

Globalisation and convergence of food taste in the case of South African Pizza

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Abstract

Globally food is central to cultures and this brings uniqueness and diversity to global cuisines. The aim of this article is to analyze the contribution of globalisation to convergence/divergence of food taste using pizza as a proxy. To that end, the article specifically makes comparisons between pizzas from Italian cookbooks with South African and franchised United States ones. The article is primarily based on secondary data. The article posits that beyond pizza names, the impact of globalisation has been profound on the culinary and gastronomic landscape using the South African pizza as a case in point. Franchises have adapted menus as a strategic way to penetrate new markets. This has been done through the adoption of local 'geographic' names to name the pizzas and the introduction of local varieties of pizza. The article also observes patterns of uniformity and dis-uniformity of food production, the standardisation and de-standardisation of pizza to produce adulterated versions, changes in consumption patterns and lifestyles and the replacement of local cuisines and homogenisation of tastes via the migration of pizza. Pizza has morphed and universalised to become an everyday food through the 'pizzarisation' of gastronomies throughout the world. Global firms through their franchises can influence the speed and direction of changes in menus, eating patterns, taking out, or eating on site, regularity of eating, eating with bare hands or utensils and so forth.

Keywords: Globalisation, Food, Pizza, South Africa, Franchise.

Introduction

Globalisation has made profound impact on numerous aspects of life. While perceptions of homogenisation of products are rife, equally present are arguments for their heterogenisation. Foods as part of cultures have percolated societies as a result of human migration. Western/American culture has spread globally, local cultures may have embraced some elements from these cultures, and they have done so without complete adulteration. Potter, (2002:192) argues that any cultural changes linked to globalisation are subject to reinterpretation such that new meanings can be derived from the influences of firms such as Coca Cola, McDonalds and Disney in each context. For Flandrin & Montanari,

(1999:551) the homogenisation of food habits is not conclusive as it is subject to local interpretations.

Food habits in a society have been passed on from generation to generation, influenced by culture, food availability, economy and nutritional knowledge (Oniang'o, Mutuku & Malaba, 2003:231). Moreover, Montanari (2006:XI) argues that food in all its stages, is culture - at production and during preparation and consumption. For many Africans, exotic foods are replacing traditional foods (Oniang'o, et al., 2003:231). Therefore, the diffusion of consumer habits is not new. Studies have been conducted on the relation between globalisation and culture (see Hassi & Storti, 2012; Ritzer & Malone, 2000), globalisation and food culture and taste (see Zaman, Selim & Joarder, 2013; Ceccarini, 2010; Phillips, 2006; Aizenman & Brooks, 2005; Wright, Nancarrow & Kowk, 2001) and the internationalisation of franchise restaurants (see Chandio, Mallah & Ali Buriro, 2014; Khan, 2005; Alon, 2004). Several of these studies have investigated pizza (see for example: Ceccarini, 2011; Retzinger, 2008). Caporaso, Panariello & Sacchi (2015:29) argue that pizza is appreciated worldwide and is an important product of the Italian gastronomy but is associated with fast-foods and bad nutritional habits.

While it is also recognised that social class plays an important role in the adoption of specific traits of globalisation (see Potter, 2002:194; Zaman, Selim & Joarder, 2013), this paper does not focus on social class differentiation in consumption patterns but differentiation in the offerings of pizza in the food outlets of South Africa. In this context, pizza is perceived as a "hallmark of Western tastes" and different varieties of pizza reflect their re-invention in different parts of the world with possibilities of differentiation and local reinterpretation of global types. There are variations of pizzas in South African and US pizza franchised pizzas from the Italian/Neapolitan versions (based on the samples in the cookbooks). In summary, this article intends to compare varieties of pizza derived from Italian cookbooks with South African and US franchised pizzas. This article is relevant because studies on franchise/restaurant chains including the food, gastronomy and gourmandise they sell are important subjects of study to inform nutritional and eating habits and so forth. Metin & Kizgin, (2015:106) argue that it is these fast food outlets that have led the drive towards the globalisation of international business. Alon (2004:165) perceive cultural homogenization as arising from franchising which converges to globalization but questions whether this is desirable. The next section presents the methodology used for this article. It is followed by a literature review covering globalisation, culture, food and franchising and the subsequent links to pizza. A South African case study is then presented and the last section concludes.

Methodology

This article is based on secondary data which involved a careful perusal of available documents, including the Internet and specific Italian cookbooks. Data from four pizza franchise restaurants - two from South Africa and two from the United States of America were used to enrich the comparisons. The two South African Pizza franchises were Debonairs Pizza and Scooters Pizza. These are the two major players in the industry in South Africa. Specifically, Debonairs Pizza is the leading Pizza franchise in South Africa (Debonairs Pizza, 2014; Pillay, 2014) while Scooters Pizza is the "second-largest pizza delivery chain in South Africa" (Taste, 2014:5). The selection of the two Pizza outlets that are not South African was informed by the need to consider major non-South-African-Pizza chains in order to make comparisons of their pizza menus against South African pizza chains. Consequently, Domino's Pizza was selected as "the world's leading pizza delivery brand" (Taste, 2014:14) while Pizza Hut is presented as "the world's largest pizza company" (Pizza Hut News Room, 2014:4).

This information about Pizza franchises is derived from those firms' documents and could not be verified within the scope of this study. However, they serve as acceptable examples

of Pizza franchises despite the mentioned limitation. Even if these franchises are not the 'biggest' as their own documents claim, they are relevant and renowned Pizza franchises which cannot be ignored given their influence worldwide. This article makes a comparison of specific varieties of pizza with a focus on the names of the pizzas. These names are often based on toppings and not on other factors, such as thin or deep crust and so on. The complete lists of pizzas are provided in a table for all of the four firms. In addition, pizzas from three relevant Italian cookbooks (translated into English) were listed to verify the possible main differences from the franchised Pizzas. The three selected cookbooks were *La Cucina* produced by The Italian Academy of Cuisine. It is an organisation established more than sixty years ago and has more than 7 600 members (Italian Academy of Cuisine, 2009:VI). Since its inception, this academy has worked to record, study and spread knowledge of Italy's most genuine regional dishes (Italian Academy of Cuisine, 2009:VI). The second book which was used is *The Silver Spoon*, first edited in 1950 and claims to contain the "the very best recipes from Italian families and cooks" (*Editoriale Domus*, 2010:9, back cover). The third book reviewed was *Culinaria Italy* that divides Italian gastronomy and cuisine by region and proposes itself as a Tour of Italy for the exploration of its various foods and, within the Campania Region (Piras, 2004). The use of these three books as resources is intended to offer a general orientation to the typical pizzas consumed by Italian households while serving as suitable sources for comparison with the ones manufactured by South African and US pizza franchises.

Literature review

Global convergence can occur through various aspects, for example, price and income have an influence on dietary convergence and they, in turn are influenced by availability and supply (Kennedy, Nantel & Shetty, 2004:9). Convergence and divergence are interrelated. In agreeing with this perspective, De Mooij (2003:189) while investigating convergence and divergence, per year, at macro level, for five product categories including cars, telephone landlines and so forth, for the period 1970 to 1998, observed that they exist at macro level with significant variations. On one hand, Kale (2005:65) argues that even when some convergence in technology or income has occurred, consumer behaviour has not drastically changed across cultures but value differences have been observed. On the other hand, Robertson (2012:194) goes on to discuss the concept of glocalisation, suggesting "the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to increasingly differentiated local and particular markets". In terms of this notion of glocalisation, businesses not only adapt themselves to existing varieties but glocalisation creates variegated consumers and the construction of new customer traditions. For Robertson, (2012:194), 'diversity sells' and Alon (2004:156) argues that it is globalisation which has prompted holders of franchises to see the world as one big market with varying as well as common needs within and across localities. This emphasises the importance of globalisation which cannot be ignored.

The globalisation of taste and lifestyle is a debated topic. Marketing strategies by global firms have also changed to embrace the new realities of the richness found in diversity. McDonald's have over a period of time developed a menu which is Indian based and in Japan, McDonald's sells shrimp and rice (Ceccarini, 2010:6). In the context of globalisation of the food system, concerns have been raised that dietary changes have been imposed on societies by the influence of big transnational corporations who control the food systems of the world such that others are raising the alarm that cultural and food traditions are being driven to extinction (Kennedy, Nantel & Shetty, 2004:17).

The spread or 'globalisation' of the English language can also assist in globalising specific patterns of consumption (see Cleveland, Laroche & Papadopoulos, 2015:549). However, diversity based on specific cultures, religions or other values remains strong; therefore, for example, the taboo on the consumption of beef in India and pork in Muslim countries

endures (Brunelle, Dumas & Souty, 2014:6). Food is not merely a means of sustaining life, it is linked to social practices and norms. This makes homogenisation indeterminate given the insatiable and pervasive desire for the local in many communities.

It has become apparent that many people favour local foods and lifestyles to the extent that 'some studies suggest that neither consumption nor marketing can be made globally uniform' and thus allowing for glocalisation through hybridisation - combining the global with the local (Metin & Kizgin, 2015:107). The global and the local therefore seem to co-exist – with the global advancing its general consumption patterns while the local reinterpreting them. Following such an approach in Turkey, "Domino's Pizza introduced a 'localized' product, "Konyalim Pizza" (with meat roasted in an oven in the ground) and Little Caesars Pizza has a "Turkish Mix Pizza" (with pastirma, sucuk and olive)" (Metin & Kizgin, 2015:107; see also Khan, 2005:195 for other examples of menu adaptations). These adaptations seem to correspond well with the homogenization of global patterns but with a local reinterpretation. 'Pizza' itself represents the global 'macro' trend while the specific indigenised (localised) pizza 'Konyalim' embodies the local interpretation of the global pizza. However, globalisation of the menu does not imply wholesale adaptation to the local context and it also does not entail a franchise having to become local or to transform its business strategy outside the usual standardisation approach.

As noted by Vignali, in the case of McDonald's, despite some variations the structure of McDonald's menu remain, in many ways, the same – a burger, fries, and a Coke are the anchors of McDonald's menu (Vignali, 2005:100). Thus, besides the menu's standard items, local adaptation is minimal. In other words, minimal adaptations to suit the local context through adding a few new local products does not mean comprehensive adaptation to local cultures. The standardisation and homogenisation process, therefore, should go beyond local menu items to totally novel configurations. These cosmetic adaptations seem to be an innovative marketing strategy to increase local sales. With 25,000 restaurants in more than 100 countries, McDonald's uses the same procedure for preparing food in its outlets with some adoption of new cooking techniques (Vignali, 2005:108).

Analysis of findings

Pizza – the genesis

Various aspects of pizza have been studied including the evaluation of the effects of various types of vegetable oils on chemical properties and the volatile profile of the original Neapolitan Pizza (Caporaso, Panariello & Sacchi, 2015); estimations of the water use (the water footprint) related to the production of pizza (Aldaya & Hoekstra, 2009); pizza toppings (see Du & Sun, 2005; Sun & Brosnan, 2003; Sun, 2000); exploration of pizza as a vehicle for communicating individual and cultural values; consequential environmental impacts of pizza choice (Retzinger, 2008) as well as the role of the social media in the pizza industry (He, Zha, Li, 2013; Park, Cha, Kim & Jeong, 2012).

The origins of pizza can be traced back to ancient Greece, the Etruscans and ancient Rome (Riley, 2007:410; see also Caporaso, Panariello & Sacchi, 2015:30 and Ceccarini, 2011:19 on the origins of pizza). However, it seems widely acknowledged that the current pizza is the Neapolitan pizza which originated from Naples (see Riley, 2007:410; Piras, 2004:344). *Larousse Gastronomique* (2009:799) succinctly defines pizza as [a] "popular Italian dish originating from Naples" and Neapolitan pizza was considered a traditional speciality by the European Union (Caporaso, Panariello & Sacchi, 2015:30).

The origins of pizza are relevant in understanding the 'globalisation' of pizza through human migration and proliferation of technology. As a result Neapolitan Pizza found itself being manufactured in cities of the world by migrant Italians who set up shop wherever they went (*Larousse Gastronomique*, 2009:799). In Japan, for example, thanks to some Italian

expatriates, pizza was introduced in Japan after World War II and by 1970, pizza chains sprouted and this made pizza affordable to many (see Ceccarini, 2011:20).

Three different ways of using foreign food have been described with examples related to pizza (Caccarini, 2011:22):

- Naturalization involves the introduction of a local topping to make unknown tastes more natural to the Japanese;
- Improvisation is restyling something local by adding foreign elements for example a pizza raisu (rice pizza);
- Authentication is the search for authentic replication of dishes from foreign cuisines.

These processes are continuing in Japan with authentication still in its infancy.

The migration value in food reflects an interconnected world and as such James (2004:2) mentions Halal pizza showing this interconnectedness between the Italian and non-Italian migrants and the Australians in Australia. Ethnic entrepreneurship has made it possible for Italian pizza and Chinese food to become 'normal', everyday food (van Scheers, 2010:21). The growth in popularity of pizza is evident such that nowadays pizza is consumed throughout the world and in countries such as the US, there are restaurants specialising in pizza although they sometimes do not represent proper Italian creations (Piras, 2004:345). The global reach of pizza is also evident on the social media through advertisements by pizza outlets (He, Zha, Li, 2013:469).

Since its origin, the types of pizza is open to the imagination of the pizza makers. Pizza has been described as a "flattened lump of bread dough, usually flavoured with whatever comes to hand – oil, cheese, herbs, or onion – and cooked in a hot woodfired oven" (Riley, 2007:410). There are many varieties of pizza given the high competition in the market, for instances, there are many recipes for making the pizza margherita (Aldaya & Hoekstra, 2009:21).

Pizza Hut' claims that "With more than 30,000 different topping combinations, pizza at Pizza Hut can be customized for individual preference, taste and lifestyle" (Yum! Brands, Inc., 2008:32). This opens up possibilities for its localisation. The possible variations on pizza types (mostly variations in toppings) reflect the versatility of pizza as a food which can easily be localised. Therefore this opens possibilities for the production and reproduction of countless types based on each local context, tastes, norms and values.

Pizza in South Africa

In South Africa, the formal whole fast-food and franchise sector is increasingly become recognised as a significant sector for job creation and its economic contribution to the economy on the back of its profound growth. Of the formal 8 6661 fast food outlets in the country, about 5,000 belonged to fast food chains with a marked increase in fast food consumption (Pereira, 2014:13). Eight of the 10 largest fast food outlets in South Africa are South African as some such as Nando's were already in operation before the foreign multinational companies such as Yum! (which owns KFC) entered the market in 1994 (Pereira, 2014:13). Similarly, in a news item in 2012 (Taste Holdings, 2012:4) boasts that the pizza market in South Africa is dominated by 'native' brands. Of all the franchise categories, the pizza franchise category is the fastest growing one in South Africa (Planting, 2014, no page).

It can be argued that the rapid growth in the pizza market ignited the interest of overseas pizza companies. For example, Domino's Pizza and Pizza Hut increased their presence in

South Africa. In 2014, Pizza Hut was reported in the news, to be expanding its restaurant and into neighbouring countries such as Angola, Namibia and Zambia and its 'glocalised' menu includes toppings of Boerewors sausage and Peri-Peri sauce with a South African flair. (*Times Live*, 2014).

Domino's Pizza shows a singular expression of a desire to spread or globalise US values when in 2014, Taste Holdings which is based in South Africa, entered into a franchise agreement with it for a 30 year period. Taste Holdings owns Scooters Pizza and St Elmo's Woodfired Pizza and, its expansion plans include opening branches in seven southern African countries with the renaming of all St Elmo's and Scooters Pizza outlets to Domino's Pizza (Taste, 2014:5). In this context, the US image and values were being infused to 'convert' a native South African pizza brand into a US one by transforming them to Domino's Pizza. There are some quarters in the US who advertise, knowingly or unknowingly, pizza as American (Tangen, 2011:120).

In a recent study in some shopping malls at fast food outlets in Johannesburg involving youth from various socio-economic backgrounds, it was found out that pizza, burgers, fried chicken and soft drinks were the most popular consumption items on the youth's purchase lists (Steyn, Labadarios & Nel, 2011:2). Therefore, the need to investigate pizza menus more deeply is pertinent. Table 1 shows the menus of South African and US pizzas by name as well as from specific Italian cookbooks. A key nuance from the table is that Italian pizzas are much less meaty or chicken-oriented. Specifically, the use of chicken, BBQ sauces and meats on Italian pizza is a rarity compared to the franchises where these ingredients are observed 51 times in this table (excluding the bacon and/or ham oriented pizzas without meat or chicken in the pizza name).

On one hand, this implies that out of a total of 135 pizza names at the franchises, 51 pizzas are meat/chicken oriented; that is, 1 to every 2.6 pizza is meaty. On the other hand, Italian cookbooks indicate that four pizzas are explicitly meaty out of a total of 33 pizzas, thus only one pizza out of every 8.2 is meaty. The origins of pizza from Naples - possibly being a food for the poor and from a region more devoted to a Mediterranean diet - could explain this difference. But as pizza migrated to other societies where migrant Italians opened their pizzerias, it was an exotic and luxurious food. However, with the spread of pizzerias through franchising and pure entrepreneurship, the introduction of new varieties – some of which were global, while others became local and glocal – the cost per unit reduced making access to all possible. Pizza became affordable to all and a food of choice for many.

Table 1: Pizza varieties by franchise and Italian cookbooks

	South Africa Franchises		Not South African (USA) Franchises				Italian cookery books		
	Debonairs Pizza	Scooters Pizza	Domino's Pizza (in South Africa)	Domino's Pizza (in USA - .com)	Pizza Hut (In South Africa)	Pizza Hut (In USA - .com)	Silver spoon	Culinaria Italy	La Cucina (Accademia Italiana della Cucina, 2009)
Pizza type/name	3 Cheese	3 Cheese & Caramelised Onion	BBQ Chicken	America's Favorite Feast	Bacon & Ham Regina	7-Alarm Fire	Chicory Pizza	Arugula Pizza	Anchovies and Capers Pizza
	Bacon & Mushroom Rustic	Bacon & Cheese	BBQ Chicken Supreme	Bacon Cheeseburger Feast	BBQ Bacon	BBQ Bacon Cheeseburger	Fisherman's Pizza	Clams Pizza	Artichokes and Ricotta Pizza
	BBQ Chicken	Bolognaise, Banana & Chutney	Chicken & Mushroom	Buffalo Chicken Pizza	BBQ Chicken & Bacon	BBQ Lover's	Four Seasons	Four-cheese Pizza	Cheese Pizza
	Cheesy Pepperoni	Cheesy Russian	Chicken Tikka	Cali Chicken Bacon Ranch Pizza	BBQ Meat Lovers	Buffalo State of Mind	Margherita	Garlic, Oil, and Peperoncini Pizza	Cracklings and Raisins Pizza
	Cherry Tomato & Pesto Rustic	Chicken & BBQ	Double Bacon & Cheese	Deluxe Feast	Cheesy Bacon Hawaiian	Cherry Pepper Bombshell	Mushroom Pizza	Ham Pizza	Cracklings Pizza
	Chicken & Avo Rustic	Chicken & Mayo	ExtravaganZZa	ExtravaganZZa Feast	Feta & Roasted Veggie	Cock-a-doodle Bacon	Napolitan Pizza	Margherita	Escarole Pizza
	Chicken & Caramelised Onion Rustic	Chicken & Mushroom	Fiery Hawaiian	Fiery Hawaiian Pizza	Hawaiian	Garden Party	Potato Pizza	Mussels Pizza	Meat Pizza
	Chicken and Mushroom	Chicken Tikka	Four Cheese	Honolulu Hawaiian Pizza	Honey Mustard & Bacon	Giddy-Up BBQ Chicken	Sausage Pizza	Napolitan Pizza	Neapolitan Pizza
	Chicken Double Crammed-Crust	Club Supreme	Ham & Bacon	MeatZZa Feast	Honey Mustard Chicken & Double Bacon	Hot and Twisted	White' Pizza	Onion Pizza	Onion Pizzas
	Chicken Double-Stack	Cream Cheese, Bacon & Sweet Bell Pepper	Hawaiian	Memphis BBQ Chicken Pizza	Margherita	Meat Lover's		Parmesan Pizza	Potatoes and Olives Pizza
	Chicken Grill	Double Bacon	Honey & Mustard	Pacific Veggie Pizza	Meat Lovers	New Primo Meat Pizza		Pork Sausage Pizza	Sicilian Pizza
	Chicken Triple-Decker	Double Rib Feast	Margherita	Philly Cheese Steak Pizza	Pepperoni	Old Fashioned Meatbrawl			Turnip Greens Pizza
	Chicken-Filla	Four Seasons Deluxe	MeatZZa	Spinach & Feta Pizza	Pepperoni Lovers	Pepperoni Lover's			Veggie Pizza
	Club	Ham & Bacon	Pepperoni	Ultimate Pepperoni Feast™	Peri-Peri Chicken Deluxe	Pretzel Piggy			
	Four Seasons	Hawaiian	Pepperoni Supreme	Wisconsin 6 Cheese Pizza	Spicy Boerie Pizza	Skinny Beach			
	Hawaiian	Honey Mustard	Regina		Super Supreme	Skinny Club			

Margherita	Margherita	Veggie
Meaty Double Crammed-Crust	Meat Supreme	Veggie Deluxe
Meaty Double-Stack	Meaty Feat	Veggie Supreme
Meaty Grill	Mexican	
Meaty Triple-Decker	Regina	
Meaty-Filla	Sweet Chilli Chicken	
Mexican Fiesta	Sweet Chilli Chicken or Bacon & Avo	
New Real Deal Pizzas	Vegetarian medley	
Original Veggie		
Pepperoni Pesto Rustic		
Regina		
Something Meaty		
Sweet & Sour Chicken		
Tikka Chicken		

Supreme	Skinny Italy
Sweet Chilli Chicken & Feta	Skinny Luau
Three Cheese	Skinny With A Kick
Tropical Chicken	Sweet Sriracha Dynamite
Tropical Veggie	The Alex G Pizza
	The Jack G Pizza with Meatballs
	The Jack J Pizza with Salami
	The Official Captain Sparklez Pizza
	Ultimate Cheese Lover's
	Veggie Lover's

Sources: Domino's Pizza (no date, a, b, c, d); Pizza Hut (no date, a, b); (Silver Spoon, 2010); (Piras & Stempel, 2004); (Accademia Italiana della Cucina, 2009); Debonairs Pizza Full (no date); Scooters Pizza (no date).

An analysis of South African and US franchised pizzas portrays a similar picture. Debonairs Pizza lists a total of 30 pizzas, of which 17 are meaty (one in every 1.7 pizza is meaty - excluding two bacon or pepperoni pizzas). Scooters Pizza has 11 out of 24 pizzas which are meaty which translates to one in every 2.1 pizza is meaty - excluding three bacon and/or ham pizzas). For Domino's Pizza (in South Africa) five of its 19 pizzas are meaty (that is, one in every 3.8 pizza is meaty – that is excluding the four bacon and pepperoni pizzas). Pizza Hut in South Africa has eight out of 21 pizzas which are meaty (one in every 2.6 pizza – also excluding four of its bacon/ham and pepperoni pizzas).

Oddly, two South African franchises sell 'foreign or exotic' pizzas, namely, Mexican and Hawaiian. It is difficult to decipher the reasons behind such choice of name for these pizzas because one could have thought that local/geographic names would have been equally appropriate in such a selection if geography was an important consideration. US franchises in South Africa give more explicitly South African names to some pizzas, including one named the "Spicy Boerie" by Pizza Hut in South Africa. One can observe that when the pizza names indicate specific items in the pizza toppings, both South African and US franchises base their names on a few main items mainly meat, chicken and cheese. It can be inferred that South African pizza franchises are more meaty or chicken-oriented as compared to the US pizza franchises in South Africa.

Are the differences in architecture or nomenclature?

Domino's Pizza "is the world's leading pizza delivery brand" with over 10 800 stores in more than 70 countries including various Southern Africa countries (Taste, 2014:11). In South Africa, Domino's Pizza appears to be exhibiting specific features of globalisation, despite the apparent modification in its pizza menu. As such, while Domino's Pizza has partly adapted the menu to the South African context, it has been able to 'eat out' and take over local Pizza brands by converting them into Domino's Pizza's appendages of similar values and pizza architecture. Using the main online order website, a comparative analysis of US franchised pizzas in South Africa and US franchised pizzas in the US, shows huge differences in pizza names. For instance, the main US online order website of Domino's Pizza mentions various pizzas not available in their South African branches. As a matter of fact, most of the pizza names are different. Its main online order website lists various pizza names that are clearly US oriented, such as Wisconsin 6 Cheese Pizza, Honolulu Hawaiian Pizza and Memphis BBQ Chicken Pizza.

The differences between Pizza Hut in South Africa and the main online order website of Pizza Hut are also evident as most of the pizza names differ. It can be argued that as the US franchises are older than the South African ones, the latter could have partly modelled themselves on pizzas from the US franchises when established because many of their pizzas use many ingredients which are similar. However, the fact that US franchises in South Africa and US based franchises, are using mostly different pizza names, it could be inferred that the former has adapted and changed various pizza names on their menus to better fit their local reality. It is evident that these pizza nomenclatures/names differ considerably from those mentioned in the Italian cookbooks. Differences in nomenclature are more prominent than differences in architecture and as such, the proof of the pizza is in the eating.

Discussion

The adaptation of menus can be perceived purely as a strategic way to better penetrate a new market through camouflaging the franchise and to appear as a company with a local orientation. This orientation would take the form of adoption of local 'geographic' names and the introduction of local varieties of pizza. It is not clear whether 'Hawaiian' or some such a name denotes the way of preparation or the ingredients. As such, not at all times do the

names of the pizzas hint at the ingredients as some do such as 'Spicy Boerie Pizza' in South Africa. The takeover of local outlets and subsequent renaming to Domino's Pizza enhances the global image of the American firm which will enhance its brand image and to become a valuable brand over the local one in the eyes of its customers and shareholders alike. The other dimension to this is that such a strategy by a local South African firm allows them to become part of a global players by sacrificing their local brands to a foreign one as a way tactic to fit and be a champion in global business through globalising processes of mergers and takeovers of both the pizzerias and their intellectual property. The expansion of the South African pizza brands to other African countries could also be interpreted in the same way – namely, that brands take control of other countries' markets, pizzerias and intellectual property.

The issue is not entirely about specific recipes or menus being introduced by the franchisor in a particular country, but it is also about the underlying reasons for opening up such operations. The reasons could include issues of control, brand image, investments, profit, markets, presence, pizza and so forth. These form the basis for further research in pursuit of scholarship. While pizza is important in expanding the culinary and gastronomic choices of people, the issue is also about uniformity and dis-uniformity of food production, the standardisation and de-standardisation of pizza and culinary in general; localisation, globalisation and glocalisation of food recipes, changes in associated lifestyles and consumption patterns resulting from globalisation processes.

Even if Pizza is completely reinterpreted locally, the methods and structure of the franchise system is based on western models of food production and consumption. Pizza is satisfying this condition of being western (in this case Italian). What might happen in the South Africa context, new brands, such as Domino's Pizza in South Africa, could influence the pace and direction of changes in terms of menus, eating patterns, taking (away) out, eating on site, regularity of eating, eating with bare hands or utensils and so forth. Similarly South African firms can have similar influence as they expand their operations to other countries. These influences have the potential to replace local cuisines and the resultant homogenisation of tastes including the introduction of bad eating habits. Pizza has become a food for everyone with huge scope for improvisation in its production and reproduction.

The globalisation of specific pizza brands, therefore, and whether localising or not, means that their menus continue to extend a specific industry management style, specific consumer lifestyles and consumption patterns which are based mostly on a North American context. The pizzas which are made, therefore, are North American versions, and this results in a globalisation process which increases the types of food items or varieties - in this case of pizza, controlled by the dominant company themselves (and associated countries from which they are headquartered). This distorts the original version of the product itself - pizza. While pizza retains its name, evidently it has morphed over time and universalised to become an everyday food through a process of 'pizzarisation' of gastronomies throughout the world.

Conclusion

This article explored the different varieties of pizza supplied by pizza franchises/restaurant chains in South Africa and juxtaposed this with South African and US based franchises as well as from Italian cookbooks in order to make comparisons. The article posits that there is a need to go beyond pizza names to arrive at a better understanding of globalisation and its impact on the culinary and gastronomic landscape. It used a South African pizza as a case in point.

The article concludes that there is value in 'food migration' which benefits customers. Food migration affects local recipes, culinary and cuisine as well as eating habits. The article observes that franchises are a major force in the globalisation process. It has been shown in

this article that the globalisation of pizza brands including into South Africa, does not necessarily mean that the “original” pizza type from Italy/Naples has been replicated on the basis of its original ingredients and architecture. The globalised pizza is therefore, transformed and distorted and not always original.

Furthermore, South African and US pizza brands tend to place more emphasis on meaty and chicken types of pizza compared to Italian pizza. Going beyond these matters, for ‘foreign’ pizza franchises giving names to pizzas should be done through adaption to the local context lest it be adjudged as an onslaught on local foods with the grand intention to proliferate and control forms (mostly American/western based) lifestyles and consumption throughout the world.

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