

**‘US IMAGE BUT NZ VENTURE’¹: AMERICANA AND FAST-FOOD
ADVERTISING IN NEW ZEALAND, 1971-1990**

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American fast-foods chains have operated successfully in New Zealand for over three decades. Their ubiquity means that it sounds like a contradiction in terms to label Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), with its headquarters in Louisville, Kentucky, Pizza Hut (born in Wichita, Kansas), and McDonald's (with its Hamburger University outside Chicago) as either 'ethnic' or foreign food.² This article examines how demonstrably foreign imports – franchised fast-food outlets – reconciled their American origins in a new territory. This issue was addressed by McDonald's national managing director, Gary Lloyd, when interviewed by *Management* magazine in October 1985. Looking back at the chain's first decade of operations in New Zealand, he recalled that attempts were made by McDonald's in the early years to customise its operations to meet local circumstances. On reflection, however, Lloyd believed that the American model worked best. He told the publication: 'There's a tendency to New Zealandise McDonald's, to say New Zealanders won't like this or that. But in fact it's much simpler to McDonaldise New Zealand.'³ By the end of the 1980s McDonald's launched – with great fanfare – the 'Kiwiburger', associating it with stereotypical New Zealand icons (the All Blacks, jandals, chilly bins, and woolly sheep etc.) in print and television commercials.⁴ Drawing from Lloyd's comments and the Kiwiburger can we surmise that the fast-food chains Americanised New Zealand or that, alternatively, Americana has been 'New Zealandised'? What follows is an investigation of the role advertising played during the 1970s and 1980s in making fast food such an integral part of New Zealand 'tucker' that its American origins are almost invisible today.⁵ In doing so, we can gain a better understanding of what America signified to New Zealanders.

The unassuming Auckland suburb of Royal Oak was the starting point for this revolution in New Zealand's eating habits and business practices. On Friday 20 August 1971, New Zealand's pioneering American fast-food chain was launched when KFC officially opened its first branch at the Manukau Road exit from the Royal Oak roundabout. Full-page advertisements in the *Auckland Star* promoted the store's opening with a large photograph of the company's founder, Colonel Harland B. Sanders, and promises of free balloons for children and live music from the Southern Bend Blue Grass Band.⁶ In the space of twelve months, three more KFCs opened in the Auckland region: Panmure, Takapuna and Papatoetoe. In September 1974, the same businessman who had managed KFC for its first three years in New Zealand led a consortium which launched the Pizza Hut

restaurant chain in New Lynn, another Auckland suburb. With a nice touch of historical irony, McDonald's, America's fast-food exemplar, opened its doors in Porirua, a working-class suburb 20 kilometres north of Wellington, on the Queen's birthday anniversary weekend in early June 1976.

From these small beginnings New Zealand has become home to hundreds of American fast-food outlets. At the time of writing there are 87 KFCs, 86 Pizza Huts, and 148 McDonald's outlets (known in the trade as 'the big three') operating in New Zealand. McDonald's in New Zealand has – per head of population – more restaurants than the United States, one for every 22,000 people.⁷ Restaurant Brands Ltd, which is the New Zealand franchisee for KFC, Pizza Hut, and the Starbucks coffee chain, is one of the top 50 companies listed on the New Zealand Stock Exchange. While the early phase of expansion in the 1970s and 1980s was typically in the suburbs of the main North Island urban centres, today there are few small- or medium-sized towns without at least one American fast-food outlet.

Fast food is more than burgers, fries, and pizzas. The significance of American fast-food chains has become a battle ground for academics trying to make sense of – for want of a better term – globalisation. Some cultural critics interpret the success of McDonald's et al as marking the triumph of American-style capitalism. For critics, this exportation of American capitalism is leading to a more homogenised world, dominated by large corporations.⁸ The tone of these works is largely pessimistic. Joe L. Kincheloe in his recent book, *The Sign of the Burger*, summarised this negative stance: 'To many Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans, McDonald's stands as a primary symbol for the Americanization of the planet, with all the environmental, political, moral, cultural, and economic dimensions of that process.'⁹ Yet a more optimistic interpretation has come from researchers studying the ways in which American fast-food franchises are appropriated by consumers in different countries. While not being apologists for the fast-food industry, it is striking that these academic arguments, that multinational American corporations are shaped by their local cultural contexts, echo the pronouncements of New Zealand's fast-food executives who have talked about their operations being 'multi-local' or describing them as being 'the world's largest small business'. While there is far more to this globalization literature than cultural and economic imperialism and homogenization on one side and 'multi-localism' and hybridization on the other, the debate over the meaning and significance of fast food does provide an opportunity to explore both shifting meanings of national identity and perceptions of cultural, economic, and social transformation.¹⁰

National identity (assuming that such a fixed notion actually exists) has been a vexed issue for New Zealand historians over the last few decades.¹¹ Yet not much attention has been paid to domestic consumerism as a means of exploring the country's sense of self.¹² The highly visible symbols of Americana entering suburban New Zealand in the 1970s could be interpreted as marking another turning point in New Zealand's increasing cultural and economic detachment from Great Britain and embracing another form of cultural domination. Tellingly, the first major international fast-food casualty in New Zealand during the first decade was the British burger chain Wimpy. Moreover, the New Zealand branded fast-food operations attempting to compete with the American imports have, for the most part, failed or been taken over by their American rivals. The list of major casualties includes Georgie Pie, Uncles, Big Rooster, and Homestead Chicken.

In the early 1970s KFC, Pizza Hut, and McDonald's were well-established corporations expanding their operations beyond the shores of the United States. As brands they had a degree of familiarity to New Zealanders who had travelled overseas. Yet they were novel imports. KFC's first branch attracted lengthy queues as customers travelled long distances to sample this new eating experience. It was subsequently claimed that the Manukau Road branch was the chain's highest volume store in the world.¹³ A television documentary made in 1977 by the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation, 'Not so much a hamburger, more a way of life', on McDonald's, showed the busy Porirua restaurant on a Sunday morning in marked contrast to the nearby deserted streets.¹⁴ A journalist for the *Listener* magazine observing the impact of the Porirua McDonald's on the community noted that, if nothing else, the fast-food restaurants were putting some life back into the once dead suburbs and city centres, especially at weekends. The laundromat, he contended, as the focal point for the bored and the lonely, was now under threat.¹⁵ New Zealand was no longer closed for business on Saturday and Sunday.

The fast-food chains relied on local newspaper advertising to promote the store openings. Gaining highly-visible road-side or downtown locations meant that the new stores virtually advertised themselves. As the chains grew in size, television commercials became increasingly important to the success or failure of the ventures. Envious local competitors observed that to get big in the fast-food business you had to advertise heavily on television and to be able to afford this level of promotional expenditure you had to be big.¹⁶ The rule of thumb was that a chain needed a 'critical mass' of 20 stores operating nationally (a figure the big three had reached by the early 1980s) to make television advertising sustainable and cost effective.¹⁷ Although we do not have access to advertising agency archives to get

'behind the scenes' of how campaigns for the fast-food chains were developed, newspaper advertisements and television commercials from the era have survived. It is from these sources one can explore the use or avoidance of Americana in the New Zealand selling messages for the fast-food chains.¹⁸

The 'America' which emerges from the early print adverts for the fast-food restaurants is one represented by newness, cleanliness, efficiency, conviviality, affordability, and the centrality of the nuclear family. Although KFC used its iconic founder Colonel Sanders in its advertising, Pizza Hut its distinctive 'Mid-west' restaurant roof, and McDonald's the 'golden arches' and Ronald McDonald, the promotion of the chains emphasised the store's physical location and the benefits of the fare on offer. Most of the print advertisements appeared in the suburban newspapers rather than the regional dailies. Typically the store's opening was publicised in a three or four page 'advertorial' feature in which neighbouring local businesses and suppliers took out small advertisements welcoming the new chain to the area alongside photo stories with thumb-nail sketches of the store's manager and new employees.

The setting for this publicity material was the clichéd version of 1950s' conformist America reaching distant shores, not an America of rugged individualism or ethnic diversity. New Zealand suburbs such as Porirua, Royal Oak, and New Lynn were being discovered by the fast-food chains. The settlements receiving the new eating establishments were being honoured by this new presence in their midst. For instance, the advertorial piece in the local Porirua newspaper promoting the first McDonald's noted that it had been chosen, 'only after very carefully consideration'. According to McDonald's spokesperson Wally Morris, when selecting the right location, 'We look for well populated areas with a high proportion of families with young children. Porirua is such an area and we are proud to become part of this community.' Ray Stonelake, the store's new manager told the newspaper: 'We have recruited some great people from Porirua to work for us. I am sure we will have the same enthusiasm here that helps make McDonald's such a success overseas.'¹⁹

New Zealand journalists, attempting to explain the fast-food phenomenon during the 1970s, associated it with new residential sub-divisions and contemporary trends such as increased car dependency, shopping malls, new part-time work opportunities for women, shifting family structures, and changing eating habits.²⁰ New Zealand was changing and consumers' expectations were rising. As a writer for the *Listener* noted: 'Unlike the greasy joints of the 1960s where idle youths played pinball machines as they chomped on their burgers, the new fast food joints are hygienic, gleamy and

spotless.’²¹ The print advertisements sold wholesome food in a wholesome setting.

Pizza Hut’s first advertising in New Zealand (‘The World’s most popular pizza comes to New Zealand’) in the *Western Leader* emphasised its attractions to suburban Aucklanders. It was family orientated, accessible by car, close to the shopping mall, affordable, and the pizzas were made to a high standard yet diners could customise their toppings. The print advertisement’s central image was a smartly dressed European New Zealand family (mum, dad, older brother, and younger sister) smiling for the camera outside the premises. Pizza Hut also gave bored families somewhere to go on Sundays, and for adults dining, somewhere to have an alcoholic drink in pleasant surroundings. Pizza Hut in its early advertising and publicity – along with KFC and McDonald’s – made mention of its American origins but always in the context that it had successfully expanded into English-speaking countries superficially familiar to New Zealanders such as Canada, Great Britain, and Australia.²²

The early print advertisements and associated press coverage emphasised their novelty value. However, novelty wears off after a while.²³ Advertisements defined the hoped-for long-term clientele. The anticipated customers were the mythical ‘ordinary’ or ‘middle’ New Zealanders. This is clearly reflected in the representation of the ‘typical’ New Zealand family in the Pizza Hut advertisement. Value for money was a main selling point in the advertising, but not to be confused with ‘cheap’. Although we tend to think of fast food as a ‘down market’ product, the first customers for the fast-food chains were reasonably well off. Fitting in with the suburban America of the 1950s template, the advertising was pitched at white middle-class and better-off working-class New Zealanders. What they had in common was their own home, a car, and children. Advertising for the chains cleverly appropriated notions of New Zealand egalitarianism which made the nuclear family the norm irrespective of social class. In the 1980s Maori and Pacific Island families were incorporated into the advertising images too. Those New Zealanders excluded from this idealised community were over-educated and radicalised students, liberals, and elitist ‘snobs’.²⁴

This mass ‘middle New Zealand’ audience was reached through television advertising. Television was the arena in which the big three could outspend their local competitors and compete for market share amongst themselves. Pizza Hut, which had the smallest advertising budget of the big three (\$2.6 million per year) was outspending the next largest competitor, the home-grown Georgie Pie, by a ratio of five dollars to one in 1990.²⁵ Television commercials gave the fast-food giants, with their advertising agencies, the opportunity to ‘sell the sizzle’ to hungry New Zealander consumers. The

theme of family continued from the print advertisements to the television ones. Moreover, fast food as part of everyday New Zealand life was also included in some of the commercials. Sadly only a few advertisements for Pizza Hut and McDonald's have been archived but the richest source comes from the fast-food pioneers in New Zealand, KFC.

KFC employed the Auckland office of the international agency Colenso to produce its television commercial in the 1970s and 1980s. When KFC shifted its advertising account to Young & Rubicam in the late 1980s it ended one of the longest client-agency relationships in New Zealand advertising history.²⁶ The surviving television commercials produced by Colenso give us a degree of continuity in evaluating the advertising messages developed by the agency for KFC over a long period.²⁷ With the benefit of hindsight we can see a multiplicity of cultural reference points in the advertising along with pragmatic promotional messages dealing with special offers and launching new food lines. Colenso's advertising work for KFC in the late 1970s and 1980s was characterised by *Marketing Magazine* as emphasising its 'Kiwi' characteristics, in contrast to McDonald's more pronounced American inflection.²⁸ A KFC meal was portrayed as forming the centrepiece of the typical New Zealand family's takeaway treat in the television commercials. Three early commercials demonstrate this overtly New Zealand context. One of the first KFC commercials in New Zealand, 'Hugo and Me', used a cartoon format reminiscent of The Beatles' animated film *Yellow Submarine* with hungry New Zealand children in the backseat of the family car enduring a Sunday drive into the country. The bored and fractious children were placated when a roadside KFC was spotted by the parents. The 'Grandma' commercial produced by Colenso in the early 1980s also emphasised the importance of the family. Grandma's visit to her see her grandchildren brought three generations of the New Zealand family together around the family dining table with a KFC family pack marking the reunion. Grandmother and grandchildren shared a joke as grandma abandoned her knife and fork and realised that the key to enjoying KFC was to eat with her fingers. An advertisement from the late 1970s ('My kind of chicken in my kind of town') was shot in Wellington with a song and dance routine featuring well-known landmarks in the capital. All three advertisements used ideas and images which were familiar to a New Zealand television audience.

The 'bread and butter' television commercials produced by Colenso for the client generally featured special offers for KFC's family packs and children's 'gimmicks' with a strong emphasis on price and limited availability. The main selling message was 'a meal so good': the 'good' reminding viewers of the Colonel's 'secret recipe' of herbs and spices and KFC's value for money. Additionally, there was also advertising which self-

consciously placed KFC as part of New Zealand's heritage. These commercials drew from local and international sources to create vignettes of recognisable New Zealand lifestyles. For instance, adverts were produced with 'mini dramas' in which Kiwi 'blokes' went out duck shooting, a scout troupe tramping in the bush, and dad, mum, and the two children on the long drive back home from the family summer holiday. Dropping by at KFC for dinner rounded off the day in these advertisements. In another commercial, dad's unexpected 'turn' to sort out the evening dinner while mum was late getting home from work resulted in a KFC family pack.

The overt American influence in the commercials was in the soundtracks. For instance, a commercial from the late 1970s, 'Take Me Away', had strong New Zealand visual images (rugby players on the team bus, truck drivers, and teenagers at the beach). Yet the theme song was sung in an American country & western style. A few years later a similar set of commercials used clichéd New Zealand visual backdrops to the theme song 'My Old Kentucky Home'. In one of these adverts the extended New Zealand family at a seaside holiday enjoyed a KFC family pack after the men-folk had failed the catch any fish for the evening barbecue and were packed off to the nearest KFC store to make amends. However, one of the commercials in the series also had the well-known Maori band The Herbs performing 'My Old Kentucky Home' in their distinctive Pacific reggae style. This mixing of Polynesia with Americana shows advertising's ability to employ irony on an audience. Not only were KFC and Colenso acknowledging an important market segment by its choice of musicians for the commercials, they were subtly undermining the 'redneck' connotations of the company's southern United States heritage.

There were other more overt American musical themes in Colenso's advertising for KFC in the 1980s. Throughout 1988 KFC adverts were set to the tune of American band K.C. and the Sunshine Band's 1983 'disco' hit single 'That's the Way I Like It'. Adverts from the same era for KFC also featured young actors impersonating 'Jake' and 'Elwood' from the *Blues Brothers* movie, teenagers in a 1950s rock and roll pastiche and 'dead-ringers' for 1980s' American pop stars Cyndi Lauper and Madonna. One of Colenso's last commercials in late 1988, 'Belt Bag', used American rap music to promote its latest gimmick offer aimed at teenagers. To add extra confusion to this multi-national mix, KFC in New Zealand also used adverts filmed in Australia and – against the wishes of the local agency – global KFC commercials shot in South Africa.²⁹ This 'multi-local' approach to KFC's advertising is best illustrated with KFC's 'Scooby Doozy' offer from 1985. These commercials targeted children (and *de facto* their parents) with a local special offer (a kids' meal pack for \$3.25) with giveaways from the American cartoon series *Scooby Do* and the chance to 'meet' the cartoon

character by winning a holiday competition to Australia's 'Wonderland' theme park. The unspoken assumption behind the advert was the audience was familiar both with the American television programme and an Australian holiday destination. Without this prior knowledge the commercial would not make sense to the viewer.

The Scooby Do promotion exposes one of the problems of using advertising as a historic source. We can only second-guess how the public made sense of the fast-food commercials. One piece of evidence derived from an advertising agency, nonetheless, provides insights into how some New Zealanders responded to KFC's image. It comes from a set of filmed on the street market research interviews conducted by the Lintas advertising agency in the late 1980s.³⁰ Approximately twenty members of the public were stopped by an interviewer and asked 'what's the first thing which comes into your head when you think about KFC?' There were a variety of instant responses: 'it's a treat', 'all those herbs and spices', 'my favourite take-away food', 'the Colonel', 'it's rubbish', 'clean and tasty', 'greasy' etc. In the five minutes of unedited footage there was not one mention of America. While there is no guarantee that the people interviewed represented a robust sample of public opinion, the responses suggest that KFC was not viewed (for better or worse) as an American product.

KFC's American heritage – certainly in its advertising - has a slight southern flavour in New Zealand. The image of the Colonel and the reliance of American musical styles (most notably country and western) in some commercials were the most salient bits of KFC's Americana. One of KFC's Auckland competitors currently trades under the name Southern Fried Chicken. In the context of fast food, the 'South' of the United States means spicy fried chicken as a quasi-regional cuisine. This state of affairs is in marked contrast to McDonald's which – along with Coca-Cola – superficially represents an all-embracing notion of 'America' overseas. The company's public relations literature has emphasised its commitment to New Zealand through supporting local good causes, sourcing supplies from New Zealand producers, and only granting McDonald's franchises to upstanding business people with a proven track record in the local community. Through these tactics McDonald's has proactively ingratiated itself upon New Zealand and sought to position itself as a benign and caring corporate citizen. Cynics could argue that McDonald's has 'protested too much' in demonstrating its determination to become a New Zealand business as opposed to an American institution. From a marketing perspective, McDonald's as an American icon can be either its biggest asset or its biggest liability in an overseas market.

Few McDonald's television commercials from the 1970s and 1980s have been preserved in the public archives. In the small number that remain, Ronald McDonald features prominently, as a figure appealing to children but also behind the company's sponsorship of the Ronald McDonald Houses in local hospitals. There is even an advert from the 1980s featuring Ronald involved in the un-American activity of playing backyard cricket. Nonetheless, the Kiwiburger print and television commercials from the late 1980s provide us with perfect examples of an attempt to both produce a product and a brand image to curry favour with a local audience. The 60-second Kiwiburger commercial acknowledged the country's experience of hamburgers before the arrival of McDonald's ('Remember when every hamburger had beetroot?') sharing an in-joke with the audience. Then the viewer was bombarded with a montage of historic and contemporary images of 'coffee-table' book New Zealand. The commercial was selling the joys of New Zealand to New Zealanders in a manner familiar to 'feel good' publicity films for tourism destinations. The advert was brazen yet it worked. An American corporation with a New Zealand advertising agency had squared the circle: Americana had become a piece of 'Kiwiana'.³¹

Before we become too carried away with the advertising industry's powers to manipulate images, however, it is worth noting that this 'stunt' has been used before. John Sinclair in *Images Incorporated* drew attention to General Motors in Australia promoting Holden automobiles in the 1970s to the ditty: 'Football, meat pies, kangaroos and Holden cars, They go together under Southern stars.' This commercial itself was a reworking of an older American advertising jingle for 'Chevy': 'Baseball, hot dogs, apple pie and Chevrolet.'³² So the Kiwiburger was hardly groundbreaking. An alternative way of 'reading' the Kiwiburger commercial is to see it as an effective marketing device for an American corporation operating in an environment where co-opting national icons was a credible strategy. As has been well documented, American English does not always translate in foreign markets, especially non-English speaking ones. In this instance, nonetheless, it is fair to assume that both McDonald's and its advertising agency DDB Needham were fairly confident that the tactic of appropriating national symbols would not backfire.

And these marketing tactics worked. Although there were a few New Zealanders who described American fast food as a 'dreaded American virus' it is evident that New Zealand has not experienced the sometimes violent opposition to McDonald's and its ilk which has occurred in southern Europe and Latin America.³³ Complaints about American fast-food restaurants in New Zealand have been about parochial matters such as parking, litter, and traffic congestion or health and employment issues.

Neither, however, was the arrival of American fast food celebrated as a moment of liberation as it has been in some former communist states.³⁴

Americana – where it was visible and commented upon – was about the tangible manifestations of modernisation. New Zealand was still New Zealand but it was changing and becoming modern. *Fast Food Nation* author Eric Schlosser, when discussing the internal colonisation of the United States by the franchises, cautions his readers not to see their spread across the landscape as ‘inevitable’ and an ‘unavoidable, a fact of modern life.’³⁵ Yet in a New Zealand context fast-food advertising implied that consuming was a normal, everyday activity for Kiwis. Moreover, journalists and commentators interpreted the chains’ steady and unrelenting expansion as representing the march of progress. There was a sense that New Zealand was in store for more and more American consumer culture, not less. *Listener* writer David Young predicted in 1976 that the American chains would soon be assimilated, gaining their New Zealand citizenship and constituting, ‘another element in a packaged world growing increasingly uniform and mega-cultural.’³⁶ In a similar vein, historian Jock Phillips (also writing in 1976) pointed out that unease about American influence in New Zealand was frequently about the country’s ‘own fears and hopes as about American reality.’ In his view ‘Americanisation’ was a euphemism for New Zealand’s increasingly materialistic society.³⁷ And fast-food executives frequently talked to the business press about the ground to be made up in reaching American levels of ‘meals away from the home’ spending.³⁸ Thus, while one can appreciate Schlosser’s caveat against seeing fast food as an unstoppable phenomenon, there was a consensus of opinion in New Zealand that not only were the chains here to stay, they would continue expanding.

If America stood for anything it was a modern consumer society. The advertising of fast food did not have to emphasise Americana, New Zealanders were steadily adopting the trappings of a consumerism themselves such as suburban housing developments, shopping malls, and two-car households. American fast-food chains partially lost their foreign character as they depended on local business people to run the franchises, secured New Zealand capital investment, became fixtures of their host communities, and developed advertising messages which were credible to a large section of the New Zealand population. ‘American’ was not a pejorative term, but neither was the Stars and Stripes used as a ‘unique selling proposition’ for American fast-food advertisers. ‘G’day’ could co-exist with ‘have a nice day’ in New Zealand’s ‘fast-food nation’.

But before we simply conclude that Americana found a conducive and obliging home in New Zealand let us not overlook the fact that the fast-food chains had marketing muscle.³⁹ They had generous promotional budgets,

could employ the leading advertising agencies, and were able to secure the best commercial real estate for their outlets. While there is no direct equation between dollars spent on advertising and consumer demand for a company's products, Pizza Hut, KFC, and McDonald's relentless television advertising gave them a distinct advantage over their local 'indigenous' competitors.⁴⁰

New Zealand did not resist American fast food. Let me conclude with two alternative scenarios and to why this was the case. First, as I have suggested, the country was already embracing American-style consumerism in this era. While the chains were novel imports in the first few years of operation they were readily absorbed into an emerging New Zealand consumer society. In other words, there was nothing to actually resist. Alternatively, the general indifference to American cultural and economic influence compared (for the sake of argument) with France indicates that New Zealand had a weak or less-well defined sense of national identity that made it easy prey for wily American corporations. This study provides evidence for both propositions. And they may not be mutually exclusive. The next phase is to explore cultural reception and question whether or not the American inheritance registered at all with New Zealanders consuming fast food. But that is another project. The fact remains, however, that American fast-food chains have been hugely successful in New Zealand.

ENDNOTES

¹ The title of this paper comes from an 'advertorial' spread for the third New Zealand McDonald's in Lower Hutt, *Hutt News*, 6 December 1977, p.14. I would like to thank the following for their guidance and assistance in this research project: Eugene Rees and John Paynter for information on franchising in New Zealand, Peter Haynes and Glenda Fryer for employment and labour analyses of New Zealand's fast-food businesses, Jo Hill at McDonald's, Neil Livingstone and Andrea Geange at Colenso BBDO, Sally Williamson at the New Zealand Television Archive, Virginia Callanan at the New Zealand Film Archive and finally Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie for insights into New Zealand's social and cultural history. Stephanie Wyatt, Joe Flynn, and Helen Laurenson gave first-hand testimony of the excitement and novelty of eating at KFC in the 1970s, inspiring me to pursue this study in the first instance. Jill Somerfield and David Brailsford kindly read through earlier versions of this article.

² Ray Bailey and Mary Earle, *Home Cooking To Takeaways: Changes in Food Consumption in New Zealand During 1880-1990*, 2nd edn, Palmerston North, 1999, p. 265. In the *Auckland 2003 Yellow Pages* telephone directory fast-food restaurants come under the heading 'Family Restaurants' while there are three 'American' restaurants, one called Cal-Neva and two branches of the Lone Star Café and Bar.

³ Gary Lloyd quoted in Patrick Baird, 'Mac management: a look at the world's biggest small business', *Management*, October 1985, p.50.

⁴ McDonald's 'Kiwiburger' print advert (c.1990) can be viewed in colour (<http://www.mcdonalds.co.nz/index4.php>) under Information/History/Kiwi Icons. Video

copy of television commercial held by New Zealand Film Archive 'Selling New Zealand: Kiwi Icons', Accession number 1994.3736.2

⁵ In a similar vein Roger Horrocks noted that 'Hollywood' movies are never defined as 'foreign' in New Zealand, 'Hollywood' in Malcolm McKinnon (ed.) *The American Connection: Essays from The Stout Centre Conference*, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1988, p.69.

⁶ 'Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken comes to Auckland at the Roundabout Royal Oak', *Auckland Star*, 19 August 1971, pp.21-4.

⁷ Fiona Rotherham, 'All you can eat', *Unlimited*, December 2002-January 2003, p.22.

⁸ George Ritzer's *The McDonaldization of Society: An investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life*, Pine Forge Press, Thousand Oaks, 1996 is the best-known work which takes fast-food as a paradigm for the spread of efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control instigated by American corporations. John F. Love's *McDonald's: Behind the Arches*, revised edition, Bantam Books, New York, 1995 is the standard business history of the enterprise. John Vidal's *McLibel*, Macmillan, London, 1997, chronicles the libel action taken by McDonald's against Helen Steel and Dave Morris, revealing the lengths McDonald's was prepared to go to protect its public image. Eric Schlosser's *Fast Food Nation: What the All-American Meal is Doing to the World*, Penguin, London, 2002 is also worth consulting for a critical examination of fast-food's impact on contemporary society. A more positive account can be found in *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia* edited by James L. Watson, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1997 in which cultural anthropologists examined how McDonald's was incorporated into everyday life in East Asia. The Canadian experience of fast food is explored in Ester Reiter, *Making Fast Food: From the Frying Pan into the Fryer*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1991. The reception of McDonald's by Israelis is detailed in Maoz Azaryahu, 'McIsrael? On the "Americanization" of Israel', *Israel Studies*, 5 (1), 2000, pp.41-64.

⁹ Joe L. Kincheloe, *The Sign of the Burger: McDonald's and the Culture of Power*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2002, p.3.

¹⁰ It is axiomatic that phrases such as 'colonisation' and 'national identity' are fraught with difficulties in a New Zealand historical context. I take on board Peter Gibbons' comment that these are ideological constructs, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36 (1), April 2002, p.14. Chris Laidlaw discusses the challenge of 'McWorld' to New Zealand in a contemporary context in 'Marching to the Beat of McWorld', *Rights of Passage: Beyond the New Zealand Identity Crisis*, Hodder Moa Beckett, Auckland, 1999, pp.206-212. It is self-evident that 'America' is not a single, fixed identity. McDonald's may well represent 'America' for some, but it is an America of loyalty to a system and conformity interacting with an older tradition individualism and diversity, see John F. Love, p.7. What is interesting to note is how New Zealanders used 'America' as a form of shorthand to describe changes they were observing. Works dealing with American influences on New Zealand include: Geoff Lealand, *A Foreign Egg in Our Nest? American Popular Culture in New Zealand*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1988; Malcolm McKinnon, (ed.) *The American Connection: Essays from The Stout Centre Conference*, Allen & Unwin, Wellington, 1988; Jock Phillips, (ed.) *New Worlds? The Comparative History of New Zealand and the United States*, Stout Research Centre, Wellington, 1989; Redmer Yska, *All Shook Up: The Flash Bodgie and the Rise of the New Zealand Teenagers in the Fifties*, Penguin, Auckland, 1993; James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Allen Lane, Auckland, 2001, pp.251-4, pp.428-9. Joe Atkinson has examined the importation of American news and current affairs television production techniques by TVNZ, 'Hey Martha! The Reconstruction of One Network News', *Metro*, April 1994, pp.94-101. Kirsten Zemke-White's PhD thesis explored the impact of American rap music on New Zealand's youth, 'Rap music in Aotearoa: A Sociological and Musicological Analysis', PhD Thesis, University of Auckland, 2000. The

main books detailing American influence in Australia are Philip Bell and Roger Bell, *Implicated: The United States in Australia*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1993 and Philip Bell and Roger Bell, (eds.) *Americanization and Australia*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, 1998. Richard F. Kuisel's *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996, explores the on-going tensions between the United States and France. Theoretical discussions on American cultural influence/imperialism can be found in John Tomlinson, *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1991 and Mel van Elteren, 'Conceptualizing the Impact of US Popular Culture Globally', *Journal of Popular Culture*, 30 (1), 1996, pp.47-89.

¹¹ The complexities of national identity (or national identities) is discussed in Mel van Elteren's article, pp.51-4.

¹² Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37 (1), April 2003, pp.38-49 is the most recent foray into the discussion on national identity. His article provides a useful overview of the existing literature and he further notes the absence of studies of shopping and advertising in New Zealand and suggests that seeing New Zealand as part of a wider world consumer system (since the nineteenth century) undercuts constructs of national identity.

¹³ Claim made by Jim Harrington, KFC's marketing manager to Chris Pearson, 'To Live and Die in Food', *Marketing*, October 1989, p.51.

¹⁴ 'Not so much a hamburger, More a way of life' television documentary, directed by Marcia Russell, broadcast 28 June 1977, copy held by New Zealand Television Archive, Lower Hutt, Basis Form No. P6314.

¹⁵ David Young, 'Americana Hits Porirua', *Listener*, 28 August 1976, p.16.

¹⁶ Tom Brow, managing director of Homestead Chicken, quoted in Karl du Fresne, 'First, catch your customer...', *Listener*, 23 August 1980, p.17.

¹⁷ Karina Bliss, 'Big and Brash-and Bringing in the Bucks', *Hospitality*, August 1987, p.32.

¹⁸ Using advertising texts as historic sources has grown in popularity since the publication of Roland Marchand's seminal *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity 1920-1940*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1985. Duke University's John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising, and Marketing History has an excellent set of guidance notes (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/mma/classroom.html>). from Nancy Tomes of the State University of New York on strategies for using advertisements as historic sources; *Advertising & Society Review* had a comprehensive selection of 'classic' texts on dealing with advertising and history in a special feature: 'What is Advertising?: An Anthology of Scholarship about Advertising and Society', 1 (1), 2000.

¹⁹ Wally Morris and Ray Stonelake quoted in *Kapi-Mana News*, 1 June 1976, p.16.

²⁰ See Pauline Ray, 'Biting Big Into A Fast Feed', *Listener*, 28 August 1976, p.14, David Young, 'Americana Hits Porirua', *Listener*, 28 August 1976, p.16 and Karl du Fresne, 'First, catch your customer...', *Listener*, 23 August 1980, pp.16-17.

²¹ Ray, pp.14-16.

²² 'The World's most popular pizza comes to New Zealand', Pizza Hut advertisement, *Western Leader*,

10 September 1974, p.19; 'Colonel Sanders' Kentucky Fried Chicken comes to Auckland at the Roundabout Royal Oak', *Auckland Star*, 19 August 1971, pp.21-4 and 'Hutt Gets NZ's Third McDonald's', *Hutt News*, 6 December 1977, p.14.

²³ James L. Watson in *Golden Arches East* notes that in Asia McDonald's traded on its American novelty value in its early years but soon it lost its status as an exotic import. Long-term it had to reposition itself in these markets, which it did by targeting youngsters in these countries, p.19 and p.35.

²⁴ These sentiments were expressed in 'Feeding on success...', *National Business Review*, 14 May 1984, p.46 and Mark Scott, 'McDonald's: The Plastic Marae', *Metro*, November 1987, p.256.

²⁵ Mark McLoughlin, 'Optimists Scent Growth in Fast Foods', *Marketing Magazine's Top Brand Advertisers 1991*, p.35.

²⁶ 'Agencies argue as KFC finally flies the coop', *Ad/Media*, February 1989, p.1 and p.15.

²⁷ KFC television commercials came from two sources. The New Zealand Film Archive has KFC commercials on the following VHS tapes: 'Selling New Zealand: Family Ties', Accession No. 1994.3736.6, 'Selling New Zealand Compilation 2 Tape 2', Accession No. 1994.3063.2, 'TVC Compilation 1', Accession No. 1994.3076, and 'Colenso Compilation', Accession No. 1994.1711. Colenso BBDO kindly supplied the author with two VHS compilation tapes of approximately 40 different KFC commercials from the 1970s and 1980s.

²⁸ Anita McNaught, 'Can Homestead Outsmart The Colonel?', *Marketing Magazine*, September 1987, p.28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.26.

³⁰ 'Kentucky Fried Chicken Street Interviews', New Zealand Film Archive, Accession No. 2003.3312.

³¹ McDonald's television commercials held at New Zealand Film Archive, 'McDonald's TVC Compilation', Accession No. 2003.2362 and 'Selling New Zealand: Kiwi Icons', Accession No. 1994.3736.2. New Zealand Television Archive, 'Archive Commercials Tape 1', Basis Form Number P3155. It is worth noting that initiatives such as the Kiwiburger are not always successful in overseas markets. For instance, in Great Britain, McDonald's attempt to market a McPloughman's lunch failed, see James Watson, p.24.

³² John Sinclair, *Images Incorporated: Advertising as Industry and Ideology*, Croom Helm, London, 1987,

pp.167-8. Sinclair argues that if there is a process of homogenisation in the exporting of American culture it is across likeminded social classes in different countries, Sinclair, p.160.

³³ Jose Bové, who in an act of civil disobedience demolished a McDonald's store under construction in his home town of Millau in 1999, is perhaps the best-known and high profile activist, becoming in the process a French national hero in the eyes of some of his country-folk. See Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, p.244 and Kincheloe, *Sign of the Burger*, p.3.

³⁴ See Kul Bhatia, 'The Bear and the Burger', *Pacific Way*, July 1990, pp.21-23 and Ritzer, *McDonaldization of Society*, p.4.

³⁵ Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, p.7.

³⁶ Young, 'Americana Hits Porirua', *Listener*, 28 August 1976, p.16.

³⁷ Jock Phillips, 'Celebration...', *Listener*, 24 July 1976, p.14.

³⁸ New Zealand household spending on food not cooked at home was estimated to be slightly lower than in Australia and significantly lower than the United States. The widely accepted figure was that about half the meals consumed in the United States were purchased rather than home cooked. See Karina Bliss, 'Big and Brash-and Bringing in the Bucks', *Hospitality*, August 1987, p.30, Carroll du Chateau, 'What's Really Going on: Food', *Metro*, January 1988, p.89, and Jo Jalfron 'Feeding the fast food industry', *Hospitality*, December 1994, p.33.

³⁹ The best example of a local competitor attempting to out pace an American rival is Homestead Chicken's rise and fall in the 1980s. In 1987 it looked as if Homestead could seriously challenge KFC. See Anita McNaught, 'Can Homestead Outsmart The Colonel?', *Marketing Magazine*, September 1987, pp.18-30. Homestead's demise was examined by Chris Wheeler, 'The Fall of a Rising Star', *Marketing Magazine*, August 1989, pp.25-30. The high-profile collapse of another local fast-food operator, Georgie Pie, was covered by Gordon Campbell, 'Pie in the Sky', *Listener*, 11 September 1996, pp.18-20.

⁴⁰ Joe Kincheloe criticises the academic studies (such as James Watson et al *Golden Arches East*) which he thinks over-emphasise the ways in which local communities appropriate American fast-food outlets for their own ends. Kincheloe argues that this approach negates

'hegemony' and the power of corporations to control and manipulate signs and symbols. See Kincheloe, *Sign of the Burger*, pp.125-33.