness and perception of the music played.
I dedicate this to the staff of Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle in Bowling Green, Ohio, and also to my music teachers at Bowling Green State University.

Thanks for helping me accomplish this.
I would like to thank:

- my advisor Dr. Kara Attrep for all the great advice and guidance throughout all this research process. I wouldn’t have done this without your support;

- the Fulbright program and the U.S. Government for this incredible opportunity of coming to the United States of America and meeting great people from all over the world;

- Dr. Katherine Meizel and Dr. Robert Satterlee for their help throughout the thesis process;

- Bowling Green State University and all the faculty members, staff, and colleagues whom I have had the opportunity to meet;

- my family (Manuel, Fabiola, Margie, Laura, cousins…) for ongoing support;

- the employees at the four restaurants, and my informants, for all the time and effort they provided.
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INTRODUCTION

I became interested in this topic as a graduate student in January 2011 when I submitted an abstract for the Midwest Chapter of the Society for Ethnomusicology. The theme for this conference was “Music in Everyday Life” and the paper I submitted and presented was titled “Mexican Restaurants in Northwest Ohio: Spaces for Music Commoditization.” As a student of ethnomusicology, I have been interested in exploring musics from the Caribbean as well as from Latin America; therefore I came up with the idea of writing on this topic.

In this thesis, I study the use of music in the Mexican ethnic restaurants in Bowling Green, Ohio, and the way it figures in understandings of ethnicity, authenticity, identity, commoditization, aesthetics, foodways, perception, and music genres.

I interviewed and observed the clients and workers in the restaurants in order to examine thoroughly how music is used in the four restaurants as well as which music genres are played. The majority of the workers I interviewed belong to a Hispanic ethnic group (some Mexican and others Mexican American); however, not all of the workers are of Hispanic descent (a couple of them were white or African American). Additionally, I interviewed and observed the customers who interact with the employees of the four Mexican restaurants in Bowling Green, OH.

Methodology

The methodology that I chose for this thesis was ethnographic involving participant observation, interviews, and use of surveys. I began collecting information for this thesis in December 2011 by writing a paper for a conference. I interviewed several employees and managers of these four Mexican restaurants in Bowling Green. These included one worker of
Qdoba, one worker of Chipotle, two workers of Cinco de Mayo, and a manager of El Zarape. I took notes on the information the workers provided me (including the manner in which they identify themselves, ethnically speaking). I also conducted participant observation writing down details about the music used in the establishments. This research constituted the preliminary part of this thesis.

Later, in January 2012, I conducted fieldwork which involved more interviews with the workers and passing out surveys to the customers. I interviewed two workers of Qdoba, two workers of Chipotle, three workers of El Zarape, and three workers of Cinco de Mayo. These interviews were recorded. All the interviews were conducted in confidentiality, and the names of interviewees are withheld by mutual agreement. I also passed out surveys to 77 male and female customers of the four establishments. In these surveys, I asked the customers to choose words in order to describe how they perceive the music. These are words I provided and selected based on earlier research about the use of music in commercial establishments (i.e. North, Hargreaves, and McKendrick 2000, North and Hargreaves 1998, and Wilson 2003).

**Thesis Overview**

This thesis is presented in four chapters.

The first chapter provides a literature review and includes descriptions of secondary sources (books and articles) related to music and architecture in commercial public establishments. This chapter also includes sources focusing on Mexican identity and music, foodways, and social psychology of music.

The second chapter explains the music in all the restaurants and includes the information that was collected from the interviews. The third chapter analyzes the surveys, the interviews,
and the restaurants. The fourth chapter presents the conclusions and findings and suggests areas of further inquiry.
CHAPTER I. LITERATURE REVIEW

During the last thirty years, many publications have explored the uses of music in commercial establishments. Yet, there have not been any sources that discuss how music is used in Mexican restaurants. The following literature review investigates the different functions of music when related to music and architecture in order to explain how music is utilized in Mexican restaurants.

Functions of Music in Establishments

Art historian and communications scholar Jonathan Sterne states, “music is an environmental factor in commercial spaces (1997:23).” In other words, businesses use recorded music predominantly to create enjoyable atmospheres for customers. This notion relates to everyday social interactions and also to social activities that occur in the public establishments studied in this research (i.e. the four Mexican restaurants mentioned above in the abstract).

What is music utilized for? This question can be answered in several different ways. For instance as psychologists Hargreaves and Hargreaves suggest, “music is expected to fulfill relatively different functions in different situations (North, D. Hargreaves, and J. Hargreaves 2004:44).” In architecture, music is used as a constantly changing activity and endeavor. This depends on the type of space and how music is programmed. Music and architecture appear as interrelated concepts understood and comprehended as meaningful social expressions. In other words, music is used to enhance the space it is played in.

In the cases of the Mexican restaurants, music is used as a commodity that is projected through time and space. Similarly, music can be considered “a key contemporary social activity and economic enterprise” (Frith as cited in Carlton 1995:124) as an integral part of a space. To
this extent, background music is used in these spaces to attract a consumer audience. Therefore, music is utilized as store atmospherics. Store atmospherics is a term that was introduced by economist Philip Kotler. He described it as “the effort to design buying environments to produce specific emotional effects in the buyer that enhance his purchase probability (1973-1974:50).”

Additional research conducted by social psychologists Adrian North, David Hargreaves, and Jennifer McKendrick confirms the idea that “music can have reliable effects on atmosphere and purchase intentions in commercial establishments (2000:1504).” North, et. al demonstrate the effects of music on the perceived characteristics of the commercial place in which it is played and on the purchase intentions of the customers. They explain how they presented a list of words and adjectives to customers and the terms were chosen to reflect the participants’ affective responses in the bank where they were customers. In my research, I used a similar survey technique by including several qualifiers on the survey and these were used to reflect how clients perceived the music played in the Mexican restaurants.

In a different study, North, Hargreaves, and McKendrick (1997) discovered that when French music was played in a supermarket, French wine outsold German wine; and when German music was played, German wine outsold French wine. North et. al used different musical styles from different nations (French accordion music and German Bierkeller pieces) and a silent control condition to investigate whether music can influence the perceived characteristics of a commercial environment and purchase intentions therein. The authors asked the participants whether the music influenced their choice of wine: only six respondents answered “yes.” This theme is useful because it connects music, consumption trends, and ethnicity. This juxtaposition was also used in my investigation to consider if the restaurants’ clients thought about music and ethnicity while they were dining.
Similarly, North and Hargreaves, who have been known for their contributions to social and applied psychology of music, found that students who liked dining in a cafeteria increased their liking because of the music played there (1998). North and Hargreaves demonstrate that different music genres affect not only customers’ moods but also how customers perceive the space that they visit. On different days, either classical music, contemporary British pop music, or no music was played. The results presented were the following:

1. when pop music was played, the cafeteria was perceived as upbeat and assertive/aggressive;
2. when classical music was played, the cafeteria was perceived as upmarket and dignified/elegant;
3. when no music was played, the cafeteria was perceived as least assertive/aggressive (1998:2265).

Other researchers investigating how music influences purchase intentions are economist C. S. Areni and marketer D. Kim. They conducted a study and played classical music and Top-40 music in a wine cellar and found that the classical music led to customers buying more expensive wine than did Top-40 music (1993). This study is quite similar to “The Effects of Music on Atmosphere in a Bank and a Bar” by Adrian North, David Hargreaves, and Jennifer McKendrick (2000). However, it introduces how music influences customers’ preference towards purchasing expensive items in an establishment. The previous study (1993) was taken as a model to investigate whether customers in the four Mexican restaurants consumed more because of the music played.
Marketer Gordon C. Bruner (1990) suggested that the style of music played in an establishment is likely to have a more significant effect on customers’ perceptions and choices. Therefore, the music played in an establishment affects customers’ moods (i.e. happy, sad, etc.). In connection with Bruner’s suggestion, North, Hargreaves, and McKendrick affirmed that “if the music is perceived as being fun, for example, then the banking hall should also be perceived as being fun (2000:1506).” These qualifiers can also be linked to customers’ moods while they consume food in the Mexican restaurants Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle. Furthermore, North and Hargreaves concluded that customers generally perceive the commercial environments as being upbeat or dynamic. They challenged customers’ individual moods by considering how customers perceive their surrounding environment. They also considered the possibility that music might be a factor in determining how much the customers are willing to pay. Therefore, music can become a feature of the store atmosphere by attracting customers and influencing them to spend more money.

Another research study conducted by North and Hargreaves explained that: the playing of background classical music in a dining area led to (a) people reporting that they were prepared to spend more and (b) higher actual spending. The results indicated that restaurant managers can use classical music to increase customer spending in the dining area (2003:712). This study demonstrates how restaurants’ managers choose music genres carefully in order to attract a larger clientele and create a comfortable environment. In my research, food consumption does not associate with the use of classical music; instead, it depends on the type of food and ethnicity of the people selling it.
All these investigations explore issues related to how music functions in commercial establishments. Music is occasionally used as a commodity for an intended consuming audience. Music is also used to encourage customers to consume more and spend more money. As I will show in my study, some of the restaurant managers encourage customers to consume by the controlled background music played through loudspeakers.

**Music and Consumer Behavior in Establishments**

Research on the effects of music on consumer behavior has explored the music controlled by management. Music scholar Leonard Meyer defined behavior as “responses which take the form of less readily observable physiological changes (1994: 11).” Evidence of the existence of emotional responses to music in commercial establishments is based upon the behavior of audiences and upon the changes that accompany musical perception. Consequently, research on the effects of music on consumer behavior has explored the following:

1. the relation between music, emotion, and physical responses to music perceived in commercial establishments;
2. how restaurant managers encourage customers to consume products by the background treatment of music played through loudspeakers;
3. and how loudspeakers can be used as a means for transmission of music in spaces (Adrian and Hargreaves 1997).

In his research, marketing scholar Ronald Milliman suggested there is a link between music tempo and human behavior (1982:87). Additionally, some research has been concerned with the effects of music on attitudes rather than behavior by exploring the mood of the establishments’ consumers. Marketer Meryl P. Gardner described mood as a fleeting, temporary
feeling state, usually not intense, and not tied to a specifiable behavior (1985). Moods can be positive or negative, such as cheeriness, peacefulness or guilt and depression. According to psychologists Margaret Clark and Alice Isen (1982), moods occur frequently and do not usually interrupt ongoing behavior. Moods are distinguished from emotions, such as fear or rage, which are usually more intense, obvious and are tied to a specifiable behavior.

The effect of music on moods and purchase intentions has been studied by marketing scholars Judy I. Alpert and Mark I. Alpert (1986, 1988). One of their findings was that happy music produced happier moods in subjects, but sad music produced the highest purchase intentions. They described psychologist Kate Hevner’s consideration of happy as in a major key, fast, lively, and energetic, and sad as in a minor key, slower, listless, and unvaried (1935); and also referred to how customers showed positive (favorable, pleasant) and negative (sad, frustrated, unpleasant) reactions and stimulus-feelings. Alpert and Alpert concluded that structure and expressiveness of background music can evoke different moods and purchase intentions toward advertised products. In my research, the customers’ purchase intentions were also considered.

More studies on the effect of background music on listeners affirmed that there is no uniform effect of background music: sometimes it has an effect on behavior; sometimes it does not (Kampfe, Sedlmeier, and Renkewitz 2010:440). Kampfe et. al stated that “the tempo of background music strongly affects the tempo of behavior of different kinds (2010:440).” This means that faster music tempo can possibly lead to faster motor behavior.

Marketing scholar Ronald Milliman suggested that the slow tempo of instrumental background music can significantly slow the pace of in-store traffic flow of supermarket customers, as opposed to music with a faster tempo (1982). In a follow-up study diners stayed
longer and consumed more alcoholic beverages in a medium-sized restaurant in the Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas area when slow tempo instrumental background music was playing than when fast tempo instrumental music was used (Milliman, 1986). Another investigation was made by researchers P. C. Smith and R. Curnow. This study tested noise level and its influence on activity levels. Smith and Curnow tested noise level by playing loud and soft music in a supermarket and demonstrated that customers in the loud music condition spent on average less time in the supermarket than those in the soft music condition (1966).

**Musical Meaning**

Discussions of aesthetics and the meaning of music have affirmed the ability of music to evoke emotional responses in listeners. Consequently, articles and publications exploring the use of music in establishments and its relation to consumers’ behaviors have proliferated over the past few years. In addition, socially constructed musical meanings and their interrelationship in dynamic socio-cultural contexts have been explored.

Musicologist Martina Viljoen stated that musical meaning only emerges when music is interpreted within an inclusive socio-cultural framework (2004:5). In establishments that use background music, there may be musical meaning associated with the nature of the establishment but also with customers’ opinions. She also describes an integral model of musical meaning based on coherent ‘external’ universal and ‘internal’ individual musical factors (2004:8). Viljoen adds that: “music can only ‘mirror’ society if it is given a function in various aspects of reality (2004:9).” Therefore, it is important to consider the musical context to determine the primary meaning behind the music. In a context where music reflects the architectural space of a
commercial establishment, it receives a secondary meaning: music commoditization with contributions to the business.

In this thesis, the existence of musical meaning is contemplated. According to Nicholas Cook (2001:176), research on musical meaning is associated with two schools of thoughts. The first one is based on E. Hanslick’s ideas of meaning as inherent in the music and the second on Theodor W. Adorno’s ideas of music as a purely social construction. Music aesthetician Hanslick’s theory of inherent meaning in the music itself (1986) is an example of the existence of meaning in music. However, Hanslick referred to the meaning of classical music from the Western tradition in his work. As my thesis largely deals with popular music, I will be making some connection to Hanslick’s work but I will also be approaching the study of meaning in music from Viljoen’s work.

Correspondingly, music education scholar Lucy Green (1988) contemplates two meanings in musical creations: the fundamental inherent and the socially delineated. Musical creations can either possess meaning or be attributed meaning. Furthermore, she suggests a redefinition of socially constructed musical meaning. A clarification of socially constructed musical meaning refers to a multitude of musics symbolized as products or used for sale. Even so, when music adopts an essential function in a determined space it becomes an intrinsic aspect to the establishment and it acquires appropriate architectural meaning. As a result, Lucy Green’s redefinition of socially constructed musical meaning can be applied to a plurality of Latin musics and symbolize individual and/or communal social realities as commoditizations.

The use of the musical art as a commodity (Lipsitz 1986-1987, Straw 2002) is present in ethnic food commercial establishments. Many nationally-themed restaurants use music from different cultures in their mercantile spaces to create a pleasant environment and exemplify a
specific lifestyle. Therefore, restaurants epitomize ethnic foodways, ethnic musics, and ethnic human groups. In these spaces, restaurants’ food and background music are mutually dependent and interrelated. As a result, ethnic identities are performed and exhibited (an observation that is later explored in Chapter 3).

Music psychologist Eric F. Clarke’s proposition that the experience of musical meaning is fundamentally a perceptual experience (2005), as well as the reality that each individual interprets a personal musical meaning, demonstrates the presence of polysemous music (music with different interpretations and meanings). In this study, because the background music in restaurants is perceived by different individuals with different social backgrounds, the existence of polysemous music is investigated. This validates music as “a product when related to its spatial context in commercial architecture” (Sterne 1997:23).

Perception of Music in Establishments

Another researcher on the perception of music in establishments is Stephanie Wilson. Wilson suggested that different types of music had different effects on the perceived atmosphere and the amount patrons were prepared to spend (2003:93). Her study aimed:

1. “To investigate the extent to which the type of music being played influences patrons’ perception of a restaurant environment;

2. To examine the influence of different musical styles on the amount of money patrons are prepared to spend, and the amount of money they actually spend;

3. To investigate interactive effects between music, perceived atmosphere and a range of other variables such as the number of people dining, the number of times patrons have
been to the restaurant before, the amount of alcohol consumed and patrons’ perception of the quality of food and service; and

4. To examine whether the appropriateness of the music influences patrons’ perception of the restaurant and the amount of money they spend” (2003:96).

Wilson’s ideas about the perception of music were useful to my investigation into the interactions between the restaurants’ customers, the background music, and the amount of money spent by the customers. Though most of the research on the use of music in establishments explores its connection to customers’ consumption, none have focused on music reflecting Mexican ethnicity, Hispanic ethnicity or other aspects of Mexican and Hispanic identity. Yet, folklore scholar Susan Kalčik’s research (1984) investigated the relation between ethnic identity and foodways. In her research, Kalčik described how ethnic foods reflect ethnic identity in ethnic restaurants in America. This research is useful because it allowed me to acquire information on the relationship between food and identity. In addition, sociologist Marie Sarita Gaytán’s work on authenticity, ethnicity and the Mexican restaurant industry (2008), as well as sociologist’s Gvion and nutrition researcher Trostler’s article on ethnicity in American restaurants (2008) were both helpful as they contributed to the comprehension of Mexican identity and Mexican ethnicity. In this thesis, I applied Gaytan’s ideas about the performance of ethnicity to how the restaurants’ workers present themselves. I also used Gvion and Trostler’s thoughts about ethnicity as a social construct: the restaurants are spaces that display Mexican culture.

Other ideas that were useful to my investigation concerning issues about ethnic identifiers and identity were presented by author Juana Bordas, and sociologists Richard Alba and Tariqul Islam (Apr. 2009). These articles are helpful in understanding differences between Mexican Americans, Hispanics, and Latinos. Alba and Islam portray Mexicans American as “a result of
According to Bordas, “the term Latino is quite diverse and incorporates an amalgamation of colors (black, white, yellow, brown, mocha, and *cafecito*) (1).” She adds that Hispanics have “a close association with Central and Latin America and include black, white, yellow, and red (4).” Therefore, the differences are limited. Occasionally, the way in which people identify their ethnicity is quite personal. In this thesis, I use the terms that the consultants used during the interviews.

This literature review examines how music regulates customers’ behavior and influences them to consume. Going beyond the literature review of this thesis investigation, I study the relationships between music perception, space, and consumerism in the four Mexican restaurants. I also explore the relationship between music and national identity. In the following chapter, I present information related to the surveys and interviews conducted at the four Mexican restaurants.
CHAPTER II. MUSIC SELECTION AND DESCRIPTION

This chapter contains information based on participant observation and fieldwork conducted in the four Mexican restaurants. I interviewed five employees from Cinco de Mayo, five employees from El Zarape, two employees from Chipotle, two employees from Qdoba, and handed out surveys to:

- ten women and nine men in El Zarape;
- ten women and ten men in Cinco de Mayo;
- nine women and nine men in Chipotle;
- and nine women and eleven men in Qdoba.

All of these consultants were adult clients. I explained to them that their participation was voluntary and gave them the consent form for them to read and fill out the survey.

The Restaurants

The city of Bowling Green, Ohio has four food establishments that serve Mexican food and are part of this investigation. The restaurants are Chipotle, Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, and Qdoba. These restaurants are spaces that display aspects of Mexican culture such as music, foodways, and identity. Chipotle and Qdoba belong to a corporate chain of fast-food restaurants that has spread nationally as well as internationally.

Furthermore, the background music of these restaurants does not only aim to represent Mexican ethnic groups or other ethnic groups from the Latin American region but it also represents music from the United States. The recorded music played through the speakers of these establishments includes contemporary mainstream rock, music that is similar to current styles heard on the radio (e.g. rock and pop). My investigation also includes Cinco de Mayo and
El Zarape: two restaurants that use Latin music styles (music from Central America and the Caribbean) on their playlists and occasionally present live musical performances.

Cinco de Mayo Mexican Bar and Grill and El Zarape Mexican Restaurant & Bar both have similar architectural interior designs: their structure is divided into a diner where people can comfortably enjoy a delicious meal and an informal bar. Inside these restaurants, there are polychromatic designs and art illustrations that symbolize Mexican culture. Additionally, they are decorated with bright colors such as yellow, orange, blue, and green, which blend with their spatial architecture resembling colorful Mexican foods (e.g. tacos, burritos, and fajitas) and Mexican festivities (e.g. Cinco de Mayo). These prevalent colors are highlighted by the restaurants’ bright lighting.

The four restaurants Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle are managed and run by male and female workers who regularly interact with each other. The clients who regularly attend are mostly local families and university students. The restaurants’ workers belong to a community of immigrants that are united by their Mexican ethnicity (some are from North Mexico and others from Central Mexico), with the exception of one Mexican American worker at Cinco de Mayo who was interviewed. In these establishments, “community is a felt reality” (Mills 1993:185) by which both the clientele and the employees interact with each other.

The cooks of Cinco de Mayo and El Zarape prepare traditional dishes from different Mexican sub-regions using their domestic recipes. However, they adjust these plates, therefore, admitting a reinterpretation of Mexican food (Personal communication, January 14 and January 16, 2012). Even so, the food served is considered authentic Mexican food; thus representing an aspect of Mexican culture and indicating “a significant way of celebrating ethnicity and group identity” (Kalčik 1984:38).
In general, this generation of Mexican immigrants has kept and adapted personal and communal established foodways. These Mexican employees’ individual and collective performance of identity reaffirms Kalčik’s definition of ethnicity as a social process (1984:44). They perform their Mexican identity by their conventional foods and their examples of cultural musics. They also value the musical styles played in the establishments and use “music as an especially important feature of Latino culture, since it informs migration, citizenship, and other aspects of the contemporary Latino experience” (Kotarba et al as cited in Natella 2007). In other words, the different music genres played in the establishments help unite the restaurants’ employees.

**Cinco de Mayo**

The following information is based on the interview with the manager and workers of Cinco de Mayo (Personal communication, January 14, 2012) and a description of the information collected from the surveys of restaurant goers.

Cinco de Mayo has been open for approximately five years. Since then, business has been good and people have liked the seasoning and flavors of the food. The clients are mostly older Americans (aged over forty) and younger university students who live in Bowling Green. However, occasionally travelers stop by the restaurant, in addition to some clients of Indian, Arab, and Chinese background.

In previous years, the use of music in Cinco de Mayo was represented by three different categories: background environmental music, small mariachi bands that performed live once a month, and occasional karaoke presentations. This is music that is always on during the open hours. However, there are a few moments where the music goes on pause. Because they use
music from the internet, the network signal reception is sometimes low. According to the manager: “Music is fundamental for this establishment. When Cinco de Mayo opens there is music until closing. This creates a happy atmosphere. Even when there are few customers, there is music sounding. Music is important in this establishment (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

Nowadays, the presentation of cultural music performances\(^1\) in Cinco de Mayo is controlled by the staff members’ personal selection rather than being set to a specific program. Therefore, the songs are constantly changing. The examples of recorded musical selections are used in the spaces corresponding with representations of Mexican self-identity and nationality. However, the workers also occasionally choose songs they enjoy regardless of national or regional affiliation.

The employees of Cinco de Mayo display a repetitive performance based on personal preference and taste in order to commodify the music examples. They constantly choose the selection of songs they are comfortable with, and play them through the speakers. They use online licensed software later discussed on page 19. They choose the songs depending on 1) whether they enjoy the songs or 2) on whether they are in the mood for a music genre at the moment. Whenever any of the individual employees makes use of music, a personalized preference is portrayed. This personal form of music choice demonstrates the employees’ self identity which coincides with how artists nowadays express their individuality and their originality through their works of art.

To avoid a complete arbitrariness in Cinco de Mayo, a Hispanic connection is the sole parameter used to delimit the music selection. The predominant musical styles resulting in this

\(^{1}\) For this definition of performances see Kapchan 1995: 479.
selection are Mexican cumbia (an Afro-Hispanic dance-music genre of Panama and the Atlantic coastal region of Colombia), ranchero (traditional music of Mexico sung by a performer who also plays guitar), mariachi (traditional ensemble of western Mexico, especially of the state of Jalisco), norteño (musical tradition of northern Mexico and the U.S.-Mexican border region), banda (brass-based form of traditional music most widely known for their rancheras. They also play modern Mexican pop, rock, and cumbias), duranguense (banda music popularized in Durango, a state in Northwest Mexico), tex-mex (dance music from the state of Texas and the states of Northeast Mexico), balada (Latin American popular music genre), merengue (folk and popular dance-music genre of the Dominican Republic), reggaeton (music genre derived from reggae was first developed in Panama), and salsa (Latin American dance music based on the styles and forms of Afro-Cuban urban popular tradition). All these musical manifestations, except reggaeton, merengue, and salsa, are closely connected to Mexican music styles. Norteño and duranguense are genres of Mexican music, banda is a style that mixes Mexican and international elements (e.g. pop, rock, cumbias, and polka), tex-mex is attributed to the Mexican American sound originated near Texas, and Mexican cumbia, the most commonly selected, is a sub-genre of Colombian cumbia (a folk and traditional music genre of Colombia and Panama).

One of Cinco de Mayo’s workers claimed that mariachi music is most common. Traditionally, mariachi music is a music genre quite representative of Mexican music. Similarly, the manager said that:

“Banda is also quite common. We choose Latin American music because it is happy and energetic music that the customers might enjoy. Even though many customers don’t understand the lyrics, they seem to enjoy the rhythm. I personally like listening to banda. Sometimes we listen to banda in the morning. We enjoy doing this because in the
morning we workers need energy and banda music helps us keep active. Later in the afternoon we play cumbia, mariachi, merengue, salsa and music that our customers enjoy. Sometimes our customers request songs and we please them. Generally, the music remains at the same volume. We also listen to Christmas carols during the holidays and romantic songs during St. Valentine’s Day (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

In addition, I observed that reggaeton was also often played during the evenings.

Some examples of artists played through the sound systems of the establishments are Mexican musicians Vicente Fernández and Espinosa Paz. Fernández is known for his compositions of ranchera music and Paz for his norteña and banda songs. The manager believes that:

“the music played here reflects Mexican traditions brought to the United States. Sometimes songs that talk about love are played. Cinco de Mayo wants to project a non-offensive environment through their music. The music expresses happiness and joy and does not include indecent lyrics. The music played reflects a type of music that lifts the mood and self-esteem so that customers might feel happy, enjoy the music, and even dance. The music used in Cinco de Mayo reflects Mexican and Latino pride. It reflects a history and social reality of Mexican immigrants in the United States (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

One of the chosen bands played through the speakers in Cinco de Mayo is Los Temerarios. They are a Mexican band that was formed in the 1970s and are still quite popular. Their style includes balada, cumbia, and ranchero music. In addition to Los Temerarios’ romantic Mexican bolero, both classic and modern styles are played at the restaurant. Some representative examples of the old-style tradition are the following performers: Cuban salsa
queen Celia Cruz, Mexican ranchero king Vicente Fernández, Vicente’s son Alejandro Fernández, Roberto Carlos, and Mexican norteño band Los Tigres del Norte. Others, for example, Selena, La Apuesta, and Grupo Pesadilla represent modern performers of a more recent generation. This younger generation occasionally mixes Latin American styles with foreign musics and electronic sounds, e.g. guaracha (Cuban song and dance-music genre) remixes. DLG (acronym for Dark Latin Groove) is another example of the recent styles. DLG is a salsa band from New York that combines reggae (a music genre that developed in Jamaica during the 1960s), reggeaton, and hip-hop (a music that originated in African-American and Latino-American communities during the 1970s in New York City) into a fresh style. All the musicians mentioned above are chosen because they are outstanding performers. The combination of the old-style and the new-style Latin musics contribute to an equitable atmosphere in Cinco de Mayo where people of many generations can listen to and enjoy songs from many different eras.

The workers of Cinco de Mayo use the internet to get their songs. They use Pandora to create a playlist, add songs that they enjoy, and that provide a comfortable environment. The songs chosen are purchased from the internet using internet software and later downloaded. However, on occasions, there are live mariachi bands that are hired for special events and play guitars, guitarrón, trumpet, and accordion. These mariachi bands have played on important dates such as Mother’s Day, Cinco de Mayo, and Independence Day. They have also performed at the restaurant once or twice a month; however, they have not performed recently due to unknown reasons. Some of the songs the mariachi bands have played are: “Cielito Lindo”, and “La Cucaracha”. Both of these songs are very popular among the staff.

At Cinco de Mayo there have also been DJs incorporated into social dance events that happen on Fridays or Saturdays. These festive events happen late at night and are intended for
adults (approximately between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five). The events usually attract a fairly large crowd. The DJs play disco, hip-hop, cumbia, merengue, salsa, reggaeton, Mexican, and American popular music. During the day, the waiters and waitresses sometimes sing the traditional Mexican American birthday song “Las mañanitas” and also “Happy Birthday” in both English and Spanish for customers who are celebrating their birthdays, and the birthday person receives a treat.

Ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl suggests that “music expresses personal or group identity” (2005:256). The employees of Cinco de Mayo come from different regions of Mexico. One comes from the west and another from the southwest. They were each individually exposed to different social environments; therefore, they disagree on a specific music style that identifies them as Mexican. An appropriate way of defining their identity is according to the region each of them grew up in. One waitress was raised in Mexico City and was exposed to contemporary performances of Mexican cumbia, banda, and Mexican rock. Consequently, these music styles identify her as Mexican, though Mexican rock is not presented in Cinco de Mayo’s song displays. One of the restaurant’s former managers grew up in Michoacán and relates to the narcocorrido musical style (a subgenre heard in northern Mexico and the southern part of the United States). Some examples of narcocorrido bands are Los Originales de San Juan, Beto Quintanilla, and Los Razos. The former manager of Cinco de Mayo shared the song “Soy Michoacano” of Los Originales de San Juan which describes the reality of the state of Michoacán through its lyrics:

\[ \text{Soy michoacano hasta el tope} \quad \text{I am from Michoacán to the top} \]

\[ \text{Y me gusta la loquera} \quad \text{And I like the craziness} \]
La mota y el polvo blanco
The grass and the white powder

Y tambien la borrachera
And also drunkenness

Traigo dinero de sobra
I bring extra money

Pa' amanecerme en la peda. To wait for dawn in the party.

This song was described by the restaurant’s former manager because it explicitly reflects real life in Michoacán. Due to narcocorrido’s social meanings associated with drugs and alcohol consumption, the former manager chooses not to present this music in Cinco de Mayo to avoid any possible customer discomfort.

These cases of Mexican self-identity suggest selective approaches to consider music as identity. The subjects interviewed in Cinco de Mayo identify with the music genres popular in the region they grew up in. Furthermore, they are identified by their personal experiences and tastes and they seek to discriminate between which Mexican music styles are allowed to be played in the restaurant for customers and which are not. Because the internet radio Pandora is used, the employees’ musical preference is a factor that determines the background music at Cinco de Mayo.

According to personal preferences, another commonly presented behavior is the frequent alteration of music dynamics. Some employees maintain low music volumes while others choose to slightly raise the volume and sing along. As claimed by a waitress, the sudden change from low volume to higher volume can also indicate that one of the staff members has arrived at Cinco de Mayo. This shows that some workers prefer lower dynamics, while a few prefer louder dynamics. Because the background music at Cinco de Mayo is regularly played with a low volume, the customers might respond in a different manner when the volume of the music is
increased. This idea might suggest a further investigation grounded on the comparison between music with low volume and high volume (an issue that was not addressed in any of the articles cited previously).

As mentioned above, mariachi bands have also performed in Cinco de Mayo. As stated by a waitress who worked there for several years, the mariachi band was small and repetitive. She said “it consisted of three musicians who constantly reiterated Ritchie Valens’ renowned hit ‘La Bamba’ amongst other songs (Personal communication, January 14, 2012)”. Considering that a complete mariachi group has approximately ten musicians, the waitress’ concern that the mariachi band was small is well understood. Even though the restaurant patrons seemed to enjoy the mariachi band’s live performances, the bands were later removed from the restaurant’s musical program, along with karaoke presentations. These activities were abandoned for financial reasons.

However, a few of the restaurant’s patrons enjoy mariachi music and have thought about bringing the mariachi musicians back to perform at the establishment (Personal communication, January 14, 2012). There have also been some elder clients that have asked if the mariachi bands are going to perform any time soon (Personal communication, January 14, 2012). They seem to enjoy the live sound of the mariachi ensemble which on occasions attracts a larger clientele.

The manager said: “I remember when I came to the United States, I did not speak much English but I liked music in English, even though I did not understand it. I think this situation is similar to our customer’s feelings when they do not understand Spanish songs. I think there are few customers who dislike the music. However, I believe that most people feel comfortable here (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).” The workers also suggested that “the customers seem to enjoy the music while they are eating. If it is too loud, it bothers them and they make
facial gestures. Even though they do not understand the lyrics, they seem to enjoy the beat and the rhythm (Personal communication, January 14, 2012). Many customers at Cinco de Mayo act indifferent towards the music. Some enjoy the music but others dislike it. Nevertheless, the workers claim that “the clients haven’t made any complaints (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

On January 14th, 2012, twenty customers were surveyed in the Cinco de Mayo Mexican Bar and Grill, see Appendix for the survey questions. These included: ten men (one man from the ages of eighteen to twenty-four, seven men from the ages of twenty-two to thirty-four, and two men from the ages of thirty-five to fifty) and ten women (one woman from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, six women from the ages of twenty-one to thirty-four, two women from the ages of thirty-five to fifty, and one woman over fifty-one years old). Fifteen customers stated they listen to music on a daily basis, four affirmed they listen to music several times a week, and one chose not to respond.

These customers had a diverse musical preference. Their musical preference included heavy metal (a genre of rock music that developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s), rock, classic rock, alternative (a rock music genre that emerged from the independent music underground of the 1980s and became popular during the 1990s), punk (rock music that developed in the 1970s in the United States and England), blues (a music genre that developed in African-American communities in the southern United States), Indie (alternative rock originated in the United States and the United Kingdom during the 1980s), folk, pop, pop rock, electronic, oldies, classical, 70s on 7, top 40 hits, and country (American popular music that originated in the rural areas of the Southern United States in the 1920s). Six subjects (two men between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four, two women between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four,
one woman between the ages of thirty-five and fifty and another over fifty-one years old) said they were not inclined towards a specific musical genre.

Five customers (a woman over the age of fifty-one, a woman between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four, and three men between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) said they enjoyed the Mexican music in the establishment; however, they did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment. One of the men expanded the previous response so that it included Latin music; while another rather enjoyed the use of Spanish lyrics. Two customers (a man between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four and a woman of the same age range) said they consumed more when they enjoyed the music but they did not stay more time in the establishment. Similarly, two women (between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) consumed more chips and salsa while enjoying the Mexican and Latin music in the establishment. One of these women also enjoyed salsa music. They did not stay more time in the establishment. Two subjects (a man between the ages of twenty-four and a woman between the ages of thirty-five and fifty) enjoyed the music, consumed more, and stayed more time in the establishment. The man stated he enjoyed the Mexican music and he listened to it. Nine subjects confirmed and agreed on the following three statements: they did not enjoy the music they heard in the establishment, they did not consume more when enjoying the music, nor did they stay more time listening to the music.

The customers perceived the music to have originated in Latin America or Mexico. Four out of the twenty subjects chose Latin America as place of origin for the music while fifteen chose Mexico. Two customers were undecided. They also perceived the music as fun, happy, exciting, youthful, and restful. The substantive fun was selected by nineteen subjects while happy was selected by fourteen customers. The word exciting was selected by ten customers. The term
restful was selected by two customers and youthful by one customer. Only two of them perceived it as tacky while the words aggressive and ‘sometimes intolerable’ were each selected by one customer. On the surveys, these words were presented to the customers. I chose these different terms because they are quite contrasting among each other and they can easily be connected to describe the background music of the restaurants. It was the customers’ task to choose the words they associated with the music.

Two out of the twenty customers affirmed they listen to this music outside of the establishment. Both of them listen to it once a week. Cinco de Mayo hires mariachi bands infrequently, therefore only one of these subjects that completed the surveys stated that she has heard live music performed in the establishment. Additionally, ten subjects claimed they would attend live music performances where this music is performed. However, one of them responded: “I would attend only if the concert is in the same establishment where I am having dinner.”

This mixed sample of Cinco de Mayo’s clientele is united by its interest in the food. This clientele says that Cinco de Mayo is a beautiful familiar place that serves delicious food. It offers good and quick service and a good, fun, and relaxed atmosphere.

El Zarape

The music in the other family owned Mexican restaurant in Bowling Green, El Zarape, is organized via four different means: 1) a commercial packet that the managers of El Zarape ordered when they subscribed to Dish Network, 2) a mariachi band that plays live music once every three months, 3) a more flexible song selection that occurs at private events, and 4) a World Music event. The way music is determined and played at El Zarape is through the commercial packet which is presented every day. In 2011, the Dish Network subscription
included three Latin music channels which were heard through the restaurant’s sound system with unchanging low music dynamics that allow effortless conversations between any two or more people in the restaurant. However, the manager claimed: “there have been a couple of times when customers have requested to lower the volume of the music. Yet, this is rare (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

The first of the two of the workers of El Zarape that were interviewed added: “in El Zarape there is always music playing in the restaurant. The music regularly remains at a similar, low volume as the management believes that people do not want to be bothered by the music (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).” The other worker said that “the cooks listen to music in the kitchen as soon as they arrive (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

The music used every day in El Zarape is mostly based on the musical variety that surrounds the Mexican people. The music genres heard through the speakers vary. Sometimes there is Mexican music (e.g. ranchero and mariachi) and other times pop, rock, and modern contemporary Spanish language music. These are mostly songs that are popular on the radio.

The music is played through Dish Network. In 2011, the channels selected were the following: Viva Mariachi, La Música, and Mojito. Viva Mariachi mixes different styles of Mexican music, La Música provides examples of Latin American Pop, and Mojito contains tropical Caribbean musics mainly found in Miami. Because of the characteristics of these requested channels, it is impossible for the staff of El Zarape to set one particular song and it is also difficult for anyone to keep track of the songs played day after day. According to one of the managers the La Música, channel is the most selected during the business hours of El Zarape.
In 2012, El Zarape managers incorporated a packet that includes four music channels with different music genres. These are El Mojito, Viva Mariachi, Fiesta Ranchera, and La Música. El Mojito still presented tropical Caribbean music and Viva Mariachi maintained its mariachi music and regional Mexican music. Fiesta Ranchera included mariachi as well as norteño, ranchero, cumbia and different types of Mexican music. La Música focused on modern music called fusion music. It is Spanish language pop music that shows foreign influences. The manager claimed that generally they mostly played Viva Mariachi and La Música because these two channels have quiet and calmer music. The songs heard through these channels change as new songs are released to the market. During Christmas season some of these stations play Christmas carols and during St. Valentine’s Day there is romantic music that relates to love and friendship.

The background music in El Zarape reflects regional music from Mexico and the US borderlands. The music expresses a positive message: a message that is not offensive. One group heard is Los Intocables, a Tejano group that is popular in Mexico. The music selected is also linked to Mexico and Latin America through optimistic messages that relate to Guatemalan, Mexican, Peruvian, and Chilean cultures in general. Another theme reflected throughout the songs relates to love stories. Finally, some are happy dance songs and others are more apt to be considered for listening.

At a previous time, Viva Mariachi played old-style traditional mariachi songs. Now, this channel has changed to playing ranchero and new-style contemporary examples of norteño, mariachi, banda, duranguense, and Mexican rock. Some examples of Mexican rock groups are Maná, Jaguares, Caifanes, Café Tacuba, Panda, and El Tri. These are bands that portray the manager’s Mexican identity (Personal communication, January 16, 2012). The two remaining
channels play mainstream Latin American musical fusions, sub-genres, and remixes, e.g., cumbia, merengue, and salsa. All these examples played in El Zarape demonstrate the plurality of musics that are found nowadays in Mexico. Being in Mexico does not only suggest the exposure to Mexican musics, but also to mainstream Latin American Pop and Tropical Caribbean musics.

However, one worker of El Zarape stated: “I like Mexican music because it reminds me of my country. It brings back good memories, even if it’s older music, more traditional (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

In the dining area of El Zarape the music is softer so people can feel more relaxed. However, in the kitchen the music is louder, noisier, and has a stronger rhythm. Sometimes the chefs even dance to cumbia. In the kitchen, the cooks listen to the music they feel comfortable with. They enjoy reggaeton, Spanish hip-hop, rock, banda, and ranchera. These genres reflect a different focus on musical preference than that found in the dining area.

The workers in the kitchen are not originally from the same regions of Mexico. In Mexico there are different regions with different styles of music. For example: in Jalisco and north Mexico, banda music is common. Norteño is also common in north Mexico. In other towns of Mexico (e.g. Puebla) cumbia is more common and it is heard in the kitchen of El Zarape. Some of the workers listen to banda music. In general, they listen to a lot of popular music, (including bachata), and they make a playlist, adding songs arbitrarily.

Music that is also romantic is common in the kitchen. Some examples of romantic music are Luis Miguel, Reik, and Sin Banderas. These music genres (bachata and romantic music) reflect a saddened mood which differs from the happy moods intended for the customers in the dining area; in other words, upbeat music genres such as pop rock, mariachi music, ranchero
music, and modern contemporary music. This shows that the music in the kitchen is quite diverse (from loud upbeat music to slower music).

In the dining area ranchero music is often played over the speakers. It is constantly played in the dining area because it is a music genre that automatically makes customers aware of traditional Mexican identity (Personal communication, January 14, 2012). Yet, there are also examples of American popular contemporary music. Some songs use lyrics either in English or Spanish. The English and Spanish music varies quite often as songs in English and in Spanish shift back and forth frequently.

Sometimes the waiters and waitresses have a tradition of singing “Happy Birthday” and clapping when it is a customer’s birthday. Another song the workers sing is “Las mañanitas” in Spanish. In Latin America, “Las mañanitas” is a traditional birthday song. This encourages customers to feel good and they genuinely seem to enjoy these activities. Usually a friend or a family member or the birthday person asks the workers to sing “Happy Birthday.” The birthday person is given a treat on the house, which is expected to lift the person’s spirit.

Sometimes mariachi bands play at El Zarape. They are hired for special events, such as the celebration of Cinco de Mayo and the restaurant’s anniversary. The mariachi band plays guitar, accordion, bass, violin, maracas, and trumpet. They play approximately every three to four months so the restaurant’s customers can appreciate some Mexican music and learn more about Mexican culture. They usually play popular songs such as “La Bamba”, “Amorcito corazón” and “La Macarena.” These are songs that are known internationally. When the mariachi bands are playing, the music that comes out of the speakers ceases so that it does not interfere. These are the only times when music from the speakers is discontinued.
Another musical performance is called World Music event. This happens once or twice a year. This began a couple of years ago when local musicians (former El Zarape workers) formed the band La Revancha. These workers took the initiative to form the band after asking each other if they played any musical instruments. They have played rock, American popular music, mariachi, ranchero, and other genres. On some occasions, music students and faculty from Bowling Green State University have joined La Revancha by playing violin, guitar, or flute. There was also a time when La Revancha recorded a live album at El Zarape. Since 2010, they have lived in California.

The periodic live mariachi performances and the organized private events contribute to the music commoditization at El Zarape. During the mariachi band’s performances, a greater number of clients attend El Zarape to be entertained by the show. The luckiest clients are those who are celebrating their birthdays and receive an immediate serenade. In my observation, when the recorded music is playing, the listeners’ moods seem to be unaffected. This means that the customers continue eating normally without showing any change of mood or emotion. Nonetheless, when the mariachi band performs live, the customers appear interested in the band’s festive sound and they pay more attention. In other private events, a DJ is requested to play a more flexible song selection which can include louder volume levels and even couple dancing.

Though most of the time the music played is in Spanish, there are people who seem to enjoy the music, the beat, and they rhythm because it is lively music. Yet, there have been a few occasions when customers complain and state that the music is too loud. However, this situation has only happened a few times during the past ten years.
The music is aimed at a general audience including all type of customers. This creates an atmosphere open for all family members. According to the manager “the music used has generally given management good results (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

The customers of El Zarape are a mix of students, local people, and people who work in Bowling Green. Among student clientele there are people from different ethnic backgrounds such as Russian, Mexican, Peruvian, Spanish, and Polish. There are also travelers who make a quick stop at the restaurant to eat.

On January 14th, 2012, there were eighteen customers surveyed in El Zarape Mexican Restaurant & Bar. These included: eight men (five men from the ages of twenty-two to thirty-four, two men from the ages of thirty-five to fifty, and one man over the age of fifty-one) and ten women (five women from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, three women from the ages of twenty-one to thirty-four, and two women from the ages of thirty-five to fifty). All the customers stated they listen to music on a daily basis.

These customers had varied musical preferences. Musical preference among them included classical, baroque, jazz, Christian rock, contemporary Christian, Celtic, rock, alternative rock, 80s, hip-hop, Indie, Hispanic, and country. Only two customers (one woman between the ages of thirty-five and fifty and one man between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) said they were not inclined towards a specific musical genre. Nonetheless, a man (between the ages of thirty-five and fifty) said he enjoyed all types of music.

A young woman (ages eighteen to twenty-one) said she enjoyed the music in the establishment as long as it was not rap. She did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment. Two men (one between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four and the other over fifty-one years old) said they individually enjoyed Mexican music and authentic Mexican folk
music. However, they did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment. Their response was similar to those of two subjects: a man (ages thirty-five to fifty) who enjoyed the Hispanic music but did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment and a woman (between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) who enjoyed the music culture the restaurant promotes. There was also a man (between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) who also enjoyed the Hispanic music and stayed more time in the establishment listening to the music but without consuming more. Two women (ages eighteen to twenty-one and twenty-two to thirty-four) were not sure about consuming more in the establishment, and they did not stay more time in the establishment; yet they enjoyed the following music in the establishment. In particular they noted the Mexican happy birthday and guitar/vocal trio or Spanish ballads. Three customers (one male between the ages of thirty-five and fifty, a second female between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one, and a third male between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) consumed more food when they enjoyed the Latin and Spanish music. However, they did not stay more time in the establishment. According to the woman “the food tastes better with good music.” Their response was similar to that of two customers (a woman between the ages of thirty-five and fifty and a man between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-four) who consume more food when they enjoyed the music they heard. However, they did not feel enjoyment towards a specific type of music. Five customers confirmed the following three statements: they did not enjoy the music they heard in the establishment, they did not consume more when enjoying the music, nor did they stay more time listening to the music.

These customers perceived the music to have originated in Latin America, Mexico, or USA. Twelve out of the eighteen customers chose Latin America as place of origin for the music while eight chose Mexico. Three customers chose USA, while two were undecided. They also
perceived the music as *fun, happy, exciting, youthful, restful,* and *elegant.* The term *happy* was selected by twelve subjects and *fun* was selected by eleven subjects. The word *exciting* was selected by five subjects and *restful* by four. The adjectives *youthful* and *elegant* were each selected by one subject. Only three of them perceived it as *tacky* and one as *boring.* On the surveys, these words were presented to the customers. It was their task to choose the words they associated with the music.

Seven out of the eighteen customers affirmed they listen to this music outside of the establishment. Five of this seven only listen to it once a week, one listens to this music several times a week, and the other on a daily basis. Though El Zarape occasionally hires mariachi bands, none of these subjects stated that they have heard live music performed in the establishment. Additionally, eight customers claimed they would attend live music performances where this music is performed.

This mixed sample of El Zarape’s clientele is united by its interest in the food. This clientele says that El Zarape is a colorful place with delicious and inexpensive food offered by nice people who provide a fast service.

Music as identity and music as a commodity are juxtaposed in the spaces of Cinco de Mayo and El Zarape. This means that the music played in these restaurants is used to reflect Mexican identities, but it is also used as a valuable item meant to create a comfortable space for customers. The managers and employees of these restaurants select musical forms that exemplify the continuation of genuine Mexican conventions, Latino, and Caribbean styles as well as their subjective perceptions of Mexican identity. A majority of customers enjoy the music, while some dislike it.
Mexican, Latin American and Caribbean cultural heritages are preserved and diffused through these uses of music. Because of these spaces’ offerings of a musical menu that not only lists mariachi music, but also a variety of Latino and Caribbean styles, the audience socializes and familiarizes itself with the existence of Hispanic musics from Latin America and the Caribbean (e.g. Luis Miguel, Vicente Fernández, et al), as well as styles from New York and Miami (e.g. DLG, et al) where Latino communities have established.

According to my findings, the music played in the dining area is more soft, calm, and relaxed than the music in the kitchen area. In the kitchen it is mostly used to help the cooks stay on task and keep them happy as they are able to choose the music genres they enjoy; while, in the dining area the music helps maintain a restful atmosphere while representing segments of Mexican, Mexican American, and Latino musical identity.

Qdoba

Qdoba opened in August 2005 as a Mexican fast food establishment with over 600 locations throughout the United States. Qdoba Mexican Grill was founded in 1995 in Colorado. The general population that patronizes Qdoba includes local children, college students, and elderly people. However, according to a worker: “Qdoba focuses more on the college population and young people from ages 16 to 24 (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).” The manager and a worker added that:

“in Qdoba there should always be music playing from opening to closing hours. This music plays in the background all day long until the establishment closes. There is music in the dining area and music in the back controlled by the staff. The music is mostly
Hispanic music as well as mixed music styles (fusion). One North American pop-rock band heard frequently is MGMT (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

A worker at Qdoba claimed that: “Qdoba uses Muzak and receives a CD every once in a while that comes with a different list of songs (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).” Because of this, the workers of Qdoba don’t have control of what songs to choose. In terms of music genres, there is a mix of mainstream American pop, contemporary light rock, and Mexican music. Most of the times, the lyrics are not in English, but in Spanish.

In Qdoba, Muzak (a corporation that distributes instrumental arrangements of popular music for playing in public establishments) is requested by corporate staff. According to a worker at Qdoba “There have been some customers who complain about the music saying that they do not enjoy it. One time there was a customer who complained it sounded like polka music in Spanish (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).” The manager added that, “there was also a family that once asked if the music could be turned down because the family preferred to eat more in silence (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

In the kitchen there are many music genres heard because there are a lot of employees who like different music genres. They take turns and choose from country music, hip-hop, pop, alternative, rap, and whatever they’re in the mood for. This music keeps the pace and keeps workers going. The employees use Pandora (a free internet radio) and type in an artist and play a station until someone else decides to change it.

The music in the front dining area is quite repetitive. Qdoba’s manager added: “In the back kitchen, it is more diverse. When the workers are not as busy in the back they have more time to listen to the music they want. Yet, when they are keeping busy they rarely have the time
to choose specific music tracks. They need to make sure that the customers are kept happy
(Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

A worker stated that: “the music in Qdoba is targeted towards a young audience between
the ages of 16 and 24. A lot of the music heard in Qdoba is newer music that is expected to give
the impression of a Mexican feel. This music associates with the modern artwork up on the walls
(January 16, 2012).”

One worker of Qdoba stated that, “they don’t play sad music because the customers
might not respond well to that. The workers want to give an impression of music with an upbeat
tempo that makes people feel good. They want the music to enhance the motif of the restaurant.
They also want the restaurant to seem more authentically Mexican. They consider the music to
be connected to Texas because of the Mexican influence that has impacted Texas (Personal
communication, January 16, 2012).” One example of this type of music is tejano music.

The music in Qdoba is quite upbeat and projects good and positive energy. It is also
mostly sung in Spanish and creates a good atmosphere. In Qdoba there is a CD player connected
to the receiver and the receiver to the speakers. Qdoba does not incorporate live music. However,
they have had a couple of live DJs on Thursdays for two hours. This has only been done twice
with a significant audience of college students. However, because of the success of the two
events, the workers said they might try this again.

 Mostly, Qdoba’s customers think of the music as ambience and consider it to be an
indirect part of the establishment. They seem to enjoy listening to the music while they are
eating. It is a less important part of the establishment because the customers do not focus much
on music (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).
On January 16th, 2012 eighteen customers were surveyed in Qdoba Mexican Grill. These included: nine men (three men from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, two men from the ages of twenty-two to thirty-four, and four men between the ages of thirty-five to fifty) and nine women (four women from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, three women from the ages of twenty-one to thirty-four, and two women from the ages of thirty-five to fifty). All the customers stated they listen to music on a daily basis with the exception of a woman (between the ages of thirty-five and fifty).

These customers varied musical preferences. Musical preference among them included country music, blues, 80s music, alternative, pop, classic rock, and rock ‘n’ roll. Ten customers said they were not inclined towards a musical genre, while one stated she enjoyed all music. Thirteen subjects confirmed the following three statements: they did not enjoy the music they heard in the establishment, they did not consume more when enjoying the music, nor did they stay more time listening to the music.

A young woman (ages eighteen to twenty-one) said she enjoyed the modern music mixed with Mexican elements. However, she did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment. Similarly, two young men and one young woman (ages eighteen to twenty-one) consumed more and stayed more time in the establishment because of the enjoyable music, yet they did not show preference towards a musical genre. Only one woman (ages twenty-two to thirty-four) consumed more chips and snacks while enjoying the music.

The customers perceived the music to have originated in Latin America, Mexico, or the United States. Ten out of the eighteen customers chose the United States as place of origin for the music. They also perceived the music as fun, happy, exciting, youthful, restful, and elegant. The terms fun and happy were selected by ten customers, exciting by eight, and youthful by
seven. However, some of them perceived it as *tacky, boring, aggressive, and intolerable*. This second group of adjectives was selected by less than three subjects. On the surveys, these words were presented to the customers. It was their task to choose the words they associated with the music.

Five out of the eighteen customers affirmed they listen to this music outside of the establishment. Four of this five only listen to it once a week while the remainder listens to this music several times a week. Also, eight customers claimed they would attend live music performances where this music is performed.

**Chipotle**

Chipotle Mexican Grill has been open since August 31st, 2006. It is a chain of restaurants located in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada. It originated in Colorado in 1993. Chipotle specializes in tacos and burritos. Approximately 70% of the clients who attend Bowling Green’s Chipotle establishment are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. The other 30% is composed of kids and people over the age of twenty-five (Personal communication, January 16, 2012). The customers of Chipotle constitute a varied and diverse population that includes business people, police officers, and students from the nearby university. Most of the clientele are local.

In Chipotle, music is played at all times. This music comes from a type of satellite radio that is shared by all the Chipotles branches. It is a program exclusive to all the Chipotles and associated with Muzak Corporation. In the back kitchen there is a sound system which allows workers to listen to music according to their own musical choices. The workers either choose the radio station or connect their own iPod or MP3 player to the sound system. They also have a
compact disc that gets updated every couple of days to keep the music going so that the workers don’t get tired of the same songs.

The music in Chipotle varies every day. There is rock, rap, and dub step, among other genres. Hip-hop and dub step (a type of electronic dance music that originated in the United Kingdom) are very common because of the upbeat energy they provide. These music genres help the workers get through the eight or nine hour shifts. The music of Tupac is an example of a popular artist that is heard in the back of the restaurant. One of the workers enjoys the energy that Tupac has. The music is different in the front diner than in the back. In the back the workers rely on personal choices and listen to whatever music they want.

Generally, the music in the dining area is quite eclectic, varied, and diverse. There is low volume music which stays the same all year long at a comfortable level for everybody to listen to and for the customers to have conversations among each other. The music in Chipotle does not pertain to any holiday. This same music is heard in the patio area and in the front dining area through speakers.

Some of the music heard in Chipotle is Mexican and it contributes to the Mexican atmosphere. Also, some songs of reggae legend Bob Marley and others songs in Spanish are heard. Additionally, one of Chipotle’s workers stated that “Blackstreet’s song ‘No Diggity’ is heard in Chipotle every now and then. There is also upbeat music that encourages customers to feel happy and enjoy themselves (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

According to a worker: “the customers enjoy the music they hear. It creates a nice atmosphere and a happy medium for everybody. There have been some customers that walk in and sing the songs they listen to. There haven’t been any customers complaining. There have
been some people that say they like the music; others have asked what songs are on the playlist (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).”

The manager at Chipotle informed me that “the music is aimed towards people from the ages of eighteen to thirty without focusing on specific cultures or beliefs (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).” It is generally contemporary Mexican music and American music. Most of the clients are local college students; therefore the music is directed towards this age group with the intention that people can sit down, eat, and relax. The music is tailored to different people and includes a wide variety of music in the front diner and outside patio. The music is expected to keep customers feeling comfortable. It is quite upbeat and creates an atmosphere that attracts younger customers. This is an atmosphere aimed towards all customers whether they pick up food to go or buy it and eat it in the diner.

On January 16th, 2012, there were nineteen customers surveyed in Chipotle Mexican Grill. These included: ten men (eight men from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, one man from the ages of twenty-two to thirty-four, and one man over the age of fifty-one) and nine women (six women from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one, one woman from the ages of twenty-one to thirty-four, and two women from the ages of thirty-five to fifty). All the customers stated that they listen to music on a daily basis except for a man between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one.

These customers had a diverse musical preference. Musical preference among the subjects included hip-hop, rap, R&B, Christian, country, rock, pop, alternative, Brazilian, piano, Adele, jazz, electronic, and rockabilly. Five customers said they had no inclination towards a specific musical genre.
A woman (ages thirty-five to fifty) said she enjoyed the music as long as it was not too “crazy.” However, she did not consume more nor stay more time in the establishment. A young woman (ages eighteen to twenty-one) in the same situation enjoyed the music as long as it was not country music. Three young men (ages eighteen to twenty-one) were also in the same situation: the first enjoyed foreign mainstream music, the second enjoyed lo fi music, and the third enjoyed non-radio music. Only two young subjects (ages eighteen to twenty-one) stated that they enjoyed Mexican music: a man and a woman. Similarly, one young man (ages eighteen to twenty-one) did not consume more nor show preference towards a musical genre, yet he stayed more time in the establishment because of the enjoyable music. One young woman (ages eighteen to twenty-one) enjoyed mainstream music and stayed more time in the establishment without consuming more. Only one young man (ages eighteen to twenty-one) consumed more food while staying more time in the establishment enjoying old rock tunes. Nine customers confirmed the following three statements: they did not enjoy the music they heard in the establishment, they did not consume more when enjoying the music, nor did they did stay more time listening to the music.

These customers perceived the music to have originated in Latin America, Mexico, USA, the Caribbean, or Colombia. Eight out of the nineteen subjects chose Latin America as place of origin for the music and eight also chose USA. They also perceived the music as fun, happy, exciting, youthful, restful, and elegant. The words fun and happy were selected by eight subjects, restful and youthful by seven, and elegant and exciting by three. Only one of them perceived it as tacky. On the surveys, these words were presented to the customers. It was their task to choose the words they associated with the music.
Seven out of the nineteen customers affirmed they listen to this music outside of the establishment. Three of these seven only listen to it once a week, two listen to this music several times a week, and the other two on a daily basis. Additionally, six customers claimed they would attend live music performances where this music is performed.

This mixed sample of Chipotle’s clientele is united by its interest in the food. This clientele says that Chipotle is a place with nice music that serves good, fast, and cheap food.
CHAPTER III: ANALYSIS OF SURVEYS AND INTERVIEWS

In this chapter I analyze the findings from the surveys and interviews conducted at the four restaurants. I also provide information about the restaurants’ music, the managers, customers, workers, and about identity.

The Music

Music is fundamental in all four establishments. All four restaurants use background environmental music in their own ways in the dining area as well as in the kitchen. Generally speaking, in the four restaurants, the music played brings people together with different social backgrounds; therefore, this music creates a kind of social cohesion. I noticed that El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle utilize pre-programmed music requested by their managers. Furthermore, Qdoba and Chipotle both use music associated with Muzak Corporation, which suggests a systematized musical programming. On the other hand, the music in Cinco de Mayo is chosen in a more flexible manner: the workers are allowed to select the songs they wish to hear; thus, displaying a personalized musical playlist. Now, because both methods include many music genres (including American and Latin), they agree in suggesting various musical meanings, such as music with ethnic identity (white, Hispanic, and African-American), music with Hispanic traits (cumbia, mariachi, and ranchera), music with American attributes (rock, rap, and hip-hop), music with individualized meaning (narcocorrido), and music that has common features such as instruments, and language.

The music in the dining area of the four restaurants expresses happiness and joy and does not include indecent lyrics. In addition, it attempts to lift the customers’ mood and self-esteem so that they might feel happy, enjoy the music, and also to uplift the workers’ mood. The
restaurants where there have been some types of dance performances are El Zarape, Cinco de Mayo, and Qdoba (Personal communication, January 14 & January 16, 2012). This information about the dance performances is previously described in Chapter 2 on pages 19, 28, and 34.

The background music is meant to create a serene atmosphere that facilitates a quiet and controlled consumer behavior. Now, considering that “moods can be positive or negative (Alpert and Alpert1990:110),” the purpose of this music is to have a positive and optimistic effect on the customers’ moods. Yet, there have been times when the customers describe the music with negative connotations (e.g. aggressive, tacky, intolerable, and boring). On January 2012, when I handed out the surveys, I observed that the music played seemed to, for the most part, keep the customers calm and relaxed.

The background music of these restaurants is either from Latin America, the Caribbean, or from the United States. It also relates to North and Western Mexican ethnic groups as well as to ethnic groups from Latin America “including Guatemala, Peru, and Chile (Personal communication, January 16, 2012).” Now, because some of the restaurants’ workers come from these locations, an analogous connection can be established between the workers’ ethnicity and the origin of the music genres played in the restaurants. Some workers and cooks “like the music genres they hear (Personal communication, January 14, 2012).”

The music genres used in the restaurants are closely linked to Hispanic culture. Both El Zarape and Cinco de Mayo have several music genres that they share. These are ranchero, tejano, mariachi, cumbia, norteño, and banda. In addition, reggaeton is also played in both restaurants; yet, in El Zarape it is only played in the kitchen. Furthermore, merengue and salsa are played in Cinco de Mayo. The other restaurants Qdoba and Chipotle have a mix of mainstream American pop music, contemporary rock music, as well as Latin music including Mexican music.
I observed that even though the restaurants seek to display Latin music in their establishments, a majority of the customers surveyed do not delight in these music genres. They prefer music genres associated with American culture (rock music, country music, hip hop, and others). This may be related to the customers’ ethnicity and to the fact that they are more intimate with American culture.

The Managers

I noticed that the managers of the four Mexican restaurants focus on the taste of the food served (burritos, tacos, quesadillas, nachos, etc.). The cooks of Cinco de Mayo and El Zarape prepare different dishes based on traditional Mexican recipes that they are familiar with. They prepare these dishes (salads, chimichangas, fajitas, burritos, enchiladas, nachos, flautas, etc.) using recipes closely related to traditional Mexican ones, yet altered to serve a regular American clientele. Similarly, the cooks of Qdoba and Chipotle prepare Mexican-type dishes using fresh and natural ingredients. Additionally, the managers use music to create an atmosphere that keeps customers feeling relaxed, happy, and comfortable. They strive to provide an environment that serves good food and plays good music. However, this is not always the case as according to the surveys some customers occasionally feel uncomfortable because of the music genres and denote them with negative qualifiers such as tacky, aggressive, boring, and intolerable.

During the conversations I had with the managers, they talked about creating more activities (such as private parties, raffles, karaoke performances, DJ presentations, and mariachi performances) and also promoting them so that the music can perform an added active role; and consequently a larger audience could be attracted to the restaurants. I agree that by following
these suggestions, a more fun, distinct, and entertaining atmosphere may be configured, allowing the restaurants’ regular customers to stay longer and inviting new customers to come and visit.

In general, the music genres consistently chosen and played in the restaurants become “a form of architecture (Sterne 1997:23).” They are a central part of the establishments and they represent a portion of Mexican culture that the restaurants’ managers seek to display. These music genres (mentioned above in Chapter 2 and also in this chapter on page 43) promote for the most part Mexican and Hispanic culture. In addition, some of them (such as hip-hop, rock, and rap) represent American culture.

Lastly, the music has provided management decent and satisfactory results while occasionally leading customers to spend more money and consume more food.

**The Customers**

The customers are composed of a young mixed audience, middle-aged people, a few older individuals, of local people from Bowling Green, and travelers. Children and teenagers also attend the restaurants along with their families; however, they were not targeted in this investigation.

I noticed that on average the customers of Qdoba and Chipotle are younger than those of El Zarape and Cinco de Mayo and that many young adults from ages twenty-two to thirty four attend both El Zarape and Cinco de Mayo. I also perceived that El Zarape and Cinco de Mayo are more family-oriented and are more “traditional” Mexican restaurants that reflect a more established Mexican identity: they play several Mexican and Mexican American music genres (mentioned above in Chapter 2) through their sound systems and they have included mariachi band performances.
Most of the customers accept the music they hear in the establishments even though their musical tastes are not similar. The surveys show that a majority of the customers chose North American music genres hip hop, rap, and rock as their preferred musical genres. They also show that the customers who labeled the restaurants’ music as fun and entertaining have an inclination towards Christian music, hip hop, rap, country music, and rock.

The customers generally think of the music as ambience and consider it to be an indirect part of the establishments. The customers label the music as happy, exciting, lively, fun, and joyful. These adjectives were chosen by the customers when they filled out the surveys. Other studies (i.e. Wilson: 2003, North and Hargreaves: 1998, and North, Hargreaves, and McKendrick: 2000) also use adjectives to describe how customers perceive background music played in an establishment. In regards to the music’s animated character, there have been some occasions where customers have sung and danced while others have made hand gestures maintaining the beat and tempo of the music. It is important to know that “music tempo can also influence the pace of how customers flow in and out of the establishments (Milliman 1982:90).”

Now, because the music genres present an animated character, one can infer that this has a rapid effect on how customers flow in and out of the restaurants.

After analyzing how the customers perceive the music in the four restaurants, I noticed that even though a majority of the customers do not always feel comfortable with the music, they are amused by the music’s joyful nature. Yet, there have been few occasions when customers complain and state that the music is too loud, aggressive, tacky, boring or intolerable. The graphs below (on pages 49, 50, and 51) confirm that a notable group of customers do not feel comfortable with the restaurants’ music genres.
In conclusion, the customers attend the restaurants mainly because of the delicious food they serve, the good and quick service they provide, and the food’s inexpensive cost, and not necessarily for the music present at the establishments.

The Workers

The restaurants’ workers have different ethnicities. These are white, African-American, and Hispanic. Some of the restaurants’ workers are originally from Mexico and have resided in the United States for years. In the kitchen area of the restaurants, the workers use background music (e.g. reggaeton, bachata, cumbia, banda, Spanish hip-hop, rock, and ranchera) that they enjoy and they can choose to control.

On some occasions, the workers sing along with the songs. This type of music periodically has a faster tempo and is to some extent louder than the music of the dining area. Consequently, background music that has a faster tempo can induce workers to work more quickly. As Milliman asserts “the tempo of background music can significantly affect the pace of the in-store traffic flow (Milliman 1992:89).” This may suggest that the pace of work at the restaurants is regulated by the tempo of the background music.

In Cinco de Mayo and El Zarape, there are employees from different regions of Mexico. Because they grew up in different regions, they have personal identities that are shaped according to the region each of them grew up in and they have different tastes in music. At the restaurants’ kitchens, they present their musical tastes by creating playlists that include songs with which they have strong emotional connections. These playlists include balada songs and banda music which have different volume than the songs played for the customers. Some of these songs “remind them of Mexico (Personal communication, January 14, 2012)” and allow
them to present their Mexican identity; therefore, “music plays a clear part in the expression of self-identity (North and Hargreaves 1999:79).” These cases of Mexican self-identity suggest selective approaches to consider music as identity: they make possible a plurality of Latin music genres available to the restaurant’s clientele, thus confirming a “juxtaposition of multiple realities (Lipsitz 1986-1987:162) where workers present their Mexican regional identities (North and Central).

The other restaurants, Qdoba and Chipotle, have white and African-American workers. While in the kitchen, these workers choose music genres that reflect Hispanic as well as American identity (e.g. rock, rap, dub step, reggae, and alternative rock). This suggests that Qdoba and Chipotle present a well-established Hispanic-American identity that includes various American music genres as well as Spanish language genres.

In all four restaurants, music as identity and music as a commodity are combined, thus, reinforcing the duality of music as a commodity and as identity. This means that the music played in these restaurants is used to reflect Mexican and Hispanic identities, but it is also used as a valuable item meant to create a comfortable space for customers.

Survey Information

The following graphs show the data collected from the surveys given to the customers. These graphs display the impact the music played has on the restaurants’ customers. They also reflect to what extent “music has reliable effects on atmosphere and purchase intentions in commercial establishments (North, Hargreaves, and McKendrick 2000:1504).” This view is present in the four restaurants.
Graph Cinco de Mayo

**Cinco de Mayo**

- enjoyed the music
- enjoyed the music and stayed more time
- enjoyed the music and consumed more
- enjoyed the music, consumed more, and stayed more time
- did not enjoy the music

This graph shows the opinions of the eighteen customers who completed the surveys at Cinco de Mayo.

Graph El Zarape

**El Zarape**

- enjoyed the music
- enjoyed the music and stayed more time
- enjoyed the music and consumed more
- enjoyed the music, consumed more, and stayed more time
- did not enjoy the music

This graph shows the opinions of the eighteen customers who completed the surveys at El Zarape.
Graph Qdoba

Qdoba

This graph shows the opinions of the eighteen customers who completed the surveys at Qdoba.

Graph Chipotle

Chipotle

This graph shows the opinions of the eighteen customers who completed the surveys at Qdoba.
This graph shows the opinions of the seventy-six customers who completed all surveys.
CHAPTER IV: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The debates of this investigation revolve around music influencing customers to contribute to the four restaurants’ (Cinco de Mayo, El Zarape, Qdoba, and Chipotle of Bowling Green, Ohio) profits as well as investigating the relationship between music and consumer behavior. In my attempt to measure this hypothesis using data gathering tools to determine whether music has an impact on the restaurants’ interests, I have found the following results:

1. The patrons are well aware of the music being played at the restaurants.
2. There are discrepancies between the opinion of the management of the restaurants concerning the customers’ musical tastes and what customers actually enjoy.
3. A majority of the customers that were surveyed showed preference towards other music genres.
4. A minority of the customers that were surveyed stay more time and consume more in the restaurants because of the background music.
5. The music genre played at the four restaurants that influenced greater purchase intentions was rock music. This proves music’s social power to increase the restaurants profits by persuading customers to consume more.
6. The customers’ and the workers’ musical preferences are not similar.
7. The following music genres played in the establishments symbolize more than just Mexican music, they represent Mexican regional music: ranchero, banda, duranguense, mariachi, norteño, and tex-mex.

The outcome of this study that surprised me the most was the discoveries about the different I made about the music genres used in the establishments and how they were connected with the restaurants’ staff’ identities and personal choices.
The fact that customers do not enjoy the music as much as management believes does not mean that the music played in the restaurants is of inferior quality. It means that the customers prefer other music genres, that they have different musical tastes, and that the customers attend the restaurants primarily for having a calm and relaxed time while consuming their meal.

This thesis can also be valuable to the restaurants’ convenience because by understanding how the customers perceive the music, the managers can decide:

1. To substitute the musical genres played through the restaurants’ speakers so that the customers feel more comfortable and enjoy the music more.
2. To add other musical genres by taking into consideration what the customers surveyed responded.
3. To incorporate live music performances (DJ performances and/or concerts) at the restaurants in order to attract new customers and examine whether these musical performances generate more profits.

By taking into consideration these suggestions, the restaurants’ patrons may increase their profits and attract a larger clientele.

The process I carried out to gather the necessary literature and to carry out the ethnomusicological fieldwork activities (make interviews and hand out surveys) was quite successful. I was able to find the information I needed and I also received an adequate cooperation from the restaurants’ workers, the managers, and the customers.

I was also lucky enough to be present at a mariachi band performance at El Zarape. In spite of that, I would have liked to attend the other musical events that happen at the other restaurants.
This thesis is beneficial because of its contribution to the following fields: ethnomusicology, aesthetics, sociology of music, and psychology of music. It is also useful to the restaurants’ managers as it documents the opinions of the seventy-seven customers who were surveyed regarding the function of the music in the establishments. Furthermore, additional research that compares the effect of different music genres (Latin and American) on consumer behavior, the differences between Latin and American music genres’ effect on consumer behavior, the effect of music tempo on customers and workers in Mexican ethnic restaurants, and also that explores music in different types of ethnic restaurants (not only Mexican) can be contemplated.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Interview with manager of Chipotle, January 16, 2012.

______________________ Cinco de Mayo, January 14, 2012.

Interview with two workers of Cinco de Mayo, January 14, 2012.

Interview with worker of Chipotle, January 16, 2012.


APPENDIX A: SURVEY

Survey

1. Gender
   a) Male b) Female

2. Age group
   a) 18-21 b) 22-34 c) 35-50 d) 51 and over

3. How often do you listen to music?
   a) Never b) Once a week c) Several times a week d) Daily

4. Do you have preference towards a specific music genre? If so, please specify.
   a) Yes b) No

5. Are there any music genres that you enjoy listening to in this establishment? If so, please specify the genres and explain how you enjoy them.
   a) Yes b) No

6. Do you consume more in this establishment when you enjoy the music played? If so, please specify what you consume in greater amounts.
   a) Yes b) No

7. Do you stay more time in this business to listen to the music played?
   a) Yes b) No

8. Which of the following reflects the origin of the music played in this establishment?
   a) Latin America b) Mexico c) USA d) Caribbean e) Colombia f) Guatemala g) Other

9. How do you perceive the music played in this establishment? More than 1 answer is possible.
   a) Restful b) Fun c) Exciting d) Happy e) Elegant f) Tacky g) Youthful h) Aggressive i) Boring j) Intolerable
10. Outside of this establishment, do you listen to the songs or music genres that are played here? (If your answer is NO, go ahead to question 12.)
   a) Yes  
   b) No

11. How often do you listen to these songs or music genres outside this business?
   a) Never  
   b) Once a week  
   c) Several times a week  
   d) Daily

12. Have you ever heard a live band performing in this establishment?
   a) Yes  
   b) No

13. Would you attend a live concert where these types of songs or genres are performed? If so, please explain why.
   a) Yes  
   b) No  
   ________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________

14. How often do you visit this business?
   a) First time  
   b) Rarely  
   c) Sometimes  
   d) Constantly

15. Why do you visit this establishment?
   ________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________

16. What is your favorite aspect of this business?
   ________________________________________________
   ________________________________________________
DATE: December 14, 2011

TO: Igor Munoz, M.M.
FROM: Bowling Green State University Human Subjects Review Board

PROJECT TITLE: [286843-2] HSRB MEXICAN RESTAURANTS IN NORTHWEST OHIO: SPACES FOR MUSIC COMMODITIZATION
SUBMISSION TYPE: Revision

ACTION: APPROVED
APPROVAL DATE: December 14, 2011
EXPIRATION DATE: October 4, 2012
REVIEW TYPE: Expedited Review
REVIEW CATEGORY: Expedited review category # 7

Thank you for your submission of Revision materials for this project. The Bowling Green State University Human Subjects Review Board has APPROVED your submission. This approval is based on an appropriate risk/benefit ratio and a project design wherein the risks have been minimized. All research must be conducted in accordance with this approved submission.

The final approved version of the consent document(s) is available as a published Board Document in the Review Details page. You must use the approved version of the consent document when obtaining consent from participants. Informed consent must continue throughout the project via a dialogue between the researcher and research participant. Federal regulations require that each participant receives a copy of the consent document.

Please note that you are responsible to conduct the study as approved by the HSRB. If you seek to make any changes in your project activities or procedures, those modifications must be approved by this committee prior to initiation. Please use the modification request form for this procedure.

You have been approved to enroll 125 participants. If you wish to enroll additional participants you must seek approval from the HSRB.
All UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS involving risks to subjects or others and SERIOUS and UNEXPECTED adverse events must be reported promptly to this office. All NON-COMPLIANCE issues or COMPLAINTS regarding this project must also be reported promptly to this office.

This approval expires on October 4, 2012. You will receive a continuing review notice before your project expires. If you wish to continue your work after the expiration date, your documentation for continuing review must be received with sufficient time for review and continued approval before the expiration date.

Good luck with your work. If you have any questions, please contact the Office of Research Compliance at 419-372-7716 or hsr@bgsu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence regarding this project.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within Bowling Green State University Human Subjects Review Board's records.