

Bagel Branding: How Décor Helps NYC Bagel

Shops Seem More Authentic

by

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I: Abstract

Consumers have a strong desire for authentic brands. This desire for brand authenticity extends to food consumption. There is a long history of research linking restaurant decor to perceived food authenticity. This paper seeks to explore that relationship in an unstudied context: New York City bagel shops. After conducting a survey of 78 participants, this paper concludes that a lack of touristy ambience makes a bagel seem more authentic to any consumer. However, different ambiences make a bagel seem more authentic to different age groups. Ambience also has a different impact depending on how frequently the consumer buys bagels. Overall, taste is by far the most important factor consumers take into account when determining a bagel's authenticity. This study expands the findings of previous restaurant authenticity research to bagel shops and suggests opportunities for further research linking food to durable goods.

II: Introduction

Consumers have a strong desire for brand authenticity.

“Brand” is defined many different ways.

Many researchers over the years have attempted to define the term “brand”. The distinctions among the various definitions are mainly due to different philosophies; for example, a brand can be defined from the consumer’s perspective or from the brand owner’s perspective. Further, a brand can be described in terms of its purpose or its characteristics. Lisa Wood (2000) attempts to tie together all of these different elements into a summary definition: “A brand is a mechanism for achieving competitive advantage for firms, through differentiation. The attributes that differentiate a brand provide the customer with satisfaction and benefits for which they are willing to pay.”

There are many types of authenticity.

The concept of authenticity has its roots in sociology. According to sociologists Carroll and Wheaton (2009), “authenticity is not a ‘real’ thing or something that can be objectively determined, but rather a socially constructed phenomenon, which is linked to expectations.” If an object has attributes that people expect it to have, the object is perceived to be authentic. If it does not, it is perceived to be inauthentic.

When this concept is applied to products and branding, Grayson and Martinec (2004) define two broad types of product authenticity: indexical and iconic authenticity. Indexical authenticity is based on objective facts about the product (e.g. Champagne is only champagne if

it comes from the Champagne region of France). By contrast, iconic authenticity is rooted in our perceptions (e.g. Champagne is only champagne if it tastes like champagne). This paper will focus on iconic authenticity. Whether a brand has iconic authenticity can change under different circumstances.

Bruhn et al (2012) further segment iconic brand authenticity into four dimensions: continuity, originality, reliability, and naturalness. Continuity refers to a brand's stability and consistency over time. Originality indicates its uniqueness. Reliability refers to a brand's ability to keep its promises - or live up to its expectations. Naturalness denotes a brand's perceived unaffectedness by marketing or other external factors. When a person refers to a product as "authentic", they mentally assess it along these four dimensions. The dimensions combine to create a person's overall rating of a brand's authenticity.

In their thorough literature review, Fritz et al (2017) highlight many factors that influence this authenticity. Brand heritage and brand nostalgia both have positive impacts on brand authenticity: consumers with more nostalgia for the brand perceive it as more authentic. Brand commercialization has a negative impact.

These various dimensions and subcategories of authenticity highlight just how difficult the concept is to summarize. A person's perception and expectations of a brand is shaped by so many factors unique to the individual. However, despite this complexity, the various dimensions of authenticity are important for businesses to grasp, because having an authentic brand is a advantage.

Consumers have a desire for authentic brands.

Multiple researchers have found that perceptions of authenticity are positively correlated with brand attitude and brand loyalty. Consumers are more likely to purchase from and recommend brands they see as authentic. These positive effects of authenticity do not vary based on whether a consumer has low or high brand involvement.

Douglas B. Holt (2002) discovered that consumers were no longer willing to accept insincere brand behavior. Instead, they were significantly more likely to recommend and purchase brands perceived to be authentic. The significance of brand authenticity led researchers Gilmore and Pine (2009) to conclude: “Quality no longer differentiates, authenticity does.”

This desire for authenticity extends to ethnic restaurants.

Much of the above research has been conducted in the sphere of ethnic restaurants. Lu et al (2015) determined that in ethnic restaurants, a diner’s perceptions of the restaurant’s authenticity were critical when deciding how much value to assign the restaurant brand. Ultimately, this led the diner to decide whether or not to dine at that restaurant. Notably, this study was done on restaurants of specific country-associated cuisines (Italian, French, Chinese, Mexican, etc.). Even when the business is not selling a product, but rather a dining experience, an authentic brand leads to more money.

New York City Bagels are a Brand independent of any one bagel shop.

The bagel was originally created in New York City by Eastern European Jewish refugees in the 1800s. As their popularity within the city grew, bagel bakers in New York City formed a union around the early 1900s. The idea of a bagel is tied to New York City, and has spread

around the world. Today, New York Bagels are a recognized product category, offered most often by individually owned bagel shops. Because the shops make their own bagels, the product itself varies subtly from shop to shop.

New York-style bagels have several characteristics that set them apart from other styles of bagels such as Montreal-style bagels or mass-produced bagels. First, the bagel-baking process is unique. New York-style bagels are first boiled in barley-malt infused water, then seasoned, and finally baked on burlap-covered cedar or pine boards in an oven. This process produces a bagel with a distinct texture. A typical New York style bagel is chewy on the inside and crispy on the outside. This chewiness means that it is generally larger and fatter than a mass-produced bagel, weighing up to six ounces. Finally, a true New York-style bagel is never served toasted, according to bagel maven Ed Levine.

Even though any bagel with these characteristics is a New York-style bagel, there is a narrative around bagels made in New York City itself: Somehow, they're simply better. A common claim is that New York City tap water, with its low concentrations of calcium and magnesium and high levels of sediment, produces a uniquely chewy bagel. This theory seems to be an urban legend after blind taste tests and lab analyses; nevertheless, many bagel bakeries around the country still import water from New York City for their bagels. Others claim that technique distinguishes New York City from the rest of the world: 200 years of baking in the same location has optimized the bagel. This narrative, with its pseudoscientific explanations, points to a culture and brand around bagels specifically made in New York City.

To reiterate Lisa Wood's (2000) definition of a brand: "A brand is a mechanism for achieving competitive advantage for firms, through differentiation. The attributes that differentiate a brand provide the customer with satisfaction and benefits for which they are

willing to pay.” By this definition, New York City bagels are a brand: A bagel’s touted status as a New York City Bagel provides the bagel shop with a competitive advantage, through differentiation.

The fact that New York City bagels are a recognized brand independent of any one bagel shop also means that a given bagel shop can be more or less authentic to expectations of the brand. The product itself is roughly the same across the city. After eating at upwards of 40 different bagel shops in New York City alone, I can confirm that a plain bagel doesn’t taste too different in different environments. If New York City bagel shop owners cannot differentiate themselves based upon bagel taste, they must differentiate themselves based upon how authentic their food is to the larger brand of the New York City Bagel.

Ambience is an important factor in a restaurant’s authenticity.

While environment is important to the perceived authenticity of any brand, environment is especially valuable when discussing food and restaurants. Lu et. al determined that consumer authenticity perceptions towards ethnic restaurants are rooted in three factors: (1) the food, (2) the indoor and outdoor setting of the restaurant, and (3) the quality of interaction with the staff. Certain categories of restaurant have realized the importance of an authentic restaurant environment. There is an entire industry dedicated to providing Irish artifacts to Irish pubs in order to help them appear authentic, to the point where pubs in Dublin are redesigned to match tourist’s expectations of an authentic Irish pub. In restaurants, atmosphere matters, especially when restaurateurs are striving for authenticity.

New York City bagel shops can only differentiate themselves based upon the quality of the bagel to a certain extent. In order to gain a competitive advantage from the New York City

Bagel brand, they have to differentiate based upon their shop's authenticity to that larger brand. Past research has shown that ambience is an important factor in a restaurant's perceived authenticity. After dining at many New York City bagel shops, I noticed that the decor among shops varied wildly. Do bagel shops with a certain ambience seem to have more authentic bagels? I believe the answer is yes. I believe that New York City bagels fall under the academic definition of a brand. Other researchers have concluded that ambience has an impact on food authenticity in restaurants. I conducted a study to test this hypothesis.

I studied decor and authenticity perceptions at four NYC bagel shops.

I conducted a study of 78 participants who have eaten at one of four bagel shops in the New York University area with decors ranging from utilitarian to stylized. The bagel shops were chosen based upon proximity to each other. All four are frequented by NYU students and employees. This ensured a relatively homogenous sample, minimizing the impact of the location of the bagel shop upon the results of the study.

Participants

While all data collected in the survey was anonymous, I believe my participants were mostly NYU-based or affiliated. I deliberately chose four bagel shops within the NYU area, and that I know to be frequented by NYU students. I recruited my participants via email. I sent survey links to people I know through various classes and club networks and asked them to pass the link on to other interested people. I also advertised on emails sent by NYU housing, and posted on social media sites. I also posted flyers at two bagel shops.

Procedure

After they visited the shop and ate a bagel, I invited participants to fill out a survey containing questions about the bagel itself (with questions relating to both taste and authenticity), questions about the decor and overall ambience of the shop, and some demographic information. To measure authenticity, I asked participants to rate how well the bagel met their expectations of a stereotypical New York Bagel. Survey participants rated authenticity and taste on a ten-point scale, and rated ambiences on a seven-point scale. The full survey questions are in the appendix.

To characterize a restaurant's ambience, I used the seven "ambience" categories as defined by restaurant review website Yelp. Ambience captures a person's perception of the decor, rather than objective elements of the decor itself. This emphasis on individual perception makes the Yelp ambience categories a good way to judge iconic authenticity.

Limitations

Because I believe my study sample is largely NYU-based or affiliated, the results of this study may not indicate the opinions of the broader bagel-eating public. However, the results will likely be generalizable at least to the NYU community. I was able to get enough variety in ages, length of stay in New York City, and bagel-eating frequency to be able to analyze the importance of these factors.

This study was conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic. Restaurants were closed to indoor dining in New York City until partway through the survey period. This study was conducted under inherently abnormal conditions. Many potential survey participants may not have felt comfortable going into the restaurants for even a limited period. Many people who

would normally eat at these shops may have been unable to due to remote schooling or working. While all four of the shops studied had indoor seating prior to the pandemic, none allowed customers to sit down until it was legally allowed. One of the four places studied still does not have indoor dining available. However, all four of these bagel shops prioritized takeout even before the pandemic. The default in each of these shops, as is the case with most bagel shops, is to give a customer their order in a to-go bag. Thus, the experience of obtaining a bagel at these shops was mostly unaffected.

III: Data Analysis

Participants were well-distributed among different demographic categories.

Among 78 participants, the demographic breakdown was as follows:

Demographic results

Respondent Characteristic	Levels	Number (n)	Percentage (%)
Bagel eating frequency	High frequency (more often than once a month)	High: 50	High: 64.1%
	Low frequency (Once a month or less)	Low: 28	Low: 35.9%
Length of NYC residency	</= 5 yrs	</=5: 54	</=5: 69.2%
	> 5 yrs	>5: 24	>5: 30.8%
Age	18-24	18-24: 43	18-24: 55.1%
	25+	25+: 35	25-50: 44.9%

Bagel Shop Visited	Bagel Shop 1	Bagel Shop 1: 7	Bagel Shop 1: 9%
	Bagel Shop 2	Bagel Shop 2: 4	Bagel Shop 2: 5.1%
	Bagel Shop 3	Bagel Shop 3: 33	Bagel Shop 3: 42.3%
	Bagel Shop 4	Bagel Shop 4: 34	Bagel Shop 4: 43.6%

To test for correlation between each of these demographic variables, I ran chi-squared tests for association between each pair. The only significant association was between “Length of NYC residency” and “Age”, with a p value of 0. Because of this, I only ran my analysis using the “Age” variable. This gave me similar results to those that I would have obtained had I used the “Length of NYC residency” variable.

Among all consumers, a low “touristy” rating is associated with a more authentic bagel.

Using the entire data set, I individually plotted associations between authenticity and taste rating, likelihood of recommendation, variety rating, overall decor rating, and each ambience. For all of these, further analysis with a linear model is sufficient to explore any associations.

Overall decor rating is not a significant predictor of authenticity. However, a model using a subset of ambiances (touristy, divey, and classy) can account for about 10.97% of the movement in authenticity ratings. Of those three ambiances, only touristy has a p value lower than 0.05, meaning that it is a statistically significant predictor of authenticity rating. Thus, a lack of touristy ambience (coefficient value of -0.2) will make a bagel shop seem more authentic to any given consumer.

Model summary: All data

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	7.697	0.000
Divey	0.166	0.088
Touristy	-0.205	0.046
Classy	0.224	0.077

Consumers of different ages have different perceptions of what ambiances make a bagel seem authentic.

For consumers ages 18-24, overall decor rating is not a significant predictor of authenticity. The subset of ambiances that impact their authenticity perceptions the most are “hipster” and “touristy”. Even then, neither ambience individually has statistically significant predictive power. The two ambience scores combined can only explain 10.7% of the movement in their authenticity ratings.

Model summary: Ages 18-24

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	8.609	0.000
Hipster	0.258	0.068
Touristy	-0.306	0.056

For consumers ages 25+, again, overall decor rating is not a significant predictor of authenticity. Their most impactful ambiances are “hipster”, “casual”, and “intimate”. “Hipster” is the only one with statistically significant explanatory power. These three ambiances, however, can explain about 27.7% of the movement in the authenticity ratings of these participants.

Model summary: Age 25+

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	6.38	0.000
Hipster	-0.281	0.032
Casual	0.278	0.176
Intimate	0.259	0.061

For both of these demographics, the ambience with the most sway over their authenticity ratings is “hipster”. However, the two age cohorts have opposite views. For consumers under 25, a hipster-y bagel shop is more authentic. For consumers 25 and over, a hipster-y bagel shop is less authentic.

Consumers of different bagel eating frequencies have different perceptions of what ambiances make a bagel shop more authentic.

For high frequency bagel consumers, who eat bagels more often than once a month, overall decor rating is not a statistically significant predictor of authenticity rating. However, a

combination of “hipster”, “casual”, and “touristy” ratings can predict 14.68% of the variance in authenticity rating, with “touristy” having a statistically significant impact.

Model summary: High frequency consumers

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	6.25	0.000
Hipster	0.250	0.080
Casual	0.383	0.076
Touristy	-0.394	0.018

For low frequency bagel consumers, their overall opinion of the decor does not predict how authentic they think the bagel is. A combination of “hipster”, “classy”, and “intimate” scores can account for 37.89% of the variance in their authenticity ratings. All three of those are statistically significant predictors.

Model summary: Low frequency consumers

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	7.277	0.000
Hipster	-0.543	0.009
Classy	0.531	0.033
Intimate	0.363	0.010

The same “hipster” effect is present when segmenting out the participants by bagel-eating frequency. High frequency consumers think hipster decor has a positive impact on authenticity, while low frequency consumers think it has a negative impact.

The ambiances that influence authenticity are different for different bagel shops.

I can analyze this effect by comparing ratings from the two bagel shops in my survey that have more than 30 respondents.

For Bagel Shop 3, decor overall isn’t a good predictor of a person’s perception of authenticity. Of the ambiances, the best subset includes “casual”, “touristy”, and “trendy” - and all three of these are significant when predicting authenticity. They combine to explain 25.77% of the variation in authenticity ratings at this shop.

Model summary: Bagel Shop 3

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	5.09	0.000
Casual	0.595	0.019
Touristy	-0.457	0.026
Trendy	0.415	0.050

However, for Bagel Shop 4, the best ambiances are different from those seen in Bagel Shop 3. While decor overall isn’t a good predictor of authenticity, the “intimate” ambience is the

single most significant ambience, accounting for 15% of the variation in authenticity rating on its own.

Model summary: Bagel Shop 4

Term	Coefficient	P Value
Constant	7.138	0.000
Intimate	0.376	0.029

Certain ambiences correlate with how authentic a bagel shop is perceived to be. However, how exactly consumers define those ambiences are differs from bagel shop to bagel shop. Some ambiences appear to have a more frequent impact than others among various demographics. The following table summarizes the ambiences, with a 1 indicating that that ambience was in the best model for that demographic:

Ambiences influencing authenticity, by demographic

Ambience	Age 18-24	Age 25+	Low Freq	High Freq	BS 3	BS 4	Sum
Hipster	1	1	1	1			4
Casual		1		1	1		3
Touristy	1			1	1		3
Intimate		1	1			1	3
Trendy					1		1
Classy			1				1
Divey							0
Upscale							0

Looking at this summary, a shop’s hipster, casual, touristy, and intimate ambiances were the most likely to have an impact on its authenticity rating.

IV: Discussion

Bagel vendors should focus on taste above all else.

With the shop held constant, a bagel eater’s perceptions of decor (and thus, authenticity) are influenced by at least two distinct demographic factors: their age and how often they eat bagels. Since each demographic seems to associate greater authenticity with different ambiances, how should a bagel vendor decorate their shop?

For each demographic group, and for the participants as a whole, the most significant predictor of authenticity rating was taste rating; across the board, better tasting bagels seem more authentic. However, the extent to which taste rating moves with authenticity rating differs among the studied demographics.

The impact of taste on authenticity, by demographic

Demographic	R-squared value
Low Frequency	48%
High Frequency	31%
Age 18-24	12%
Age 35+	66%

If a demographic's R-squared value is high, that means a large percentage of their authenticity rating is associated with the quality of the bagel. To take advantage of this difference, a bagel shop owner should decorate their shop to suit the tastes of those demographics with *low* R-squared values: High frequency bagel consumers and those aged 18-24. Both demographics prefer a "hipster" ambience and despise touristy atmospheres. High frequency bagel eaters also like a casual atmosphere.

What that looks like is outside of the scope of this paper and would be an interesting topic for further research. However, using Yelp can provide bagel shop owners with clues. Restaurants classed by different ambiences have broad similarities in how they are decorated. Restaurants categorized as "hipster" use wooden accents throughout the restaurant. Restaurants labeled as "touristy" are usually located near major tourist areas, or also serve a wide variety of products, such as sandwiches or salads. Restaurants categorized as "casual", by contrast, have limited seating, and counter service with ample space for lines.

When items are the same brand, a company gains a competitive advantage by being perceived as more authentic. In the bagel industry, that means promoting a certain ambience. Based upon the results of this survey, new shops should focus their attention on certain places: They should concentrate on bagels only (less touristy), and they should decorate their shops with wooden accents (more hipster), and limit seating, leaving space for lines at the counter (more casual).

Ambience has an impact on food's perceived authenticity outside of traditional research settings.

Past research has studied ambience and authenticity largely in sit-down restaurants associated with specific country-based cuisines. Their finding that a restaurant's ambience has an impact on its perceived authenticity still holds in bagel shops, which are distinct from sit-down ethnic restaurants in at least three ways.

First, the average time spent by a consumer in a bagel shop is significantly shorter than the average time spent by a diner in a sit-down restaurant. Bagel shops are usually counter-service establishments. Every bagel shop in this survey puts their customer's order in a bag by default. The vast majority of people who purchase from bagel shops take their order to go, and only a few sit down to enjoy their food in the shop. The results from this survey show that ambience can impact a consumer's perception of food authenticity even when she spends a limited time in the restaurant environment.

Second, ethnic restaurants are, by definition, food that is different from the local cuisine of that region. Mexican food is not considered "ethnic" food when served in Mexico. This survey was conducted on New York City bagel shops located in Manhattan, and many of the participants have lived in New York City for at least five years. The results from this survey show that food can be judged as more or less authentic in the place from which it originated, and ambience is a factor in that judgement.

Third, different ethnic restaurants serve different versions of the same dishes. Two different Italian restaurants can serve spaghetti dishes of wildly differing quality. Studying New York City bagels incorporates much less variation in taste. I speak from personal experience

when I say that a plain bagel does not taste too different from bagel shop to bagel shop. Even holding the quality of the food relatively constant, the ambience of a restaurant still has an impact on the food's perceived authenticity.

Ambience very likely affects brand authenticity outside of the realm of food.

The way in which a bagel is consumed is similar to the way many other products are consumed: They are purchased at a store, taken to another location, and then used.

There is an extensive body of research linking product environment to brand experience. To pick out one typical example, atmospheric elements and the physical in-store environment of Korean beauty shops impact the consumer's holistic brand experience. This survey builds upon those findings, isolating "brand authenticity" among the factors considered in brand experience evaluation.

My research links restaurant food to lipstick: in both cases, the environment in which a person purchases the product impacts the consumer's perception of its authenticity. Other branding links between restaurant food and other nonfood products, such as how concepts like brand mistakes, product design, and review impact compare between the two areas would be interesting topics for further research.

V: Conclusion

Consumers have a desire for authentic brands, and authentic food in general. In ethnic restaurants, the restaurant ambience has an impact on the food's perceived authenticity. The New York City bagel presents a unique case study, because while the food product itself is similar across shops, the environment of the shop varies wildly. Furthermore, bagels are generally not eaten at the shop in which they are purchased, so a consumer does not usually spend a lot of time in the bagel shop. Even in this setting, a shop's ambience has an impact on the bagel's authenticity. The exact nature and extent of that impact differs depending on a consumer's bagel eating frequency, the shop itself, and their age; although some factors, such as the extent of a restaurant's "touristy" ambience, affect authenticity perception across demographics. This research suggests that even outside of traditional research settings, restaurant ambience has an impact on food authenticity. Because bagels are generally not consumed where they are purchased, this also suggests that branding concepts can be applied to both restaurant food and other durable commodities.

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Appendix

I. Survey Questions

Link to final survey: <https://forms.gle/7NzMsZ9RmpxvDiUK9>

Bagel Survey

Directions : This data is being collected to inform undergraduate research at the NYU Stern School of Business. Please buy and consume a bagel from a bagel shop somewhere in Manhattan. After you finish, please fill out this survey.

Part 1: The Bagel

I first want to get your opinions on the quality of the bagel on its own merits.^[SEP]1) What is your overall rating of the bagel, on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being “not good at all” and 10 being “very good”?^[SEP]2) How would you rate the variety of options at the bagel shop on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being “not good at all” and 10 being “very good”?^[SEP]3) Would you try it again?

I now want to get your opinions on the quality of the bagel when compared against what you consider to be a stereotypical New York Bagel.

4) How closely did the bagel match your expectations of a New York Bagel on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being “was not at all what I expected” and 10 being “was exactly what I expected”?^[SEP]5) How likely are you to recommend this shop to a friend looking for a New York Bagel on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being “not at all likely” and 10 being “very likely”?

Part 2: The Shop

I would now like to get your opinion on the shop’s decor and general ambience.^[SEP]1) On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being “not good at all” and 10 being “very good”, what is your overall opinion of the shop’s decor?^[SEP]2) I would like to now get your opinions on how you see the bagel shop on various dimensions. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being “not at all” and 10 being “extremely”, would you describe the ambience of the shop as

- 1) Divey?
- 2) Hipster?
- 3) Touristy?
- 4) Casual?
- 5) Trendy?
- 6) Classy?
- 7) Intimate?
- 8) Upscale?

Part 3: Demography

All data will be anonymous, this is simply to help me understand the types of people who are taking this survey and factor that into my conclusions.

- 1) How many times a month, on average, do you buy bagels for yourself to consume?

- 2) How long have you lived in New York? (Frequented?)
- 3) What is the name of the bagel shop you went to?
- 4) How old are you?

Thank you!

II: Means of Survey Results

Part 1: Demographic

Respondent Characteristic	Number (n)	Percentage (%)
Bagel Frequency • High frequency (more often) • Low frequency (1/month) • No frequency (0)	High: 50 Low: 20 No: 8	High: 64.1% Low: 25.6% No: 10.3%
New Yorker Status • 1. >=5 yrs • 2. <5 yrs	<=5: 54 >5: 24	<=5: 69.2% >5: 30.8%
Age 1. 18-24 2. 25-50 3. 51+	18-24: 43 25-50: 23 51+: 12	18-24: 55.1% 25-50: 29.5% 51+: 15.4%
Bagel Shop • 1 • 2 • 3 • 4	1: 7 2: 4 3: 33 4: 34	1: 9% 2: 5.1% 3: 42.3% 4: 43.6%

Part 2: The Bagel

Frequency	Expectation?	Recommend?	Variety?	Overall?
High	8.1	8.3	8.4	8.5
Low	8.8	8.9	8.8	8.6
No	7.9	9	8.8	8.3

NYC Status	Expectation?	Recommend?	Variety?	Overall?
<=5	8.5	9.0	8.8	8.8

>5	7.8	7.5	7.9	7.7
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Age	Expectation?	Recommend?	Variety?	Overall?
18-24	8.5	9.1	8.7	9.0
25-50	8.2	8.1	8.8	8.1
>50	7.7	7.5	7.5	7.4

Bagel Shop	Expectation?	Recommend?	Variety?	Overall?
1	8.1	8.1	9.1	7.9
2	6.5	7.8	7	7.3
3	8.2	8.2	9	8.5
4	8.6	9	8.1	8.7

Part 3: Decor

Frequency	Dive y?	Hipster?	Casual ?	Touristy?	Trendy?	Classy ?	Intimate?	Upscale?	Overall ?
High	3.4	3.3	6.0	3.2	3.1	2.8	3.4	2.5	6.6
Low	4	3.2	6.2	3.1	3.2	3.0	4.3	2.6	6.4
No	4.5	3	5.8	3.6	3.8	2.3	3.4	2.4	5.5

NYC Status	Dive y?	Hipster?	Casual ?	Touristy?	Trendy?	Classy ?	Intimate?	Upscale?	Overall ?
<= 5	3.6	3.3	6.1	3.3	3.5	2.9	3.8	2.5	6.5
>5	3.8	3.0	5.8	3.1	2.6	2.4	3.3	2.5	6.2

Age	Dive y?	Hipster?	Casual ?	Touristy?	Trendy?	Classy ?	Intimate?	Upscale?	Overall ?
18-24	3.9	3.2	6.1	3.1	3.1	2.9	3.8	2.4	6.2
25-50	3.7	3.0	6.2	3.3	3.3	2.8	3.5	2.7	6.8
>50	3.0	3.7	5.3	3.5	3.3	2.2	3.3	2.6	6.6

Bagel Shop	Dive y?	Hipster?	Casual ?	Touristy?	Trendy?	Classy ?	Intimate?	Upscale?	Overall ?
1	2.6	3.4	5.6	3.1	3.2	1.9	3.7	2.1	7.4
2	4	3.8	5.5	4.3	3.5	2.8	3.5	2.3	5.8
3	2.8	3.9	5.9	4	4.5	3.3	2.9	3.4	7.6
4	4.7	2.4	6.3	2.3	1.9	2.4	4.4	1.7	5.2