Cultural Framing of Chinese and Japanese Cuisines in U.S. Consumer Reviews

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Abstract

Ethnic restaurants in the United States hold significant cultural and social meanings, being widely embraced by diverse communities. As these restaurants adapt to American dietary habits, they not only reflect but also influence culinary trends. Chinese cuisine has long been a popular choice among American diners, while Japanese cuisine has increasingly captured the attention of consumers. This growing interest can be traced back to the 1980s and 1990s, when chefs began incorporating Japanese ingredients and culinary techniques into their menus, a phenomenon known as the "Japanese turn." By the second decade of the twenty-first century, concepts like umami and shun had become familiar to many American chefs (Yamashita, 2020).

Building on this context, the present research explores how consumer reviews from Google reflect varying evaluations of similar dishes across these cultural contexts. Linguistic features—including tone, word choice, and framing—are analyzed to detect patterns of praise and criticism associated with Chinese and Japanese culinary traditions. Employing sentiment analysis, clustering, PCA, and topic modeling, the study investigates whether the cultural framing associated with each cuisine leads to distinct patterns of criticism of similar food consumed and to overall different perceptions of the ethnic cuisine.

By comparing these patterns, the research uncovers how implicit biases influence consumers' expectations and evaluations of Chinese versus Japanese restaurants. It also examines whether common stereotypes—such as Chinese food being affordable and Japanese food being luxurious—persist in these narratives. This work contributes to the broader discourse on ethnic dining in America by revealing how cultural framing both reinforces and challenges stereotypes, offering nuanced insights into how context shapes consumer narratives.

1 Introduction

Susan Gal and Judith Irvine's (2019) concept of slippage from national language to stereotyped national character illustrates how subtle ideologies shape perception. Everyday signs—such as accents or regional preferences—embed deeper cultural meanings, shaping identity through seemingly benign distinctions. In this way, understanding these "signs" within everyday interactions becomes essential to studying how social narratives influence perceptions of identity and difference.

In the context of ethnic food, these signs are particularly significant. Cultural foodways serve as a vital link between food and identity, where individuals share traditional foods and engage in practices that reinforce cultural heritage (Camp 1989; James 2004; Koc and Welsh 2001; Noriza et al. 2012). In this sense, consumer reviews on cultural food not only critique taste and presentation but also reveal the diverse cultural backgrounds embedded within the text. The language used in consumer reviews of ethnic restaurants, with descriptors such as "ethnic," "authentic," "traditional," "exotic," and "genuine," creates clear cultural distinctions that reinforce the ethnic identity of these establishments (Fürsich, 2014).

The significance of studying ethnic food lies in understanding cultural integration and identity within the U.S. context. As Boch (2020) notes, "exotic" and "authentic" foods are often valued for being untouched by foreign ingredients or techniques, reinforcing how ethnic foods embody cultural narratives and distinctions (Kovács, Carroll, and Lehman 2014). This allows for the study of reviews as a unique narrative form that captures more than just individual preference, offering insight into broader cultural meanings and values.

Meanwhile, the vast amount of online reviews of ethnic restaurants serves as a unique narrative form, reflecting both consumer experiences and the diverse backgrounds of reviewers, making it an excellent source for exploring underlying cultural perceptions. Previous studies have also examined how cultural stereotypes

shape consumer behavior, particularly regarding the perceived prestige of European versus non-European ethnic cuisines. For example, while French cuisine is often associated with upscale dining, Chinese food is stereotyped as cheap takeout, a framing that can lead to economic and social repercussions for these establishments (Jurafsky, 2019). Ray (2016) further discusses how "ethnic" food is marked by its contrast with the dominant white, anglophone culture, emphasizing cultural differences. Few studies, however, have analyzed user reviews specifically among East Asian cuisines, such as Chinese and Japanese food simultaneously, within the U.S. context. Hirose (2011) argues that East Asian cuisine often embodies "the exoticized signification of the 'Oriental other," linking authenticity to a racialized cultural otherness. This authenticity is often constructed through narratives that racialize individuals associated with the cuisine and generalize racial characteristics of the "other," reinforcing perceived exoticness and the "authenticity of whiteness" as a standard. Similarly, Liu (2009) explains that historical exclusionary laws pushed many Chinese immigrants into restaurant work, with dishes like chop suey becoming symbols of "cheap exoticism," reflecting American social expectations rather than authentic Chinese cuisine.

Los Angeles food critic Jonathan Gold described the early fusion efforts of chefs Sone and Matsusaka at Spago and Chinois on Main as "Europeanized Chinese food," yet when these chefs opened their own restaurants, they emphasized Japanese flavors and techniques, incorporating Japanese culinary elements into fine dining in ways that have often distinguished Japanese cuisine from Chinese food (Yamashita, 2020). This difference reflects distinct cultural trajectories and levels of integration within the U.S. dining scene. These historical and social contexts underscore the importance of examining how consumer reviews of Chinese and Japanese restaurants in the U.S. reflect and reinforce cultural perceptions. By analyzing the language in reviews, this study explores the framing of both restaurants and individual dishes, aiming to uncover nuances in consumer perceptions of each cuisine. By examining review patterns across various locations, this study asks:

How do consumer perceptions of Chinese versus Japanese cuisines—including underlying cultural dimensions, stereotypes, and dish-specific evaluations—vary regionally? Specifically in one metro-politan area, how does the ethnic and income composition of culturally themed neighborhoods, like Chinatown and Japantown, influence the framing of authenticity and exoticism in restaurant reviews?

Understanding consumer reviews requires a nuanced approach to emotions. Individuals' emotional experiences are not solely defined by positive feelings; negative feelings play a crucial role in shaping one's overall interactions within social and environmental contexts (Diener et al., 2009). How do features of negatively scored reviews differ between the two cuisines, particularly when evaluating the same dish? Do distinct linguistic patterns emerge when consumers criticize versus praise Chinese and Japanese restaurants?

Do chain and independent Chinese and Japanese restaurants exhibit different cultural narratives, and does framing in reviews exert a stronger influence on consumer behavior and business outcomes than business type?

2 Literature Review

This literature review analyses how cultural stereotypes influence consumer perceptions within ethnic dining contexts, particularly in Chinese and Japanese restaurants in the United States. Focusing on key scholarly works, including those by Luo et al. (2024) and Hirose & Pih (2011), this review assesses how restaurant reviews utilize stereotypes through framing techniques like exoticism and authenticity. These insights serve as a foundation for addressing a notable gap in existing research: the specific dynamics of othering and stereotyping within Asian cuisines, which have been less examined compared to broader discussions on non-European or non-race-related factors in ethnic cuisine. My project aims to explore this gap by analyzing how such stereotypes might differently affect perceptions of Japanese and Chinese restaurants, given their unique cultural and historical contexts in the U.S.

2.1 Framing of Ethnic Cuisines: Systematic Othering and Stereotyping

This study builds on the intersection of social theory and data mining, where recent literature demonstrates how biases emerge and perpetuate through digital platforms. Jurafsky et al. (2014) highlight how restaurant reviews embed societal prejudices, subtly reinforcing cultural stereotypes through tone, word choice, and

framing. In this context, my study examines reviews of Chinese and Japanese restaurants to identify these latent biases and explore how they manifest through consumer narratives.

Research shows that systematic othering—assigning immigrant cuisines labels such as "exotic" or "authentic"—guides perceptions while perpetuating disparities in how these cuisines are valued. Luo et al. (2024) emphasize that non-European cuisines are often seen through an exotic lens, limiting their association with luxury. Similarly, Hirose Pih (2011) illustrate how consumers' quest for authenticity can relegate ethnic cuisines to novelty status, hindering full acceptance into mainstream dining culture.

This research extends these frameworks by comparing reviews of similar dishes across Chinese and Japanese restaurants to uncover how different narratives shape consumer perceptions. Luo et al. (2024) note that Chinese cuisine is frequently framed around affordability, contrasting with the luxury narrative often attached to Japanese cuisine. My study investigates how these narratives differ in consumer ratings and descriptions of individual dishes, revealing how authenticity and exoticism are framed uniquely for each cuisine within the U.S. context.

2.2 Digital Review's Influence on Consumer Perception

Jurafsky et al. (2014) argue that social biases are embedded in online text, and AI technologies subsequently reproduce these biases. This digital perpetuation of biases is particularly evident in online restaurant reviews, affecting consumer attitudes toward ethnic cuisines. This study dissects how the language used in reviews embeds social prejudices that AI technologies, in turn, may amplify and normalize. These biases subtly influence consumer attitudes through language that echoes societal biases. In the context of my research, Jurafsky's findings serve as a framework for analyzing how AI-generated content could potentially perpetuate cultural stereotypes in online reviews of ethnic restaurants.

While Jurafsky shed light on the inadvertent embedding of societal biases in digital content, Youn Kim illustrate how such content contributes to a cultural facade that might either obscure or emphasize racial differences. Online platforms, through their reviews, create what might be seen as a 'post-racial' landscape, as proposed by Youn Kim (2021). In this landscape, the lines between racial and cultural distinctions blur, with the latter often camouflaged as neutral cultural differences. This characterization influences consumer perceptions as they navigate through the multiplicity of reviews that portray ethnic cuisines through various cultural lenses. The analyses by Jurafsky et al. (2014) and Youn Kim (2021) together highlight a complex digital landscape where biases are both concealed and propagated.

These two studies are instrumental to my study, as they raise questions about the authenticity of online narratives and whether these narratives genuinely reflect a shift towards a more inclusive understanding of ethnic cuisines or simply repackage old stereotypes. My project will employ these narratives and contrasting reviews of shared dishes like dumplings, soup, and buns across Chinese and Japanese restaurants to see if the stereotypical representation of Chinese as economical, as Luo et al. (2024) found that non-Western immigrant cuisines, such as Chinese food, are often framed in terms of affordability. By comparing comments on similar dishes and overall sentiment over time, I will evaluate how these narratives have evolved and what this evolution signifies about the broader cultural dynamics at play.

2.3 Role of Familiarity and Cultural Context

Exploring the impact of familiarity on consumer perceptions of ethnic cuisines, Young-shin Lim & Brandon Van Der Heide (2015) highlight that when diners are familiar with specific ethnic dishes, their acceptance levels tend to increase, often overriding any negative stereotypes they might hold. This finding is crucial for my project as it suggests that American diners' familiarity with the Americanized versions of Chinese and Japanese cuisines could positively influence their perceptions of these restaurants. Thus, by investigating how familiarity affects consumer reviews, the study aims to uncover whether it leads to a more favorable evaluation of these cuisines.

Furthermore, Sohyun Jeong & Jeehyun Lee (2021) elaborate on how cultural backgrounds shape sensory perceptions and acceptance of foods. They argue that cultural expectations, shaped by previous culinary experiences, can significantly impact how authenticity is perceived in ethnic cuisines. Therefore, this aspect of their research directly informs my project by suggesting that American consumers' exposure to adapted

versions of Chinese and Japanese dishes may set certain expectations that influence their overall dining experience.

In conclusion, previous studies have highlighted the pervasive influence of systematic othering and stereotyping in shaping consumer perceptions of ethnic restaurants, as well as the impact of familiarity on consumer perception of ethnic cuisines. These studies have provided valuable insights into how cultural stereotypes embedded in online reviews can impact consumer behavior. Nevertheless, the focus of these studies on non-European cuisines has left a notable gap in understanding the specific dynamics of othering within Asian cuisines, particularly Japanese and Chinese cuisines.

By addressing this gap, my project seeks to build upon the insights from existing literature and investigate in what ways do review features reflect broader societal narratives about authenticity and value. My research will highlight the nuanced dynamics of framing that emerge in consumer reviews, revealing how they not only reflect personal experiences but also contribute to the construction of cultural identities and expectations.

3 Methods and Data

3.1 Data Collecting

Currently, I collected approximately 530,000 consumer reviews from Google Maps, focusing on ten major U.S. metropolitan areas: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Dallas, Washington D.C., Miami, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and Phoenix. To define the geographic scope of each metropolitan area, I used U.S. Census shapefiles, which allowed me to precisely delineate boundaries and capture both city centers and suburban areas. These areas were selected not just for their size and diversity but also to capture a broader cross-section of consumer behavior by including both urban and suburban contexts. Suburbs, as noted by ThoughtCo, reflect more heterogeneous populations than city centers, with economic and cultural patterns often distinct from urban cores. This focus ensures that the analysis incorporates the experiences of residents commuting into cities, thus painting a more representative picture of metropolitan dining habits. The data contains the name of restaurant, review text, date of review, address of the reviewed restaurant, type of the restaurant (Chinese or Japanese), and the language of the review.

Google Maps was chosen over Yelp due to the more general and accessible nature of Google reviews. Yelp, though large, includes multiple business categories, and restaurant reviews tend to skew toward more engaged reviewers, leading to imbalances in the dataset. In contrast, Google's broader user base provides insights into everyday consumer experiences across diverse metropolitan regions.

Reviews were scraped in multiple languages, including English, Spanish, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, with each review tagged by language. This multilingual dataset offers opportunities for future cross-linguistic analyses to investigate how language itself shapes cultural narratives and expectations across different ethnic contexts.

Name	Lat	Lon	Review	Date	Score	Keyword	Address	s Language
Kami Ramen & Sushi	30.0039	-95.2702	Delicious	2024-09-26 6:26:17	5	Japanese	19731	en
			food, best				US-59,	
			crab ran-				Hum-	
			goon in				ble,	
			Texas.				TX	
			Ramen				77338	
			and sushi					
			boat were					
			great too.					
			Hidden					
			gem!					

Table 1: Consumer Review Data Example

However, the choice of metropolitan areas introduces some limitations. Rural perspectives, which may reflect different stereotypes and consumption patterns, are absent. Future research could address this by including less populated areas to explore how localized, less diverse environments shape consumer narratives.

Less diverse areas may exhibit more pronounced or localized attitudes, offering a clearer lens into Western cultural perceptions of East Asian ethnic cuisine. These more uniform environments could reveal patterns that are less detectable in metropolitan contexts, where greater diversity complicates generalizations. While these distinctions lie beyond the scope of this study, future research could explore these less densely populated areas to develop a more comprehensive understanding of consumer behavior across the full geographic spectrum of the U.S.

3.2 Data Processing

The collected data will be preprocessed to ensure it is ready for meaningful analysis. First, non-English reviews will be identified and set aside using language detection techniques to allow future cross-linguistic comparisons. The main analysis will focus on English-language reviews, which will undergo cleaning to remove extraneous elements such as emojis, special characters, and HTML tags. Tokenization will split the text into individual words or phrases (tokens) for further processing.

After tokenization, the text will be normalized using lemmatization to reduce words to their base forms, ensuring consistency across different variations of the same word. For vectorization, Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency (TF-IDF) will be used to convert the text data into numerical format, emphasizing words that are important within individual reviews but less common across the dataset.

A key analytical step will involve applying cosine similarity to measure the similarity between review texts. This method will help identify patterns in how similar dishes are described across Chinese and Japanese restaurants, revealing subtle differences in framing. Cosine similarity will also be applied to compare clusters of positive and negative sentiment, uncovering potential biases in the language used to praise or criticize the two cuisines.

3.3 Narrative Analysis and Linguistic Features

Building on the insights from Jurafsky et al. (2014), particularly the narrative framing of consumer sentiment in online restaurant reviews, this study will investigate the linguistic structures and narratives present in strongly negative reviews. According to Jurafsky, "the narrative framing of negative reviews often reflects a heightened emotional engagement, where consumers recount their experiences in a way that emphasizes their disappointment and frustration, revealing deeper societal sentiments". These features, including negative emotional vocabulary, focus on past actions, and increased use of first-person plural pronouns, will be incorporated into the sentiment analysis to provide a deeper understanding of consumer dissatisfaction with restaurant services.

Learned from Jurafsky et al. (2014)'s computational linguistic approach, the following methods were employed: - Log-Odds Ratio Informative Dirichlet Prior Method: This method was adopted to identify words and phrases that are statistically overrepresented in negative reviews compared to positive ones, aiding in extracting distinctive linguistic features characterizing negative sentiment. - Ordered Logistic Regression: This regression technique was used to test the association between the identified linguistic variables (negative emotional vocabulary, narrative features) and review ratings. This approach allows for controlling potential confounding variables such as restaurant price range and geographical location.

3.4 Sentiment Analysis

For sentiment analysis, I will use a combination of the Natural Language Toolkit (NLTK) for initial sentiment scoring and machine learning models to capture nuanced consumer emotions toward Chinese and Japanese cuisines.

In real-world reviews, consumer sentiment is often intertwined with various factors beyond the type of cuisine, such as review length, restaurant price point, average star rating, and neighborhood demographics (e.g., median income, racial diversity). Following Luo et al. (2024), I will control for these factors in regression analyses, incorporating them as covariates to accurately assess the impact of cuisine framing on sentiment. Multicollinearity checks will ensure robustness among these features.

Additionally, a comparative analysis will be conducted on comments related to preidentified, common dishes across different restaurants, such as dumplings, gyoza, ramen, and noodles. This analysis will identify

recurring sentiments toward specific dishes and highlight any notable differences in consumer preferences and expectations between Chinese and Japanese cuisines. By extracting keywords that indicate sentiments tied to authenticity, exoticism, and value, I aim to reveal nuanced patterns in consumer language across similar dishes.

3.5 Causal Rule Mining

Given the linguistic complexity of consumer reviews and the evolving nature of online sentiments, causal rule mining may offer a precise way to uncover the relationship between review framing and restaurant success. In this study, causal rule mining is expected to be applied to compare independently owned restaurants with chain establishments. This comparison explores whether the cultural framing associated with ethnicity remains stronger than the influence of brand identity. For example, the analysis may reveal if consumers evaluate a dish differently at a local restaurant versus a chain, or if framing biases persist across these contexts. Identifying such patterns helps determine whether consumer perceptions are driven more by cultural narratives than by business models or brand loyalty. This distinction will help assess if the perceived cultural attributes are diluted or reinforced in chain establishments compared to independent businesses.

The analysis aims to uncover if cultural narratives around authenticity and exoticism have a greater impact on consumer attitudes than the restaurant's business model. Specifically, it will assess whether consumers evaluate dishes differently at local versus chain restaurants, revealing if framing biases persist across these contexts. Identifying such patterns can clarify whether perceived cultural attributes are diluted or reinforced in chain establishments as compared to independent businesses.

3.6 PCA and Clustering

To examine how consumer reviews frame authenticity and exoticism in Chinese and Japanese restaurants, this study will employ Bag-of-Words (BoW) and clustering analysis to identify thematic clusters in language use related to these framing concepts. This approach is informed by methods used in studies such as Alzboun et al. (2023), which utilize term frequencies to group text data by cognitive themes.

The analysis begins with Bag-of-Words vectorization, which will generate a matrix based on word frequency counts. Using CountVectorizer, I will isolate frequently used words that may indicate framing around authenticity (e.g., "authentic," "traditional") and exoticism (e.g., "unique," "foreign"). This step will help highlight the specific language consumers commonly associate with each cuisine type.

Next, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) will be used to reduce dimensionality and bring out key patterns in language. By revealing combinations of terms that vary most across reviews, PCA will help identify underlying themes, especially in how consumers discuss similar dishes across the two cuisines. This analysis will extend beyond broad framing categories to detect subtle linguistic variations, such as shifts in tone, lexical choices, and phrasing. For example, how consumers describe dumplings versus gyoza may reflect certain cultural expectations or biases tied to each cuisine.

Once PCA has been applied, I will use clustering algorithms (e.g., k-means) on the reduced data to group reviews by similar framing patterns. The resulting clusters will capture themes related to authenticity and exoticism, showing how these framings differ between Chinese and Japanese cuisines and across specific dishes. This combined approach of BoW, PCA, and clustering allows for a detailed comparison of consumer language, illuminating how framing around authenticity and exoticism varies by cuisine and dish type.

To add a geographic and demographic perspective, I will incorporate GIS-based spatial analysis, focusing on one metropolitan area—New York. I will conduct a region-specific analysis of consumer sentiment to explore how specific cultural districts, such as Chinatown and Japantown, influence the framing of authenticity and exoticism in restaurant reviews. By mapping reviews from these areas, I can investigate whether the physical location within a culturally recognized neighborhood impacts how tourists and locals perceive the "cultural essence" of Chinese and Japanese restaurants.

Previous research by Anenberg et al. (2022) has demonstrated that geographic location and neighborhood composition can significantly impact consumer ratings, particularly for amenities tied to cultural identity. This study builds on these insights, focusing on how culturally themed neighborhoods, already associated with a specific ethnicity, influence the framing of "cultural authenticity" in consumer reviews.

3.7 Topic Modeling

Topic modeling will also be considered since while PCA captures the dimensional structure of my dataset, topic modeling identifies semantic patterns within the reviews. Combining these methods provides both quantitative and qualitative insights. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of consumer perceptions, it is essential to account for both positive and negative emotions in reviews. The emotional experience of individuals is not solely defined by positive feelings; negative feelings play a crucial role in shaping one's overall well-being and interactions within social and environmental contexts. This insight underscores the need for a thorough sentiment analysis that captures the full emotional landscape of restaurant reviews. Separate topic models will be built for positive and negative reviews, which can be used to compare the language and topics emerging from praise versus criticism across cuisines: Are certain attributes discussed differently depending on the restaurant's cultural framing? Topic Modeling is expected to pinpoint the specific language consumers use when indicating the authenticity for each cuisine.

3.8 Feasibility

In terms of feasibility, all data collection and analyses are being conducted using resources available on Midway. The scraping of consumer reviews from Google Maps has already been completed, gathering approximately 530,000 reviews across ten major U.S. metropolitan areas. The preprocessing of this dataset—such as data cleaning, tokenization, and normalization—has also been initiated on Midway to ensure efficient handling of the large dataset.

Also, the feasibility of this project is strengthened by the richness of the scraped dataset, which offers multiple dimensions for exploration beyond linguistic patterns alone. The collected data includes name, latitude, longitude, review text, date, review score, keyword (e.g., "Japanese/ Chinese restaurant"), address, and language, providing a comprehensive framework for analysis. This diversity in the dataset allows for geospatial analysis as well, enabling the integration of textual review features with the geographic location and performance metrics of restaurants (e.g., star ratings, review counts). It offers opportunities to explore correlations between review features, rating, and regional or neighborhood characteristics, such as how consumers in suburban areas frame dining experiences differently from those in urban cores.

Moreover, language-tagged reviews (e.g., Korean, Spanish, Chinese) open up avenues for cross-linguistic studies, revealing whether cultural narratives shift depending on the language of the reviewer. This provides an additional layer of analysis, where language, geographic context, and textual content can be studied together to uncover patterns in cultural framing.

The rich combination of textual, spatial, and linguistic data presents several opportunities beyond the primary scope of this project.

4 Timeline

For my project timeline, I have already completed the initial data collection but plan to gather more features, such as user profile IDs, if needed. I am using shapefiles for scraping, which enables me to collect user IDs; however, this method limits my ability to conduct analysis from the user side. I aim to finish most of my analysis by March 2025. Some methods may require ongoing testing, and I will need to conduct further literature reviews to ensure a robust methodological framework. To support my work, I am currently enrolled in the course MACS 40123, where I am learning more about big data methods, including frequent itemsets, clustering, and dimensionality reduction. Additionally, I am taking language and linguistic classes to enhance my qualitative analysis of review features, which will be crucial for my narrative analysis and framing.

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