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Final Thesis

The hybridization of American fast-food

McDonald's in Italy

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Alla mia famiglia, senza di voi tutto questo non sarebbe stato possibile, grazie per esserci sempre stati

Ai miei amici e in particolare a Sara, grazie per aver condiviso con me questo percorso e aver contribuito a renderlo più speciale

A Giuseppe, grazie per avermi sempre supportata con amore e aver sempre creduto in me

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ABSTRACT

The story of McDonald's started in 1948, when two brothers in California created a new concept for the fast-food restaurant. This new type of business under the guide of Ray Kroc diffused in most countries of the world. The rapid success was given by different factors as an extensive marketing campaign, a well-designed franchise system, and an efficient production. Over the years McDonald's has become the symbol of American imperialism, mass consumption and standardization. The expansion all over the world has not been without problems. Even if the chain has tried to localize at best its outlets, when the McDonald's opened in 1986 the biggest fast-food restaurant of that time in Italy, in Piazza di Spagna, many forms of oppositions had grown.

This study will try to analyse the reasons behind the low process of development of McDonald's in Italy by keeping as main references the studies done by Emanuela Scarpellini and Victoria de Grazia on the influence of the American way of life on the Italian culture. For analysing the reactions to the opening of McDonald's in Rome and for understanding how these reactions might have influenced the strategy of the brand in Italy in the following years, more than 50 newspaper articles which appeared on the most important Italian newspapers and magazines were collected. From this analysis emerge that there was an ambivalent attitude toward the American model spread by the global chain and McDonald's needed to undertake a process of "Italianization" to be accepted by the Italian consumers. Nonetheless, other social movements diffused over the years as Slow Food or thesis as the McDonaldization of society developed by the sociologist George Ritzer, which sustains that the principles of fast food are dominating most sectors of the society, demonstrate that the debate on the negative influence of McDonald's on local culture is still open and necessitate further investigations.

INTRODUCTION

Food culture is a crucial component of the Italian national identity. Italians are proud of their culinary traditions and gastronomic habits and have exported them all over the world. Food traditions and recipes are, however, the result of a continuous process of social construction, of the circulation and stratification of practices across historical times and geographic locations. This circulation has resulted in a process of creolization, domestication, and hybridization which has made each local cuisine distinctive.

Over the last eighty years, the Italian food market has changed significantly with the introduction of supermarkets, convenience foods and fast-food restaurants. These innovations have something in common: each of them had its origins in the United States.

During the 1950s, Italy, as many other nations, went through a process that economic and social historians define as "Americanization" – the successful, although controversial, diffusion of the U.S. model of mass production and consumption.

The "American Way of Life" disembarked in Italy with the US troops and the Marshall Plan's aids, but also in many unconventional ways, through the excitement related to the Hollywood films, the entertainment provided by the television programmes, the spread of new communicational tools, advertising, and through the success of the rock, jazz and soul music. However, not everybody considered the American influence as positive. There was some uncertainty related to the forms in which the modernity of the United States could co-exist with the Italian traditions. In 1986, thirty-one years after the end of the Second World War, this debate was latent but still present and the opening of McDonald's, one of the symbols *par excellence* of the American way of life, in Rome, in the magnificent Piazza di Spagna, reignited it.

The aim of my dissertation is to shed light on how American food innovations, and, in particular, the opening of the fast-food chain McDonald's, was received in Italy by journalists and the public opinion and how they had been re-worked and hybridized in order to adapt to the tastes and sympathies of Italian customers and institutional actors.

In the first part of my work, following the studies of Victoria De Grazia and the rich historiography on the subject, I analysed the social, cultural and economic conditions which were at the origins of the diffusion of fast-food in the United States. I moved, then, to the analysis of the Italian context and placed the divisive reception of McDonald's in

Italy by Italian actors in the larger context of the evolution of the Italian consumption habits after the end of the Second World War. I located my case study, the one of the strategic adaptation of the McDonald's chain in Italy, in the broader picture drafted by the historian Emanuela Scarpellini, whose works significantly contributed to narrate the evolution and cultural transformation of food in Italy.

Although the history of consumption, and even more food consumption, has been for a long time considered by economic and political historians a topic of second rate compared, for example, to the history of business or diplomacy, after the end of the Twenty Century, with the so call "cultural turn", it has become popular.

Secondary literature on this topic is rich and the history of food culture is indeed at the crossroad of many sub-disciplines. In my research, I made reference to the approaches and works of social and cultural historians who focused on consumption, as Victoria De Grazia, Roberta Sassatelli and Scarpellini; sociologists of culture and economy, among them George Ritzer and Jonathan Zeitlin; cultural historians of technology as Ruth Oldenziel and Ruth Schwarz Cohan adopting a social constructivist approach to innovation. In my work, I also considered the secondary business history literature making reference to the history of the US fast food chain and its multinational strategy.

In addition, to analyse the reception of the American fast food in Italy, I have searched the archives of most Italian important newspapers and magazines and selected more than 50 articles which devoted significant attention to the activities of the US chain in Italy. I picked up the ones written by well-known journalists or the ones which dealt with the opening in more critical way. More precisely: 10 articles from "La Repubblica", 9 from "La Stampa", 28 from "Il Corriere della Sera", 2 are from the weekly magazine "Panorama", other 5 are from the magazine "L'Espresso" and one article is from an American journal "The New York Times".

I finally collected press and scholarly articles on reactions to the opening of McDonald's worldwide to compare what happened in Italy with what happened elsewhere.

The first chapter describes the social and cultural history of food in the United States, and how McDonald's has expanded its business in a period of social, economic, and demographic changes (the 1950s and 1960s). The recipe for the success was obtained through a combination of different factors: the introduction into McDonald's operations

of the assembly line system, a strategic use of advertising by targeting children, and a well implemented franchise system. McDonald's became soon an example to follow and with an increase in franchise units of the 758% from 1961 to 1971[1], it seemed that there were no boundaries to the expansion of the American chain. But, this proved in fact not completely true when the company decided to cross the Ocean and open its subsidiaries in Europe.

As in the United Stated seventy years before, also in post-war Italy the speeding up of the rate of industrialization was accompanied by a significant increase in consumption. The Italian "Economic Miracle" was shaped to a significant degree by diffusion of the American model of mass production and consumption. As literature on post-war Americanization has underlined, the spread of US technology and organizational and cultural practices caused many actors, from entrepreneurs to intellectuals, to be sceptical, worried and even hostile. The well-known Italian journalist Giorgio Bocca wrote many articles in which he expressed concerns for the role that the new habits of consumptions could have on the society: in his view, Italy was becoming rich, impatient and was forgetting politeness.

In the 1980s, when the first McDonald's in Italy opened its doors in Piazza di Spagna (Rome) the reactions were strong. In the second chapter of the thesis, I analysed how these responses were reported by the media. According to the press, there were two fronts of respondents: those who appreciated and loved the American chain (students and tourists) and those who asked for the immediate closure of the restaurant (shopkeepers, journalists, urbanists, politicians). In the following pages, I tried to understand if and how these reactions had some consequence on the strategy of the American chain at the light of the domestication theories. I showed that the expansion of McDonald's in Italy found in fact powerful opponents which forced the company to become less "American" and to make some effort to adapt to Italian culture, architecture, taste.

This became evident at the beginning of the 21st Century. If the debate of the 1980s was dictated also by the strong anti Americanist feelings due to the bombing in Libya, by the strong Italian communist Party and the tensions of the last stages of the Cold War, with

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[1] Hackett, D.O. (Spring 1976), "The international expansion of U.S. Franchise systems: status and strategies", *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 65-75.

the turn of the century, the opposition to McDonald's had a different ideological background, although convergent arguments.

In the last chapter of my work, I focused on the thesis of the McDonaldization of the society developed by the sociologist Ritzer and on the Slow Food Movement. The Slow Food Movement founded by Carlo Petrini in 1986, exactly when McDonald's opened in Piazza di Spagna, had and still has the aim of contrasting the speed of the fast life, by promoting a slower lifestyle through the rediscovery of the pleasure of taste. According to the founder it is essential to emphasize regional and traditional cooking, which represents the main obstacle to the degrading effects of fast-food.

The case of the old town of Altamura, where the opening of a small bakery near to the McDonald's restaurant, in 2002, forced the chain to close might somehow signal that the age of McDonald's is almost over and that the local traditions successfully resisted to the homogenization tendencies. It should be probably studied how much the local had to change to be able to change the global.

CHAPTER 1. BUILDING THE AMERICAN CULTURE OF CONSUMPTION: HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FAST-FOOD AND ADVERTISING

1.1 Changes in the American society: the development of the mass market and mass consumption

With the 2nd Industrial Revolution, the United States, the most formidable "developmental state", according to William Lazonick's definition, made its entry on the global economic landscape.[2]

The American economy could count on cheap resources, unskilled labour, and homogeneous demand, ideal conditions to lay the ground for the emergence, at the end of the 19th century, of the American system of manufacturing - use of standardized interchangeable parts in sewing machines and weapon production - and a few decades later, of the assembly line (1914), which allowed Henry Ford to replace skilled labour with machinery and mass produce cars. This led in a rather short time to the technological and productivity leadership of the United States.[3]

The "Roaring Twenties" were fundamental for the spread of prosperity and change across America. New products emerged, the process of production became more routinized, large economies of scale and of scope proliferated, leading to lower prices. The American economy boomed with an increase of the industrial production of the 64% with respect to the previous decade, and a crucial role in this remarkable growth was played by the automobile industry.[4]

Ford combined different elements - the moving assembly line, the "move the metal" logic, the standardization of parts, the use of unskilled workers to give way to an innovative model of production allowing the manufacture of large volumes of standardized products. Through these new methods of production, the Ford Motor Company was manufacturing more than the 60% of all motor vehicles made in the United States during the 1920s.

Fordism was more than this: ensuring a minimum wage of $5 per day and 40-hour workweek allowed to reduce the high turnovers which plagued US workshops and to

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[2] Lazonik, W. (2010), "Innovative Business Models and Varieties of Capitalism: Financialization of the U.S. Corporation", *Business History Review 84*, p. 676.

[3] Broadberry, S.N. (Mar., 1994), "Technological Leadership and Productivity Leadership in Manufacturing Since the Industrial Revolution: Implications for the Convergence Debate", *The Economic Journal*, Vol. 104, No. 423, pp. 291-292.

[4] Wikipedia, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Deal

build employees loyalty. Furthermore, by improving the working conditions of his employees, Ford gave them the opportunity of buying the cars they made.[5] Mass production was applied to different industries to manufacture thousands of consumer goods. Starting from the 1920s, new mass-produced consumer goods invaded every sphere of the human existence, from cars to kitchen and domestic appliances.

New communication instruments like the radio and telegraph allowed a faster transmission of information and the development of a more reliable and cheaper transportation gave the opportunity to the American country to reach a global presence. This system contributed to the increase of mass consumption spending in the nation and to the expansion of the middle-class consumer.

Independently by the level of income and power policy makers started to consider every citizen a consumer and a potential purchaser of goods in the American marketplace. Demand\consumers and not supply\sellers begin to drive\decide which goods had to be produced. As Victoria De Grazia made clear one of the key features that characterized the success of the American (Market) Empire was its democratic ethos as expressed by the sense of commonality embedded into the standardized products.[6]

The system of mass production had an overall impact of decreasing costs, customers recognized the convenience of earning money to purchase goods and services rather than to produce them at home.

Consumption was further stimulated by the spread of advertising: the use of different techniques of persuasion created new wants and the accumulation of material goods became a new trend; in addition, the diffusion of the radio and of print media increased the opportunities to reach American consumers anywhere.

In this scenario, the concept of convenience became another important feature promoted by the industries, particularly by the food sector. Foods that were easy to prepare and

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[5] McCraw, Thomas K., and Richard S. Tedlow (1996), "Henry Ford, Alfred Sloan, and the Three Phases of Marketing TN.", *Harvard Business School Teaching Note*, 797-037, pp. 273 -275.
[6] De Grazia, V. (2005), *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe,* The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, p. 8.

which allowed to save consumers' time and labour started to attract the American housewives.

The living standards improved: the goods and services that once were considered essential for the subsistence changed, more necessities emerged and the distinction between luxuries and fundamental goods became more blurred.

The amount of dollars once considered necessary to live increased, women slowly became an important social group and an important component of the labour force.

In the Roaring Twenties, the same image of young women changed: the so-called *flapper* wore short hair and dresses, rolled-up stockings and excessive make up. Their reckless and bold behaviour demonstrated that women had started to express themselves outside the home life.

However, the *flapper* represented only a minority of American women, the female employment grew slowly after the World War I, and women were often employed in those jobs that traditionally were associated to female roles often with an unequal pay and a different treatment. Women rarely performed the same tasks of men, and their work was often considered transitory.[7]

Even the introduction of new households' appliances did little to reduce the amount of households' work required from women. Some inventions, such as washing machines and gas stoves remained too expensive, and only a small part of population could afford them. Domestic technology made the housework less intensive, but not time saving. The expectations for female household work didn't change but increased, especially regarding aspects as the children education and their role on consumption. Inventions were not designed to shorten the household work, but to improve the living standards.[8]

Nonetheless, according to the American historian, Estelle B. Freedman the growth of capitalism and the increase in women employment were at the basis for disrupting the traditional separation of roles within the family. [9]

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[7] Cowan, R. S. (January 1979), "From Virginia Dare to Virginia Slims: Women and Technology in American Life", *Technology and Culture*, 20, p. 53.

[8] McGaw, J.A. (Summer, 1982) "Women and the History of American Technology", *The University of Chicago Press*, Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 814.

[9] Freedman, E. B., (2002), *No Turning back the history of feminism and the future of women*, The Random House Publishing Group, p. 16.

Women started to express their rights as citizens, insisting on the value of their economic contribution and asking for more equality on the political sphere.

After the achievement of the suffrage in 1920, more women started to create female organizations and to orchestrate committees and conferences in this way the feminism movement started to grow too.

Despite this economic and social growth, the Twenties ended with the Wall Street Crash of October 1929, the industrial production fell dramatically, many Americans lost their job and banks went bankruptcy.

In response to this dramatic situation came the New Deal, which through a series of measures helped in reconstructing the American economy. Welfare programs, new regulations for the banking system, the industry and agriculture were the basis for a more active role of the Federal Government in the economy.

According to Lizabeth Cohen, another, less well known and mentioned by scholars, key feature of the economic recovery was the key role in rebuilding the economy that policy makers attributed to consumers. Invoking and empowering the consumer became an instrument that politicians used to promote the public good and the rights of the population.[10]

The end of the Great Depression came only with the beginning of the World War II. Between the 1939 and 1944 industrial production almost doubled, and unemployment decreased from 14% to less than 2%. [11]

The war created millions of new jobs, more than 200,000 women started to work to replace those men who joined the forces, women participation to the workforce started to be fundamental and "Rosie the Riveter", became the star of an American campaign aimed at recruiting women for defence industries during the war. She was the symbol of all those women working in manufacturing, they were motivated by a sense of patriotism, and a significant number of married women started to work.[12]

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[10] Cohen, L. (2003), *A consumer's republic the politics of mass consumption in post-war America*, Vintage Books, New York, p. 27.

[11] Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_United_States_(1918%E2%80%931945).

[12]CliffssNotes, https://www.cliffsnotes.com/study-guides/history/us-history-ii/the-second-world-war-19411945/the-home-front.

Figure 1. Rosie the Riveter, represented on the cover of the the Saturday Evening Post on May 23, 1943. Source: Il Post, https://www.ilpost.it/2013/06/06/rosie-the-riveter/.

Although these changes gave a greater importance to the role of women, the wages they received tended to be always lower than those received by men, even if they occupied the same position and had the same experience. Many women left the work after the war, but at the same time a large part of the female population continued working.

After the 2nd World War new needs emerged: many people moved away from major US cities and started to live in the suburbs, far away from shopping and work, this trend determined a significant increase in the demand of cars due to the crisis of public transport.

With the development of new techniques for the conservation and preparation of food, the opportunities for food consumption moved out of the home, after the war new techniques for freezing foods had been perfected on a commercial scale contributing to the increase in the marketplace presence of ready to eat foods. This new trend-built competition between supermarkets and fast-food restaurants, either served ready to eat foods.

Among one of the most influential factors in determining the frequency with which a family bought ready to eat food either at home or outside there was the wife's employment status. Households in which the wife had a full-time work were used to spend almost twice on restaurant food per week compared to those families in which the wife had no outside job.[13] The sociologists Cameron L. MacDonald and Carmen Sirianni

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[13] Reiter, E. (1991), *Making Fast Food: from the frying pan into the fryer,* McGill Queens University, p. 17.

described the effect of the "feminization of work". The entrance of women in the workforce increased the demand for those services that once were traditionally provided by housewives for free, like cooking.[14]

By the 1950s, the combination of new technologies, the increased role of women in the workforce, the growing presence of automobiles and the expansion of new suburbs transformed both shopping and eating habits.

1.2 The evolution: from restaurants to fast food

The evolution of the restaurant industry was not a linear process characterized by an immediate success. Several changes have affected this industry particularly starting from the 19th century and in this paragraph some of the major steps regarding the development of this sector will be analysed by focusing on the transition from restaurants to fast-food.

For this study the definition of fast-food includes all those eating places where the customer obtains a highly efficient and quick service, where food can be consumed either in or outside.[15] The focus will be on the major American fast-food chains that are present globally, and for this reason the term "quick service restaurant" will be used as a synonym for indicating these eating places.

Several factors contributed to the expansion and to the success of the fast-food industry. Among these there are a combination of social and technological changes and the application of different management techniques, that have been applied only starting from the 1950s.

The concept of a restaurant, intended as a place that served meals to customers, was a new one during the beginning of the 19th century, dining out was not considered a popular activity.

As underlined by the historian Cindy R. Loben, the first restaurants were located near the financial and commercial districts, in the larger cities as New York. In particular, the author emphasized the correlation between the development of urbanization and the rise

[14] MacDonald, C.L, Sirianni, C. (1996), *Working in the service society*, Temple University Press, p. 2.
[15] Royle T., Towers B. (2002), *Labour Relations in the Global Fast-Food Industry*, Routledge, London, pp. 14-15.

of New York's restaurants. Another key feature of the 19th century restaurant was the rigid level of stratification along lines of gender and class.

Indeed, the main clientele of the first restaurants was composed by those businessmen, who worked downtown and were too far for consuming their meals at home. In the U.S. one of the first restaurants called Delmonico's was founded in New York City in 1837, following the model of the Parisian restaurants. With its luxurious dining rooms and an exclusive menu, it became a place dedicated to the upper-class of American men. Those exclusive restaurants became not only a place for dining out, but for many New Yorkers it was an opportunity for conducting businesses, and for forging political and commercial connections.

Nonetheless restaurants as Delmonico's were available only for a restricted niche of the population. New York developed its own restaurant culture with eating places as the short-order houses that gave an opportunity to dine out to all those businessmen that were searching a cheap and quick meal during the workday.[16]

Another part of the population that was excluded from the majority part of restaurants were women, who sometimes were not allowed to enter in those eating places even by the law. Ladies' restaurants began to emerge in the 1830s, this event signed an important step in the development of the New York's public culture. In those places, middle-class women started to participate more actively to the society while maintaining their respectability.

As cities as New York expanded, travellers and tourists needed a place for eating out. In the 1900s hotel dining rooms started to emerge in the United States, following the model of European hotels.[17]

Up to the World War I, with the development of long-distance transports, the majority part of eating places began to be inns situated on travel routes. However, the technologies for keeping and transporting food were still rudimental. For the working class dining out was still not accessible for the everyday life, and food prepared at home was preferable

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[16] Lobel, C.R. (Summer/Autumn 2010), "Out to Eat: The Emergence and Evolution of the Restaurant in Nineteenth-Century New York City", *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 44, No. 2/3, pp. 193-220.
[17] History, https://www.history.com/news/first-restaurants-china-france

from an economic point of view. Strong class distinctions and workers' strikes for reduction of the workweek signed a weak development of restaurants during those years.

During the Twenties, the introduction of the mass production system in different industries gave more working and consumption opportunities to people. Other changes occurred in the industry: the development of urbanization and of transports continued, in 1927 four out of every five cars present in the world were situated in the United States.[18] Many more people started traveling greater distances and restaurants enhanced their image by promoting their activity in journals.

As the industrialization of the country continued, the urban workforce increased, and more meals were consumed out of home, with a following growth in the number of eating places in the United States. During the 1920s, the movement to prohibit alcohol, which banned the production, importation, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages, enhanced the request for liquor-free eating places. The emergence of new types of places as cafeterias sandwich shops, and tea rooms enhanced the opportunities also for women and families to dining out. The role of women emerged in the restaurant industry and during the 1890s and 1930s, the number of restaurants under a female leadership grew from 2,400 to 40,000, even if they constituted only the 18% of all restaurants.[19]

Chains of lunchrooms started to emerge in the largest cities, in Chicago the Thompson lunchrooms and the Baltimore Dairy Lunchrooms grow to more than 100 outlets by 1920.[20] A quicker service started to be promoted by the main street cafés that concentrated their fast service on breakfast and on lunch, usually offering a wider menu than the lunchrooms.

Because of the Depression in 1929s, profits in the restaurant industry declined. More people were willing to work longer hours at lower wages, the preparation of meals remained still a labour-intensive process as the techniques for the division of labour, for standardization, and for the use of machines needed still to be perfected on a larger scale.

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[18] McCraw *et. al*, "Henry Ford", p. 267.
[19] Whitaker J. (2005), "Domesticating the Restaurant: Marketing the Anglo-American Home", in Avakian A.V., Haber B., *From Betty Crocker to Feminist Food Studies (Eds)*, University of Massachusetts Amherst, United States of America, pp. 89-91.
[20] Jakle, J. A., Sculle K. A. (1999), *Fast Food: Roadside Restaurants in the Automobile Age,* The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, p.29.

Eating out was affordable just for the upper and middle-class and eating at home remained still the preferred option for the lower class.

As discussed in the previous paragraph, the beginning of the World War II signed the end of the Great Depression in the U.S., following a significant increase of demand also for the restaurant industry.

Even if the restaurant industry boomed, restaurateurs needed to face several problems. One of the major issues was the scarcity of raw materials like meat, as restaurant's owners were used to deal with to the low demand that characterized the prewar years. French fries, that became popular during the war, started to be an economic solution to the problem of scarcity.[21]

Another problem was related to the shortage of labor supply, as the economy prospered, few wanted to work in the restaurant industry. With the aim of solving this issue, new management techniques were introduced, and a more extensive division of labor was employed.

The years from the 1950s had been fundamental for the development of the restaurant industry. The baby boom years, after the World War II, marked a significant growth of the population given the increase of the birth rates. Other developments involved the communication and transportation industry, with an increase of almost 400 percent of vehicles on road by the 1955.[22] Mechanization was further developed and began to be used more intensively into the restaurants, this allowed to improve the morale of workers, who didn't need anymore to do those annoying tasks such as: peeling vegetables, washing dishes as they were replaced by different appliances.

However, one of the most important progresses that allowed to increase profits was the introduction of the so-called convenience foods, foods that were ready to be eaten, produced in central locations by food processors. Those in combination with dehydrated and frozen foods were fundamental for transforming the industry.[23]

Enjoying a meal out of home became popular and affordable not only for those workers that were travelling, but also for the family. Dining out began to have an important social function for socializing, discussing, and bringing families especially when a growing

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[21] Smith, A.F. (2008), *Hamburger a Global History,* Reaktion Books Ltd, London, p. 37.
[23] Reiter, *Making Fast Food*, pp. 41-44.

number of women entered in the workforce. By the 1950s a new concept of eating out emerged with the significant growth of fast-food chains in the U.S. Quick service restaurants emerged in a period of postwar prosperity signed by an economic, birth and suburban boom. This together with the domain of the mass market and the middle-income families who constituted over half of the population constituted a perfect scenario for the development of fast-food.

One of the first fast-food chains, selling hamburgers at only five cents, was White Castle founded in 1921.[24] In a period in which new concerns arose regarding germs and the link between hygiene and wealth was discovered, the design of the White Castle, characterized by white interiors and by employees wearing spotless uniform, reassured customers that their food was prepared in a clean and sterile environment. The introduction of concepts as standardization and uniformity allowed a faster, and an easier preparation of food. The small price at which hamburgers were sold constituted a small privilege that people could afford also during the Great Depression.

However, the success of White Castle didn't last for a long time and, after the war, with the growing number of cars on the roads, and the transfer of people from the city centers to the suburbs, many more Americans wanted to drive in for their meals.

This is why the origin of fast-food is often (incorrectly) associated with the diffusion of McDonald's in the American landscape. McDonald's was founded in 1948, by the two brothers Maurice and Richard McDonald in San Bernardino, California. The recipe for the rapid success of the quick service restaurant was simple: fast, reliable, tasty, and convenient food.

The real development of McDonald's began only when the milkshake machines salesman, Ray Kroc, in 1954 visited the outlet in San Bernardino. He recognized the potential of the store and signed a contract with the two brothers authorizing him to sell McDonald's franchises in the nation. Under the Ray Kroc's management of the business, McDonald's expanded in a short period of time from the first outlet in San Bernardino to more than 300 stores in 44 states by 1961.[25]

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[24]Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, p. 25.
[25]Penfold, S. (2008), "Fast Food", in Jeffrey M. Pilcher (Eds), *The Oxford handbook of food history*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 25.

The recipe for the success was obtained through a combination of different factors. First, the introduction into McDonald's operations of the assembly line system. This production process founded by Henry Ford, was applied in this case through a strong division of labor for the preparation of meals. Each worker had a precise workstation and performed simple tasks with minimum training: some heated the hamburgers, others fried, others packaged the meal and still others prepared the beverages. The introduction of new technologies allowed to simplify the labor that once was done by hand, and with the development of innovations as the drive through windows, consumers could simply drive and pick up the order by car; an increasing level of efficiency was reached.[26] However, few of the innovations introduced were entirely new, but they had been adapted to a new context.

In combination with the introduction of the assembly line there was the application of standardization. A limited menu offerings constituted mainly by hamburgers, French fries, milkshakes combined with a limited service, was the perfect combination for providing a quick and cheap meal. Standardization was then applied in each outlet where the same offer, service, food's taste could be found in every McDonald's point. Standardization was applied also for the design of each outlet, characterized by walls with red and white stripes, and the symbol of the "golden arches" on the roof. Lots of glass were present in each store making the preparation of food visible to customers, and for providing a clean image. In fact, the mantra of Ray Kroc was based on "Quality, Service, Cleanliness, and Value".[27]

Second, this overall working system allowed to resolve the problem of the scarcity of labor supply and to introduce young and unskilled men in the workforce. Skilled workers, who were more difficult to be managed and more expensive were no longer required, and people with no experience willing to work for long hours at low wages as immigrants and young students, were preferred. The use of cheap labor force, allowed to maintain the costs low and to increase profits.

Third, another important element for the fast-food success was the American demographic change. With the rapid development of suburbs, the growing tendency of getting around by car and the increasing number of children, McDonald's focused on

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[26] Ritzer, G. (1983), "The McDonaldization of Society", *Journal of American culture*, p. 101.
[27] Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, p. 50.

having American families as core customers and for reaching them opened the first outlets outside the cities. They did almost everything to avoid their outlets from becoming meeting points for teenagers, by banning vending machines, telephones, and by refusing to hire women until the law allowed to do that.

Another relevant change was the increasing number of women working outside home, fast-food were an economic solution for those women who didn't have enough time for preparing meals for their families. One of slogans of the fast-food chain KFC in 1968, that briefly expressed the opportunity that quick service restaurants gave to women was: «Colonel Sanders is a woman's best friend, fixes Sunday dinner seven days a week. For weary wives. For working women. All you do is pick it up». [28]

Fourth, advertising was for sure another important element that contributed to the development of the fast-food chains. McDonald's started to promote nationally in 1966 with its first ever TV commercial, the same year that the company went public. According to Eric Schlosser, the author of "Fast-Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal" (2001), McDonald's was among one of the companies that spent more on promotion and advertising than any other brand.[29] Indeed, for Ray Kroc it was important not only to focus on the product but also on the overall experience offered to customers.

Finally, franchise was the most important strategy used for the rapid expansion of McDonald's in the U.S. and subsequently in almost every part of the world. Through franchising it was given the right to one individual or group of people to sell the products under the name, the brand of the franchisor. In 1968 Ray Kroc opened the Hamburger University, all franchisees needed to attend the courses to learn all the standardized procedures that were fundamental for the success of the business. [30]

This method of distribution allowed to open more than 35,000 outlets in more than 100 countries at the beginning of the 21st century, without large outlays of money.[31] The rapid success of the fast-food chain didn't go unnoticed and different clones of the Ray Kroc's

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[28] Penfold, S. (2012), *The Oxford Handbook of Food History Fast Food*, p. 12.
[29] Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, pp. 52-53.
[30] Ronald D., E., Michman, Mazze E. (1998), *The food industry wars: marketing triumphs and blunders*, Quorum Books, p. 39.
[31] Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/topic/McDonalds.

business emerged soon, however not every fast-food followed the franchise system and the techniques of the McDonald's giant.

The founders of In-out Burger, Esther, and Harry Snyder, decided not to franchise their operation and preserved a familiar conduction, since 1948. Even the practices for the management of workers were different: employees' wages were higher than the minimum wages required by the law, and they had also workers' benefits as the life insurance. Also, the ingredients used were different: fresh potatoes were cut every day, milkshakes were made from real ice-cream, and the outlets didn't have freezers.

But the case of In-Out Burger was just one of the few exceptions. As the business of McDonald's started to prosper different, future entrepreneurs of fast-food chains visited the outlet since the beginning, and by the 1954 lots of quick service restaurants based on the model of McDonald's appeared in the U.S.[32] In 1952 KFC started to sell its chickens to restaurants and began franchise in the same year. Insta-Burger King started in Florida, which later became Burger King, began to franchise nationally in 1961 and became one of the major competitors of McDonald's. Wendy's opened in 1969, in Ohio, by focusing the offer on larger burgers and by concentrating on young adults as core customers, who were willing to spend more in change for quality.

One of the other factors that contributed to the success of the fast-food was given by the fact that were very different from formal restaurants. Fast foods were and still today are characterized by informality, opposed to the majority part of restaurants. The "No Tipping Policies" and the introduction of the self-service system communicated since the beginning a casual and open form of socialization between the server and customers.

Customers do not expect to be served, but the opposite: they do part of the work through the introduction of the self-service system. They place the order, wait, take their food, and are responsible for throwing the trash. In this way a reduction of costs is obtained for effect of what has been defined "work transfer"[33], through which part of the work is moved from the employees to other people. Indeed, quick service restaurants have also routinized the actions of their hamburgers' purchasers. Informality is also expressed from the interiors of the fast food that generally are simple and colorful, and by the way through

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[32] Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, p.50.
[33] T. Royle, B. Towers, (2002), *Labour Relation in the Global Fast-Food industry*, p. 30.

which food is served, often the materials used to cover the food or for the beverages are made of plastic or paperboard and at the beginning no utensils were provided.

Predictability is as another important feature of fast-food. Customers already known what to expect when entering in a quick service restaurant, they already had an idea on which food they could find given the presence of a limited menu. They envisioned the design that the outlet would have and the level of service that they would obtain. These characteristics cannot be found in formal restaurants, in which almost everything is discovered when entering the structure.

And the last and most important feature that distinguished restaurants from fast-food is convenience. Indeed, the small price at which hamburgers were sold allowed to families, workers to eat out of home more frequently. This was especially important in the past as not all Americans had the same opportunities for being served at restaurants and limited-menu establishments proved to be an effective solution.

The success that this business reached can be observed also by numbers in 1983 fast foods formed nearly the 40 percent of eating and drinking places in the United States, and the average person started to dine out 3.7 times a week thanks to quick service restaurants.[34] Following this rapid trend of expansion, the United States became soon the fast-food nation, where big hamburgers, French fries and milkshakes could be easily found everywhere and became part of the American culture.

1.3 A new means of communication: the introduction of marketing

As fast food emerged in the American landscape, a new set of tactics to persuade consumers to buy certain goods or services started to be undertaken in larger scale by companies, giving more importance to the discipline of marketing.

Today the majority part of companies, possess a marketing department, however this discipline started to be seen as a corporate function different from the sales department only after the Second World War.

The American Marketing Association (AMA) has defined marketing as: «Those set of activities, institutions, and processes meant for delivering offerings that have value for

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[34] Jakle John, A. *et al.*, *Fast Food,* p. 22.

the involved stakeholders».[35] This means that there is an exchange among two or more parties, with something of value to one another.

Since the early introduction of commerce different techniques for selling products and for communicating have been employed, some historians associated the first applications to ancient time and recognized the Rosetta Stone as one of first forms of communication. However according to Vincent P. Norris, those ancient forms of communications, were not advertisement at all, but could be recognized more as signs or forms of personal selling.

The Industrial revolutions contributed considerably to the development of the quantity of advertisements that are present today and transformed every aspect of the economic life. After the First Industrial Revolution (1760-1830), with the development of mass transports, new techniques for mass advertising started to be used. The expansion in mass printing allowed a faster transmission of information using media as posters, handbills and then also newspapers.

The main reason behind the expansion of the prior forms of national advertising were related to the manufactures' motive to increase their market power in dealing with its distributors. The manufacturer, who began to advertise its good could impose its own prices and avoided the problem of price competition. [36]

In the 1860s and 1870s the first advertising agencies emerged in the United States, the most famous were the N. W. Ayer in Philadelphia and J. Walter Thompson in New York, which today are still considered as the most important agencies in the world. Agents served as intermediary between the media they represented and the manufacturers that needed advertising, and each transaction was based on commissions paid by the media.

The developments of advertising agencies coincided with changes in the organizational structure of major American businesses. Business owners became stockholders, managers were introduced among the leadership positions and began to operate into the daily activities. The company's advertisement no longer communicated the vision of the entrepreneur, since managers delegated the activity to those professionals, as advertising agencies, who possessed a greater degree of knowledge on communication. By the end of

[35] Belch George E., Belch Michael A. (2018), *Advertising & promotion: an integrated marketing communications perspective*, McGraw-Hill Education, New York, p. 7.
[36] Norris Vincent P. (1980), "Advertising history: according to the textbooks", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 3-11.

the 20th several advertising agencies emerged in the major cities of the United States, signing the beginning of mass advertising.[37] Mass advertising was developed by including all those tactics that were intended to reach many people.[38] The development of the earliest form of mass media, as newspapers and magazines, favored considerably the expansion of mass advertising.

From the end of the 19th century with the introduction and diffusion of the mass production system in the United States, the commerce saw a shift from difficulties of production and supply to the creation of demand. The consumer culture started to proliferate, each one was entitled to desire and to obtain whatever they want. Large economies of scale, low costs of production and a market ready to buy the goods provided, created the conditions for a larger use of advertising.

Although the measures for determining the effects of marketing on sales were still rough, advertising became soon essential to increase the demand, and to absorb all the goods and services offered to the consumers. The use of print media grew rapidly, newspapers and magazines found that the publishment of ads could finance their production costs and thus reducing the final price for readers. The presence of posters, billboards, and trade cards placed on sides of vehicles and inside streetcars grew substantially. Another relevant trend that increased further the visibility of products and services offered was the increase in the quantities and in the size of ads.

The American advertising was not limited to show the benefits and the characteristics of the offered items, but also specified the needs it met. The techniques for persuading consumers became more sophisticated; jingles and repetition significantly arouse the curiosity of customers and led to an increase in purchases.

With the strong diffusion of the mass production systems in the majority part of industries, multiple similar products needed to be differentiated from each other and big companies started to invest heavily on marketing.

The introduction of convenience and packaged foods changed significantly marketing, it became essential to give identity and personality to mass products, and to communicate

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[37] Project muse, https://muse.jhu.edu/article/193868.
[38] Cambridge dictionary, https://dictionary.cambridge.org/it/dizionario/inglese/mass-advertising.

a certain degree of quality[39], all these needs started to be satisfied by the introduction of brands.

According to the American Marketing Association a brand can be defined as a symbol, name, sign, design aimed at identifying and differentiate a group of products from the one of competitors, Keller defined it as "something that resides in the mind of customers".[40]

As expressed by De Grazia, in the book: "Irresistible Empire", the emergence of the brand recognition or the brand image came in response for simplifying the consumer's choices among many non-differentiated products during the nineteenth century. Branded products communicated a sense of innovation, thanks to the way in which they were presented; expressed a stronger personality and gave a precise identity to the products. The combination all these characteristics justified a higher price with reference to no-branded products.

According to Pamela W. Laird (1993), another reason behind the development of trademarks was connected to the need of controlling the market dynamics of consumer products. A brand could have different functions as reducing the elasticity of the demand and minimizing the effect of the business cycle. Manufactures recognized the importance of branding from preventing distributors from substituting cheaper products over branded and advertised products. [41]

Brand became over time an intangible asset that could increase the value of a company by up to sixteen times its annual profits.[42] Some trademarks grew so rapidly in popularity that started to represent certain categories of products: Ford was synonym of affordable cars, Gillette of razors, McDonald's of fast food and Levi's Strauss of blue jeans.

Besides the increasing importance of branding, advertising shaped further the division of gender roles. Women were recognized as the primary consumers, that made the majority part of decisions for the everyday products inside home, and advertising showed women labor savings appliances as washing machines and educated them on how to use them

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[39] Weber, M. "The Cult of Convenience: Marketing and Food in Postwar America", *Enterprise & Society,* First View, pp. 1-30.

[40] Keller Kevin L., (2013), *Strategic Brand Management building, measuring, and managing Brand Equity*, Pearson education Limited, Edinburgh, p. 30.

[41] Laird P.W., (Fall 1993), "The Business of Progress: The Transformation of American Advertising, 1870-1920", Papers presented at the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Business History Conference, pp. 13-18.

[42] De Grazia V., (2005), *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth Century Europe*, p. 209.

properly to be the perfect housewife. Indeed, the American innovations were different from the European ones for allowing a reduction of labor, this was especially true also for the food industry, that through different techniques for the conservation, freezing and the canning of foods gave more opportunities for those women who started to work.

With the beginning of the World War I, important developments were made on new technologies. The radio became one of the most important medium of mass communication, and by 1920s radio stations spread massages in almost every American city.

The United States were also among one of the first countries that allowed radio to broadcast advertising messages with minimal governmental regulation. This new medium transformed advertising deeply, the intense use of sounds and jingles created stronger relationships with customers, and advertising agencies soon recognized the potential of radio, and started to write commercials for the clients.

As the majority part of the activities also advertising went through a growth reduction during the Great Depression and during the World War II, advertising promoted patriotism and invited the citizens to support the war effort.

A new medium emerged: the television, one of the first TV commercial was broadcasted on the 1st of July 1941, before a match of baseball, with a duration of 10 seconds. [43] Television facilitated the access to the mass market, tv commercials improved the importance of successful brands and simplified the announcements of new products. The same advertisements that were aired on radio, intensified their persuasive power by being transmitted also on television and by being associated to certain images and often to famous characters.

Marketing began to be viewed as a separate function from the sales department and the biggest companies recognized the added value from these techniques and started to invest large sum on marketing.

Brands as Coca-Cola and McDonald's became soon signs of the American culture thanks to the use of advertising. By the 1980s advertising and promotion were among the most used form of marketing communications with a spending in the United States of over $100

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[43] Belch, G. *et al.*, *Advertising & promotion*, p. 23.

billion, of which $53 billion dedicated for mass media advertising and $49 billion used for promotional activities as product samples, coupons, and rebates. [44]

1.4 Fast food advertisement

1.4.1 Targeting children

Fast food chains recognized the strategic importance of investing in marketing. With an average expenditure on advertising of nearly $700 million for McDonald's and of $300 million for Burger King, the level of promotional efforts is still very high.[45]

Quick service restaurants to defend their position in the market given the increase of competitors in the industry, focused since the beginning on using product differentiation strategies, which promote the differences and the qualities of a certain product to convince the consumer to buy one product over another offered by competitors. Whereas other companies concentrated more their efforts on market segmentation strategies, defined as the process of diving the mass markets into segments that share similar needs, interests, behaviour, and demographic characteristics.

McDonald's successfully employed the latter strategy, by choosing, since its origins, to focus their offer on the segment of the middle-class suburban family, but more precisely on children, with the introduction of the *happy meals* and by setting lower prices with respect to competitors. Kroc understood that focusing on children was a clever decision. Different studies found that children had a "pester power" and had a strong influence on deciding where to eat. Other terms as "leverage" or "the nudge factor" had been employed to describe the persuasive ability of children. The American sociologist Vance Packard defined them as "surrogate salesmen", who can easily convince other people to buy whatever they want.[46] As they had this power to persuade their parents especially on decisions concerning food, children often chose places as McDonald's that guaranteed to them a fun and tasty experience. This strategic decision to focus on the children segment gave also important results on the increase of profits: by bringing all the family to eat out, the number of customers would increase rapidly.

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[44] Belch, G. *et al.*, *Advertising & promotion*, p. 5.
[45] Institute of Medicine, (2006) *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity?*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, available at https://doi.org/10.17226/11514, p. 3.
[46] Packard, V. (1957), *The hidden persuaders,* D. McKay, New York, pp.158-161.

During the 1950s, this strategy was not adopted in many sectors, only a short number of companies decided to dedicate their marketing efforts exclusively to children, among those there were McDonald's, toys markers, Disney, and manufactures of breakfast cereal.

However, the first efforts to advertise directly to children started to be developed earlier in the 1890s. During these years it was understood that marketing to children would have contribute to create brand awareness and would have shaped their future consumption habits.

In fact, children were recognized as the consumers of the future, and by focusing on them since the childhood age, the economic results for companies would be produced not only during the beginning of their life, but for their entire life.

Marketing to children assumed a more significant role during the 1920s, juvenile advertising was recognized as long term investment by the major ad agencies and more companies started to set children as their main target.

The reasons for this strategic change in targeting, was given by different factors. Lisa Jacobson in the book: "Children and consumer culture in American society" (2007) found three main causes. First the mechanization of factories allowed to produce in larger quantities at lower costs, this combined with the mass production system contributed to the growth in the supply and variety of children toys. Second the concept of childhood assumed a different meaning, traditionally associated to innocence, it started to be linked also to curiosity and spontaneity, and this simplified for the mass market the decision to view children as consumers. Third a variety of social transformations, as the emphasis on the middle-class family, the trend toward smaller families, the growth in children group activities and the growing independence of children, underlined the importance that children were assuming as consumers and put in relevance the satisfaction of children's needs and emotions.

Also, the sociologist Victoria D. Alexander (1994), recognized the dramatic change in the children's role in the American life changed during the 20th century. The role of children became increasingly differentiated from those of adults. Starting from the 1940s, the society became much more child oriented. Families had a central role in the American society, children were treated in a more permissive manner, and became a status of

wealth and success, especially during the baby boom.[47]As stated by Viviana Zelizer (1985), the children's role inside the family switched from economic contributors to priceless love object.[48]

With the shift from print media to the radio in 1930s, advertisers found new techniques to reach children. Children's radio programs promoted free premiums and club memberships in exchange for a proof of purchase.

During the post-war years, the baby boom generation, and the emergence of a new mass media as the television, emphasized ulteriorly the economic role of children. By the end of the 1950s almost 87% of American families had a television, which became one of the most used medium to broadcast advertising to children.[49] The introduction of programs as the Mickey Mouse Club, and Roy Rogers dedicated entirely to an audience of children, were considered a perfect means to place promotional messages, and the Saturday morning became the programming day for children. Programs and dayparts dedicated entirely to children allowed marketers to design advertisements with memorable jingles and spokes characters, that could reach the youngster audience in the most effective way.

The growth in advertising to children went toward further development in the 1980s, described as the decade of the children consumer by the expert of marketing McNeal.[50] Mass marketing to children became not only more creative, but also more manipulative, children were constantly subjected to promotional initiatives that reached them even at school. This was allowed given the increased in the sophistication of the techniques of market research on children consumer preferences and attitudes as focus groups, testing reactions and preferences to commercials, and by surveying children even at the shopping centre. The television remained the main medium used to broadcast children's advertisement, however criticisms inherent to the reduction of the parents' decisional power with the respect to the persuasive effect of advertisements on children desires and on the strong influence that advertisements had on children behaviour proliferated.

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[47]Alexander, V.D. (1994), "The Image of Children in Magazine Advertisements From 1905 to 1990. *Communication Research*", 21(6), pp. 742-746, doi:P.10.1177/009365094021006005
[48] Zelizer, V.A. (1985), *Pricing the priceless children*, Princeton University Press, p.32.
[49] Institute of Medicine, (2006) *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity?*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, https://doi.org/10.17226/11514, pp.177.
[50] McNeal, J.U. (1992), *Kids As Customers: A Handbook of Marketing to Children*, Lexington Books, p.6.

In 1978, the Federal Trade Commission forbid all the commercials directed toward children aged less than 7 years old, as children didn't have the capability to distinguish between ads and programming, they didn't understand the real meaning of commercials, and believed to all the promises that were made on television.[51]

However, as new technologies as the Internet began to be used more frequently the exposure of children to advertisement increased again. Moreover, nowadays overworked parents worried of not spending enough time with their children tend to put more attention in satisfying their wants and desires. Furthermore, children and adolescents have more discretionary income than the generations of a few decades ago: the 37,2% of teens aged between 12 and 17 years have personal saving accounts, this increases their power as consumers, and give also to companies more reasons to focus on children advertisement. [52]

As many historians have pointed out one of the sad consequences of modern capitalism and of the diffusion of the consumer society was the exploitation of the children's innocence and imagination for commercial and economic purposes, by overwhelming children with wants and desires that influence the family income, and finally reduce the parental authority. [53]

1.4.2. McDonald's advertising and promotional techniques

As discussed in the previous paragraph the strategic use of advertising has been among ones of the crucial factors that determined the success of the American fast-food chains. McDonald's has proven to be one of the most successful multinationals in achieving a global recognition thanks to its marketing efforts. In 2020 it was evaluated as the most valuable fast-food brand in the world and ranked as ninth among the list of the leading global brands together with Apple, Facebook, and others, with an estimated brand value of almost $129.32 billion.[54] Indeed, the global campaign "I'm loving it", the symbol of the golden arches and the Ronald McDonald character can be easily recognized elsewhere in the world.

[51] Schlosser, E., (2012), *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All- American Meal*, Mariner Books, pp. 66-67.
[52] Institute of Medicine, (2006) *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity?*, Washington, DC: The National Academies Press, available at https://doi.org/10.17226/11514, p.164.
[53] Jacobson L., (2007), *Children and consumer culture in American society – A historical handbook and Guide*, p.13.
[54] Statista, https://www.statista.com/statistics/219454/mcdonalds-restaurants-worldwide/

To analyse better the marketing strategy used by McDonald's the marketing mix model, defined as those set of tactics and actions to reach the selected target, will be used. The traditional model developed by E. Jerome McCarthy and described into his book "Basic Marketing: A Managerial Approach" (1960) and used for many years included the so-called 4Ps that stand for product, place, price, and promotion. However, with a deeper analysis to service marketing, Booms and Bitner (1981) have identified three additional elements which should be added to the traditional model by forming the extended 7P's marketing mix model which also include the variables of people, process, and physical evidence. The latter model has proven to be more useful in identifying the actual most relevant elements in the marketing strategy in evolving sectors as the restaurant industry. [55]

The marketing mix model identifies those strategies that companies as McDonald's use for implementing its marketing plan and for achieving its goals, the aim of this paragraph will be the one to understand which has been and continue to be some of the most important elements that define the McDonald's marketing strategy. The focus will be on the promotional tactics used to reach the target of children, and on the main problems that arouse in response to the persuasive power of McDonald's marketing tactics and campaigns.

Starting from the variable of *products,* defined as anything that could be sold, the offer of McDonald's has been always based on the supply of foods as hamburgers, French fries, sandwiches, and beverages as Coca-Cola. The offer during the last years has expanded further by also including the product line dedicated for breakfast in order to compete with the multinational chain of coffeehouse Starbucks.

The main purpose of McDonald's has been always the one to offer standardized products that could be easily produced and could taste the same in every market in which operates. Even if the product offering tends to be always the same, there are different cases in which McDonald's adapted to the specific environmental and cultural conditions of some countries. This for example is the case of Israel where after different protests Big Macs

[55] Rafiq, M., Ahmed P.K. (1995), "Using the 7Ps as a generic marketing mix: an exploratory survey of UK and European marketing academics", Marketing intelligence & Planning, DOI:10.1108/02634509510097793, pp. 4-15.

are now prepared without cheese or of India where vegetable McNuggets substituted the original recipe which was composed mainly by chicken meat.

With respect to the variable of *price,* defined as cost that people need to sustain for buying the product. McDonald's has always set lower prices with respect to competitors such as Burger King and Wendy's.

The American fast-food chain adopts two main pricing strategies, the first is the product bundle strategy and the second is the psychological pricing. The first one can be defined as the practice of offering different products as a package deal at a lower price compared to the single costs of the various items. This is the case of the *Happy Meal* introduced in 1979, targeted mainly to children, in which a toy along with food is included into the package to give a further incentive to buy the product; thanks to this strategy, today, McDonald's is one of largest toy distributor in the world.[56] The second practice works on the psychological impact on consumers, it consists of setting lower prices such as $_.99 instead of using the whole number, with this strategy the price will appear as more convenient for the customer.[57]

Regarding the prices to use in the different parts of the world, the American fast-food chain has adopted a pricing strategy of localization rather than globalization. For each country there is a specific process for the price determination that has been analysed by Claudio Vignali *at al.* (1999) and included different variables that influence the determination of the final price as the country's estimated demand, the cost of production and the competitors' prices and costs.[58]

The third variable of the marketing mix is the one of *place,* that refers to those physical and non-physical locations in which the products or services are sold and where people can have access to the company's items.

With respect to the geographic location McDonald's today has more than 39 thousand restaurants in 119 countries[59], this has been possible by adopting the franchise system, that will be analysed better in the next paragraph.

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[56] Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, pp. 52-53.
[57] Panmore Institute, http://panmore.com/mcdonalds-marketing-mix-4ps-analysis
[58] Vignali, C. (2001) "McDonald's think global, act local – the marketing mix", *British Food Journal*, Vol. 103 No. 2, https://doi.org/10.1108/00070700110383154, pp. 97-111.
[59] Statista, https://www.statista.com/statistics/219454/mcdonalds-restaurants-worldwide/

The main places in which McDonald's distributes its products are restaurants, temporary and non-temporary kiosks, the McDonald's app, and the websites. Restaurants remain the most profitable place for the company in which most sales are generated, however with the introduction of more innovative and technological systems as drive-ins, online ordering and partnering with food delivery services has expanded and simplified the opportunities for reaching customers even at their home.

With respect to the precise geographic location the main strategy used by the American fast-food chain in deciding where to locate its outlets that was crucial for obtaining its market leader position was the one to choose those suburban areas near to families with children. But the strategy was not limited to reach only children, McDonald's stipulate contracts to serve military forces, hospitals, schools, and museums. In Canada for example the company has exclusive rights for selling food at the Metropolitan Toronto Zoo, in this way customers can find everywhere a McDonald's outlet.[60]

Regarding the variable of *promotion* Philip Kotler (1994) defined promotion as composed by five major tools: advertising, direct marketing, sales promotion, public relations and publicity, and personal selling.[61]

Among these variables advertising, defined as any form of non-personal paid communication, is one of the most important used by the company since the 1980s, through mass media as television to reach as many children as possible.

Most of the McDonald's campaigns have achieved a larger success for example the slogan "You deserve a break today" has been ranked by the Advertising Age as the top advertising campaign of the 20th century. [62]

The advertising messages conveyed by McDonald's are usually associated to fun, taste, and to the product performances, moreover the use of jingles, and familiar songs are other techniques used to increases the memorability of the communication.

Ray Bergold, the chain's top marketing executive explained that the purpose of the different advertising campaigns was the one to make customers believe that McDonald's is their "Trusted friend".[63] This image was reinforced especially thanks to the introduction

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[60] Reiter, *Making Fast Food,* pp. 56-59.
[61] Kotler, P. (1994), *Marketing Management*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
[62] Smith, *Hamburger A Global History*, pp. 52-53.
[63] Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, p.56.

of the branded spokes character of Ronald McDonald, a funny clown created and portrayed initially by Willard Scott that in 1965 was presented to the American audience thanks to a massive national ad campaign. The character became so successful that it was considered the second only to Santa Claus in terms of recognition by being identified by nearly the 96% of American children.

Figure 2. Ronald McDonald portrayed by Willard Scott in 1963. Source: https://www.today.com/allday/french-fry-flashback-willard-scott-was-ronald-mcdonald-1963-1d79579652

The company to increase its presence in the children's imagination created the *McDonaldland* a fantasy world composed by many characters, that was used in a huge number of commercials from 1971 until 2003.

McDonaldland was not only the home of the clown Ronald, but it was presented as a colourful world, where different plants, objects, and inanimate objects were living. Different McDonald's menu items were represented into this magical world such as the French fries Bushes, where French fries grew, or the Hamburger Patch, where hamburgers bloomed as plants.

Children enjoyed this fantasy world so much that merchandise featuring McDonaldland was developed like the kid magazine titled "McDonaldland Fun Times".

Celebrities' spokesperson had also an important role in branding the company's products, Michael Jordan, Kobe Bryant, Justin Timberlake are just few examples of some influential people that helped the company in achieving its global success.

The McDonald's marketing efforts go beyond the traditional advertising and different sales promotion techniques have been employed during these years to give an additional incentive to buy the products.

The inclusion of premiums as toys in the children's meals was one of the most attractive characteristics which convince kids to choose the McDonald's products. Often more versions of toys were offered to give a major incentive to children to buy again the products. This was possible thanks to agreements with major toy producers, premiums as the Pokémon cards, the McDonald's Fun Time™ Barbie or other gifts related to popular fiction character as Harry Potter™, Spiderman®, Scooby-Doo®, have been offered during the last years. Some of these initiatives had a strong success, in 1997 the Teenie Beanie Baby collectible premium has been considered as one of the most profitable promotions in the American advertising history, with 100 million Happy Meals sold in one week, instead of the 10 million that were usually sold in the same amount of time.[64]

These agreements were not made only with toy makers but also with Hollywood studios and sports league. Some of the most important collaborations were with the Walt Disney Company with which McDonald's signed a 10-year contract in 1996, and with professional basketball league NBA. The association with the two biggest sports events: the Olympics Game and Word Cup have further enhanced the brand's image thanks to the opportunity of creating an international advertising campaign.

Each collaboration had the purpose of creating positive associations to McDonald's for example in the case of Walt Disney Company the aim was the one to "enhance perceptions of McDonald's" and with the NBA to making customers associate the excitement that people feel for sports league to the McDonald's French Fries.

In 1987 the American fast-food chain expanded further through a partnership with Sears a line of branded products as toys, bikes, scooters, and clothes, called McKIDS™ was

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[64] Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, p. 55.

distributed. In 1997 the product line began to be sold only at Wal-Mart and in 2004 started to be distributed internationally.

McDonald's public relations activities had also a relevant role for enhancing the company's brand image, by including different community activities. The first Ronald McDonald house was built in Philadelphia in 1974, designed as a place near hospitals to host families with sick children who live outside the city. In 1981 one of the first Ronald McDonald house outside the United States opened in Toronto, by then expanding also in France, Venezuela, Thailand, and other many countries. Today with an actual presence in 62 countries with a total of 260 Ronald McDonald houses[65], the non-profit corporation offers different programs to support families and sick children as the Ronald McDonald Family Room® Programs that provide services within hospitals offering families a place to recharge and to have a snack near to their children.

The annual Charity Christmas Parade in Chicago and the collaborations with schools to promote children reading programs are other examples of the involvement of McDonald's in the community.

McDonald's Global Best of Green environmental program is another important initiative that the company undertook in 2014 to support a more sustainable development. The project had the purpose of recognizing the best environmental innovations for saving energy, for reducing wastes and for improving the use of sustainable resources to reduce the environmental impact of the global supply chain. [66]

With respect to direct marketing, described as a method to communicate directly with customers, the McDonald's website available for each country in which it operates, give to customers immediate information on the different products and services that the company offer and the home delivery system has proven to be another efficient method through which customers can get their products directly into their houses.

By continuing with the marketing mix analysis of McDonald's the remaining variables of people, physical evidence and process will be analysed.

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[65] Corporate McDonald's, https://corporate.mcdonalds.com/corpmcd/our-purpose-and-impact/community-connection/rmhc.html
[66] Corporate McDonald's, https://corporate.mcdonalds.com/content/dam/AboutMcDonalds/2.0/pdfs/2014_best_of_green.pdf

The variable *people* include all those individuals who represent and work for the company. The firm is composed approximately by more than a million of employees, who are trained with the purpose of offering the best possible customers' service with reference to the local conditions. To improve its relationship with customers, different Hamburger Universities have been established to teach managers the best standard practices to be used in the restaurants, and to improve management, communication, and leadership skills.

The variable *physical evidence* describes how the final service is perceived by the customer. McDonald's focused since the beginning on delivering a service characterized by cleanliness and quality, these standards needed to be applied in each outlet in this way the customer knows exactly what to expect each time that enter in a McDonald's restaurant.

With the last variable, the one of *process* are included all those procedures used to offer the products and services with the aim of maximizing the quality and of reducing the costs of production. In the case of McDonald's, the procedures for making and preparing the food are the same in all the 100 countries in which it operates. Each restaurant must comply with precise food standards, for example the French Fries must have a size of 45 mm and the meat used in the Big Mac must have a weight of 45g, composed by the 20% of fat. In the cases in which the local suppliers cannot meet those standards, McDonald's decided to vertically integrates. [67]

The kitchen layout in each restaurant is the same, and each McDonald's point of purchase is standardised globally. With reference to the recent improvements McDonald's has concentrated mainly on improving the speed of its service, with the purpose of maintaining its quality standards, a corporate goal included serving meals to customers waiting in the restaurant, in 90 seconds.

After this brief analysis of the McDonald's marketing mix is possible to make two main observations.

First, the techniques used are then often modified depending on the specific market in which the message is communicated, in the article of Vignali "McDonald's think global, act

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[67] Vignali, C. (2001) "McDonald's think global, act local – the marketing mix", *British Food Journal*, Vol. 103 No. 2, https://doi.org/10.1108/00070700110383154, pp. 97-111.

local" the author after having analysed the marketing mix of the global fast-food chain concludes by affirming that the company has a *glocal* strategy, by integrating elements of globalization and of localization into their marketing techniques.

Second, that the main tactics used by the company are implemented to increase the memorability of their brand into the children's mind, but with their global campaigns and with the associations to global sports event as the Olympics the McDonald's brand has reached a broader audience, by being identified in each part of the world with its Golden arches.

However different criticisms aroused during the years due to the persuasive power that fast-food chains as McDonald's have toward children, and different studies tried to analyse the effects that those form of promotion may have on their nutrition habits and on their health.

An article from 2008 titled "Fast-Food Restaurant Advertising on Television and Its Influence on Childhood Obesity" analyses the correlation between the increase in children obesity and the growth in the number of fast-food commercials broadcasted on television. The research put in relevance the dramatic increase between 1978 and 2000 of the childhood obesity and the number of commercials that children view each year. The analysis based on a sample of the U.S. population ages between 12-16, underline a positive correlation between the probability that children and adolescents exposed to fast-food commercials are overweight.[68]

Another research conducted by Lynne Eagle and Ross Brennan, titled "Beyond advertising: in-home promotion of fast food", (2007) analysed the content of the local promotional activities related to food in the United Kingdom. The study took in consideration all the leaflets, flyers, and pamphlets related to food promotions sent to homes in the north-west part of London from December 2006 to March 2007.

The results showed an emphasis in the promotion of junk food, few menu cards included healthy options and none of them contained any type of nutritional information. The main types of promotions were quantity discounts or premiums linked to soda drinks as a free

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[68] Chou, S., Rashad, I., Grossman, M. (November 2008), "Fast-Food Restaurant Advertising on Television and Its Influence on Childhood Obesity", *The Journal of Law and* Economics, vol. 51, 1(2008), pp. 599-617.

bottle of Coca-Cola. Even if those promotions didn't target children directly, many of them were directed toward the family unit.

The article at the end recognizes the existence a global problem related to the unwise decisions taken by consumers about their nutrition, and the growing consensus among politicians and policymakers on the need of imposing more food regulations to reduce the advertising of junk food and for promoting a healthier nutrition.

However, the authors illustrate two possible substitution effects that can derive from the imposition of more restricted regulations on food advertising.

First, by imposing some regulations on certain media as television, the companies can easily use other promotional techniques to communicate with customers, that often could be also less heavily regulated.

Second, most of these regulations are directed toward the biggest fast-food chains as McDonald's, and this means that the demand of junk food could be equally satisfied by smaller local quick service restaurants, which also use different local promotional activities. [69]

The report entitled *Food Marketing to Children and Youth: Threat or Opportunity*, (2006), found out that there is strong evidence that food advertising on television influence the eating habits of children. However, it underlines the increasing interest of consumers in the nutritional and caloric value of foods, and as baby boomers are growing older this trend is developing faster.

Fast-food companies are taking actions toward these social movements which sustain a healthier nutrition, by introducing menu options which also include vegetables and water as drink, and by changing the cooking methods. McDonald's has reduced the sodium content in its food and offers also pre-packaged salads and Wendy's included in its menu also backed potatoes in addition to French fries.

However, often consumers say one thing and then will do another, given the fact that when they go to eat out often decide to opt for the most delicious proposals. The report sustains that consumers' decisions shouldn't discourage fast-food companies in

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[69] Eagle, L., Brennan, R. (2007), "Beyond advertising: in-home promotion of "fast food", Young Consumers, Vol. 8, Iss. 4, pp. 278 – 288.

introducing also healthier food options given the importance that social movements are taking, indeed these could become an opportunity to differentiate and to stand out from competitors.

1.5 Fast-food national and international expansion through the franchise system

The key to the global success of fast-food chains has been the use of franchising, which enabled quick service restaurants to expand rapidly in the United States and around the world without large outlays of money.

The International Franchise Association founded in 1960s, described franchising as: «a method of distributing products or services involving a franchisor, who establishes the brand's trademark or trade name and a business system, and a franchisee, who pays a royalty and often an initial fee for the right to do business under the franchisor's name and system».[70]

Charles L. Vaughn described franchising for being primarily a form of marketing, in which the parent company gave to a smaller entrepreneur the right to do business following specific rules, over a prescribed period and in a specific place.[71]

Indeed, this system implies a long-term relationship between the franchisor and the franchisee, these two parties are moved from the desire of making money while reducing the risks associated with opening new outlets. The franchisor has the opportunity of expanding its business without investing large amount of capital, and the franchisee could open its business, without being alone in the risk of losing all financial resources on the new project.

One of the most common types of franchising used today is the *business format franchising,* in which the franchisor provides to the franchisee not only the products, services and the trademark, but it supplies an integral system containing operating manuals and standards, training programs, quality controls, brand standards and communication program to follow. This new franchising system is usually applied in fast-food restaurants, in rental services, and in real estate services. [72]

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[70] International Franchise Association, https://www.franchise.org/faqs/basics/what-is-a-franchise
[71] Vaughn, C. L. (1979), *Franchising, its nature, scope, advantages and development,* Lexington books, p. 11.
[72] Candilis, W.O., (March 1978), "The Growth of Franchising", *Business Economics*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (March 1978), pp. 15-19.

Even if franchising became highly popular during the 1960s the first uses of this system of expansion date back to the nineteenth century. Some of the early uses of franchising as a method of distribution took place in Germany when beer brewers concluded an agreement for obtaining the exclusive sale of certain brands of beer and ale. But it was in the United States that franchising has proliferated.[73] The Singer Sewing Machines was one of the first companies that tried to adopt the franchise system in 1863, even if the operation didn't succeed franchising became soon a relevant strategy used for the expansion.

A more successful method of distribution was developed in 1898 by General Motors. The company didn't have enough capital for hiring salesmen for its new cars, hence franchising was adopted for giving the right to cars dealers for selling its automobiles in certain specific areas, this allowed the company to grow rapidly.[74]

Some of the reasons related to the adoption of more innovative method of distribution as franchising have been explained by Thomas G. Marx in the article: "The Development of the Franchise Distribution System in the U.S. Automobile Industry" (1985). The introduction of the franchise system in the car industry and in other sectors as well, grew also from the situation of the growing market uncertainty and by the increasing manufacturer-dealer interdependence that characterized the automobile sector between the 1920s and the 1950s. The author underlined the existence of other conditions as the necessity to meet the increasing demand of cars, to satisfy the growing requests of consumers and the need of obtaining a greater coordination of the distribution channel. All these elements favoured the introduction of franchising in the car system.[75]

This system was successfully applied also by the Coca-Cola Company that in 1899 established a franchise agreement with more than 250 bottlers, by giving them the right to produce, bottle and sell the drink, in this way the multinational has been able to distribute its products almost worldwide.[76]

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[73] Hackett, D.O. (Spring 1976), "The international expansion of U.S. Franchise systems: status and strategies", *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 65-75.
[74] Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, pp. 99-107.
[75] Marx, T.G. (1985), "The Development of the Franchise Distribution System in the U.S. Automobile Industry"**,** *Business History Review*, Volume 59, Issue 3, pp. 465 – 474.
[76] Coca Cola, https://www.coca-cola.co.uk/our-business/history

Since the 1960s a significant growth in the use of franchising was registered, these years characterized by an increasing competition in the American market determined the development of franchising from a method of distribution to an "Industry". This period defined also as a "revolution in the industrial retailing", determined a significant growth of the major industries, with an estimated number of franchise sales around $122.2 billion in 1969.[77] The Unites States became the leader in franchising, the attractiveness of this system of distribution was recognized by different sectors. Fast-food restaurants, motels, beverages companies and gasoline service stations began franchise.

The reasons for this significant growth of franchising were connected to different economic advantages that this method of distribution offered. First, it gave the opportunity to minority group members and to individuals to open their business by undertaking fewer risks and with the additional benefit of operating under an established brand. Then it enhanced the opportunities for consumers to buy standardized products at lower costs. Whereas the company that started to franchise, recognized the opportunities of obtaining a more efficient management of costs, as the franchisees were more interested in controlling the expenses for obtaining higher profits and finally, in the case of overseas expansion, it provided to the multinationals the local knowledges that on-site entrepreneurs possessed.

Nevertheless, there were also some unfavourable consequences connected to the use of franchising. First it could cause the failure of many small businesses, who didn't have the same resources for competing with larger franchise chain. Second in many cases some franchise contracts were one-sided in favour for protecting the rights of the franchisor. Third the franchisor owned some units of its outlets, and these could compete with the ones managed by the franchisors, and finally in different cases controversies among the franchisor and the franchisee arouse. Disputes generally developed because the franchisor gave the control of a part of the business to another person, and at the same time the franchisee needed to follow precise rules and didn't have the complete independence in running the economic activity.[78]

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[77] Vaughn, C. L. (November 1970), "Survey of Fast Food Franchising", *The Cornell H.R.A. Quarterly*, p.20.
[78] Michman, R.D., Mazze, E. M (1998), *The food industry wars: marketing triumphs and blunders*, Quorum Books, pp. 33-36.

As franchising became one of the most used methods of distribution adopted in the U.S. industry, the opportunities for expanding in the domestic market became soon fewer. As explained by Bruce J. Walker and Michael J. Etzel in the article "The Internalization of U.S. Franchise Systems: Progress and Procedures", there were two main reasons that created the necessity for adopting international franchising.

The first was the end of the substantial growth that characterized franchise during the 1960s due to an increasing competition in the domestic market, and the second was the presence of the same conditions, that determined the rapid expansion of franchising in the United States, in other countries. These conditions included a greater degree of urbanization, the diffusion of automobile ownership and a higher level of disposable income.[79]

In a survey conducted by Hackett (1973) on the internationalization of U.S. franchising, the author found other motivations connected to international entry. The study examined the answers of 719 franchising firms related to the reasons on their decision of expanding internationally. A major part of the respondents stated that the main reasons connected to international franchising were related to the desire of taking advantage of the market potential of foreign markets, and for having the opportunity to establish their brand internationally. Whereas few recognized the problem of the saturation of the domestic market as one of the most relevant reasons for going international.

Nonetheless, some difficulties were present also in the fast-food industry characterized by an increasing saturation in the sector. For saturation it was not intended that restaurants couldn't have anymore the opportunity to open in certain geographical areas given the fact that the demand was already met, but that those new businesses that opened would suffer from a lower level of sales compared to the existing stores. In particular, the hamburger segment was considered as one of the most saturated sectors of the fast-food industry, chains were those one that captured the largest share of the domestic market, by counting for 43% of the restaurant sales in the United States.[80]

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[79] Walker B.J. and Etzel M.J. (April 1973), "The Internationalization of U.S. Franchise Systems: Progress and Procedures", *Journal of Marketing*, pp. 38-43.

[80] Emerson, R.L. (1980), "Expansion Abroad: A Solution to Fast Food's Slow Growth?", *Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly*, 21(3), pp. 24-30.

Fast-food chains recognized the strategic importance of international franchise for maintaining their competitive position and for increasing their business. Since 1970s the major fast-food chains began to establish their outlets in foreign markets. One of the most relevant growths in the fast-food franchise industry was the one of the McDonald's Corporation, which registered an increase in franchise units of the 758% from 1961 to 1971.[81] McDonald's opened its first restaurant outside of the United States in Canada, in 1967. Canada was often chosen as the first place for the foreign expansion by companies followed only by England and Japan. The principal reason for choosing Canada as first place of expansion was connected to the proximity of the country to the United States and for the market potential that it could offer. [82]

McDonald's fast growth in franchising was determined by the establishment of precise rules and procedures to follow for becoming franchisees and to the correction of some major problems connected to the new method of distribution, by maintaining the strict control of its products. Also, in this case McDonald's became an example to follow, several fast-food chains applied the franchise model established by the company and many other imitators proliferated throughout the American retail's economy.

Noren (1990) described the main procedures that McDonald's followed for choosing its franchisee, and for managing all the multinational's outlets.

First, McDonald's implemented an elaborate and selective process for choosing the franchisee. The franchisee, who was a person with a solid business experience, needed to make an important investment for becoming a potential franchisee, both of money, with a non-refundable deposit of $4.000 and of time.

Nonetheless the initial fee demanded by the McDonald's founder Ray Kroc in 1950s was only about $950. Even if the financial commitment was low, he decided to select families as potential franchisees and to test their willingness to run the business and their level of loyalty, Kroc frequently offered to them restaurants that were far from their home, but in return promised to make them rich. For this reason, since the beginning McDonald's has

[81] Hackett, D.O. (Spring 1976), "The international expansion of U.S. Franchise systems: status and strategies", *Journal of International Business Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 65-75.
[82] Walker, *et al*., "The Internationalization", pp. 38-43.

never advertised its franchising opportunities, as it relied on its reputation for making its investors successful people.[83]

Second, a constant training was required. After the initial deposit the franchisee waited one or more years to open the restaurant, with a successive training of almost 2.000 uncompensated working hours. The training continued in the McDonald's Campus founded in 1961 in Chicago (Illinois), where the future managers by attending a two-week course obtained a degree in Hamburgerology. Students needed to learn the basis for managing employees at the best and for understanding the McDonald's culture. This selective process of training allowed to select very motivated and skilled managers.

Third it was fundamental to comply to McDonald's regulations, the franchisee must work full time in the management of the restaurant and must follow all the standard specifications of the company: like a specific level of cleanliness and efficient marketing efforts. If the franchisee did not comply with these standards, the contract could be cancelled at any time, and the opportunity for managing other restaurants would be lost. Whereas if the franchisee succeeds in the management of the restaurant, he/she, will be compensated for its effort with a large share of the profits.

Fourth, it was requested a great degree of the franchisee involvement. Even if for many decisions the franchisee didn't have the complete autonomy, and must follow strict rules, the franchisee must participate to the community activities. In different cases, some of the improvements that McDonald's adopted were suggested by franchisee, as in the case of the introduction of the iconic products like the BigMac, or in some cases also the introduction of product extensions like the breakfast line.

Another factor that allowed to McDonald's to obtain a substantial growth and success in other countries through franchising, was connected to the characteristics of its international marketing strategy.

Peng S. Chan and Robert T. Justis (1991) have underlined the importance of developing a detailed strategic vision on the corporate abilities that could be used in international businesses. The authors explained how much is important to adapt the corporate abilities taking into considerations country-specific factors as the local culture, political forces, and economic variables. Businesses in this sense needed to adapt their marketing strategies

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[83] Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation*, pp. 99-107.

based on the foreign conditions. The authors described four main strategies that multinationals can use globally, in the case of fast-food companies as McDonald's the strategy adopted is mixed and combines: a straight product utilization strategy through which the product maintains the same characteristics both in national and foreign markets, a product adaptation strategy, which implies minimal changes to the products to meet at best the local conditions, and finally a product invention strategy which include the creation of a complete new product to be sold in a certain country.[84]

Vignali defined the marketing strategies adopted by McDonald's globally as a *glocal strategy*, that combines element of globalization, and of localization. A globalised strategy or globalization implies the use of a standard strategy to be adopted globally without any adaptation to local conditions, this means that the company's products, the promotional campaigns, and the distribution channels will be the same in each market in which it operates. Whereas localization implies the customization of the marketing strategies based on the specific conditions of a certain country, depending on the environmental, cultural, and social uniqueness of that geographic place.[85]

In their article, "McDonald's success strategy and global expansion through customer and brand loyalty" (2007), Bahaudin G. Mujtaba and Bina Patel put in relevance the ability of McDonald's to develop successful marketing strategies, that are customized with reference to the particular economic, social, technological and cultural situations of the region in which it operates. The international success of the fast-food company is given by the heavy research that the multinational chain conducts, before opening an outlet in a new country. One of the most successful strategies is related to the development of food that are designed to meet at best the local tastes and preferences.

The authors underline that some key elements for the success of McDonald's strategy in foreign markets are:

- Focus on local management and creation of employment opportunities: the company supports the local talents by hiring local managers which possess better knowledges

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[84] Chan, P. S., Justis, R. T. (1991),"Developing a Global Business Strategy Vision for the Next Decade and Beyond", *Journal of Management Development*, Vol. 10 Iss 2 pp. 38 – 45.

[85] Vignali, C. (2001), "McDonald's think global, act local – the marketing mix", *British Food Journal*, Vol. 103 No. 2, https://doi.org/10.1108/00070700110383154, pp. 97-111.

on the specific conditions related to the country, and by recruiting local cashiers, and cooks, by contributing to the growth of the employment opportunities.

- Politically sensitive strategy: the multinational corporation develop strategies that avoid creating disagreements with the state in which it operates.

- Environmental friendliness: the company put attention with reference to the environment in which it operates, by contributing to causes that supports a sustainable development.

The adaptation of McDonald's to local conditions has been among one of the factors that allowed to achieve a worldwide success, indeed today the multinational possesses more stores outside the United States than in its home country.

The concept of glocalization has been particularly important in the food industry, where typically many differences are present in different regions, depending on the specific cultures, values, and religions. McDonald's in different cases has adopted local recipes as the "McKebab" in India or the "McRice Burger" in Hong Kong.[86]

However, even if Chan and Justis has emphasized how much it is important adopting and adapting strategies to local conditions the foreign expansion of fast-food chains hasn't been without any problem. Different forms of government and social resistance arouse. In Bermuda in 1995 a McDonald's store closed for a government's law that banned the introduction of franchise restaurants.[87] Other social forms of contraposition arouse in Italy, with the development of the Slow Food movement, which opposed to the standardization of food and emphasized the importance of local products and traditions, or the McLibel movement in Great Britain in which two activists have distributed leaflets outside the McDonald's store, by highlighting the unethical practices used by the multinational and the unhealthy food distributed by the company.[88] All these movements indicated that the fast-food expansion has not been problem free.

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[86] Mujtaba, B.G., Patel, B. (2007), "McDonald's success strategy and global expansion through customer and brand loyalty*", Journal of business case studies*, volume 3, num. 3, pp. 55-66.
[87] Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_with_McDonald%27s_restaurants
[88] Ritzer, G. and. Malone, E. L. (2000), "Globalization Theory: Lessons from the Exportation of McDonaldization and the New Means of Consumption*", American Studies*, Summer/Fall, Vol. 41, No. 2/3, , pp. 97- 118.

CHAPTER 2: ITALIAN TRADITIONS VERSUS AMERICAN FAST-FOOD CHAINS

2.1 Italy toward consumerism: the influence of the American way of life

The process of modernization and industrialization of Italy took place in a slower and different way with respect to the United States. As argued by the historian Emanuela Scarpellini in the book "L'Italia dei Consumi" (2008), Italy could be described as a country involved in a slow process of transformation which started at the end of the 19th century and lasted for the entire 20th century.

In the 1870s, following the diffusion of the technologies of the First Industrial Revolution, some regions of the Italian peninsula started to industrialize, mainly the North-West. The increase in birth rates and life expectancy determined a growth of population and consumption which supported industrialization. As analysed by Luciano Carfagna, industrial activities started to contribute to the determination of the gross domestic product, even if the economy of Italy remained based primarily on agriculture.[89]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Italy was still a poor country with reference to other European countries as Germany and France.[90]

According to economic historiography, the establishment of the fascist regime, and the introduction of autarchy damaged the Italian economy by favouring some sectors (as heavy industry) and by imposing, through autarkic policies, more expensive Italian products on customers. Buying Italian became a patriotic duty. The fascist regime gave women a specific role by assigning them a key function inside the family, with both positive incentives as social assistance, and both repressive ones as the exclusion from certain job positions and from politics, to force them to stay at home.[91]

Although the ground for industrialization had been laid before, it was between the end of the Second World War and the early Seventies that Italy moved from being an agrarian country to become an industrial one. The late 1950s and the 1960s saw the so-called

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[89] Carfagna, L. (July-Dec 1961), "L'industrializzazione italiana. La formazione di una "Base industriale" fra il 1896 e il 1914", *Studi Storici*, Anno 2, No. 3/4, Studi sulla rivoluzione industriale, pp. 690-724
[90] Scarpellini, E. (2008), *L'Italia dei consumi*, GLF Editori Laterza, p. 91.
[91] De Grazia, V. (1993), *Le donne nel regime fascista*, Marsilio, Venezia, pp. 17-38, 70-111.

Italian "Economic Miracle", a process of modernization with a significant yearly increase of the GDP, which topped the 6.3% per year between the 1958 and 1963.[92]

As in the United Stated seventy years before, also in post-war Italy the speeding up of the rate of industrialization was accompanied by a significant increase in consumption. Different factors contributed to it. The liberalization of the markets and the integration of the manufacturing system into a unique economic space, allowed to increase the flow of products and of capital; the design of a political economy for promoting a quantitative growth allowed to increase the employment rates. Other elements, as the growth of the population brought about by the baby boom, and a process of cultural change based on the promotion of the individual welfare, contributed to the increase of the Italian rates of consumption.

However, this growth occurred later with respect to the other European countries, and it was selective, it included only a fraction of the population, the middle-class consumers, and concentrated in the North of the country.

Indeed, the Italian population could be divided in two main social groups: the first included the average working family, that lived in a spacious and comfortable house, and that had a good diet; and the second consisted of the poor family that lived in basements or caves, constituted by one room, with many family members who shared the same living space and had a poor diet.[93] This meant that, in the 1960s, only a small part of the population had the opportunity to benefit from the introduction of new products, as house appliances and cars.

Two other important phenomena occurred during these years with reference to consumption: the first was the development of the cultural domestic consumption, this meant that people started to consume more inside their home. This increase was allowed mainly through the diffusion of mass media as the radio, and television, that decreased the necessity to go out. The second phenomena included the creation of a consumption mix, given by the increase of available media. People reduced the time spent at the theatre or to the cinema, since they had the opportunity to spend their leisure time even at home, by listening to the radio or by watching the television.

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[92] Scrivano, P. (April 2005), "Signs of Americanization in Italian Domestic Life: Italy's Postwar Conversion to Consumerism", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 40, No. 2, Domestic Dreamworlds: Notions of Home in Post-1945 Europe, pp. 317-340.

[93] Scarpellini, E. (2012), *Food and food ways in Italy from 1861 to the Present*, p.111.

New products started to be demanded, and with the increase in the number of products available on the market, new form of promotions started to be used also in Italy. The discipline of marketing, which had developed in the United States a few decades earlier, became a relevant instrument to promote products even in Italy. A greater attention was devoted to the packaging of products: packaging was able to communicate the essence of an item through the logo, patterns, and the use of colours. Investments in advertising increased, even if the level of advertisement expenditure in Italy remained low with respect to other countries.

These changes also transformed the food industry: in particular, both demand and offer of processed and readymade products increased significantly. The food industry took profit of the reduction of distribution costs, and of the increasing importance that communication assumed in promoting the new time-saving solutions, that were used by the Italian women when the time was limited.

Since the 1950s, women had become the primary consumers and targets of the companies' promotional messages. Indeed, during the 1970s, women were more emancipated than two decades earlier, and could now decide more independently what to buy; for this reason, the role assigned to women was the one of the "general purchasing agent", and most of promotional efforts were directed toward them.[94]

The improvements made in the food industry allowed for a substantial reduction of the average family expenditure in nourishment. As described by Paolo Capuzzo, at the beginning of the 1970s, almost the 35% of the family expenditure was directed toward foodstuff, whereas in the 1990s, expenditure in food decreased, representing the 20% of the total expenditure of the average family.

The decline in food expenditure left resources available to be spent by consumers for other products and services inherent to the leisure time, culture, and instruction.[95]

Despite the significant industrial growth of the 1950s and 1960s, the structure of commerce remained almost stable, as a substantial number of small family-owned stores spread across the country.[96] Indeed, there were not many big companies in the food sector

[94] Liguori, M.C. (December 1996), "Donne e consumi nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta", Italia contemporanea, n. 205, pp. 666-667.
[95] Capuzzo, P. (2017) "I consumi degli italiani fra modernizzazione e crisi", *Annali - fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli,* 51, pp. 137 – 159.
[96] Scarpellini, E. (December 2004), "Shopping American-Style: The Arrival of the Supermarket in Postwar Italy", *Enterprise & Society*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 625- 668.

during the 1974, and only the most important ones, as Star, Ferrero, Motta, Perugina, Galbani, Ferrero, Industrie Buitoni and Italiana Oli e Risi had revenues for more than 100 billion lire.[97]

Since the end of the Second World War, the cultural, political, and economic influence of America on the Italian development was particularly strong. As described by Paolo Scrivano: «The social and economic changes affecting Italy in the first decade after the end of the second world war were shaped to a significant degree by the USA». The first sign of the American influence on Italy was the adhesion of the country to the European Recovery Plan (ERP), also known as Marshall Plan, a US-funded programme offering aid to foreign countries to recover their industrial production and reorganize the public administration.[98] In the 1990s, there was a heated scholarly debate on the use and meaning of the term "Americanization", which referred, on the one side, to the promotion of the "American way of life" and of an idea of individual wellbeing that could be achieved only through consumption. On the other, it referred to the introduction in the European factories, under the influence of American consultants and ERP funds, of the so-called American model of mass production, consisting in special purpose machinery and specific management techniques.

The "Americanization" took different forms in different European countries and also in different industries: Jonathan Zeitlin, who focuses on the diffusions of mass production methods in industries, underlines how post-war Americanization resulted often in a process of hybridization, and adaptation which combined some aspects of the American model with the local conditions of the specific country\ industry or even company.

In Italy, scholars list different reasons leading to the diffusion of the "American Way of Life". Stephen Gundle and Marco Guani (1986) believe that the characteristics of the Italian society in the 1950s allowed the process of "Americanization" to take place smoothly and describe Italy as one of the most receptive countries to the American cultural inputs. The United States had been capable of establishing a progress, during a

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[97] Scarpellini, *Food and food*, p. 127.
[98] Scrivano, "Signs of Americanization", pp. 317-340.

period in which the old habits, and customs and the low level of economic development of Italy were no longer able to provide the appropriate support to an evolving society.[99]

Scarpellini adds that the diffusion of the Americanization was not related only to new ideas of freedom, democracy, and opportunities for all, but it was connected to the promise of a better way of living. The "American way of life" diffused in an unconventional way through the excitement related to the Hollywood films, the entertainment provided by the television programmes, the spread of new communicational tools, through advertising, and through the success of the rock, jazz and soul music coming from the United States that was supported by young people.

However, according to Scarpellini, one of the most relevant factors that determined the establishment of a culture of consumption in Italy was the introduction of the first supermarkets that not surprisingly were recognized under the name of "American Supermarket". This step had been particularly important for the achievement of the retail revolution in Italy.[100]

However, not everybody considered the American influence as positive. The alleged Americanization of Italian society also caused scepticism and many criticisms. There was some uncertainty related to the forms in which the modernity of the United States could co-exist with the Italian traditions. This diffidence towards consumption related modernity - a sort of veritable anti-Americanism - lasted for long and had influential supporters.

The well-known Italian journalist Giorgio Bocca wrote many articles in which he expressed concern for the role that the new habits of consumptions could have on the society: in his view, Italy was becoming rich, impatient and was missing politeness. In different articles, Bocca described the role that the new lifestyle habits had on the Italian culture. In the article, "Signori, qui c'è poco da ridere", written in 1986, he explained his worries concerning the process of homogenization of the Italian society caused by the diffusion of the American capitalism and ideology. He described a society composed by a

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[99] Gundle, S. and Guani, M. (August 1986), "L'americanizzazione del quotidiano. Televisione e consumismo nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta", *Quaderni storici*, Vol. 21, No. 62 (2), Aristocrazie europee dell'Ottocento; Boschi: storia e archeologia 2 (agosto 1986), pp. 561-594.

[100] Scarpellini, E. (2004), "Le reazioni alla diffusione dell'American way of life nell'Italia del miracolo economico", L'Antiamericanismo in Italia e in Europa nel secondo dopoguerra, in Craveri, P., Quagliarello, G. (Eds), Rubettino Editore, Soveria Mannelli, pp. 354-355.

mass of people working in industries, where the technological revolution would have repeatedly changed the everyday habits.[101]

Different forms of scepticism derived also from politics. The Italian Communist Party did not accept in a positive way an unregulated form of growth that preferred individual consumption over public consumption. The Christian Democrats and the Catholic Church, were worried about the role and the importance that material goods were obtaining into the social and cultural life, fearing a possible estrangement from the practice of religion. Many forms of debate arouse but scepticism couldn't limit the influence of the American model on cultural, economic, and social aspects of the Italian life.

The 1970s were a period of economic depression, brought about by the oil crisis. The Government adopted austerity measures to control energy consumption. The rates of unemployment increased, the inflation reached very high levels, violence diffused under new forms of terrorism. Despite of all these problems, new social reforms were undertaken during this period, as the approval of both a law which legalized divorce and a law which allowed abortion. Reforms concerned also key institutions as universities, mental health institutes, and prisons. Consumption continued to increase, and the diet of people became more varied since it included an increased amount of fresh products, coffee, sugar and meat.

Starting from the 1980s, a "second economic miracle" happened in Italy. The international economy flourished again. The Italian industrial districts started to produce very high-quality products at competitive prices. The "Made in Italy" label became popular all over the world. The level of Italian consumption reached the one of the European countries. Demographic changes led to a decrease in the average family size, a reduction in birth rates and an increase in average life expectancy. Those trends determined a greater propensity toward individual consumption. Products as cars, household appliances were not anymore a luxury, and became affordable also for the working class.[102]

All these changes, which had their roots in the 1950s, show that the consumption revolution had finally arrived in Italy but in which form? Were Italians ready to accept all the innovations, traditions, and ways of living coming from the United States? How did the American-made consumption revolution hybridize with Italian cultural traditions and

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[101] Bocca, G. (1986), *Signori qui c'è poco da ridere*, L 'Espresso, 8/06/1986, p. 21.
[102] Scarpellini, *Food and food*, pp. 142-143.

habits? The case of the diffusion in Italy of fast-food chains provide an interesting case to analyse the motives behind acceptance and resistance to modernization.

2.2 Fast-food chains come to Italy

2.2.1 Italians eating out: Autogrill and Burghy

The changes that involved the Italian society during the 1980s did not exclude the food and restaurant sector.

In the domestic sphere, the Italian kitchen, as a room of the apartment, had been through a process of modernization and had assumed the characteristics of the American kitchen. New households' appliances allowed advancements in cooking, the most significative one was the microwave oven. Social changes also affected how people ate: a greater level of informality determined a change in the modalities of eating, in the structure of meals, and in the places for eating. The increase of the number of people that were working, studying, and travelling also determined a greater propensity to eat out.[103]

The reasons for the success of this new trend were different: the shift of the work toward the service sector, a growth in female employment, a greater ease of travelling, and a process of deconstruction of the main meals.[104]

In addition, advertising assumed a relevant role in promoting new products. This function was empowered by the presence of the first private televisions. The contemporary historian Aurelio Lepre (2004) describes the new media as: «the most powerful instrument for the changes of costumes and of mindset».[105] The television through programs as *Carosello*, invaded the Italian houses by continuously promoting packaged foods as biscuits, ice-creams, cheese, etc.

An important step for the acceptance of industrial food and of the informal way of eating out in Italy, was made through the introduction of the first *Autogrill.* Simone Colafranceschi (2007) has defined it as a "rosticceria" for drivers[106], a hybridization between the American model and the Italian reality. The first freeway rest stop was created by the entrepreneur Mario Pavesi in 1947, during the years of the expansion of

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[103] Scarpellini, Food and food, pp. 150-155.
[104] Sfogliarini, B. (December 2000), "L'evoluzione del consumo alimentare negli ultimi vent' anni", *Micro & Macro Marketing*, number 3, pp. 349-350.
[105] Lepre, A. (2004), *Storia della prima Repubblica. L'Italia dal 1943 al 2003*, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 167-220.
[106] Colafranceschi, S. (2007), *Autogrill una storia italiana*, Il Mulino, p. 16.

the freeway network. The initial goal was to introduce a series of pre-packaged products produced by Pavesi, such as savouries and sweet cookies, which could replace traditional home-made snacks. During the 1960s, by following the example of the American chain Howard Johnson's, the restaurant model was integrated with the supermarket model by creating a hybrid that combined quick lunches with self-service packaged goods. This new type of self-service restaurant anticipated the model of the fast-food in Italy. The *Autogrill* formula spread throughout the country, driven by the freeway boom and the increase in mass motorization. Other entrepreneurs as Motta and Alemagna followed the self-service model diffused by Pavesi. As expressed by Giampaolo Fabris (2004), sociologist, and expert of Italian consumerism, during the first years of the introduction of *Autogrill* drivers stopped not only for necessities related to the journey, but above all to live a joyful moment, feeling part of a new social model.[107]

In this way, eating out became a mass need. It also took a particular meaning. It represented for many the opportunity for evading the traditional rituals of eating at home with the family. It became a way for socializing and forming new experiences. This tendency of recognizing the extra domestic sphere as a place for gathering and socializing was appreciated especially by young people. Indeed, these years determined a greater cohesion among teenagers that recognized themselves as a generation with common identities and a similar style. This phenomenon increased further with the introduction of the first fast food chain in Italy.

The first Burghy was founded in 1982, in Milan (Italy), by the GS supermarket chain. In 1985, the chain was sold to the Cremonini Group, one of the biggest meat producers in Italy. Under the new management there was the entrepreneur Vincenzo Cremonini, who during a study experience in the United States observed the phenomenon of the American fast-food chains and applied the same format to the Burghy restaurants. Under this new management the chains spread quickly. By following the American model: hamburgers, French fries, and milk shakes were served daily.[108]

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[107] Fabris, G. (2004), *Il nuovo consumatore: verso il postmoderno*, Milano, Franco Angeli Editore.
[108] Ciapparoni, F. (2017), *Burghy, la storia di un successo italiano che mise in crisi Mcdonald's,* Smartweek, 03/03/2017.

Figure 4. Example of the menu offered by Burghy: products are like the one offered by the multinational McDonald's. Source: https://lasoffittadeiricordi.wordpress.com/tag/willy-denty

Also, the marketing efforts of the new Italian fast-food chain were similar to the ones of the leading multinational McDonald's. Indeed, the Italian company launched in 1990s its own mascot, called *Willy Denty,* an imaginary character with a huge mouth and giant teeth.[109] Regarding the logo it is easy to deduce that the colours used for representing Burghy, a bright yellow and red, where like the one used by McDonald's.[110]

Figure 5. Burghy logo and example of a Burghy's premium with the mascot Will Denty. Source: https://labuonanimadiburghy.files.wordpress.com/2015/10/index.jpg

The first Burghy outlet, based in Piazza San Babila, became one of the most frequented places by the young generation. It was recognized as the hearth of a new cultural movement, the one of the so-called "paninari" (literally meaning "sandwichers"), that soon spread all over Italy. The movement was constituted by young people, who belonged to the wealthy Milanese class and rejected any type of political involvement.

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[109] Wikipedia, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burghy.
[110] Wikipedia, https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burghy.

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The "Paninari" movement focused on living a life without too many worries, and it was inspired on the models of the American cinema. The *Paninaris* followed a precise style by wearing clothes as the Levi's jeans, the Moncler parkas or the Timberland boots.

The rule was that everything should be branded and very expensive.[111] They were identified not only by their look but also by the Milanese areas that they controlled, for example Via Montenapoleone, became a no-go zone for the non-*paninari.[112]*

Figure 6*. Paninari* in front of Burghy. Source: https://www.smartweek.it/burghy-la-storia-un-successo-italiano-mise-crisi-mcdonalds/

The introduction of the fast food in Italy, underlined that the necessity for eating out increased. Inside supermarkets and in specific places, stores and restaurants of take-away and ready-to-eat foods opened. Different sociologists point out that these changes in eating behaviour not only represented changes in the organization of work, but also profound shifts in the traditional family and a new importance of women' role. The cooking magazine "La Cucina Italiana" published many articles which tried to explain the changes that were occurring. For example, the article, "La donna d'oggi", which appeared in November 1958, argued that the role of women had changed forever and tried to describe how, independently by the fact that women stayed at home or went to work, they needed to face the new progresses that were happening both inside the home, with the modernization of the kitchen, and outside.[113]

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[111]Scarpellini, E. (2012), *Food and food*, pp. 156-159.
[112] Muscau, F., (2009), "The City Boutique" in John Potvin (Eds), *The Places and Spaces of Fashion 1800-2007*, pp. 139-140.
[113] *La donna d'oggi,* La cucina italiana, November 1958.

Eating at home during the workweek became more difficult, workers ate more frequently alone or with colleagues and friends than with parents and family. Above all, food preparation times were reduced and number of people that used commercial spaces for this service increased. As in the United States thirty years ago, also in the Italian peninsula eating habits were changing. [114]

2.2.2 Opening McDonald's in Italy: a newspaper analysis of the Italian reaction

The introduction of the fast-food chains in Italy provoked protests and criticisms, the Italian population was divided into those that appreciated this new way of eating, and those that were worried about the risk of losing the Italian culinary traditions and about the beginning of a process of urban decay.

These fears and resistance became evident, and protests were voiced with the opening of the first McDonald's in Rome, in Piazza di Spagna, in 1986. Even if the first McDonald's in Italy had been opened in Bozen and had been operating since 1985, the McDonald's which was built in Rome was considered the first one due to the fact that it was acquired in 1970, although it opened only in 1986. McDonald's prudently programmed the opening in Italy. In other European countries the American chain emerged much earlier. The first European countries in which McDonald's opened were: Netherlands (1971), Germany (1971), England (1974), Austria (1977), Belgium (1978) and Spain (1981).

The delay in the opening of McDonald's in Italy were related to the relative absence in Italy of the conditions which were essential to the success of the American fast-food chain, as the presence of commuters, of part-time workers and, in general, a widespread habit of eating out. As mentioned in the first chapter, these conditions were already present in the 1950s in the United States, when McDonald's opened the first store in California (1948). Indeed, when those changes presented themselves in the second half of the 1980s in Italy, McDonald's dared to launch its products on the homeland of pasta.[115] The brand was not accepted easily by Italian public opinion and, since the first day of opening, the American company was accused by media and some citizens to ruin one of the most beautiful squares of Rome (Piazza di Spagna).

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[114] DE BERNARDI, I *consumi alimentari in Italia. Uno specchio del cambiamento,* Roma, 2015.
[115] De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, pp. 156-159.

Why so many reactions against McDonald's, considering that many other fast foods were present in Italy and in Rome? How to explain the slowness of the process of expansion of McDonald's in Italy as compared to its diffusion in other countries?

In order to provide answer to these questions, I applied the theoretical framework developed by the American historian of technology Ruth Schwarz Cohan, the consumption junction, to understand the process of adoption of an innovation, in this case, of a new brand. The theorical model states that new technologies needed to be adapted to fit into certain routines and contexts. In this sense, the adoption of an innovation is not a passive act, but, as Trevor Pinch and Wiebe Bijker stated, is the consequence of the considerations and consumption decisions of a multitude of relevant social groups, each of them gives different meanings to the product\brand. These considerations and decisions not only influence the different stages leading to the commercialization of an invention: as the ones of development and diffusion and they are, thus, able to orient and channel productive and distribution decisions, they also might significantly hinder the diffusion of new technologies. Another element to take into consideration is the consumption junction: i. e. the place and the time at which customers choose between compelling technologies, in this case between compelling brands.[116]

The historical context of reference is the one described by Scarpellini, in her study "Shopping American-Style: The Arrival of the Supermarket in Post war Italy", in which the author analyses the introduction of the first supermarket in Italy in 1957, carried out by an American group. The author's study focuses on the adaptation process for this innovation for being accepted into the Italian context.

In analysing the reactions to the opening of McDonald's in Rome and how these reactions might have influenced the strategy of the brand in Italy in the following years, I collected more than 50 newspaper articles[117] which appeared on the most important Italian newspapers and magazines (La Stampa, La Repubblica, Il Corriere della Sera; Panorama, l'Espresso) between 1985 (year antecedent of the introduction of McDonald's in Italy) and

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[116] Cohan, R.S., (1987), *The Consumption Junction: A Proposal for Research Strategies in the Sociology of Technology.*
[117] See Appendix A and B for further details.

1996 (year in which McDonald's acquired Burghy). The majority of them (34) were published in 1986.[118]

In March 1986, an article in La Repubblica, presented the new McDonald's opened in Via Due Macelli, near to the famous steps of Piazza di Spagna. The journalist Laura Laurenz puts in relevance the great dimensions of the American outlet, and the adaptation of the décor to the Roman landscape. At that time, the McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna, was the biggest shop of the world, with a dimension of six hundred square meters. The outlet was designed by a group of architects and designers to respect the historical external buildings. The décor was more in line with the Ancient Rome, than with the American Graffiti style. On the walls were frescoed scenes of Roman terraces, near to the piano there was a salad bar, to offer more healthy solutions.[119] The designers, decided not to show the yellow sign with the giant "M" outside the building, and to use traditional Roman cobblestone in the flooring of the restaurant. This decision showed the willingness of the American multinational of adapting to the local environment, however Roman people did not appreciate the great dimensions of the outlet, which created since the beginning different problems (traffic jam, urban decay..).

Figure 7. Italian newspapers' article titled "McDonald's open and it is immediately crowded: assault on the fast-food". Source: Historical Archive *Il Corriere della Sera*. (21/03/1986)

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[118] More precisely: 10 articles from "La Repubblica", 9 from "La Stampa", 28 from "Il Corriere della Sera", 2 are from the weekly magazine "Panorama", other 5 are from the magazine "L'Espresso" and one article is from an American journal "The New York Times".

[119] Laurenz, L. (1986), *È a Piazza di Spagna, il tempio fast food più grande del mondo*, La Repubblica, 13/03/1986.

The press underlines the success of the McDonalds' able to attract much more clients than expected but the success is at the basis also of the first trouble. Journalists emerge as a key relevant social group, through their articles they put in relevance the negative consequences for the Roman Square. The articles repetitively underline the different protests that arouse after the opening of McDonald's.

Since the first day the quick service restaurant was invaded by young people, the so called "paninari", whereas other people tried to enter without success, to discover this new American place for eating out. This large turnout created traffic management problems and the rest of the square became a parking lot for scooters. Four days after the opening, the 450-seat outlet continued to sell out. The great dimensions of the store did not help the American multinational to go unnoticed.

37. Il marchio della tradizione: ingresso di McDonald's a piazza di Spagna, con targa che reca la data di fondazione, 1986, accanto a un mosaico romano del II secolo circa d.C.

Figure 8. The McDonald's logo, with a plate indicating the date of opening, next to an ancient Roman mosaic. Source: De Grazia V., *Irresistible Empire*, p. 547.

Jacques Babout, the owner of the McDonald's outlet, said that they had projected an attendance of about 5,000 customers per day, and they would have never imagined that they would have reached more than 20,000 daily attendances.[120]

The protests of citizens arrived soon, and in order to limit the traffic problems, McDonald's decided to keep close on Saturdays. However, this decision didn't solve the problem and, as reported by "Il Corriere della Sera", the struggle became soon political.

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[120] Forti, A. (1986), *McDonald's chiude: ma solo di sabato*, Corriere della Sera, 28/03/1986.

Almost 10 days after the opening, the Italian Communist Party asked for the closure of the restaurant through an agenda. The declared reason was the presence of relevant building abuses in the restaurant. However, we should recognize that the opening of McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna was a representation of the victory of the capitalist system and of consumerism. Furthermore, in 1986, the political environment was very heated, given the ambiguous position of Italy toward the attack of the United States on Libya. Indeed, the declared building abuses embodied political reasons for limiting the advance of the American capitalist system into the Italian peninsula.

Beside the alleged abuses concerning the specific restaurant, there were other reasons of opposition connected to the "decorum" of the area: the Rome City Council declared war to the proliferation of other fast-food restaurants, that were accused of transforming Piazza di Spagna from one of the most elegant zones of the city with luxurious boutiques and long tradition stores into a crowded meeting place invaded by rowdy teenagers.

According to the press, citizens of Rome were divided in two parties: the "hawks" who were against the hamburger, this group was constituted by many shopkeepers, restaurateurs, left-wing independents, communists, and republicans. And on the other side, there was the group of the "doves" who considered the sandwich crowd just a trend of the moment.[121] The nomenclature used, demonstrate again a political connection. The doves symbolize neutral positions which are conducive to negotiated solutions, while the hawks stand for factions following more rigid stances. Each one had a different perception of the American fast food: a merchant Francesco Sarti stated that he hated fast-food as they belonged to a foreign world, whereas Alessandro Alesi, a senate employee, affirmed that the success of the fast-food chains should teach something to the Italian restaurant owners.[122]

This debate was not just a local one. The entire Italian public opinion mobilized against or in favour the fast-food invasion into the Italian capital city symbol of the "Dolce Vita". The journalist Bocca stated that the historicity of the moment needed to be accepted, however,

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[121] Della Rovere, R. (1986), *A Roma il Comune dichiara guerra a McDonald's: troppi paninari stravolgono piazza di Spagna*, Corriere della Sera, 06/04/1986.
[122] Pan, M. (1986), *Clienti divisi davanti a McDonald's*, Corriere della Sera, 06/04/1986.

he also expressed many worries about the increasing difficulty in finding a tasty and honest cuisine in the city.[123]

Liliana Madeo explained the changes that took place in Rome during those years. The urban aspect of the city had complete changed: the prestigious and ancient stores, the old signboards, and the luxurious shop windows had been quickly replaced by jeans shops and fast foods. In this way the heritage of the city was erased, and the atmosphere of the city had changed.[124] The architect and urbanist Bruno Zevi also demonstrated his worries about the aspect that Rome was assuming. He stated that: «With the diffusion of the fast food in the city, Rome doesn't become international, but as international it was, it is becoming limited and unnatural. It is given to the management of a million of potential paninari». [125] Besides of all those critics, in addition Zevi accused the administrative authorities of the city, that should plan (urban planning) and then be responsible for the development of the city.[126]

However, not everyone accused McDonald's of having ruined one of the most beautiful squares in Italy. The sociologist Luigi Manconi affirmed that the fast-food chains were a solution for all the young people that worked in the city and couldn't afford a meal in the expensive Roman restaurants. The representative association of the shopkeepers, Confcommercio, asserted that fast-food were the restaurants that represented modernity, and could constitute an improvement in a city as Rome. Also, the sociologist Franco Ferrarotti, stated that the historical centres cannot always maintain the same conformation, and that McDonald's would become part of the city.[127]

At the same time, the part of the population that loved the American hamburger were the teenagers, who thought that McDonald's was an important place for them for socializing. Also, tourists appreciated the presence of McDonald's in Rome. Even if the McDonald's hamburger had the same taste in every country, it gave them an opportunity to eat something fresh and cheap, to sit down and to stay in a place that followed better hygienic conditions with respects to the bars of the zone.[128] The reasons related to choosing

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[123] Bocca, G. (1986), *Quel Bruto pensa troppo*, La Repubblica, 29/01/1986.
[124] Madeo, L. (1986), *La Vecchia Roma stravolta dal post moderno*, La Stampa, 5/04/1986.
[125] Madeo, L. (1986), Sacco di Roma col fast food, La Stampa, 05/04/1986.
[126] Zevi, B. (1986), L'Espresso, *Il McDonald's? A piazza Venezia*, 14/04/1986.
[127] Bussoletti, M., Padalino, A. (1986), *Vade retro Hamburger*, Panorama, 03/08/1986.
[128] Palma, E., Pisanelli, C., A. (1987), *Ma gli stranieri non si lamentano, hanno pasta e vino*, Corriere della Sera, 23/08/1987.

McDonald's instead of Italian restaurants were related to the atmosphere that the American chain offered. The food did not matter so much, but the lights, the coloured uniforms of the employees, the self-service, and the associations with other two powerful brands as Disney and Coca-Cola, made McDonald's a fun and cool experience.[129]

Through those observations it is possible to understand the dimension of the critics and oppositions that involved McDonald's in Italy. The newspapers followed for months the events that happened in Rome in relation to the new fast-food chain. The magazine "Panorama" dedicated the cover of the number of August 3rd, 1986, to this new phenomenon with the title "Hamburger, I hate you" and subtitle "In Italy, invaded by sandwiches, the fast-food war broke out". Those titles clearly express the general disapproval toward the American hamburger influence.

Figure 9. Cover of the Italian magazine "Panorama", 03/09/1986. Source: archive of the library of Bassano del Grappa, (Italy).

However, it wasn't only the municipality of Rome that wanted the closure of McDonald's, but also the famous fashion designer Valentino, who possessed a store near to the quick service restaurant. Valentino accused McDonald's to harming the business of its store for the noises and smells coming from the restaurant. However, the battle was won by the American chain, as the externalities were not beyond the minimum level fixed by the regulations of the policy and the of the municipality.[130] After the Valentino's case, similar accusations were done by Asap (Associazione sindacale aziende petrolifere), a union

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[129] De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, pp. 545, 546.
[130] (1986), *Esperto annuserà gli odori di McDonald's*, Corriere della Sera, 09/05/1986.

founded by Eni (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi). The workers considered the noises and smells coming from McDonald's hard to handle. Even in this case, McDonald's, that had installed a new chimney, prevailed.[131]

The world of entertainment did not stay out from all those events, and on April 21st, 1986, the actor Clint Eastwood with other showbiz people as Claudio Villa, Giorgio Bracardi and Luciano De Crescenzo, organized a gathering for eating spaghetti near the steps of Piazza di Spagna. The "Save Rome" committee, composed by Italian actors, singers, and politicians, had the aim of contrasting the "Americanization" of the Italian culinary traditions, and of blocking the diffusion of McDonald's in Italy, that was the responsible of the degradation of Rome. The event was also treated by "The New York Times", and signs with the message "Clint Eastwood, you should be our mayor" were showed by the supporters of the movement.[132]

Figure 10. Claudio Villa (on the left) and Giorgio Bracardi (on the right) protest for the opening of McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna. (1986). Source: La Repubblica.

Even if the McDonald's restaurant in Rome, was not closed and continued to produce economic results, the process of the McDonald's expansion in Italy was not so fast and easy.

Similar protests arouse also in Milan, when McDonald's tried to open in the prestigious galleria, the "Milan salon". The same happened in Florence, when McDonald's tried to obtain the permission to open a restaurant near to the Cathedral of Saint Mary of the Flower. In this case the opening was blocked by the introduction of a new law, the number 15, on the safeguard of the historical centres. The ultimate no, arrived in 2016, after an evaluation of the quality of the store window dressing, of the interior design, of the quality

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[131] (1986), *Un'altra causa contro McDonald's*, Corriere della Sera, 30/05/1986.
[132] Suro, M., D., (1986), *Roman protest McDonald's*, New York Times, 05/05/1986.

of the raw materials, and of the level of store's integration with the historical centre. The restaurant was not accepted for a low presence of Italian seasonal products, and for the signboard design that resulted too much prevalent on the historical centre.[133]

2.2.3 The slow process of McDonald's expansion in Italy

In ten years, McDonald's opened only 23 restaurants in Italy, a very small number compared to other countries as the Great Britain with 550 outlets, and Germany with 500 outlets. The reasons related to this slow development were given to bureaucratic and administrative problems. The Americans needed to face new and more complicated procedures. Opening a restaurant in Italy was not simple, the processes for obtaining the licenses, the permits to operate and renovate were very long. And the relations with the Public Administration were complex.

The situation became more difficult when it was approved the law number 15 that prevented the introduction of fast food in the historical centres. As expressed by Marco Pagni, lawyer who worked in the legal department of McDonald's, the problems that the American company faced were essentially three: becoming credible by obtaining the trust of the customers, coping higher facility costs than in the U.S. and facing an entirely new social, union, administrative environment and finding suitable buildings to house restaurants. To reduce the impact of those problems, McDonald's needed to become more Italian, and to be recognized an as international brand established in the social and economic environment of the country.

For doing this McDonald's hired an Italian manager, who lived in Italy, and was able to cope with the Italian bureaucracy and environment, this person was Mario Resca, who became the chairman of McDonald's Italia. For the process of Italianization of the American brand it was essential that Italians considered the quick service restaurants as a safe place. To obtain this result it was essential to find Italian suppliers and allies.

McDonald's made a deal with Agip (Eni group) to open restaurants in the Agip service stations, the first opening took place in 1995 and went well: the service station registered an increase in supply of the 20%, another deal was made with La Rinascente.[134] Another

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[133] Ferrara, E. (2016), *Firenze: McDonald's al Duomo, arriva il no ufficiale del Comune*, La Repubblica, 06/07/2016.
[134] Gianala, R., Resca, M. (1998), *McDonald's una storia italiana*, pp. 46-70.

important factor was finding Italian suppliers, the first McDonald's in Rome used only Italian products: the meat came from Bozen, the bun was from Milan and the ketchup from Bologna.[135]

However, all these measures weren't enough for ensuring a relevant expansion of McDonald's in Italy, as Burghy under the management of Vincenzo Cremonini became the giant of the Italian fast-food industry. Cremonini had, over time, taken over the Quick restaurants, the Wendy's opened in Italy, and the Burger One restaurants of the Perfetti group. When in 1996 the Cremonini group had cash flow problems, McDonald's that at the time had 38 stores in Italy (31 under franchising) tried to take over Burghy, which had already 80 restaurants. The operation wasn't simple, but with a contract of almost 700 pages, a double deal was made. The Burghy chain was sold to McDonald's and the Cremonini Group obtained the role of meat suppliers for all the Italian outlets of McDonald's.[136] It was the first time that McDonald's acquired a direct competitor. It had never happened. The acquisition of Burghy gave the opportunity to McDonald's to significantly accelerate the development in Italy, to spread the brand and to start a more incisive policy.

What it is sure is that the American brand, McDonald's, met many obstacles in its diffusion in Italy and met the significant opposition of many social groups. The McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna was evaluated in various ways by the different social groups. From the articles that I have analysed, the relevant social groups who opposed to the American brand are:

- Journalists: as Bocca, Madeo, Laurenz, who tend to be critical towards the fast-food outlet. They put in relevance the problems that arouse after the introduction of the American chain in the Italian capital, and their worries related to the loss of the Italian culinary traditions.
- The Municipality and urbanists as Zevi: who want to block the process of urban decay in Piazza di Spagna, and to limit the traffic problems.
- Political parties as the Communist party: that consider the establishment and the success of the American brand as a sign of the victory of the capitalist system.

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[135] Italiani, https://www.italiani.it/primo-mcdonalds-ditalia-a-roma-storia-di-proteste-e-curiosita
[136] Taino, (1996), *McDonald's si è mangiata Burghy in un solo boccone*, Corriere della Sera, 22/03/1996.

- Shopkeepers: as the fashion designer Valentino, who accuse the fast-food chain of ruining his business for the smells and noises coming from the restaurant.

Meanwhile the relevant social groups, who appreciated the American influence spread by McDonald's in the Roman Square are teenagers and tourists. They love the American brand and consider McDonald's as a meeting place for socializing and eating taste and cheap food.

If we analyse the data and the reactions of the relevant social groups, it is evident that the problem was not the fast food per se: when McDonald's opened in Rome, there were other fast-food chains already active in Italy and in Rome, as Benny Burger in Trastevere, that didn't adapt to the design of the historical buildings that surrounded the environment. Moreover, when Burghy opened in Milan, no one opposed to the introduction of fast food in Piazzetta dei Mercati. As the journalist Lietta Tornabuoni stated, the opening of McDonald's in Rome was a symbol of the changes that took place in the heart of the capital, of how the way of eating was changing, of how slow and conservative the Italian commercial initiative was compared to foreign ones. For these reasons, the Italian politicians, the roman citizens, and shopkeepers were worried about the changes that a fast-food multinational could bring in Rome and maybe they were not ready to accept those developments. Other reasons were related to cultural factors, as McDonald's would provoke another radical change in the Italian culture of consumption. After the influence of the Hollywood cinema, and of the American supermarkets, McDonald's was another symbol *par excellence* of the "American way of living", that was invading and changing the Italian culture, this was difficult to accept for the most conservative people. However, when McDonald's opened in more plebian areas, as train stations, no one opposed. This because, those places didn't undermine the urban geographics of historical places that constituted the country identity.

As Scarpellini has emphasized in the study of the introduction of American supermarkets in Italy, the Americans needed to make changes in order to be accepted by the Italian society and considered aligned with Italian culture. Also, McDonald's went through a similar process of "Italianization", and this implied essentially two types of changes. The first was a technical adaptation, as McDonald's adapted the décor of the outlet to the design of the historical centre. Also, the selection of the raw materials went under this process of Italianization, by opting for all Italian ingredients. The second one implied a

socio-political adaptation, the American fast-food chain had to face a complete different administrative and bureaucratic system, to cope with this problem, the chain hired an Italian manager.

Indeed, as the economic historian Zeitlin and cultural historians Rob Kroes and Richard Pells have claimed Americanization took place often in a complex fashion. Users in more cases rejected American models or change them through processes of modification, cross-fertilization, and hybridization. The historian of technology Ruth Oldenziel (2009) has analysed the process of adaptation of the American Kitchen to the European context. Her study demonstrates that American kitchens went through a process of domestication. She illustrates how American traditions were ignored or rebuild to adapt to local conditions. As the author has expressed: «Americanization is best understood as a process of selective adaptation to suit the demands of domestic market institutions, resulting in creative modifications, cross-fertilizations, and reworkings».[137]

Indeed, in this case, it is important to underline that the American multinational carried out a process of "domestication" by adapting its design to the ancient Roman Square, and by introducing products consistent with the Italian tastes. McDonald's undertook this process of "domestication" to facilitate the reception of the American chain in Italy, and to satisfy the relevant social groups who opposed to the opening of the American brand. Nevertheless, the decision of opening the biggest McDonald's store into one of the most loved Italian squares, did not go unnoticed and could be considered as a provocation. For sure, the Americans who programmed in each detail the opening in Italy, made this tactical decision for increasing the visibility of the brand and for obtaining publicity through all the articles published weekly.

Despite the criticisms that arouse during the years, the McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna continued to be one of the most profitable restaurants of the chain for many years, and after the acquisition of Burghy, in 1997, the McDonald's outlets became 100, and, in 2001, they reached the number of 300.[138] This means that, at a certain point, the American fast-food chain has been accepted by the Italian consumers. Also, the fashion designer

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[137] Oldenziel, R. (2009), "Exporting the American Cold War Kitchen: Challenging Americanization, Technological Transfer, and Domestication", in Oldenziel R., Zachman K. (Eds), *Cold war kitchen,* MIT press, pp. 315-330.
[138] Chia, J., (2017), McDonald's storia dell'impresa che ha trasformato il mondo, Corriere Della Sera, 02/01/2017.

Valentino changed idea on the fast-food chains and expressed his willingness to design the uniforms of McDonald's.[139]

The reasons leading to public acceptance might be different.

At the end, the concept of eating something in a quick way on the street was already present in Italian food culture and tradition which had street food as essential component. As expressed by Giuseppe Parente (2007), Italy is a country that offers a lot of possibilities for eating something at low price and in a fast way. Traditional foods as Pizza, Focaccia, Arancini are just some examples of the Italian fast way of eating.[140]

At the same time, perhaps, Italians recognized the success that fast food business was obtaining. Indeed, this model was replied by Italians: people\restaurateurs that once hated hamburger and opposed McDonald's, now have created their own fast-food which offer Italian recipes instead of French fries and sandwiches. One example is Italy & Italy which offered three different versions of spaghetti in a record time.[141]

Or maybe they recognized that eating habits have changed. Meals became more unstructured, families moved toward greater individualism and working women obtained a major degree of independency. In this sense, fast-food offered a solution for all those workers and all those people that didn't have enough time for cooking and wanted a cheap meal.

Or, maybe, Italians finally accepted McDonald's because it was extremely difficult to resist to the hamburger influence that was spreading through the media. The McDonald's hamburger was present in different American movies and associated to celebrities as Michael Jordan. Even the pop-art artist Andy Warhol in his art pieces represented the American hamburger. McDonald's and other famous fast-food chains appeared in different movies such as the Moscow on the Hudson, starring with Robin Williams. The American hamburger became so famous that even politicians as Hilary Clinton have been photographed while eating their meal. Also, soft drinks companies as Coca-Cola advertised their products in association to the American Hamburger.[142]

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[139] Buffoni, E., (1989), *Cena in piazza per 400 contro il fast food*, La Stampa, 17/04/1989.
[140] Parente, G., (2007), "Cibo veloce e cibo di strada. Le tradizioni artigianali del fast-food in Italia alla prova della globalizzazione", *Storicamente*, 3, pp. 1-21.
[141] Santonocito, R., (1986), *In fretta all'italiana*, Panorama, 27/04/1986.
[142] Smith, A.F. (2008), *Hamburger a Global History*, Reaktion Books Ltd, London, p.118-119.

Figure 11. Coca – Cola advertisement. Source: Hamburger a Global History, p. 119

It is difficult to understand what are the true reasons that allowed the diffusion and success of American fast-food chains in Italy, and why Italians changed their mind on the American hamburger. As also Cohan has pointed out, it is also difficult to frame all the relevant social groups, as consumers may came in different shapes and sizes, and their attitude may change depending on the function and role that they cover, in a certain moment. In addition, different studies have underlined the importance of considering the specific contexts, situations and places in which consumption is carried on. As expressed by Roberta Sassatelli (2007), eating out is not a response to a universal need, but to needs and desire that make sense only in certain culture and for certain actors.[143] As mentioned before, the food offered in McDonald's was not the principal motive for which people preferred the multinational chain over the Italian restaurants, but the fact that it was associated to an experience that represented the "American way of living". For young people eating out was an experience associated to fun, interaction and constituted an important form of socialization, that allowed them to escape from the ritual of eating at home with the family. From these observations it is also possible to understand that the social function that fast-food covered in Italy, was different from the function that they covered in the U.S. In the former case fast-food restaurants represented a meeting place for young people, and in the latter were a form of family reunion and of children entertainment. This demonstrates that the consumers have an active role in shaping the function of certain innovations in a specific local context.

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[143] Sassatelli, R., (2007), *Consumer culture, history, theory and politics*, Sage, London, p. 64

What is sure is that the McDonald's based in Rome, in 1987 had a turnover of over 10 million dollars. This was given by its strategic position, its dimension, and to a menu that adapted to local tastes, including also *insalata caprese.*[144] However, as Scarpellini points out in her study on the introduction of American supermarkets in Italy, the initial slowness and the oppositions that took place during the establishment of the supermarkets in Italy, and in this case of the McDonald's chain, were in many ways a: «representation of an ambivalent attitude toward the American model». [145]

2.3 "Italianizing" McDonald's

2.3.1 Globalization: a threat to local food?

For the Italians of the 90s, McDonald's became the symbol of an America that everyone dreamed of at the time. The preoccupations inherent to the provenience of products, of the quality of the ingredients, and of a healthy nutrition were still low. However, with the beginning of the new century different problems and worries arouse inherent to the environmental impact of multinationals and on the security of the food system.

McDonald's faced a period of crisis, due to a series of internal and external problems. A recovery plan was essential. The fast-food chain undertook a process of "De-Americanization" to restore the success of the big company. The aim of this paragraph will be the one to understand why a multinational as McDonald's that has been capable of expanding in the majority part of the world, and that was the sign *par excellence* of the "American way of life", needed to become less "American" and to adapt more to local cultures, in particular to the Italian traditions.

One cannot talk of the beginning of the 21st century without taking in consideration the effects of globalization. Different criticisms arouse from this process associated to the emergence of a single homogeneous "world culture", where geography became less relevant for social and cultural arrangements.[146] Globalization was perceived as massive process of standardization, and by some it was associated to a greater tendency toward Americanization. Indeed, globalization was often considered as a threat to local culture, and traditions, by increasing the preoccupation of many scholars.

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[144] Franceschini, E., (1988), *Sua maestà l'hamburger*, La Repubblica, 03/11/1988.
[145] Scarpellini, E. (December 2004), "Shopping American-Style: The Arrival of the Supermarket in Postwar Italy",*Enterprise & Society*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 625- 668.
[146] Waters, M. (2001), *Globalization*, Routledge, London.

Not everyone saw globalization as a process with only negative implications. Others have emphasized the advantages resulting from a greater tendency toward the reduction of international boundaries, that facilitate international business and expand trade in the agro-industrial and agricultural sector. The economist Theodore Levitt in the seminal article "The Globalization of Markets"(1983), has forecasted that customers would increasingly prefer to have access to services and products all over the world, and that they would easily give up to local products for globalized versions of the same item.[147] In the late 1980s, a relevant number of textbooks inherent to international business and marketing, emphasized the importance that the word "global" was obtaining, by suggesting strategies of serving a global market in the same way everywhere.[148]

However, with respect to food, some historians of consumption as Richard Wilk[149] and Frank Trentmann[150], find out also a different effect of globalization, that had different outcomes all over the world. Instead of eliminating every form of culinary local customs and traditions, it led to hybrid forms between the old and the new, leading to a process of hybridization and creolization. Foods as the vegetable burgers, Italian sushi, and the association of traditional meals with Coca-Cola are just some examples of these mixed forms. This effect was accentuated when by the 1990s customers began to request the fulfilment of their local preferences. This resulted in glocalization; terms introduced by Roland Robertson (1994)[151] that underlines the adoption of both local and global requirements. In this way multinationals were able to leverage their assets globally while satisfying local customers and preferences. The point is that if from one side globalization was creating a greater tendency toward homogenization, on the other hand it was reinforcing localism, differences, and particular identities. Regarding food, if in the past it constituted mainly a response to biological needs, now it was becoming a distinctive sign of belonging to a certain culture. Food was the most immediate point of access to obtain

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[147] Levitt, T. (1983), "The Globalization of Markets", *Harvard Business Review*, May 1983.
[148] Mcauley, A. (2001), *International marketing book consuming globally, thinking locally*, John Wiley & Sons, England, pp. 72-73.
[149] R. Wilk (2006), *Home Cooking in the Global Village: Caribbean Food from Buccaneers to Ecotourists*, Oxford.
[150] A. Nützenadel and F. Trentmann, (eds.), (2008), *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*, Oxford.
[151] Robertson, R. (1994), "Globalisation or glocalisation?", *Journal of International Communication* 1, pp. 33-52.

knowledge about a specific area, to give information about its history, traditions, people, and geography.

2.3.2 The importance of food origin in the Italian market

Given the rapid expansion of hamburger chains, they were often considered as visible manifestations of globalization, and expression of American imperialism. To avoid problematic cultural clashes hamburger chains tried to localize at best their operations, to fit in the local ways of life.

As already expressed in the first chapter, McDonald's focalised on localising its products by following the specific needs of each country. Because if twenty years ago McDonald's could transfer their products globally with minimal changes, now it needed to follow and satisfy the needs of the country in which they operate.[152] In the case of the Italian market, the strategy used at the beginning of the 21st century, was concentrated on adapting to local tastes, but also on focusing on the origin of the products offered. The reasons beyond this decision were related to some specific food scares and diseases that modified customer behaviour and attitude, and to the importance that the agro-food sector had and has still today, on the cultural identity of Italians.

As expressed by Paolo Magaudda and Maria P. Ferretti (2006), the agro-food sector represents for the Italian not only an important constituent of the national economy, but also an essential element of cultural identification.[153] This sense of identity for the Italians: «lies in the food, not just of the region in which they were born, but of the town, village, hamlet, even house».[154] Respect to other European consumers, Italians declared in 2002, a higher preference for the food produced locally and nationally, for which often were available to pay price premium.

What has been found through the comparative analysis "Trust in food in Europe", (2003) is that Italian consumers often lack trust in the food system.[155] This phenomenon has been particularly accentuated during the BSE (Bovine spongiform encephalopathy) crisis in

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[152] Antonacci, F., Carriero C. (2017*), Local marketing strategie per promuovere e vendere sul territorio,* Hoepli, p. 173.
[153] Magaudda, P., Ferrettia M. P. (2006), *The slow pace of institutional change in the Italian food system*, Appetite n. 47, pp. 161- 169.
[154] Fort, M. (2010), *McDonald's launch McItaly burger*, The Guardian, 28/01/2010.
[155] Poppe, C., & Kijarnes, U. (2003), *Trust in food in Europe. A comparative analysis*, Oslo, National Institute for Consumer Research.

1996 and in 2001, which created major concerns related to the safety of food and resulted in a relevant drop in trust and in sales, with a 70% reduction in beef consumption in Italy during the first few weeks.[156] Since the BSE crisis took place in states with a higher rate of industrialization, Italians began to recognize that "modernization" did not mean food security. As a result, food safety was increasingly associated to organic methods and local traditions. Artisanal quality became the key element in the Italian food strategy. Coldiretti, the most important Italian association representing agriculture, was an important supporter of the new quality standards associated to tradition, locality, and family farming. Through the publication in 2002, of a "pact with consumers", one of the most important elements included in the pact was the word "traceability", which involved consumers being noticed of the products' origin.[157]

However, as Scarpellini has observed, going back history the first issues related to food origins emerged much earlier, when branded products began to circulate. Those products expressed not only who made them, the place of production, and how they were made, but also displayed a seal or a commercial mark, which give information on regional or national connotations. Since branded products, offered a greater warranty to consumers, given the presence of information about their producers, consumers started to give a particular cultural significance to those items.[158] This association of quality to typicality was further implemented during the 1950s when quality labels were used for distinguishing some special products as Parma ham and Parmigiano Reggiano cheese from cheaper brands and imitations.

As expressed by Andrew Mcauley the country of origin of a product that is often communicated through the label "Made in.." constitutes an intangible product attribute, that differ from physical products characteristics. Most agree that the country of origin has a certain impact on determining the customers' evaluation of products and in many cases, they use it as a warranty to compensate the lack of knowledges or familiarity to certain products.[159]

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[156] (1996), "*Mucche pazze" consumi di carne ridotti dell'80%,* La Stampa, 29/03/1996.
[157] Brunori, G., Malandrin, V., Rossi, A. (2013), "Trade-off or convergence? The role of food security in the evolution of food discourse in Italy", *Journal of rural studies,* 29, pp. 19-29.
[158] Scarpellini, *Food and food,* pp. 164 -167.
[159] Mcauley, A. (2001), *International marketing book consuming globally thinking locally*, John Wiley & Sons, London, p. 163.

Johansson also explains that products made in countries that have a positive image, will be easier to appreciate, whereas products from countries with a negative reputation will be less positively perceived. This is what constitute the *country-of-origin effect*. Even if this effect seems to have been reinforced through globalization, given the increase of global communication. Indeed, customers can learn more about what foreign countries are good to produce. However, the country perceptions seem to change over time. For example, the American products that after the World War II had a good reputation, started to be perceived more badly during the 1980s as foreign products raised customer expectations.[160] Whereas the Made in Italy label starting from the 1980s assumed a particular significance of artisanal quality, which opposed to industrialization. This label assumed a particular sign of quality in the sector of fashion, furniture, design, and food. After the different food safety issues, a major consensus on the quality attributed to the Made in Italy label was generated and Italian customers associated major food risks to imported products or raw materials.

2.3.3 McDonald's and the made in Italy strategy

In this turbulent environment, the persistent association of McDonald's to the United States and to industrialized food, was one among the reasons inherent to the process of "De-Americanization" undertaken by the multinational. However, the American chain needed to face several problems at the beginning of the 21st century. The collapse of the Twin Towers generated a slowdown in consumption in the United States and diffused a general atmosphere of uncertainty. The BSE crisis created different concerns regarding nutrition, and on meat quality. The multinational McDonald's didn't register direct cases of "mad cows". However, as the core business of the fast-food chains were products with meat, many restaurants began to empty.

The public opinion started to raise accusations against McDonald's. Vegetarian health movements blamed the multinational for air pollution, deforestation, social and environmental irresponsibility. Doctors and consumer associations indicated as main responsible the fast-food chain for the high rates of obesity inside the American population. The high percentage of fat contained in the hamburgers and the promotion an anti-health propaganda were considered dangerous for the consequences on the

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[160] Johansson, J. K., (2009), *Global marketing: foreign entry, local marketing, and global management*, McGraw Hill, p. 39.

population's health. Moreover in 2004, the docu-film "Super-size me" came out. The film created a lot of buzz, by showing the collateral effects on the psyche and body of the actor, who had been eating exclusively at McDonald's for a month. The reputation of the multinational was affected very badly by all those events, which caused the company's stock to plummet to twelve dollars, an all-time low.

Another internal error of the multinational has been the one of opening too many restaurants, there were periods in which the chain opened on average 2,500 restaurants for year. As stated by the CEO of McDonald's with the expression: «We took our eyes off the fries», one of the biggest errors of the multinational was that they stopped to concentrate on the core business of the company. From all those problems, some important decisions were taken.

It came the moment for a process of "De-Americanization", by modifying the style of the McDonald's outlets. The restaurants assumed a more contemporary and modern look, the flashy colours, and signs with the giant "M" were resized. Pastel tones, more diffused lighting, corners with chairs dedicated for reading newspapers and free Wi-fi for all, characterized the restyled outlets. Moreover, the global CEO decided to open inside the stores Mc Cafè points, dedicated exclusively to the sale of fresh breakfast products served no longer in paper cups, but in porcelain cups.

A plan to win, was drafted. A document divided into 5 sections, with the 4 Ps of the traditional marketing mix (product, place, promotion, price), and two additional Ps that stayed for people and planet. Among these variables, the product needed to undertake several changes. A major diversification, a greater quality of meat, a reduced use of fats, were just few of the developments regarding the product. It was essential to move toward healthier solutions by also including vegetable foods, such as fruits and vegetables, and to introduce new products based on chicken, considered healthier than beef.

For the first time in the company's history, individual country CEOs, could choose independently. Regarding the Italian market, it was one of the most suffering ones, but at the same time also one of the most prominent.

Roberto Masi, who was selected as the new CEO for McDonald's Italia, was in charge of improving the image of McDonald's in the Italian market. Masi decided to focus on the more important aspects of Italian food culture. The aim was to create sandwiches that

were made with Italian products, whose origin was completely trackable. In order to obtain the customers' trust, it was essential therefore to put more efforts on quality, by focusing more on typicality and in particular on the "Made in Italy" label.[161] In 2008 this process began with the launch of three sandwiches: *Boscaiolo*, *Tirolese* and *Parmigiano*, which included local ingredients as the Speck Alto Adige PGI (Protected Geographical Indication) and Parmigiano Reggiano.

The focus on the Made in Italy strategy increased in 2010, when the McItaly was launched on the market. The first Italian McDonald's sandwich, made by all Italian products. Meat 100% Italian, bread with extra virgin olive oil from Monti Iblei, Italian artichokes cream, slice of Asiago cheese, and salad. Simultaneously other "local hamburgers" were launched in other countries around the world: the McGreek, with pita instead of the traditional bread, McLacks, a sandwich with Norway salmon, the Egyptian McFalafel and many other national variations.

However, also in this case the Italian version of the American hamburger was object of criticisms. The main oppositions arouse regarding who, was promoting the new McDonald's product, and to the Italian suppliers who were selling out themselves to the American multinational. On January 24th, 2010, Roberto Masi and the minister of Agriculture Luca Zaia, launched the McItaly in Rome, in the famous and contested outlet of Piazza di Spagna. The new product was designed and requested from the minister of Agriculture, who aimed at globalizing the Italian taste, and at boosting the activity of the Italian consortiums.[162] The new Italian hamburger was represented in the McDonald's advertisement with the slogan "The McDonald's taste speaks Italian". The colours used for this representation were the one of the Italian flag. It emphasized the support from the Minister of Agriculture, and of the use of Italian products, by underlying the origin of each ingredient.

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[161] Fontanelli, R., Lonardi, G. (2011), *McItalia, Il Bel paese a tavola fuori casa*, Rubettino, p. 6-47.
[162] V.Pic. (2010), *Panini e insalate con cibi doc Zaia lancia la linea McItaly*, Il Corriere, 27/01/2010.

Figure 12. McItaly advertisement. Source: Marraiafura.

The Minister of Agriculture has stated: «We should be grateful to McDonald's for lending itself to this great cultural operation which, we must hope, will convince young people to abandon junk food in favour of a healthier diet».[163] However, also in this case, many critics arouse from this "cultural operation". The newspaper "The Guardian", has described the collaboration of the Minister of Agriculture with McDonald's as a: «sign of the moral bankruptcy of Silvio Berlusconi's government». It emphasizes the importance that local food has on the Italian identity, describing that: «pleasure lies in diversity, not homogeneity».[164] Carlo Petrini, founder of the Slow Food movement, expresses his scepticisms about the provenience of the products by demanding for more clarity and transparency about the ingredients used, and by asking if a Ministry of Republic may promote a private company.[165] Other criticisms arouse from the fact that the McItaly with 715 kcal and 3 grams salt, was too much caloric than a plate of spaghetti, and didn't respect the Mediterranean diet.[166] From a gastronomic point of view Massimo Montanari in the book "Il sugo della storia"(2016), points out that even if the products were Italians, they did not constitute the Italian culture, as they were Italian ingredients assembled on the model of McDonald's.[167]

However, this "domestication" between the American and Italian food, did not seem so bad for the customers. On February 4th, 2010, 15% of the daily McDonald's sales were McItaly burgers.[168] As McItaly was projected to be sold for only 6 months, in September

[163] Villani, F. (2010), *McItaly: McDonald's e Ministero per il (dubbio) rilancio dei prodotti italiani*, Ninja Marketing, 12/02/2010.

[164] Fort, M. (2010), *McDonald's launch McItaly burger*, The Guardian, 28/01/2010.

[165] Retico, A. (2010), *McItaly è guerra sull'hamburger tricolore*, La Repubblica, 04/02/2010.

[166] Del Toma E., (2010), *Ma quante calorie in più in quel panino McItaly*, La Repubblica, 16/03/2010.

[167] Montanari, M., (2016), *Il sugo della storia,* Laterza.

[168] (2010), *McItaly burgers*, The Times, 06/02/2010.

2010, a new sandwich: *Mozzarillo* was launched. In this case, as it is possible to understand from the name, the main ingredient was the Italian cheese: Mozzarella.

Another discussed collaboration was the one with the Italian chef, Gualtiero Marchesi. Even if the chef accepted almost immediately the collaboration, it took almost one year to conceive the sandwich and for talking and discussing with the producers. From this uncommon cooperation two sandwiches were launched: Adagio and Vivace. The request of the chef was the one to include vegetables that McDonald's has never offered: Adagio contained an eggplant mousse whereas Vivace contained spinaches. Furthermore, it was present also the dessert "Minuetto", inspired to the Italian "Tiramisù", but with some changes. Marchesi stated that this collaboration was made essentially to provoke, and to take some changes into the eating habits of teenagers, who didn't eat vegetables even at home. For this reason, he insisted on including vegetables inside one of the most liked recipes of the young people. The new advertisement emphasized the collaboration with the great chef, with more elegant characters and by using softer colors.

Figure 13. McDonald's advertisement of Vivace and Minuetto. Source: Oradireli.com

The operation of "Italianizing" McDonald's continued and led to co-marketing operations with strong brands of the Italian tradition as Barilla. The collaboration between the American multination and the Italian company was described by the press as the representation of the "evil and the holy water" for the food purists. The new product offered in the Italian restaurant of McDonald's included salads with "penne Barilla". The aim of this project was for the American multinational to target the female audience and those consumers that didn't love the hamburger. Whereas for the Italian company it constituted an opportunity to reach a global market. [169]

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[169] (2013), *Pasta italiana nei fast food*, Il Corriere della Sera, 23/05/2013.

What remains to be seen is whether these collaborations were truly profitable for the Italian companies, and if they have been effective for reaching an Italian global presence. On November 2011, Parmigiano Reggiano, bought either for McDonald's Italia and for other countries reached a volume of 300 tones, the PDO (Protected Designation of Origin) Asiago was requested in France for 75 tons, and the Alto Adige Speck in November 2011 started to be exported also into the restaurants in Austria.[170] Basing on these data, it seems that the Italian products contained in the McDonald's sandwiches obtained success outside Italy. However, we should recognize that the Italian products have a long culinary tradition and are recognized all over the world for its taste, with a presence of typical products for each region. Maybe McDonald's has partially contributed to make some Italian products more international, but the success of the Italian products resides into the long gastronomical experience of the Italian land.

Another observation from these mixed versions between Italian and American food, is that the perceptions on what is considered local and global, are dynamic rather than static, this means that they are involved continuously in a process of rearticulation and negotiation of cultural identity. In this sense, culture, including the culture of consumption, represents a social practice that is continually shaped in various ways by social actors who overcome some differences and create others. This process is intensified as customers are confronted with other cultures through globalization.[171]

The McDonald's strategy in this context of continuing changes has been based on:

- understanding the local requests from its customers, by carefully observing their behaviour in each market and by representing it in ways that seemed familiar.
- understanding which were the products that had an international appeal, like fries and milk shakes that maintained the same forms in most of its global locations.[172]

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[170] Fontanelli *et al.*, *McItalia, Il Bel paese*, p. 70.
[171] Askegaard, S., Kjeldgaard, D., (2007), "Here, There, and Everywhere: Place Branding and Gastronomical Globalization in a Macromarketing Perspective", Journal of Macromarketing 27; 138, PP. 139-147.
[172] Kelly, N., (2012), *McDonald's' Local Strategy, from El McPollo to Le McWrap Chèvre*, Harvard Business Review.

CHAPTER III: THE OPPOSITION TO THE FAST-FOOD INVASION

3.1 The McDonaldization of society

3.1.1 The thesis of the McDonaldization of the society

According to many scholars and observers, McDonald's attempts to adapt to local cultures and tastes were not strong enough to demonstrate the multinational's real interest towards local traditions; on the contrary, McDonald's efforts have been interpreted by academics and public opinion as mere business strategies. In a well- known essay, the sociologist George Ritzer (1996) expressed his concerns about the risks of cultural homogenization and loss of authenticity brought about by the diffusion of McDonald's. He referred to this as: "McDonaldization of society".

Ritzer's thesis was heavily influenced by Max Weber's theory of rationalization of the West as well as by studies on the relation between scientific management and the de-humanization of work and society. Ritzer has in mind Weber's vision of the steel cage of rationality, from which it is difficult to escape and the debate about Taylor's "Principles of scientific management" and about the existence of the "one best way" to reach efficiency. The logics of bureaucratic organizations (Weber) and of the assembly line (Ford) are at the basis of the McDonaldization's thesis.

Ritzer defines the McDonaldization of the society as: «the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society, as well as the rest of the world».[173] The author considers McDonald's as the symbol of a new type of venture, which influences many other businesses, and it is at the origins of a new phase in the organization of production.

Ritzer identifies four dimensions as the main drivers of this process:

1- Efficiency: this dimension implies choosing the optimal means for reaching a certain goal. McDonald's has always worked on finding the best and most efficient way for cooking hamburgers, frying chickens, and serving customers. Reaching efficiency implies benefits for the customers, for executives and for the managers, because customers are served more quicky and the work gets done.

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[173] Ritzer, G. (1996), "The McDonaldization of society thesis: is expansion inevitable?", *International Sociology*, 11(3), p. 293.

2- Calculability: McDonaldized settings are focused on quantitative and measurable goals applied both to the processes and to the results. As far as the processes are concerned, the focus is on the speed, whereas, concerning the results, the importance is on the number of products served. The significance that McDonald's gives to quantitative measures can be traced also through the name of its product like the Big Mac, however, this often implies a reduced attention on quality.

3- Predictability: is manifested through the replication of stores, with the same logo, interior design, colours, etc. Also, the behaviour of the staff is predictable, this is valid for the offered products thanks to a limited menu. Indeed, according to Ritzer, in a rational society, people want to know exactly what to expect in all settings and all times.

4- Control: of the staff by using technological devices, but also by setting specific rules and methods of behaviour. The McDonald's control is extended even toward the customers, through for examples the drive-through where customers follow a certain path and a series of tacit rules for waiting their turn and finally eating their hamburger.[174]

Ritzer notes, that these characteristics can be found in other sectors as education, health care, home cooking, shopping, and sport activities, they tend to impose themselves on almost the entire society. Other studies have focused on the McDonaldization of theme parks (Bryman 1995), of vegetarianism (Tester, 1999), of social work (Dustin, 2007), of criminal justice, "McJustice" (Bohm, 2007), and politics. Of course, not all these systems are equally McDonaldized, some settings are more McDonaldized than others.

As Ritzer notes, few are the institutions that have been able to escape from the influence of McDonald's: he lists certain family stores, and some bed and breakfast as examples of non-McDonaldized realities. However, the development of those business is limited by their size and the nature of the activity; in addition, the growth in size reduces the quality offered. Indeed, it is hard to believe that these very local forms of consumption will ever aim to or reach the global dimension of McDonald's.

The result is the diffusion of forms of consumption that non longer offers surprises, the presence of rationalized forms of "means of consumption" leads to "disenchantment".

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[174] Ritzer, G., (2000), *The McDonaldization of society*, New Century Edition.

These systems eliminate all the casual, magic, and mysterious elements from their functioning because they will produce inefficiencies.[175] According to the author, these new practices of consumption were created in the United States after the World War II and they were embodied in franchises, shopping malls, superstores, etc. All those instruments encouraged people to consume an endless number of products and services.

The proliferation of means of consumption and McDonaldized settings lead to irrationality. Several are the negative results of the diffusion of McDonaldization: inefficiency, unpredictability, loss of control, homogenization, environmental and health issues, and most of all dehumanization. As Ritzer notes, the expansion of rational systems denies the personal relations and reduce the human rationality of the people who work within McDonaldized settings or are served by them.

According to the author, it is difficult to escape from this process because there are four main forces fuelling it. First, economic and material interests. Second, the strong ties with the American culture and the passion that people have for American things. Third, its adaptability to the changes of the American and the global society; McDonaldization fits well with the increase of dual income family, mobility, commuting, etc. Finally, the death of communism, the only viable alternative to capitalism. Furthermore, in his opinion, McDonaldization has a strong affinity with Fordism as the McDonaldized world is dominated by homogeneous products, with rigid technologies followed by a strong standardization of labour and deskilled jobs.

In another book: "The Globalization of nothing" (2003), Ritzer claims that globalization tends to spread forms of "nothing" throughout the world. By the use of the term "nothing" the author intends: «empty forms that are centrally conceived and controlled and relatively devoid of distinctive content».[176] In his view, "nothing" can be divided into four subtypes: non-places, generic areas, poor of content and without geographical associations; non-things: products lacking a distinctive substance; non-people: persons that act in a programmed way; non-services: which always maintain the same characteristics. In his opinion fast food chains are non-places which are generic and impersonal, that offers non-things as the Big Mac which contains the same ingredients in

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[175] Ritzer, G. (1999), *Enchanting a Disenchanted World: revolutionizing the Mean of Consumption*, London, Pine Forge Press.

[176] Ritzer, G. (2003), *The Globalization of Nothing*, London, Pine Forge Press.

each part of the world, served by non-people who provides a standardized form of non-service. McDonaldization along with capitalism and Americanization, are defined as the processes that contribute to the diffusion of nothing in the world. In this way, the local is damaged by those forces, and the forms of nothing are accepted more easily given their lower price, and their lack of distinctiveness.

Ritzer recalls that even if the McDonaldization process hasn't spread without difficulties, it will develop further. In his view, we are moving from "something" that is indigenously conceived and rich in content to "nothing" which is centrally controlled and conceived and poor in content, and it is almost impossible to stop this process as the forms of opposition are too weak. The only available exit strategy from the "steal cage" is to avoid McDonaldized settings and give value to the niches exempt from rationalization.

3.1.2. Do we really live in a McDonaldized world?

Ritzer's view of a continuous and unstoppable rationalization of the society appears radical and one-sided.[177] Other scholars, Phil Lyon, Stephen Taylor and Sheena Smith, underline that although Ritzer's thesis might be valuable, the reality is not so much black and white:

- The process is not ubiquitous: Ritzer, in his thesis, claims that one of the negative effects of McDonaldization is homogenization. However, for the authors the competition among fast-food restaurants generates product diversity leading to heterogeneity. Furthermore, in each country there are different consumption and production systems available, indeed fast-food chains are not the only places for eating out.
- The process is not inevitable: Ritzer describes McDonaldization as a process from whom is not possible to escape, however McDonald's is only one of the many feature that characterize the catering industry, and McDonald's style operation failed in some local markets, as we have seen, at first the opening of McDonald's in Florence failed. McDonaldization is not an inexorable process.
- McDonaldized setting focus on product differentiation: McDonald's can't and doesn't offer the same standardized menu in every country but tends to adapt its products to local taste and changing fashions.

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[177] Smart, B., (1999) *Resisting McDonaldization*, London, Sage.

- McDonaldization is not a total negative process: Ritzer demonstrates his worries toward a world that is becoming increasingly standardized, however, if properly used standardization can help in achieving better results and in realising staff time for increasing the service quality.[178]

Some criticisms to the McDonaldized thesis came also from the globalization theorist Robertson.[179] According to Ritzer, the result of globalization is an increase in homogenization and in the diffusion of forms of nothing. On the contrary, Robertson introduces the concept of *glocalization* and suggests that globalization leads to a greater heterogeneity. Indeed, for Robertson the process of McDonaldization is more important from a cultural point of view, than form an economic and material one, as Ritzer instead argues.

Other important scholars, Arjun Appadurai[180] and Mike Featherstone[181], underline that standardization is accompanied by heterogenization and globalization by localization. Uri Ram, in the article "Glocommodification: How the Global Consumes the Local" (2004), by describing the introduction of McDonald's in Israel, argues that homogenization occurs at structural-institutional level whereas heterogenization at the expressive symbolic level. Furthermore, the author explains that the opening of McDonald's in Israel didn't have the effect of reducing the local culture, but on the opposite, it led to the reissuance of the Israelian local fast-food: the falafel. Indeed, after the McDonald's influence, falafel came back in two forms: the fast-food version, and the gourmet. As the author stated: «the global (McDonald's) contributed somewhat to the revival of the local (falafel)». Indeed, the big multinational didn't undermine the local, but contributed to the reconstruction of the latter.[182]

Another example of successful adaptation of the global to the local which contradicts the thesis of Ritzer, is the study of Melissa Caldwell on the introduction of McDonald's in Moscow. The first McDonald's outlet was introduced in Russia in 1990, in Moscow. The

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[178] Lyon, Phil et al. (1994), "McDonaldization: A reply to Ritzer's thesis", *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 13, pp. 95-99.
179 Robertson, R. (1995), "Glocalization: Time-space and homogeneity heterogeneity", in M. Featherstone, S. Lash, & R. Robertson (Eds.), *Global modernities*, London: Sage, pp. 25-44.
[180] Appadurai, A., (1996), *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
[181] Featherstone, M. (eds.) (1990), *Global Culture. Nationalism, Globalization, and Modernity*, London, Sage.
[182] Ram, U., (2004), "Glocommodification: How the Global Consumes the Local - McDonald's in Israel", *Current Sociology*, Vol. 52(1), pp. 11–31.

fast-food restaurant has since the beginning tried to immerse itself in the Russian daily life. First, by starting to be a responsive member of the community, following the importance that Russian consumers gave to collective responsibility. Second, by using national Russian ingredients, given the preference that the local consumers had on fruits and vegetables grown in the Russian countryside. At first, Muscovites identified McDonald's as a foreign entity, however, with the time, it became part of the Russian daily life. For people without accommodation McDonald's was a surrogate home and homeless children were helped by the staff. The McDonald's store became a meeting place to encounter friends, colleagues, and relatives. Children's birthday parties, that traditionally were celebrated at home, began to take place in the McDonald's outlet. The McDonald's store in Moscow didn't lead to the rationalization as feared by Ritzer. On the contrary, McDonald's has become a localized entity in Russia. According to Caldwell: «By undergoing a specifically Russian process of localization, it has become a locally meaningful, and hence domesticated, entity».[183] Through this example it is possible to notice, that the human factor is still important in fast-food outlets and that we are not assisting to a complete process of dehumanization.

A similar function has had the McDonald's in Beijing, where the food is essentially the same offered in America but is presented more like a snack. Also, in this case the restaurant seeks to be more human by being represented more as a place to hang out or to celebrate birthdays and parties. Human relations are fostered through the presence of female receptions called "Aunt McDonald's" whose main task is entertaining children and talking with parents. Whereas in Hong Kong the staff is not solicited to smile to customers, as they maintain the values of competence, unflappability, and directness, which are important in the local culture. In addition, the establishment of McDonaldized settings in Hong Kong has contributed to the spread of cleanliness and served as an example to follow for improving the sanitary conditions at many other restaurants present in the city.[184]

James L. Watson in "Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia" (2006), confirms Robertson's thesis about the association of heterogenization with globalization. Watson

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[183] Caldwell, M. L. (2004), "Domesticating the French Fry: McDonald's and Consumerism in Moscow", *Journal of Consumer Culture*.; 4(1), pp. 5-26.
[184] Ritzer, G. and. Malone, E. L. (2000), "Globalization Theory: Lessons from the Exportation of McDonaldization and the New Means of Consumption"*, American Studies*, Summer/Fall, Vol. 41, No. 2/3, pp. 97- 118.

stated that: «East Asian consumers have quietly, and in some cases stubbornly, transformed their neighbourhood McDonald's into local institutions». McDonald's in Asia has adapted its menu to the specific tastes of the youths of Taipei, Shanghai, and Seoul. Also, in this case the social function of the fast-food restaurant differs from the one in the United States, by being associated as meeting places for the youngers, where to spend their free time. The adaptation of the McDonald's store has been so strong, that it became difficult to distinguish the local from the foreign, by being associated more to a Chinese phenomenon than to the American culture. As Watson notes, it is a "transnational" phenomenon.[185]

Some scholars argue that if McDonald's adapts too much to the local cultures in which it operates, it could lose its own identity. However, as already anticipated in the previous chapter, McDonald's strategy focuses on the analysis of the consumer behaviour for understanding which changes to undertake; in any case, there are some products, as French Fries and milkshakes, that maintain the same form in each country. Furthermore, even if McDonald's has hybridized part of its products, the way in which McDonald's runs its operation, the operation procedures, are essentially the same in each part of the world.

As Sassatelli (2007) has showed, the McDonaldization thesis insists excessively on American imperialism and on homogeneity ignoring other processes as the local domestication of global trends.[186] Furthermore, as Lyon, Taylor, and Smith have pointed out, McDonaldized settings constitute just one of the options available to consumers who want to dine out; indeed, there is significant evidence that the global and the local can coexist giving place to mixed and hybrid settings.

3.2 The Slow Food Movement

3.2.1 Slow Food diffusion

Since the 1990s, several commentators have argued that the diffusion of poor-quality food has had many negative consequences on small farmers, it has resulted in disastrous environmental consequences on biodiversity, and in a poor and unhealthy diet for consumers.[187] Those problems enhanced the public attention on both nutrition and the

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[185] Watson, J. L. (2006), *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*, Stanford University Press.

[186] Sassatelli, R. (2007), *Consumer culture, history, theory and politics*, Sage, London, p. 190.

[187] Bommel, K., Spicer, A. (2011), "Hail the Snail: Hegemonic Struggles in the Slow Food Movement", *Organization* Studies, 32(12), pp. 1717–1744, DOI: 10.1177/0170840611425722.

quality of food products. Furthermore, food scares associated with a greater tendency toward the industrialization of food, have determined an increasing attention of European consumers toward products which are local, traditional, and that derive from sustainable agricultural practices.

Some groups have challenged the increasing homogenization and standardization of food through the development of movements that promote the choice of local and sustainable products. Among these groups it is possible to find the Slow Food Movement.[188]

The origins of Slow Food date back to the 1970s when a group of left-wing activists shared similar ideas and worries on the role that food was assuming in the society. Carlo Petrini, the founder of Slow Food, was born in 1949, in Italy, in the small Piedmont town of Bra, renowned for its local delicacies as the red wines Barolo, Barbera and Dolcetto, and the white truffles.

The group started to diffuse their ideas in 1975, when they founded Radio Bra Onde Rosse. Nonetheless, the 1986 was the key year that determined the launch of the Slow Food movement. The formation of Arci Gola, with Petrini elected as the first president, shaped the early organizational structure of Slow Food that in a short time spread across Italy. Soon Arci Gola obtained the support of the left-wing Italian papers, such as "Il Manifesto". Furthermore, a series of concurrent events underlined the limited attention on the quality of food. In 1986, 19 people in Italy died for wine containing methyl alcohol, produced in the Langhe region. In the same year, Chernobyl nuclear disaster altered agriculture and food production in different countries of the world.

In this context, a rather insignificant event, as the protest for the opening of McDonald's in Piazza di Spagna- where Petrini with others protested with a big bowl of pasta asking for a culture of "slow food" - was the spark which ignited the Slow Food movement. The two English words came to represent the symbol of the reaction to the McDonald's phenomenon. The idea at the basis of the event at first and of the movement later was to contrast the diffusion of the "fast life".[189] According to the promoters of Slow Food,

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[188] Sassatelli, *Consumer culture*, pp. 183 – 187.
[189] Schneider, S. (2008), "Good, Clean, Fair: The Rhetoric of the Slow Food Movement", *College English* Vol. 70, No. 4, Special Focus: Food, pp. 384-402.

regional and traditional cooking is the main stronghold to limit the degrading effects of fast-food.

The movement went international in 1989 when the Slow Food Manifesto, which contained a broad criticism to the fast life, was presented at the Slow Food Congress in Paris and was ratified by 20 countries. As specified by the Slow Food Manifesto: «*We are enslaved by speed and have all succumbed to the same insidious virus: Fast Life which disrupts our habits, pervades the privacy of our homes and forces us to eat fast food … In the name of productivity Fast Life has changed our way of being and threatens our environment and landscapes. So Slow Food is now the only progressive answer*».[190]
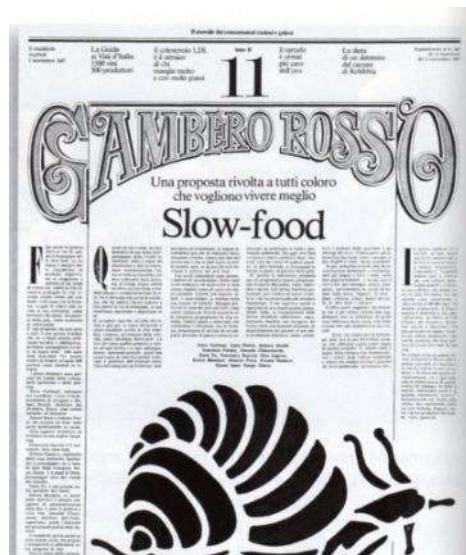

Figure 14. The Slow Food Manifesto, published in the Gambero Rosso Magazine on November 3rd, 1997.
Source: https://www.slowfood.it/chi-siamo/manifesto-dello-slow-food/

According to the Slow Food Movement the main solution to reduce the spread of the Fast Life, which was compared to a virus, was and still is the promotion of a slower lifestyle through the rediscovery of pleasure of taste. This can be obtained through the following Slow Food's objects:

- the preservation of biodiversity and the right of people to food sovereignty.
- The revival of local culinary traditions through traditional production system and the respect of the seasonality of agricultural products.
- The promotion of non-invasive farming techniques to preserve the health of consumers and to comply with environmental safety.

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[190] Andrews, G., (2008), *The Slow Food story politics & pleasure*, Pluto Press, London, p.31.

- Rediscovering the pleasure of food through an educational path for learning how to appreciate local recipes and tastes.

Slow Food emphasizes the negative effects of the diffusion of fast-food. The fast way of eating out reduces eating to a functional activity, decreases the importance on spending eating time together, or which shows little attention to the provenience of food or on different tastes. This phenomenon is particular evident in the United Kingdom or in the United States, countries with the highest rates of obesity. Not surprisingly, Slow Food has reached a particular relevance in the U.S. and in the U.K. In addition, Slow Food over the years, has obtained the support from influential people that has helped the organization to obtain a wider recognition at international level. In the United States through the guide of Alice Waters, chef of Chez Panisse restaurant and later Slow Food international vice-president, Slow Food USA has become the second largest Slow Food association, which counts over 150 chapters across the country.[191] While in the United Kingdom Slow Food has obtained the support of Prince Charles, who over the years has demonstrated different times his disappointment toward the practices of the fast-food giant McDonald's.[192] Nonetheless, the Italian Movement underlines that is not against all types of fast food, but it sustains slow fast food as the Roman or Sicilian Street food, or local recipes as tortillas made by Mexican women. These types of fast food are locally conceived, preserve local tastes and differs from the standardized forms of global fast-food chains.

As shown in the Manifesto, the snail is the symbol of the Slow Food movement, which communicates a sense of slowness, an "amulet against speed" and which also represents an edible food.

The Slow Food movement today counts of more than 90,000 members and is present in over 130 countries, it has an international office in Bra which employs about 150 workers and has centres in seven countries. It is based on the activities of over 800 basic units called *convivia* or *condotte*, that organize local dinners, farming experiences, travel, promotions, etc.[193] Slow Food critique points out the effects that global capitalism has on

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[191] Slow Food Usa, https://slowfoodusa.org/network/chapters/
[192] Taylor, M., Smithers, R. (2007), *Charles voices distaste for McDonald's food*, The Guardian, 28/02/2007.
[193] Simonetti, L. (2012), "The ideology of Slow Food", *Journal of European Studies*, 42(2), DOI: 10.1177/0047244112436908, pp. 168-189.

the quality of life. According to Petrini, the "fast life", that the Slow Food opposed, is synonym of a particular way of living associated to the effects of globalisation.

Different factors have contributed to the international diffusion of the Slow Food Movement. First, the creation of "Salone del Gusto", a forum in which small producers from different parts of the world can show their artisanal products. Unlike other marketplaces, Salone del Gusto provides a forum where producers and consumers are reunited to appreciate the artisanal quality, the tradition and typicality of food. The first Salone del Gusto took place in 1996 in Turin, with the aim of educating consumers to eat locally produced foods. The first experiment was so successful, that Slow Food started to organize it every two years. The 2004 Salone gave birth to another event called: "Terra Madre", a world meeting of food communities, which aimed at gathering producers, artisans, retailers, and distributors to cooperate in preserving local and typical food production. This event reunited food producers from over 130 countries and helped Slow Food in reaching also developing countries. Indeed, before Terra Madre Slow Food was perceived as a Western organization and had very limited contacts with producers.[194]

Figure 15. 2018 Salone del Gusto. Source: https://www.slowfood.it/comunicati-stampa/terra-madre-salone-dell-gusto-2020/

Second, Slow Food unlike others alternative consumption movements which emphasize the active role of the consumer, focuses more on the role of the producer. Indeed, the aim of Slow Food is to give more importance to the role of traditional producers which relies on local knowledge and artisanal skills. The consumer is defined as a "co-producer", that should recognize consumption as part of the production process and not just the end of

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[194] Baker-Clark, C. (2006), *Profiles from the kitchen*, The University Press of Kentucky, Kentucky, pp. 121-140.

it, indeed the consumer contribute to the production. Petrini believes that the role of consumers should be more aligned with the producer, this will allow to bring their interests more closers.

Third, one of the core elements of the Slow Food Movement is the principle of eco-gastronomy, that combines the pleasure of taste with the respect of the environment. The modern gastronome has a key role in the development of this principle. According to Petrini the gastronome is not just a food expert but is someone capable of combining environmental issues with the pursuit of pleasure, by pursuing an "educated pleasure". These values have contributed to connect gastronomes across different countries and has brought to the development of "local convivia", which organizes educational events to promote products that satisfy the requirements of eco-gastronomy. Currently there are 1,003 convivia presents worldwide.[195]

Fourth Slow Food spread its principles through the promotion of a life-long education, the aim is to create an "aware consumer". The organization publishes an annually updated guidebook, called "Osterie d'Italia" to support and promote smaller and local restaurants, typical of the Italian tradition. This guide is published by the Slow Food Editore which contributes to the spread of book on wines, food and local recipes, concurring to the spread of the Slow Food principles. Slow food has two magazines and operates as a service company, called Slow Food Promozione S.r.l. In addition, in 2004 Slow Food has developed the first University of gastronomic sciences, that today counts two campuses: in Polenzo and Colorno (Italy).

Another program called Ark of Taste, focuses on protecting products in danger of extinction. In order to be included into the program these products need to satisfy specific quality requirements, they should be connected to a certain territory basing on environment, socio-economic and historical aspects and must be produced by small farmers in limited quantities.[196] This program has been extended through the project of *presidi*, a certification that is able to distinguish the Slow Food products from others. In 2008, Slow Food has established its own brand "Presidio Slow Food®", to apply to those products that satisfy the requirements established by Slow Food.

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[195] Andrews, G. (2008), *The Slow Food story politics & pleasure*, pp. 68-72.
[196] Maye, H., Knox, P. (2006), "Slow Cities: Sustainable Places in a Fast World", *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28:4, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2006.00298.x, pp. 321-334.

Figure 16. Slow Food logo. Source: https://www.fondazioneslowfood.com/it/cosa-facciamo/i-presidi/

Fifth, Slow Food, unlike other movements which have a "no global" political identity, proposes a virtuous globalization. As standardization and the industrialization of food production are the main threats to biodiversity, to local and traditional food, the sharing experiences among gastronomes, food farmers and consumers promoted by Slow Food can reaffirm the role of small farmers. Indeed, as Sassatelli has claimed "Slow Food is an international actor for the promotion of the local".[197] The promotion of virtuous globalization proposed by Slow Food is carried on by different projects, as Terra Madre and Salone del Gusto that have the objective of preserving biodiversity and building a network of food communities to preserve the artisanal quality. The idea of a virtuous globalization has been further emphasized through the development of the new Slow Food principles that are good, clean and fair. In particular:

1. Good: indicates a commitment to quality, represents tasty and diverse food that is produced by respecting nature and linked to a geographic and cultural region.
2. Clean: refers to sustainable food production process. This process should help to preserve nature rather than to destroy the environment.
3. Fair: represents food that is produced in a socially sustainable way, by respecting workers and farmers through a proportionate pay and fair conditions.

Those principles have helped to provide more clarity to the Slow Food objectives in order to guide the process of a "virtuous globalization".

Another movement closely related to the Slow Food initiative, is the Slow City movement. This movement, formed in 1999, gives particular importance to the concept of "re-localisation", that implies an idea of local communities free from the economic and cultural constraints of the global market. This initiative started in Italy when four Italian

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[197] Sassatelli, R., *Consumer culture*, p. 183.

countries: Bra, Positano, Orvieto and Greve-in-Chianti developed a list of criteria for becoming part of the Slow City movement. The Slow City members need to have a population smaller than 50,000 inhabitants and to respect a series of environmental policies, urban requirements, support of local products, conviviality, and hospitality. Currently, there are more than 40 Slow Cities worldwide. [198]

3.2.2. Limits of the Slow Food Movement

According to Geoffrey Parkins and Wendy Craig (2006), Slow Food represents more than a wine and food club, as it is connected to a wide range of social movements and trends.[199] For others Slow Food is the symbol of the opposition of the prevailing culture of fast-food, mass production and standardization. For Alison Leitch (2010) it is part of the anti-globalization movement, which opposed to homogenization.[200] Nonetheless according to others, the solutions promoted by Slow Food do not look very promising. According to Luca Simonetti (2012), the goals of the Slow Food movement are imprecise, and lack of any concrete historical content. In particular, the criticisms that the author has made regarding Slow Food can be summarized in the following points:

1) The Slow Food Manifesto describes the consumer as a passive and dehumanized actor, who is the victim of a virus and that pursue only material aims.

2) Slow Food's main purpose is to rediscover the pleasure of taste associated to local and traditional food. Nonetheless, also industrialized food can be aesthetically enjoyed.

3) Slow Food promotes conviviality and supports the personal relations between consumers and producers. Simonetti argues that spending time at the table in good company and maintaining personal relations with the farmers are time consuming activities, that not everyone can afford. In addition, the products promoted by Slow Food are expensive goods, for this reason, the typical slow food adept – as described by Slow Food - is a person rich in time and money.

4) For Slow Food it is important to promote sustainable and natural agricultural practices. Nonetheless, the concepts of naturalness and sustainability in Slow Food

[198] Maye, H., Knox, P., (2006), "Slow Cities: Sustainable Places in a Fast World", *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28:4, DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9906.2006.00298.x, pp. 321-334.

[199] Parkins, W., & Craig, G. (2006), *Slow living*, Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, Oxford.

[200] Leitch, A. (2010), "Slow Food and the Politics of "Virtuous Globalization"', in D. Inglis and D. Gimlin (eds) *The Globalization of Food*, New York: Berg, pp. 45–64.

are frequently evoked, but never defined. Moreover, for the Italian movement, the agricultural practices have become unnatural since the 1930s with the introduction of new technologies and the use of chemical fertilizers. Simonetti argues that it is very difficult to apply the concept of naturalness to agriculture. Indeed, as the author states: «Agriculture like most human activities, is an artificial invention in nature, an alteration of it and even a violence towards it».

5) Slow Food suggestions to going back to "traditional agriculture", don't consider the problem of world inequalities in the access of food. Indeed, it give few indications on how to increase farm production, being unable to provide a solution to the hunger problem.

Basing on these observations, Simonetti indicates that the solutions to the fast life promoted by the Slow Food are often inaccurate and do not consider other problems as for example the hunger issue. In addition, those solutions are not well defined and suggest a lifestyle that is not affordable under a certain level of income.[201] Also Leicht notes that in the Slow Food ideology there is a remarkable absence of a discussion about class, failing into not considering the problem of unequal distribution of resources.[202]

According to other critics, Slow Food members are an upper-class elite, with a high level of income that allow them to take part of the events and dinners organized by the Italian organization.[203] As Carol Counihan (2019) states, food activism can be sustained by those with financial means, who possess knowledge about sustainable and equitable food and have the desire to made economic and political decisions by selecting some foods rather than others.[204]

In addition, Anne Meneley (2004) points out that Slow Food don't consider the implications related to gender. Indeed, the preparation of home-made genuine and traditional food promoted by the Italian movement often falls on women. While other

[201] Simonetti, L. (2012), "The ideology of Slow Food", *Journal of European Studies*, 42(2), DOI: 10.1177/0047244112436908, pp. 168-189.
[202] Leitch, A. (2003), "Slow Food and the Politics of Pork Fat: Italian Food and European Identity", *Ethnos*, 68:437-462.
[203] Andrews, G., (2008), *The Slow Food story politics & pleasure*, 172-173.
[204] Counihan, C., (2019) "Food Consumption and Food Activism in Italy", *Italians and food*, ed. by R., Sassatelli, Milan, p. 103.

foods produced by large multinational, that are easier to prepare and ready to cook, have a minor impact on women than the food produced at home.[205]

According to other scholars, the Slow Food Movement represents just a strategy for promoting the Italian food, drink, and culinary tourism worldwide, rather than to achieve a sustainable agriculture. For some, the international dimension that Slow Food has gained over the years are undermining the scope of the initial project based on the rediscover of pleasure of food, and on the support to local and small food realities.

As reported by Daniel Philippon (2015) some producers and distributors have expressed their concerns about the Slow Food's growth. For instance, a chocolate maker observed that the increasing dimension of Salone del Gusto were undermining the Piedmontese typicality that the site had at the beginning. Others have noted that Slow Food started to involve also big producers, and in this way the organization was undertaking the same industrial mentality that it tried to combat. As a winemaker states: «Slow Food has now become a brand, like Dolce & Gabbana or Armani, but it may be that artisanal products for the masses are not possible».[206] Basing on these observations, it seems that the international and increasing dimensions of Slow Food, are reducing its focus on the initial goals of reducing the impact of the fast life and are losing the concentration on small producers.

Nonetheless according to Geoff Andrews, Slow Food is often described as an elite organisation given its centrality to pleasure of taste, and unlike other NGOs Slow Food has actively supported small producers by giving them a greater autonomy and by helping them in sustaining their local business and in promoting their products. As the author has stated: «It is true that aesthetic pleasure remains crucial to Slow Food's values, but it is the link between pleasure and responsibility that defines its politics». In addition, Sassatelli argues that food activism is important as consumers could make public, political and moral choices and can contribute to the development of a different world. Slow Food goes further than other movements, by reinventing the role of consumers defined as "co-producers", thus by including them into the production process, and by increasing their attention on labour, environmental, and biodiversity issues. In addition, the aim of Slow

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[205] Meneley, A., (2004), "Extra Virgin Olive Oil and Slow Food", *Anthropologica*, Vol. 46, No. pp. 165-176.
[206] Philippon, D., (2015), "How Local is Slow Food?" RCC Perspectives , No. 1, *Think Global, Eat Local: Exploring Foodways,* edited by Pimber, Michel, Shindelar, Schösler, pp. 7- 12.

Food of educating the consumers to perceive the taste differences between local and industrial food aimed to support small farmers.

However, at the same time these movements can create culinary chauvinism, insularity, and exclusion, complicating the goal of food democracy. Indeed, the main challenge of Slow Food is to sustain local and traditional food, without excluding those who prefer other types of food, and to take in consideration income-differences in taste experiences.

3.3 McDonald's after the fast-food era

Social movements as Slow Food has had a negative impact on the popularity of fast-food chains as McDonald's. As already seen in the previous chapters, the early success of the fast-food chain and its international expansion became a symbol of American cultural imperialism and of economic dominance. In the post-modern era international consumers begun to turn away from the fast-food chain as the influence of the American way of life diminished and McDonald's needed to face the competition of fast casual chains and smaller restaurants which offer healthier meals.[207]

A symbolic event of the decreasing power of the American chain has been the Altamura's case. In 2001 McDonald's opened a store in the old town of Altamura, in Southern of Italy. The store opened in the main square of Altamura and was initially perceived as a symbol of modernity. Nonetheless, when the store displayed the golden arches on a pole near the old town centre, the modern fast food seemed again a symbol of urban decay.

Figure 17. McDonald's opened in Altamura. Source: https://www.brasilnapuglia.com/puglia-padaria-vence-mcdonalds/

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[207] Stillman T. (2003), "Introduction: McDonald's in Question: The Limits of the Mass Market", *American Behavioral Scientist* , 47(2), pp. 107-118. doi:10.1177/0002764203256178

McDonald's initially went well, but the success didn't last for a long time. The town of Altamura is known all over the world for its bread and when Luca Digesu, a fourth-generation baker, opened a small bakery near the American fast-food, many were worried about the presence of the fast-food giant. As stated by the baker: «I was afraid we would be completely glossed over. I was afraid no one would even notice us».

Surprisingly, the bakery which offered local specialities as the Altamura bread and *focaccia*, began to attract many consumers. An additional reason for the bakery's success was related to the low price of a slice of *focaccia*, which costed as a hamburger in the McDonald's restaurant. The American chain began fighting back by offering school trips for visiting the kitchen, installing a television for watching soccer, giving coupons to children, etc. Nothing seemed to work and in 2002, after less than two years of activity the McDonald's outlet in Altamura closed due to lack of profitability. As stated by the journalist Ian Fischer: «McDonald's didn't get beat by a baker, McDonald's got beat by a culture».[208] This position is confirmed also by Ritzer. According to the sociologist the Big Mac is just one of the many products resulted by the mass culture of the United States of the 20th century. Whereas local foods as *culatello* (a cured meat typical of the province of Parma), or in this case the Altamura bread, which are products linked to a specific country, region, culture, and tradition, are not destinated to disappear as the local citizens in the future will continue to request them. This is not the same for the Big Mac, as if it stops to be profitable it will cease to exist. [209]

This event became the symbol of the triumph of traditional food over standardized food products. The American newspaper "The New York Times" and the French newspaper "La Libération" reported the Altamura's event by emphasizing the success of the local bakery over the global chain. It is interesting to notice that in the Italian newspaper "Il Corriere della Sera", the journalist Vulpio Carlo in describing the success of the Italian baker over the America chain defined the McDonald's hamburger as terrible.[210] Indeed, the perceptions of Italian journalists on the American chain didn't change so much since the opening of the first McDonald's in Rome in 1986. The event became so popular in Italy

[208] Fisher, I. (2006), *The Bread Is Famously Good, but It Killed McDonald's*, The New York Times, 12/01/2006.
[209] Ritzer, G. (2003), *The Globalization of Nothing*, London, Pine Forge Press, p. 89-90.
[210] Vulpio, C. (2011), *Altamura sfida continua per difendere il pane DOP*, Il Corriere della Sera, 26/10/2011.

that in 2009 a film-documentary called "Focaccia Blues", narrated the encounter between the American giant and the local bakery. [211]

However, this event is not isolated. Over the years McDonald's had to face the competition of many local businesses. In European countries as Germany or France, the American chain must compete with local bakeries as well as with butcher shops that offer dishes of the day. In addition, kebab outlets, and individual Italian or Chinese fast-food restaurants are becoming increasingly popular in bigger cities as Berlin, Paris, or London. McDonald's is losing its importance with respect to competitors as Subway, which offers healthier sandwiches, wraps and salads and Starbucks which guarantee a relaxed atmosphere.[212] Another symbolic case of the decreasing influence of McDonald's is the one of Jollibee food, a family-owned fast-food company in the Philippines. When McDonald's entered in the Philippine market in 1981, Jollibee had a superior advantage: Philippine consumers preferred the taste of the hamburgers offered by the local fast-food. Jollibee created a new recipe for the hamburgers by adding garlic and soy sauce and offered other local delicacies as noodles and rice meals with fish. This menu was able to satisfy local tastes and to capture the 56% of the fast-food business in the Philippine market. Jollibee became an integrating part of the Philippine culture, and the fast-food company became one of the most popular in Philippines for more than 20 years.[213] What do these events symbolize? Do they represent the end of the process of McDonaldization described by Ritzer or the triumph of the Slow Food Movement? Or is this the representation of the end of the American cultural influence?

As seen in the previous chapters, the early success of McDonald's was attributed to its high efficiency. It provided a meal at a low cost, accompanied by a speed service and a higher quality with respect to competitors. This service was adapted to the rhythms of modern life, suited to efficient workplace and was in line with the economic and social changes of the 20th century.

Nonetheless, as reported by Stefan Schmid and Adrian Gombert (2018), over the years the former strengths that has determined the global success of McDonald's had turned

[211] Focaccia Blues, directed by Nicola Cirasola, 17/04/2009.
[212] Schmid, S., Gombert, A. (2018), "McDonald's: Is the Fast-Food Icon Reaching the Limits of Growth?", *Internalization of Business: cases on Strategy Formulation and Implementation*, ed. by Schmid S., pp. 155-166.
[213] Dawar, N., Frost, T. (1999), "Competing with giants. Survival strategies for local companies in emerging markets", *Harvard Business Review*. 1999 Mar-Apr; 77(2), pp. 119-129.

into weaknesses. Nowadays consumers are demanding not only taste food, but are putting more attention on healthy nutrition, and are appreciating more the experience of eating comfortably rather than quickly. Moreover, after the crisis of 2003, in 2014 McDonald's registered a relevant decline in profits and in guest numbers and unlike the precedent crisis, it is difficult to understand which are the reasons that determined this period of economic difficulty. [214]

Also, Todd Stillman (2003) underlines that the principles of efficiency that were at basis of the success of McDonald's are no longer appreciated by consumers, indeed the American chain faces a series of long-term challenges for continuing to be the most popular fast-food company in the world. While McDonald's is continuing to concentrate its business model on efficient production for the mass market modelled on the Fordist factory, post-industrial consumers are much more aware of the products they consume by attributing to them a symbolic and cultural value. According to the author, with the increase of the post-industrial age a relevant number of institutions that were at the basis of homogenization have declined. Stillman talks about a process of rejection of mass culture and mass consumption, given to the negative effects on the society as the decrease in cultural diversity.

Criticisms to mass culture have increased the attention on natural products derived by traditional methods. Local products are becoming more and more important, while fast-food chains as McDonald's are decreasing in popularity. Stillman describes how businesses as Whole Food market which offer high quality natural and organic foods, are becoming increasingly frequent by counting more than 500 stores in North America. [215]

Jennifer M. Robinson and James R. Farmer in the book "Selling local: why local food movements matter" (2017) describe the main reasons related to the increasing attention of consumers toward traditional and local food:

1. Economic factors: buying local food helps in giving more economic stability to the economy of a particular community.
2. Social factors: by supporting economically local communities, there is an increase in social vitality, local culture, values, and human relationships. With the purchase of

[214] Schmid, *et al.*, "McDonald's: Is the Fast Food Icon", pp. 155-166.
[215] Stillman T. (2003), "Introduction: McDonald's in Question: The Limits of the Mass Market", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(2), pp. 107-118. doi:10.1177/0002764203256178

local food there are more possibilities to establish a feeling of belonging among consumers and vendors.

3. Environmental factors: with the purchase of local food fewer goods are shipped to long-distances. This reduces the dimension of the supply chain with a decrease in agriculture's carbon footprint, in fuel consumption and in pollution. In addition, by consuming local food there are less threats to regional biodiversity.

Other scholars have emphasised the advantages related to the consumption of local food. According to Petra Riefler (2020), consumers are consuming more local foods for the benefit of society and from an individual perspective, consumers opt for local products for their personal benefit.[216] Justina Gineikiene et al. (2016) point out that irrespectively of the country-of-origin consumers tend to judge local products as healthier.[217]

However, Robinson and Farmer describe also possible drawbacks related to the consumption of local food, as the perception that the cost of local food is higher, and the exclusion of people whose ethnicity, level of education, or income, do not allow them to participate to local food venues.[218] For this reason local businesses continue to be perceived as "boutique", offering small and perishable food products, which are accessible only to a small part of the population.

The increased attention on food quality and on local forms of consumption have impacted negatively on global chains as McDonald's. In addition, its international presence has made the American fast-food chain more vulnerable to environmental factors as the mad cow disease. As reported by Craig. J. Thompson and Zeynep Arsel global brands given their presence in most countries of the world face a competitive disadvantage regarding their brand authenticity and reliability.[219] Indeed, the current trends which put in relevance all the advantages related to local consumption may helping in understanding why a global chain as McDonald's has been beaten by a small local bakery.

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[216] Riefler, P. (2020), "Local versus global food consumption: the role of brand authenticity", *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 37 No. 3, pp. 317-327. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCM-02-2019-3086
[217] Gineikiene, J., Schlegelmilch, B.B. and Ruzeviciute, R. (2016), "Our apples are healthier than your apples: deciphering the healthiness bias for domestic and foreign products", *Journal of International Marketing*, Vol. 24 No. 2, pp. 80-99
[218] Robinson J.M., Farmer J.R. (2017), *Selling Local why local food movements matter,* Indiana University Press, pp. 1-20.
[219] Thompson, C.J. and Arsel, Z. (2004), "The Starbucks brandscape and consumers'(anticorporate) experiences of glocalization", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 31 No. 3, pp. 631-642.

Furthermore, as seen in the previous chapter, part of the global success of McDonald's was given to its association to the American culture, however the American way of life no longer holds the same allure as it did in the 1990s. According to De Grazia, for much of Twentieth century the American culture of consumption acted as the main driver of global progress. Whereas today the American culture is losing its power of persuasion as stated by the historian: «Though the United States may still be the single most dynamic force behind today's now global consumer culture, it no longer exercises a sufficient technological edge to monopolize innovations in either production or consumption». Given the uncertainty of the public opinion on American products, American corporations prefer to sell their products without being directly associated to the mass culture of the United States. The reduction of the American influence could represent one of the many reasons associated to the loss of the power of the McDonald's chain. The slogan "I'm loving it", the adaptation of the menu to local tastes, the introduction of healthier food products demonstrates the attempts of the American multinational to re-establish an emotional bond with its customers.[220]

In addition, as already explained, fast-food chains, as many of American innovations, went through a process of adaptation to local culture. Scarpellini points out that for some innovations as marketing, advertising agencies and the modern meaning of the brand, American techniques were fully translated in the European model with minimum changes. But in some sectors as design, food, and fashion the European traditions remained strong.[221]

Also, Sassatelli explains how the American influence has not led to a complete process of homogenization. The Italian origins of the Slow Food Movement demonstrate that today we are not assisting to a complete dominance of mass production, but the opposite as Europeans are more aware of their peculiarities and traditions. European nations still diverge profoundly in their consumption patterns: Greeks and Spaniards, for example, spend twice as much on restaurants and hotels as Scandinavians; the British, Danes, Dutch and Germans spend twice as much as Italians on cultural and recreational products. In

[220] De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, pp. 475-477.
[221] Sassatelli, R., & Scarpellini, E. (2007). Roberta Sassatelli ed Emanuela Scarpellini discutono su «L'impero irresistibile. La società dei consumi americana alla conquista del mondo» di Victoria De Grazia, *Stato e Mercato*, *80 (2)*, pp. 309–334.

Italy food continue to be perceived as the most differentiating aspect of Italian identity, both in Italy and abroad.

According to Sassatelli, creolization and hybridization have affected any type of cuisine, and this is valid also for the Italian food products that have been exposed to a variety of influences and changes in the last decades.[222] Italy has faced also the introduction of global fast-food chains as McDonald's, but even those chains in many cases have adapted to the cultural diversity of local realities.

Today these outlets exist side by side to traditional osterias, trattorias and restaurants. This explains the two opposite and reinforcing directions which characterize the development of the contemporary food sector: on the one side the spread of supermarkets and discount stores symbol of standardization and mass consumption and on the other side the presence of family-owned stores and farmer markets that emphasize quality, tradition, and local food. Even if the introduction of fast-food chains has raised different criticisms from food purists and gastronomes, Sassatelli points out that the world has not became a globalized and de-humanized theme park as Ritzer has argued. As some members of the Slow Food movement have observed in Europe the focus is safeguarding traditions that exist from more than 2000 years. This is not the same for the United States, which possess a quite new culture, where the aim is creating traditions rather than safeguarding them.[223] The Italian cuisine remains intimately local and with more than 167 qualified for the PDO status and 130 for PGI, the variety and variations of food products is still very high in Italy.[224]

Basing on these considerations it is difficult that in the future we will assist to a global triumph of McDonaldized settings, as many regions and country of the world still preserve their own traditions and in many cases the encounter between the local and the global leads to processes of creolization and hybridization.

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[222] Sassatelli, R. (2019), *Italians and food*, Palgrave Macmillan, Milan, pp. 1-13.
[223] Gaytán, M.S. (2004) Globalizing Resistance, Food, Culture & Society, 7:2, pp. 112-113, DOI: 10.2752/155280104786577842.
[224] Sassatelli, *Italians and food*, pp. 1-13.

CONCLUSION

In this study I have examined the history and the evolution of food consumption and of fast-food restaurants over the years in the United States and in Italy. By observing the history of McDonald's and its diffusion in the American landscape I have understood how much important it has been for the fast-food chain to take profit of the historicity of the moment. McDonald's has been capable of notice that it was the right moment to establish a new form of eating out given the increasing number of women working outside home, the American demographic change, and the suburban boom. These conditions along with a strategic plan of expansion and a greater work efficiency, have constituted the main factors for the rapid success of McDonald's in the United States and subsequently in almost every part of the world.

However, when McDonald's opened in 1986 its first outlet in Italy, the scenario was completely different. With the introduction of the American chain the entire Italian population mobilized against or in favour the fast-food invasion into the Italian capital city symbol of the "Dolce Vita" and appeared divided into two opposite directions: those who loved the American hamburger and those who hated it.

In order to understand how American food innovations and in particular fast-food chains were received in Italy, I have conducted a detailed analysis on more than 50 newspapers articles. It has been difficult to find out which were the exact reasons that determined a huge opposition toward the fast-food restaurant. What has emerged is that the problem was not the fast-food per se, but what the American chain represented at that time.

After the influence of the Hollywood cinema, and of the American supermarkets, McDonald's was another symbol *par excellence* of the "American way of living", that was invading the Italian traditions and was instituting a process of urban decay. Despite the success of the first McDonald's store in Rome, the process of expansion of the American chain in Italy wasn't simple. The Americans needed to make changes to be accepted by the Italian society and considered aligned with Italian culture. McDonald's carried out a process of "domestication" by adapting its design to the ancient Roman Square, and by introducing products consistent with the Italian tastes.

Indeed, as the economic historian Zeitlin has claimed Americanization took place often in a complex fashion. Users in more cases rejected American models or change them through

processes of modification, cross-fertilization, and hybridization. In particular, the case of the introduction of McDonald's in Italy explains the complexity in the adaptation of an innovation (in this specific case of a new brand) in a cultural context different from the one in which it originated and underlines the importance in satisfying the requests of those social groups who can influence the introduction/acceptance/rejection of a new brand in a new geographical and cultural location.

Furthermore, as I have explained through my study, McDonald's has always been object of debate and discussion among scholars for many years. With the effects of globalization, the chain has become a symbol of homogenization and standardization. However, different cases have pointed out that McDonald's in certain countries has contributed to the revival of the local and became a point of social gathering. This demonstrates how the process of the diffusion of McDonald's has not led to a complete homogenization as claimed by Ritzer. But on the opposite, it has created hybrid forms of consumption with different outcomes depending on the specific country.

Finally, by analysing the Altamura's case it is possible to notice how in Italy is still present a sense of rejection toward the American chain. In addition, the born of the Slow Food Movement in Italy demonstrates that today we are not assisting to a complete dominance of mass production, as Europeans - and in particular Italians - are more aware of their peculiarities and traditions.

The decreasing influence of the American culture along with trends toward local and healthy food products for some scholars constitutes a threat to the expansion of the global chain. It will be interesting to see what are going to be the future challenges and strategies of the company for continuing to spread its American way of life across the world and for contributing to increase its presence in the food history.

APPENDIX A

NEWSPAPER	WRITER	DATE	PAGE	SECTION	TITLE	RELEVANT SOCIAL GROUP	PLACE
La Repubblica	Laura Laurenzi	13/03/1986	15	Cronaca	È a Piazza di Spagna il tempio fast food più grande del mondo	Gente del quartiere; Paninari; ristoratori	Roma
La Repubblica	Alessandra Rota	13/03/1986	15	Cronaca	E la licenza è un gioco da ragazzi	Piccoli ristoratori	Roma
La Repubblica	E.F.	13/03/1987	19	Affari & Finanza	Alla scoperta dell'italian Food		Italia
La Repubblica	Giorgio Bocca	11/03/1987	7	Inchieste - Milano	La catena della ricchezza	Piccoli ristoratori	Milano
La Repubblica	Giorgio Bocca	29/01/1986			Quel bruto pensa troppo		Italia
La Repubblica	Enrico Franceschini	05/06/1987	18	Affari & Finanza	La multinazionale dell'hamburger		Roma
La Repubblica	Enrico Franceschini	03/11/1988	24	Cronaca	Sua maestà l'hamburger		Chicago
La Repubblica	Fabio Tamburini	22/03/1996	35	Economia	Mcdonald' s compra burghy il fast food italiano		Milano
La Repubblica	Mario Reggio	24/08/1996	17	Cronaca	Italiani, "sana" gente, sconfitto il fast-food	Popolo italiano	Italia
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 60	Lietta Tornabuoni	13/03/1986	1	Oggi Tutto Dove	Il fast food alla conquista di Roma		Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 70	Liliana Madeo	25/03/1986	9	Dall' Interno	La vecchia Roma stravolta dal Post-moderno	Paesaggio culturale; Abitanti	Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 80	Liliana Madeo	05/04/1986	10		Sacco di Roma col fast-food	Paesaggio culturale (storici, architetti, esperti di urbanistica)	Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 84	Liliana Madeo	10/04/1986	9	Dall' Interno	Mcdonald's oggi si decide, chiude per ordine pubblico?	Questore; assessore alla cultura	Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 85	Liliana Madeo	11/04/1986	9	Dall' Interno	Dopo il caso mcdonald's – a roma battaglia sul centro storico	Assessore agli affari generali: Bernardo; Sindaco: Signorello	Roma

La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 118	Liliana Madeo	21/05/1986	7	Dall' Interno	Troppa indecisione in campidoglio, anche il prosindaco critica la giunta	Sindaco, assessori, cittadini	Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 246	Liliana Madeo	21/10/1986		Dall' Interno	Roma-caos lotta tra politici		Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 147	F. gil	25/06/1986	9	Dall' Interno	Vertenza con Valentino: il fast-food è in regola	Casa di alta moda: Valentino	Roma
La Stampa - ANNO 120, NUMERO 147	Enrico Buffoni	17/04/1989	13	L'Interno	Cena in piazza per 400 contro il fast food	Casa di alta moda: Valentino	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Anna Bartolini	14/01/1985	6	Cronache Italiane	Il fast food resta (per ora) un sogno Usa, preferiamo sempre mangiare al ristorante		Italia - Europa
Corriere della Sera	D. Mart.	21/03/1986	31	Roma cronaca	Assalto al "fast food"	Giovani	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Not specified	24/03/1986	22	Roma cronaca	Mcdonald's file no stop	Giovani	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Anna Forti	28/03/1986	31	Roma cronaca	Mcdonald's chiude, ma solo di sabato	Giovani	Roma
Corriere della Sera	M. Pet.	05/04/1986	27	Roma cronaca	Incerto il futuro per mcdonald's		Roma
Corriere della Sera	Roberto della Rovere	06/04/1986	7	Cronache Italiane	A Roma il comune dichiara guerra a mcdonald's: troppi "paninari" stravolgono piazza di Spagna	Comune di Roma; divisione tra romani: falchi (commercianti), colombe	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Monica Petacco	07/04/1986	30	Corriere Roma	Il comune contro i fast food	Politici	Roma
Corriere della Sera	M.San.	07/04/1986	30	Corriere Roma	Clienti divisi davanti a mcdonald's	Cittadini lavoratori; giovani	Roma
Corriere della Sera	M.Pan.	11/04/1986	30	Corriere Roma	Proposto il trasferimento a mcdonald's		Roma
Corriere della Sera	D. Mart.	12/04/1986	34	Corriere Roma	I politici discutono di vino e fast food	Assessore al centro storico	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Anna Forti	15/04/1986	28	Corriere Roma	Fast food, la città discute e si divide		Roma
Corriere della Sera	Not specified		22	Roma cronaca	Fast food (ma solo all'italiana)		Roma
Corriere della Sera	Giulio Benedetti	21/04/1986	6	Cronache italiane	Spaghettata-sfida degli artisti davanti al tempio dei paninari	Personaggi dello spettacolo	Roma
Corriere della Sera	M.Pet.	24/04/1986	35	Roma cronaca	Rinvio per mcdonald's	Politici, giovani	Roma

Corriere della Sera	Marco Sanvoisin	01/05/1986	27	Roma cronaca	Jet set e polpette	Casa di alta moda: Valentino	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Not	09/05/1986	35	Roma cronaca	Esperto "annuserà" gli odori di mcdonald's	Casa di alta moda: Valentino	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Not specified	30/05/1986	22	Corriere Roma	Un'altra causa contro il mcdonald's	Asap	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Not specified	28/06/1986	27	Roma cronaca	Gli hamburger di mcdonald's vincono in pretura	Casa di alta moda: Valentino	Roma
Corriere della Sera	C.B.	02/07/1986	29	Dentro Milano	Dibattito sul fast food		Milano
Corriere della Sera	Massimo Alberini	14/03/1987	24	Corriere milanese	Sorpresa, milanesi i più "pastaciuttari" d'Italia	Giovani	Milano
Corriere della Sera	Ester Palma e Angiola Pisanelli	23/08/1987	19	Corriere Romano	Ma gli stranieri non si lamentano, hanno pasta e vino	Turisti	Roma
Corriere della Sera	Taino	22/03/1996	1	Corriere della Sera	Mcdonald's si è mangiata Burghy in un solo boccone		Italia
Corriere della Sera	Not specified	02/06/1987	34	Corriere Roma	"Stop" ai fast food in centro		Roma
Corriere della Sera	Franco Cattaneo	17/08/1988	22	Lombardia Metropoli	Il nuovo paradiso dei milanesi		Bergamo
Corriere della Sera	Paolo Fallai	03/12/1989	9	Cronache Italiane	E Firenze si rassegna agli hamburger	Ristoratori (Firenze)	Firenze
Corriere della Sera	P.F.	03/01/1990	11	Cronache Italiane	Firenze proibita per mcdonald's?		Firenze
La Repubblica	Ernesto ferrara	06/07/2016			Firenze: mcdonald's al Duomo, arriva il no ufficiale del Comune		Firenze
Corriere della Sera	Non specified	04/06/1987	34	Cronaca di Milano	Ristoratori contro i fast food	Ristoratori (Milano)	Milano
Corriere della Sera	G.Ga.	15/01/1993	14	Cronache Italiane	Roma, l'olio di fritto dei fast food danneggia i monumenti		Roma
New York Times	Mary Davis Suro	05/05/1986	20	National Edition	Roman protest mcdonald's	Valentino; Clint Eastwood	Roma
Panorama	Rosanna Santonocito	27/04/1986	231	Vita moderna	In fretta all'italiana		Bologna
Panorama	Marilena Bussoletti; Antonio Paladiano	03/08/1986	50-52	Affari italiani	Vade retro hamburger		Italia /Roma

L'Espresso, numero 17, settimanale di polutica - cultura - economia	Gad Lerner	04/04/1986	25-26	Italia	Nefast food		Roma
L'Espresso, numero 14, settimanale di politica - cultura - economia	Gianni Riotta	13/04/1986	108-113	Cultura	Metropoli al ketchup		New York /Roma
L'Espresso, numero 14, settimanale di politica - cultura - economia	Bruno Zevi	14/04/1986	111	Cultura	Il mcdonald's? A piazza Venezia		Roma
L'Espresso, numero 40	Roberta di Caro (con la collaborazione di Gianpiero Amandola, Carlo Gallucci, Fulvio Milone	12/10/1986	84-90	Società	Vestire la città		Italia
L'Espresso, numero 41	Piera Scuri	13/10/1986	88	Società	A misura di fast food		Italia

APPENDIX B

14/01/1985, Corriere della Sera, Cronache Italiane, p. 6

Nel corso dell'anno un italiano su tre pranzerà fuori casa

Il «fast food» resta (per ora) un sogno Usa
Preferiamo sempre mangiare al ristorante

È di questi giorni una notizia che ha fatto sobbalzare molti italiani: nel 1985, nel nostro paese si consumeranno 31,5 milioni di pasti fuori casa, che significa che più della metà degli italiani pranzerebbero fuori casa. Il dato proviene dalla CGIL-Alimentare. Felicissime le casalinghe che hanno subìto pensato di dimezzare il lavoro domestico della preparazione dei pasti e ovviamente felicissimi anche tutti gli industriali alimentari, le aziende collegate nel «fast food» ed i gestori delle mense.

La contentezza è però stata di breve durata poiché questa previsione si riferisce ad un sondaggio molto vecchio ed a una previsione fatta nel 1975 quando si pensava che il «pasto» fuori casa sarebbe divenuto anche da noi una realtà paragonabile a quella americana.

Dati recentissimi giungono invece dall'Angem (Associazione che raggruppa le maggiori aziende di ristorazione collettiva) e che in base ad uno studio della Gira di Ginevra ipotizza solo 10 milioni al giorno di pasti fuori casa nell'anno che da poco è iniziato. Questi sarebbero costituiti da circa 3 milioni consumati nelle mense aziendali, 2,5 milioni a scuola, circa 2 milioni negli ospedali e gli altri in varie comunità (esercito, carceri, conviti e così via).

A questi 10 milioni vanno poi aggiunti circa 9 milioni di pasti consumati — secondo la Confcommercio — nella ristorazione tradizionale, cioè nei 300.000 bar e ristoranti della penisola. Un totale «casa», quindi, di circa 20 milioni al giorno, cioè il 35 per cento dei cittadini.

Ed il «fast food»? Dal recente salone per l'attrezzatura alberghiera di Rimini è emerso che fra cinque anni ci saranno in Italia circa 350 locali di «fast food» con un fatturato di oltre 400 miliardi. In cinque anni la crescita del fatturato sarà del 34 per cento. Piatto base, ancora e sempre l'hamburger di carne, di pollo o di pesce.

Lo sviluppo dei «fast food» in Europa non è così rapido come si immaginava: funzionano attualmente 2600 locali, cioè uno ogni 125.000 persone. Nel vecchio continente questo modo di mangiare all'americana rappresenta ancor oggi il 3 per cento della ristorazione commerciale.

Chi sono quelli che mangiano fuori casa a mezzogiorno in Italia? Non sempre gli abitanti delle grandi metropoli. Anzi da un'indagine per campione condotta dalla A.S.M. di Roma risulta che si mangia di più fuori a pranzo nei centri fra i 10.000 e i 30.000 abitanti che in quelli da 30 a 100.000 mila. Più i maschi ovviamente (per il 29,3 per cento delle donne (20,9 per cento).

Che lavoro fanno? I protagonisti della mensa o del ristorante sono i lavoratori delle fabbriche e degli uffici. Guidano la classifica i dirigenti (39 per cento), seguiti da operai specializzati (35,5 per cento), da imprenditori (29,3 per cento), da operai semplici (26,8 per cento), da liberi professionisti (24,6 per cento) e da commercianti per il 19 per cento.

Dove mangiano questi personaggi, studenti esclusi? Il 6,4 per cento frequenta la mensa, il 4,1 per cento i bar, il 3,1 per cento il ristorante ed il 2,3 per cento consuma il pasto sul luogo di lavoro stesso. Infine l'1 per cento frequenta pizzerie, tavole calde e appunto il «fast food».

La cultura del «pranzo leggero e veloce» non è ancora penetrata in profondità: il mercato del pasto a mezzogiorno sembra quindi ben limitato dalla saturazione nelle stesse fasce di attività legate alla vita delle aziende se ancora due terzi degli impiegati e degli operai non mangia fuori casa a mezzogiorno. Ancora molto spazio da coprire anche nel settore della scuola. Secondo l'Istat i ragazzi che frequentano il ciclo scolastico intero, dalla scuola materna all'università, sono 12 milioni e di questi solo 3 milioni mangiano nei locali delle scuole o della mensa universitaria.

Anna Bartolini

21/05/1986 – Corriere della sera – Roma Cronaca- p. 31

Assalto al «fast-food»

Schiacciati contro le porte d'ingresso, hanno aspettato le 11 «divorati» dalla curiosità più che dai morsi della fame. Al momento dell'apertura, un boato ha poi accompagnato l'ingresso dei giovanissimi sostenitori del «fast-food» che hanno rapidamente invaso tutti gli spazi del nuovo «Mc Donald's» di piazza di Spagna. Erano tantissimi e molti non sono riusciti ad entrare: un piccolo esercito formato da guardie private, poliziotti e carabinieri ha contenuto a stento la folla che premeva contro le vetrate. C'è stato qualche spintone di troppo, ma l'arroganza dei più scalmanati non ha provocato incidenti gravi.

Problemi, invece, per il traffico che si è «scontrato» con un vero e proprio muro umano: l'angolo di piazza di Spagna, sul quale si affacciano via Due Macelli e piazza Mignanelli, è praticamente rimasto bloccato per tutta la mattinata. Il resto della piazza si è invece trasformato in un gigantesco parcheggio per motorini e «scooter».

Intanto al primo piano del «Mc Donald's più grande del mondo», bande di «teen-agers» con i libri sottobraccio e con i «cheesburgers» tra i denti ammiravano il fastoso arredamento del nuovo locale. Una volta esaurita la prima ondata dei giovanissimi, tra i tavoli di «Mc Donald's» è iniziato a circolare un pubblico più adulto: signore in giro per lo «shopping», pensionati, professionisti con rotoli di giornali in mano e curiosi di ogni tipo. Alcuni di loro hanno mangiato le patate fritte dividendo il tavolo con i più giovani. Altri invece, dopo un rapido sopralluogo, sono usciti perché frastornati dall'incredibile bolgia. (D. Mart.)

McDonald's, file «no stop»

Continuano le code davanti al McDonald's in piazza di Spagna. A quattro giorni dall'inaugurazione, il «fast food più grande del mondo» (450 posti a sedere) continua a registrare il tutto esaurito, con all'ingresso file lunghe di giovani che aspettano di mangiare all'americana: carne trita e patatine fritte. E con disagi per gli automobilisti: sabato sera è stato necessario, con l'intervento dei vigili urbani, deviare il traffico per evitare ingorghi.

MCDONALD'S CHIUDE: MA SOLO DI SABATO

28/03/1986, Corriere della Sera, Roma cronaca, p.31, Anna Forti

McDonald's anticiperà a domani la giornata di chiusura settimanale. Viste le polemiche che si sono sviluppate dopo gli ingorghi di sabato scorso, Jacques Babout ha teso una mano all'amministrazione comunale. La richiesta presentata ieri durante un incontro all'assessore al Commercio del Comune, Natalini, è stata accolta. Ed è partita subito l'ordinanza.

Viene tuttavia specificato il carattere provvisorio di questo provvedimento. «Si potrà ripetere per qualche settimana, ma non intendo certo renderlo definitivo», dice il proprietario del mega «fast-food».

Così il signor Babout pur di calmare le acque, finora troppo agitate, dice di rinunciare a una buona fetta di guadagni. «Saremo aperti la domenica, ma ci aspettiamo già una flessione nelle presenze, il sabato rimane sempre il giorno più fortunato».

E di fortuna ne sta facendo il primo «fast-food» con marchio McDonald's. Sono passati ormai diversi giorni dall'inaugurazione del locale, ma puntualmente ogni mattina verso mezzogiorno, via Due Macelli continua ad essere invasa da gruppi di giovani pronti ad entrare nel nuovo santuario dell'hamburger e delle patatine. «Prevedevamo una presenza di circa 5.000 clienti al giorno, mai ci saremmo immaginati di raggiungere 20 mila presenze giornaliere».

Sono ragazzi in gran parte sotto i 18 anni, vengono da Monte Mario, dal Casilino, dalla Magliana, dall'Eur. Molti sono in gruppo, altri vanno lì per conoscere gente nuova. Non è solo un centro di ristorazione veloce, ma per molti un punto di incontro.

Il prodotto realizzato secondo modelli americani e una agguerrita campagna pubblicitaria, hanno contribuito non poco ad alimentare la curiosità di tutti.

Ma di McDonald's si sta parlando anche per un altro motivo: ha provocato, per le file davanti al locale, gli ingorghi in centro nell'ultimo fine settimana. Sabato pomeriggio le vie intorno a piazza di Spagna erano paralizzate. Via del Tritone era invasa da un serpentone di macchine.

È stato necessario anche l'intervento della polizia e dei vigili urbani per deviare il traffico. Intanto via Due Macelli e piazza Mignanelli erano invase di motorini parcheggiati dovunque. Una folla enorme in attesa dell'apertura della saracinesca, prudentemente abbassata.

La decisione di chiudere il «fast-food» il sabato contribuirà, dunque, a non appesantire ulteriormente il traffico nel centro storico in una giornata che i romani dedicano abitualmente allo shopping e alla passeggiata serale. Ma eviterà anche che sul nuovo McDonald's crescano le polemiche. (Anna Forti)

INCERTO FUTURO PER MCDONALD'S

5/04/1986, Corriere della Sera, Roma Cronaca, p. 27

La crociata contro l'invasione dell'hamburger è iniziata. Non è ancora sicura la sorte che toccherà a McDonald's regno del fast-food per il quale era stata chiesta la chiusura in un ordine del giorno presentato dal Pci due giorni fa.

Durante una vivace riunione della Commissione commercio, a cui hanno partecipato i capigruppo consiliari conclusa ieri in tarda serata si è discusso del futuro dei fast-food nel centro storico, si è polemizzato, ma alla fine si è arrivati ad un accordo.

Favorevoli e contrari hanno votato un ordine del giorno firmato da tutti i partiti (in forse solo il voto del Msi) in cui si invitava la giunta a considerare l'eventualità di una sospensione cautelativa di McDonald's esaminando i possibili abusi rilevati nel locale (si tratta di una porta aperta abusivamente e di tre finestre chiuse). I punti fondamentali dell'ordine del giorno sono però altri: il sollecito ad individuare subito situazioni analoghe nel centro storico, e non solo per quanto riguarda i fast-food, e la richiesta, da parte del Comune di Roma al ministero dell'Industria, di modificare tramite decreto le tabelle vigenti che permettono indiscriminatamente di poter aprire i fast-food anche dove c'erano semplici bar. «Era necessario mettere un punto fermo per regolamentare il piano di commercio del centro storico», commenta l'onorevole repubblicano Oscar Mammì che nel corso della turbolenta seduta ha appoggiato le tesi favorevoli ad una stretta regolamentazione dei regni dell'hamburger.

«Si è voluto strumentalizzare il caso McDonald's attaccandosi a delle questioni per le quali non è strettamente necessario richiedere la chiusura — ha commentato polemicamente il democristiano Bernardino Antinori —. Sicuramente però è necessario, soprattutto, chiedere le modifiche delle tabelle e fare un piano del commercio ben preciso. Non c'è solo il problema del fast-food ma anche quello delle miriadi di negozi di jeans che, secondo me, non guadagnano abbastanza per giustificare le spese di un locale in centro storico». D'altra parte, l'indipendente di sinistra Enzo Forcella ha voluto sottolineare che si tratta soprattutto di una questione di volontà politica. «Il caso McDonald's è solo un caso, del presente. C'è però una situazione in *fieri* da risolvere — spiega Forcella —. La giunta dovrà dimostrare se vorrà solo seguire il mercato oppure se invece lo vorrà orientare».

M. Pet.

6/04/1986- Corriere della Sera- Cronache italiane, p. 7

A Roma il Comune dichiara guerra a McDonald's: troppi «paninari» stravolgono piazza di Spagna

ROMA - Il dato è tratto e, in quella che è stata definita la «disfida della polpetta», è sceso in campo anche il consiglio comunale di Roma. In un ordine del giorno «unitario» ha dichiarato guerra al proliferare dei «fast food», in particolare al discusso locale di monsieur Bahbout, il McDonald's che, apre i battenti all'imbocco di piazza di Spagna.

In effetti sono bastati pochi giorni di apertura per «sconvolgere» l'atmosfera della più bella zona della città che, da tranquilla «isola» turistica, è diventata il principale luogo di appuntamento e stazionamento di tutta la «fauna» giovanile della città. Al punto che in certi giorni e in certe ore davanti all'ingresso del locale l'affollamento è tale da rendere difficile la circolazione.

Un vero e proprio fenomeno di costume insomma che ha già diviso i romani in due partiti, i «falchi» (contrari all'«hamburger») e le «colombe». Il primo schieramento vede riunite per l'occasione le tendenze più eterogenee: dai verdi ai commercianti (preoccupati ovviamente della concorrenza), dagli indipendenti di sinistra ai comunisti, ai repubblicani.

Le «colombe» raggruppano un'area di opinione più «morbida» e meno politicizzata: quella che considera la follia «paninara» una moda passeggera per non dire «effimera».

La divisione naturalmente non ha mancato di riprodursi in consiglio comunale. In commissione commercio sono state necessarie ben quattro ore di discussione notturna per raggiungere un accordo. Mentre infatti per l'assessore socialista, Natalini, democristiani e socialdemocratici, non esistevano sufficienti ragioni per far chiudere il fast-food, per tutti gli altri gli abusi edilizi rilevati erano sufficiente per bloccare il McDonald's.

Quest'ultimo orientamento alla fine è prevalso, con soddisfazione dei «falchi». Una decisione che, come ha affermato trionfalmente il capogruppo della sinistra indipendente, Enzo Forcella, «testimonia la volontà politica del consiglio di orientare il mercato e non di seguirlo pedissequamente».

In questo senso verrà chiesto al ministero dell'Industria il consenso alla modifica delle tabelle merceologiche A, B e C «così da mettere il Comune - dice il documento approvato - nella condizione di difendere la fisionomia e le caratteristiche del cuore della capitale».

In attesa della nuova normativa (e sarà un rompicapo da nulla per il ministero tracciare una linea di demarcazione precisa tra tavola calda, ristoranti e fast-food) il problema è ora come «bloccare» il McDonald's prima che sia troppo tardi. La licenza infatti a quanto sembra è regolare ed anche, in linea generale, il complesso del locale.

In soccorso dei «falchi» è venuta per fortuna una provvidenziale finestra, che sarebbe stata abusivamente allargata per aprire un'uscita di sicurezza, condizione indispensabile per ottenersi il nulla-osta dei vigili del fuoco. Se si chiude la finestra, dunque, è stato il ragionamento illustrato in seguito anche dall'onorevole Mammì, le condizioni di sicurezza verranno a mancare e il locale dovrà chiudere. È del resto la posizione dell'Unione commercianti e in particolare del presidente dei pubblici esercizi Giorgio Bodoni che contro il fast-food ha inoltrato ben 14 esposti.

Roberto della Rovere

Il Comune contro i fast food

Nell'ordine del giorno si sollecita «una verifica sull'esistenza di abusi edilizi» Per Mammì «bisogna regolamentare il piano del commercio nel centro storico»

L'ardua sentenza toccherà alla giunta: «condanna a morte» oppure la «grazia» per il McDonald's di piazza di Spagna? Non si sa. Di certo, però, sono in molti in Comune a voler far sparire dal centro storico questo avamposto dell'Impero dell'hamburger preferito dallo Zio Sam. Non sono bastati il completo rispetto della facciata esterna rinunciando ad una mega insegna colorata né l'impiego dei tradizionali sanpietrini romani nella pavimentazione del locale per garantire a McDonald's il benvenuto nel centro storico della capitale.

Infatti, all'unanimità tutti i rappresentanti dei partiti hanno firmato, nella tarda serata di venerdì, l'ordine del giorno, approvato dal Consiglio comunale, in cui si rimette alla giunta la decisione di sospendere l'autorizzazione commerciale al fast-food di piazza di Spagna dopo l'opportuna verifica dell'esistenza di abusi edilizi.

Naturalmente, l'aggancio per una simile richiesta c'è: è stato rilevato che nel locale sono state chiuse tre finestre per aprire abusivamente una seconda uscita di sicurezza. Un abuso, per eccesso di zelo. Infatti, un locale del genere può avere anche un'unica porta di sicurezza, ma visto l'inaspettato afflusso di persone la seconda uscita diventa necessaria. Alla giunta spetta un'attenta «verifica», poiché il pericolo, come ha ricordato in una riunione dei giorni scorsi l'assessore al Commercio Sandro Natalini, è che in caso di sospensione il titolare, Bahbout, ricorra al Tar richiedendo magari i danni al Comune.

«Ma l'abuso, secodo me, c'è — ha commentato ieri il ministro repubblicano Oscar Mammì, uno dei sostenitori dell'ordine del giorno approvato — comunque non ce l'abbiamo con McDonald's in particolare. Il problema è di regolamentare il commercio nel centro storico». Per questo nell'ordine del giorno presentato venerdì l'accento è stato messo sulla necessità di considerare gli altri eventuali abusi commessi in questa zona. Al ministero dell'Industria è stato chiesto un decreto per modificare le tabelle merceologiche che allo stato attuale non permettono una regolamentazione delle licenze ed una conseguente programmazione del mercato.

I problemi sul futuro dei fast-food non finiscono qui. È innegabile che con la loro apparizione hanno dimostrato che lo slogan del «mangia e fuggi» è ormai una necessità per molte persone.

Monica Petacco

CLIENTI DIVISI DAVANTI A MCDONALD'S

10/04/1986, Corriere della sera, Roma Cronaca, p.31

Sulla ventilata chiusura di McDonald's, ecco i giudizi raccolti venerdì sera tra i clienti del locale.

«Niente più fast food? E perché? Cos'è, una nuova forma di proibizionismo?», afferma sarcastico Luca Giorgi, ventenne «paninaro» di Centocelle. La sua compagna, Tiziana, avanza un'ipotesi maliziosa: «Forse qualcuno in Campidoglio ha investito in una catena di trattorie?».

Periferia

Poco più in là, una signora sui trentacinque anni è impegnata con una macchia di ketchup sul vestito. Si chiama Giuliana Esteri, fa la segretaria: «Per me il locale andrebbe spostato in periferia, oppure vicino alla stazione. Così si eviterebbe a migliaia di giovani di attraversare una città già tanto caotica. Ma, soprattutto, si restituirebbe il centro ai ristoranti e ai negozi di lusso che, per lavorare, hanno bisogno di una collocazione adeguata. Per vendere blue jeans e panini non è necessaria la cornice di piazza di Spagna».

A quindici giorni dall'inaugurazione, il fenomeno McDonald's è ancora in pieno «boom». Lo testimonia la quantità di persone che, senza consumare, varca l'ingresso del locale: «Abbiamo cenato a casa e siamo qui solo per vedere questi famosi saloni», confida una coppia di mezza età che appare spaesata in mezzo a tanta confusione. Altri cercano di arrivare al bancone, qualcuno desiste dall'impresa: «Fa troppo caldo, dentro manca l'aria. Per questo abbiamo rinunciato ed ora andiamo a cercare una pizzeria», dice Antonella Mancuso, di 31 anni, che con due amiche esce sconsolata dal fast food.

«Chiudere il locale sarebbe un'ingiustizia — sostiene Leonardo Stabile, grafico pubblicitario —. Non si possono cambiare le regole una volta che il gioco è cominciato, magari perché il successo di McDonald's dà fastidio agli altri ristoratori». Il solo rammarico, per il signor Stabile, è che la megapaninoteca abbia preso il posto di Rugantino, uno dei caffè più antichi della città: «Non vorrei che la stessa sorte toccasse al bar Buscaglione e ad altri caffè. La vita del centro ne verrebbe sconvolta».

Maria Grazia e Marco, entrambi sui vent'anni, difendono a spada tratta il tempio dell'hamburger: «Per noi giovani è un posto importante. Ci ritroviamo per mangiare un boccone a poco prezzo prima di andare al cinema e in discoteca. Sedendosi al ristorante significa invece rischiare di non poter poi far altro. Anche per avere il conto fanno aspettare un'eternità».

«Detesto i fast food perché fanno parte di un modo di vivere che mi è estraneo, dice Francesco Sarti, commerciante. Per lui, il successo di McDonald's è soltanto l'ultimo episodio «della passione americanofila che fa trionfare sui nostri schermi film come Rocky e Rambo».

Il «boom» della paninoteca di piazza di Spagna dovrebbe insegnare qualcosa ai ristoratori italiani: lo afferma Alessandro Aiesi, impiegato al Senato. «Che prendano come modello la sua pulizia e l'organizzazione del servizio, invece di lamentarsi e di farle la guerra. Tra l'altro la qualità dei prodotti qui è ottima, davvero di prima categoria. C'è tutto ciò che si può desiderare per uno spuntino all'ora di colazione e per mangiare in fretta prima di cominciare la serata».

Sceriffi

Andrea Rocchi, 24 anni, fiorentino, è scandalizzato dalla presenza dei vigilantes che, con la pistola bene in mostra nella fondina, svolgono servizio d'ordine all'ingresso: «È inconcepibile entrare in un locale pubblico e trovarsi di fronte due sceriffi armati, nemmeno fossimo nel saloon di Kansas City».

Se la decisione spettasse a Daniela Ramba, scrittrice, McDonald's verrebbe chiuso all'istante: «È uno scempio architettonico, una cattedrale del kitch. Sono venuta a visitarlo con lo spirito con cui si entra in un museo degli orrori, e dico che non sono rimasta delusa».

Infine, l'americano Mike Cannon: «Per me dovete essere impazziti. Famosi per la vostra cucina, puntate invece sugli hamburger e sulle patatine».

M. San.

PROPOSTO IL TRASFERIMENTO DEL MCDONALD'S

Per il McDonald's si tratta. Mentre si cerca di trovare un pretesto legale che giustifichi la chiusura o il ridimensionamento del locale che ha sconvolto la sonnolenta cornice di piazza di Spagna, l'assessore al Commercio Sandro Natalini si è incontrato con il proprietario del «fast-food» per sondare la possibilità di un pacifico trasferimento in un luogo meno «monumentale». Ai giornalisti l'assessore ha riferito che questa eventualità non è esclusa anche se non ha detto che evidentemente essa dipende quasi esclusivamente dalla buona volontà di monsieur Bahbout, dato che egli si trova in una botte di ferro: nessuna legge gli impedisce di aprire un «fast-food» in piazza di Spagna o in piazza Navona e, poiché viviamo in uno Stato di diritto, nessuno può obbligarlo a chiudere. Così come nessuno è riuscito a impedire che il centro storico, barocco e rinascimentale, si trasformasse gradatamente in un bazar levantino.

Regole nuove

Certo, possono esserci, visto il gran concorso di persone, ragioni di sicurezza per gli avventori e per questo il sindaco ha inviato un fonogramma ai vigili del fuoco perché controllino le uscite di sicurezza e il numero degli estintori che devono essere rapportati non tanto a quanto normalmente previsto per un ristorante o una pizzeria qualsiasi, ma a quanto si rende necessario in un locale in cui si è verificato un afflusso tanto massiccio; certo, possono esserci ragioni di igiene e per questo il sindaco ha spedito un fonogramma alla Usl perché accerti e controlli, tenuto conto delle mutate e non prima previste circostanze; certo, possono esserci ragioni di ordine pubblico e per questo la questura si preoccupa e l'onorevole Signorello ieri si è incontrato addirittura con il ministro degli Interni Scalfaro.

Al di là di tutto questo, però, esiste il fatto che la licenza di monsieur Bahbout è regolare e che sembra abbia osservato tutte le norme di igiene e di sicurezza previste dai regolamenti.

La giunta comunale, non potendo fare altro e intendendo comunque, come ha detto il sindaco, mettere un freno «al degrado del centro storico», ha deciso di puntare su «regole nuove» che valgano, per il futuro, a sventare il pericolo di altri «fast-food» nel territorio della I Circoscrizione che è «il cuore della città».

Per questo si è pensato di modificare la lettera A dell'articolo 23 del D.m. 28 aprile 1976 che consente a chiunque sia in possesso di una licenza rilasciata sulla sua base di gestire qualunque genere di ristorante: da quello di lusso al «fast-food». La proposta del Comune è quella di creare 5 sottogruppi così divisi: A1, ristoranti e trattorie tradizionali; A2, ristoranti e trattorie con cucina tipica straniera; A3, pizzeria-birreria; A4, ristorazione rapida a tavola e con menù tradizionale; A5, ristorazione rapida senza servizio a tavola con menù limitato. In più, ovviamente, sarà vietata ogni trasformazione aziendale che determini il passaggio da una sottotabella all'altra senza previa autorizzazione comunale.

Lungo iter

Perché una delibera comunale possa introdurre modificazioni anche parziali alle tabelle merceologiche, è necessario il consenso del ministero dell'Industria, Commercio e Artigianato e proprio a questo scopo sempre ieri il sindaco si è incontrato con il ministro Altissimo.

I problemi aperti dal McDonald's hanno fatto passare in secondo ordine l'approvazione da parte della giunta del Piano del commercio, già presentato nell'85, per il quale si è concluso il faticoso iter degli emendamenti e delle proposte avanzate nel frattempo dalle categorie interessate. Esso prevede una radicale lotta all'abusivismo commerciale, l'esame in tempi brevi delle 5000 domande ancora giacenti (molti esercizi sono già in funzione), una revisione della rete di vendita al minuto, l'istituzione di nuovi mercati saltuari (a Conca d'Oro, alla Serpentara, a Valmelaina Nuova, al Tiburtino Nord, al Casilino e in altre zone ancora) e il regolamento dei mercati rionali all'aperto.

M. Pan.

Spaghettata-sfida degli artisti davanti al tempio dei «paninari»

ROMA — L'eroe della giornata anti-fast food non poteva che essere lui, il popolare attore dagli occhi di ghiaccio, Clint Eastwood, passato dalle scorribande nel Bronx sul grande schermo, alle battaglie politiche in qualità di sindaco di una cittadina californiana: ora se la prende con i panini e gli hamburger e uno dei suoi primi atti di amministratore, l'ordinanza di chiusura di alcune paninoteche, ha scatenato viscerali consensi tra i nostrani avversari dei fast food.

Ai piedi della gradinata di piazza di Spagna, non lontano dal luogo dove il culto degli hot dogs e delle polpette dispone ora, con Mc Donald's, di un nuovissimo e contestatissimo tempio, attori e cantanti, politici e amministratori hanno dato vita ad una insolita manifestazione contro quello che viene ritenuto, dietro l'appetibile aspetto, «uno dei più insidiosi veicoli del degrado della capitale»: il fast food, che con il suo rapido, inarrestabile diffondersi, sta facendo breccia nei luoghi di una consolidata tradizione gastronomica.

In primo piano, nel lanciare il guanto della sfida in difesa di pizza e spaghetti, il regista-scrittore napoletano De Crescenzo e il cantante romano Claudio Villa. E intorno tanti altri personaggi tra i quali il comico Giorgio Bracardi, animatore della pacifica protesta, conclusasi con una maxi-tavolata in mezzo alla piazza, dove centinaia di convitati hanno onorato l'italica pastasciutta.

Claudio Villa, uno degli animatori della manifestazione organizzata dal «comitato di salute pubblica contro il degrado della città», teneva alto un cartello con la foto del sindaco anti-paninaro, per giunta americano, Clint Eastwood e sotto la foto, in lingua inglese, una scritta in grado di impensierire il primo cittadino della capitale: «Clint, potresti essere il nostro sindaco».

C'era l'ex assessore alla Cultura, Renato Nicolini. Indossava una maglietta con la scritta «Sono un hamburger». Ha spiegato perché bisogna opporsi all'invasione dei fast food, mentre il successore, Lodovico Gatto, con la sua presenza tra i manifestanti, ha voluto dare testimonianza e sostegno della Giunta alla battaglia contro il «degrado della città».

Su un palco improvvisato hanno parlato Philippe Leroy e il deputato radicale Massimo Teodori, il quale ha ricordato come l'installazione di certi locali in zone di grande valore artistico non faccia che perpetuare «il quarantennale sacco di Roma». Contro le «polpette» hanno preso la parola lo scrittore Massimo Grillandi, il comico «Bombolo», la pittrice Novella Parigini.

Giulio Benedetti

■ Gli hamburger di McDonald's vincono in pretura

Il pretore Domenico Bonaccorsi ha respinto il ricorso presentato dal sarto Valentino contro la società che gestisce il «fast food» McDonald's di piazza di Spagna «Per sopravvenuta carenza di interesse ad agire».

Il noto stilista aveva chiesto al pretore un provvedimento, secondo la procedura d'urgenza dell'articolo 700 del codice civile, per poter ingiungere ai titolari del «fast food» di eliminare gli odori di fritto considerati intollerabili e i rumori molesti provenienti dal locale. E ciò perché gli odori penetravano nell'atelier, disturbando notevolmente gli impiegati dell'amministrazione e della sartoria.

Nei giorni scorsi McDonald's ha installato una nuova canna fumaria, determinando di conseguenza, una situazione «di normale tollerabilità», e ha riconosciuto una perizia d'ufficio. Di conseguenza, secondo il dottor Bonaccorsi, il ricorso di Valentino deve essere respinto perché la situazione è stata praticamente risolta.

Il magistrato ha anche risolto il problema delle spese di causa, sul quale avevano discusso ieri gli avvocati Giuseppe Consolo ed Angelo Ormanni che hanno assistito rispettivamente il sarto e i proprietari dell'esercizio commerciale: ha dichiarato interamente compensate tra le parti le spese del giudizio, disponendo, inoltre che ciascuno dei contendenti paghi la metà del compenso spettante al perito d'ufficio che ha svolto l'indagine tecnica.

La multinazionale USA compra per 200-300 miliardi la catena di fast food dell'imprenditore Cremonini

McDonald's si è mangiata Burghy in un solo boccone

MILANO — McDonald's, la multinazionale americana del panino, compra Burghy, la prima catena di fast-food d'Italia. Luigi Cremonini, l'imprenditore modenese pioniere del cibo svelto nella Penisola, ha deciso di mettere fine al suo sogno: pressato da un forte indebitamento, ha dovuto cedere gli 80 ristoranti al concorrente più aggressivo; ora, si concentrerà sulla sua attività tradizionale, la macellazione. Il valore dell'operazione non è stato reso noto ma fonti vicine alla trattativa lo collocano tra i 200 e i 300 miliardi. In più, Cremonini fornirà gli hamburger a tutti i McDonald's italiani e, in futuro, forse anche a quelli europei. L'affare è stato intermediato dalla Banca di Roma, il principale creditore del gruppo Cremonini.

Scomparirà così un nome, quello di Burghy, che in Italia aveva aperto l'era dei fast-food, di un nuovo modo di mangiare. Il Paese si popolerà però di uno dei marchi più conosciuti sul pianeta, la M ad arco della multinazionale americana: oltre 18 mila ristoranti nel mondo, uno nuovo ogni tre ore, 28 milioni di clienti al giorno, più di cento miliardi di panini venduti dal 1955. Con l'acquisizione di Burghy, McDonald's, che oggi ha 38 punti vendita in Italia, rompe lo stallo in cui si trova da anni a causa della difficoltà a ottenere le licenze per aprire nuovi ristoranti. Dei quasi 120 punti vendita che si troverà ad avere in Italia, la multinazionale USA ne dovrà forse chiudere qualcuno: comunque, tra le catene di fast-food verrà ad avere una posizione di quasi monopolio.

Taino nell'Economia

I grandi film del
Oggi la cassetta
«Charlot»
di Attenborough

Oggi in edicola con quotidiano a 6.900 lire la cassetta di «Charlot» di Attenborough.

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