

**The Contested “White Lady”: Perceptions and  
Social Meanings of the “White Lady”  
in Auckland.**

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### **Attestation of Authorship**

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no previously published or written material by another person, or material which to a substantial extent has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning, except where due acknowledgement is made in the acknowledgements.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Lindsay Neill

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## **Confidential Material**

Within this research some participants are immediately identifiable, either because of ownership of the White Lady (Peter Washer) or because of their employment roles within Auckland City Council. These participants are within the domain of general public knowledge, and therefore their identities are not a matter of confidence. However, and in the case of Auckland City Council employees, their inputs are noted not by their name, but rather their position titles or similar.

Other participant groups, namely the staff and customers of the White Lady, have not been identified by name within this work. Descriptors that add to their characterisation within the research are commonly used for these stakeholders.



## **ABSTRACT**

The White Lady (WL) is a mobile fast food takeaway eatery. The WL has been trading in Auckland City's central business district for almost fifty years. The WL opens in the early evening and remains open until the early morning hours. At closing, the WL is towed to a storage area where it remains until this process is repeated. This daily pattern has occurred since the WL opened in 1948. Because of its longevity, the WL, and many of its stakeholders have experienced ongoing change as Auckland City has grown, and competition within fast food has increased. Thus, for many stakeholders, the WL is representative of their lives, a mirror of their reality and life experiences. Obviously, these realities and experiences are different for different stakeholders.

In this thesis, I examine the contested "White Lady" (WL): the perceptions and the social meanings that its stakeholder groups attribute to it. This thesis illuminates differences and similarities within stakeholder viewpoints and in doing so defines that pie carts like the WL are a valid part of New Zealand's culinary and social cultures. Ultimately, this thesis provides a platform of knowledge from which stakeholders and others can come to understand and know the differing and similar views that other stakeholder groups hold. With this in mind, this research ranges in scope from the examination of city administration to the symbolism associated with the (WL) by some of its stakeholders. Therefore, this research is founded within socio-historic constructs: the history of fast food and, the similarities that this history holds to today's WL operation.

The contextualisation of hospitality within "three domains" (Lashley, 2004, p.13) aids in defining the WL as well as recognising the competitive growth of New Zealand's fast food industry. This research suggests that fast food growth and subsequent competition have had negative impacts upon many small fast food outlets including the WL.

The growth of fast food has facilitated a “slow food” (Jones, Shears, Hiller Comfort and Lowell, 2003, p. 298) movement. This movement coupled with the hierarchy of food typologies, adds a Saussurian overlay and sociological discourse to this work. This overlay clarifies for the reader Bourdieu’s (1984) position that all food is reflective of class status. Within postmodernist constructs and the rise of the individual, (and the consequent opportunity to hear ‘voices from the margins’), movement within class and individuality within New Zealand’s wider culture has occurred. Social change therefore, has facilitated some of the issues within WL contestation.

In highlighting Bourdieu’s (1984) concept, the “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p.27) inherent within food hierarchies and, as often expressed within the media, is examined. This examination reveals that while the media inform, this information often contributes to the polarisation of opinion that facilitates the formation of contested viewpoints by WL stakeholders. It is against a backdrop of compliance need, the absence of an official street trading policy, the differing views of stakeholders, and the intensification of competition in fast food, coupled with a lacuna in the knowledge base of younger Auckland residents regarding the WL that this research finds its voice.

## **1. Chapter One: Introduction**

### **1.1 Introduction to the Topic**

The White Lady (WL) is a mobile takeaway eatery that serves fast and convenience foods including hamburgers, drinks and coffees from a 10-metre-long purpose-built caravan kitchen and customer service area. Within New Zealand culture these mobile eateries are commonly called 'pie carts'. Nightly, (at around 7pm) the WL is towed to its trading location on Auckland's Commerce Street from its parking space in Plumer Street. Although the WL has traded from several Auckland City sites, the cycle of 'tow-on tow-off' has been repeated daily since 1948. From that time the WL has missed only one night's trading because of the electrical power outage Auckland City experienced in February 1998.

Because the WL has had a long business life, its stakeholders have experienced considerable social and environmental change over time. The social changes are particularly evident and reflected within Auckland's vibrant and contemporary hospitality industry. In the new millennium Aucklanders now enjoy a cosmopolitan hospitality offering. This is in stark contrast to the 1960s when six o'clock hotel closing was the norm and comparatively few restaurants existed. Along with these changes has come environmental change within the cityscape. Auckland's cityscape changes have been evidenced by an emergent concept of 'streetscape' as noted within the development of up-market retail and business complexes.

It is within the nexus of Auckland's social and environmental changes that this thesis examines the contested voices of WL stakeholders and how their differing viewpoints impact upon the possible long-term survival of the WL within an ever-changing city streetscape and hospitality industry growth.

The WL is part of a food hierarchy that ranges from fast food to haute and molecular cuisine. This hierarchy incorporates “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27). For the WL, “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) exists on two levels.

These levels reflect the perceptions of place within foodservice and perceptions of community that the WL evokes for its stakeholders. The WL serves fast (takeaway) food. Fast food may be defined and categorised by its opposite “slow food” (Jones, Shears, Hiller, Comfort and Lowell, 2003, p. 298). This comparison illustrates a “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27). Fast and slow food constructs can be further illuminated within concepts of high (haute) and low cuisine styles. The dialectic opposition and inferred hierarchies are noted by Bahloul, (2004). Bahloul (2004) recognises an antagonism within food classifications that constitutes an inherent part of the identification of food and individuals who hold food associations. By incorporating qualitative and quantitative research methods, and their relative inductive and deductive reasoning, this thesis outlines and identifies the place and importance of pie carts within New Zealand’s wider society and culture by examining the WL.

This thesis concurs with the academic position that food generally, and fast foods specifically, are cultural artefacts. This position is subscribed to by many academics, including; Bourdieu (1984); Bringeus (2001); Spencer (2003); Mason (2004), and Finkelstein (2004). However, for many New Zealanders pie carts are not only providers of convenience food, pie carts like the WL are also cultural icons. An Auckland City Council (ACC) employee commented;

“Yes, I think it is classed as an icon because we have heard that they have been around for 40-50 years and I think even New Zealanders if you said it would be gone tomorrow, even if you had never been to it, I think in my opinion, New Zealanders would say no” (don’t let it go). (Source; An Auckland City Council research participant).

## **1.2 New Zealand’s Emergent Hospitality Industry**

Brien (2003) uses the term ‘hospitality’ to modify the noun within his title “Hospitality Milestones in New Zealand” (Brien, 2003, n.p.). However, contemporary practitioners of hospitality tend to use the word hospitality in the sense of a verb with supplementary noun use. This diversity holds historic depth. Gourmand and author Brillat-Savarin suggests that hospitality is “entertain (*ing*) a guest (is) to make yourself responsible for his happiness” (Brillat-Savarin, 1970, p. 14). Similarly, Selwyn (2000) posits that hosting strangers and ‘giving them’ food and other hospitality is an example of a practical application of the noun; ‘hospitality’.

While the rhetoric of language serves to both clarify and confuse hospitality concepts, New Zealand author David Burton (2008), notes a scepticism in questioning if a New Zealand cuisine actually exists. Burton’s (2008) experience reflects the ‘newness’ of New Zealand hospitality and is echoed by Neill, Bell and Bryant (2008) who also note that during the 1950s and 1960s;

“the only eating out venues, apart from fish and chip shops and pie carts, were the expensive hotel dining rooms serving the inevitable steaks and roast dinners, and exclusive clubs with a similarly predictable menu. Even at the flashiest hotels, guests who might want a meal after 8pm would be told, ‘Sorry, the kitchen is closed “ (p. 11).

Compared to the old world countries of Europe, New Zealand has a shorter social, culinary and hospitality history. None the less, the contemporary research of Rowland (2008) has revealed that New Zealand enjoyed a sophisticated culinary culture during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, and because of New Zealand's comparative 'newness', debate exists reflecting New Zealand's brief culinary heritage and history and a wider identification amongst New Zealanders of their own identity. In examining the emergence of a hospitality identity in New Zealand it is prudent to become aware of the different usage of the word 'hospitality'. These themes are echoed by life-long culinarian and restaurateur Tony Astle who recounted a time when;

40 years ago (1966) Navy cooks were all we had, there was no wine in New Zealand, only fortified sherry. We were told not to eat wild fennel because dogs peed on it" (Astle, 1999, as cited in Howard, 2006, n.p).

Contrary to Astle's observation, Goodsir (2008) suggests that contemporary New Zealand commercial hospitality is a multi-faceted industry offering a diverse range of products and services in multi-dimensional locations including cafés, bars and restaurants. However, prior to Goodsir's (2008) noting of the abundance of hospitality outlets, New Zealand's dining culture of the 1950s, according to New Zealand History OnLine (2007), was "limited to restaurants, cafés, dining rooms of hotels, tearooms, coffee shops and oyster bars. These outlets served up a narrow menu of grilled meats and hearty desserts" (n.p). This excerpt supports Astle's comments; New Zealand's historic shortage of hospitality venues reflected the cumulative impact of hospitality staff shortages, and compared to today's industry, an under-developed viticulture industry was coupled with an ingredient suspicion by many hospitality providers (New Zealand History OnLine, 2007).

Burton (2008) recognised these limitations and added more by suggesting that New Zealand's own culinary domain was dependent upon "British Empire-based food" types (p. 124). Burton (2008) continued by suggesting that, until the mid-1950s New Zealanders characteristically were consumptively homologous; noting that a preoccupation by them for eating Sunday roast meals typified consumptive sameness. Burton (2008) proposes that New Zealanders' consumption of roast meals differed from their English equivalents only by the addition of home grown silver-beet as a vegetable.

Contemporarily, hospitality in Auckland and the rest of New Zealand has grown since the days of the Sunday roast. New Zealand has benefited from an increased migrant community and, within this diversity, the business and hospitality options created by many food and hospitality entrepreneurs group have expanded New Zealand's hospitality market. This growth is described by Auckland chef Simon Gault who suggests that the diversity of hospitality offerings now available in New Zealand mirrors the hospitality experiences of New Zealanders who have travelled, and through education, achieved enhanced skill-sets that underpin contemporary industry practice (Gault, 2006, as cited in Howard, 2006).

These changes are supported by evidence of growth from the Restaurant Association of New Zealand (RANZ). RANZ's (2007) statistics reveal strong and sustained growth for New Zealand's hospitality sector; the total food service sales for 1996 in New Zealand were approximately \$220 million; by 2007 that figure had increased to \$500 million. In 2003, New Zealand had 63,720 hospitality employees, whereas in 2007 this number had increased to 81,146 (an increase of 36%). In 2002, there were 8,368 hospitality businesses, increasing to a projected figure of 10,963 for 2007 (Restaurant Association of New Zealand Fact Sheet, 2007). Within hospitality offerings, RANZ (2007) statistics show the following market share distribution of food outlets;

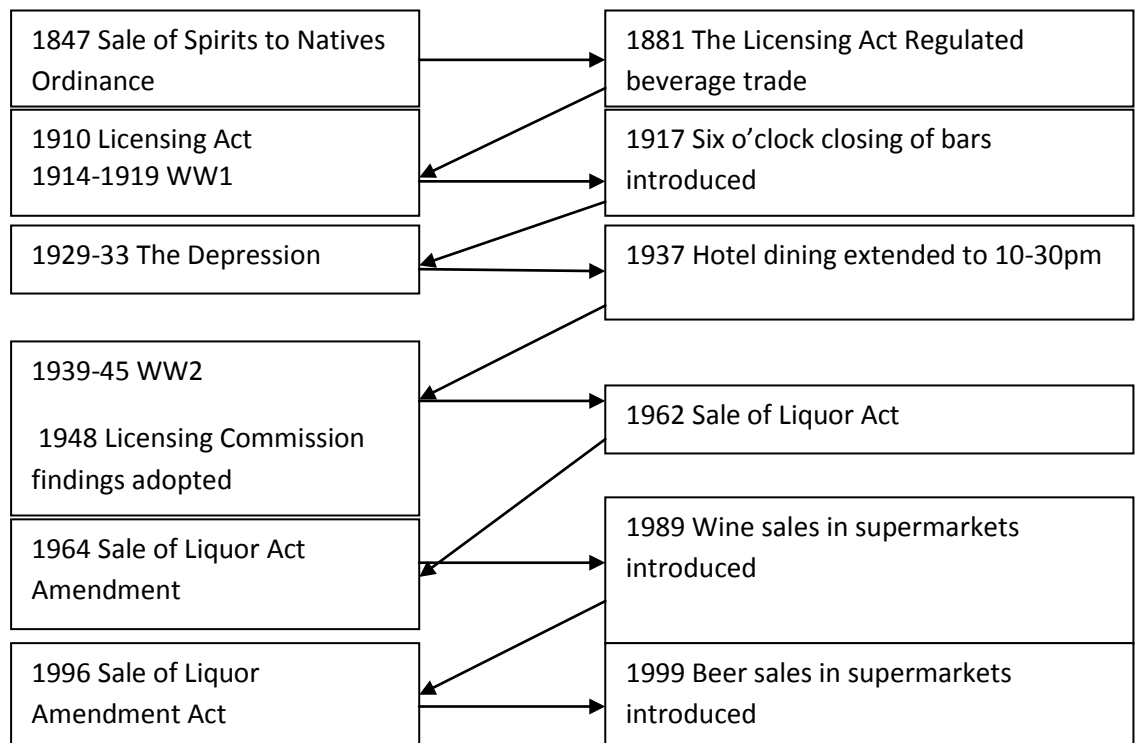
Restaurants, Cafés, Coffee Houses and Caterers	75.8%
Fish and Chips, Ethnic Food, Hamburger and Takeaway Food	14.2%
Lunch Bars, Ice-cream Parlours, Vendors and Other Takeaway	6.3%
Pizza Takeaway	3.7%
TOTAL	100%

**Table 1: Food Service Industry Sales – Percentage Market Share.**  
Adapted from The Restaurant Association of New Zealand Fact Sheet (2007).

Clear and rapid growth is the obvious trend in New Zealand's hospitality history. The RANZ data (2007), anticipates that this trend will continue by projecting that employment levels in hospitality food outlets will reach 146,000 within the decade. This projection, combined with a market trend that hospitality consumers seek authenticity of experience and product, places New Zealand's hospitality industry strongly within a highly competitive global hospitality market.



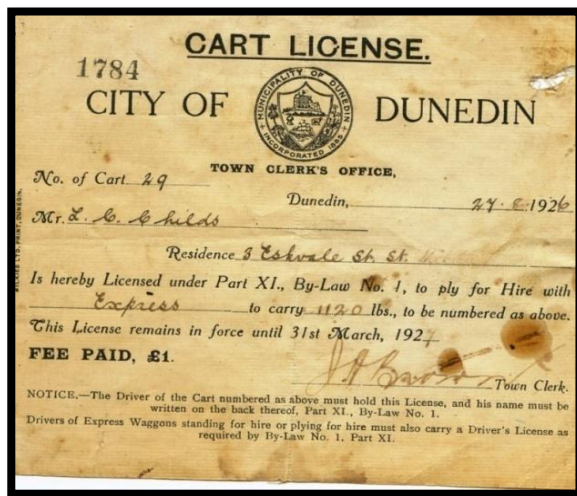
While the growth of New Zealand's hospitality industry is clearly evident, Brien (2003) notes many of the milestones within New Zealand's hospitality history that preceded this;



**Table 2: Hospitality Milestones in New Zealand.**  
Source: Adapted from Brien (2003).

### 1.3 The Pie Cart Phenomenon in New Zealand

This section presents a brief discussion outlining the ‘lineage’ of two pie carts; the Greymouth pie cart, and Dunedin’s Dowling Street pie cart. Within this discussion the wider phenomenon of pie carts in New Zealand will emerge thus adding context and relevance to the thesis topic and the contestation surrounding The White Lady. This section also adds context



to the history of New Zealand’s hospitality industry. Pie carts have long been an integral part of New Zealand’s culinary history. It was not until the 1970s, and the invasion of branded fast food outlets began to dominate the New Zealand, that a decline in pie carts occurred.

Figure 1: A Dunedin tinker’s cart licence dated 1926.  
Source: Herron (2007).

Until that time, pie carts were plentiful and were found in most cities, rural towns and farming communities. Pie carts provided many New Zealanders with a ‘destination dining experience’<sup>1</sup> long before the emergence of the diversity of hospitality experiences that are enjoyed today. Early records from Dunedin show the registration of a pie cart as early as 1926, however pie carts provided food to the public long before hygiene legislation and other compliance requirements facilitated their identification.

<sup>1</sup> A venue that customers view as a place to go to celebrate special occasions

### 1.3.1 Pie Carts in Greymouth

George Regan appeared before the Greymouth Magistrates Court on a charge of insulting behaviour and breach of the peace following an altercation outside the Mackay Street pie cart on March 11, 1916. Regan was found guilty and fined £1.00, with 3 shillings court costs (*The Argus*, 1916). This incident illustrates how court proceedings have assisted in the identification of the Mackay Street pie cart, albeit through a conviction. Without this early court record such detail would be lost. The Mackay Street cart survived until the 1960s when Graeme Thomson's 'Meals on Wheels' Pie Cart positioned itself in Tarapuhi Street Greymouth (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008) and replaced it. Subsequently, Thomson's cart was replaced in 2008 by newcomer Roma Baker's Roadside Diner. Baker suggests that "Pie carts really are a part of our New Zealand way of life" (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 96).



Figure 2: Roma Baker prepares for a busy night.  
Source: Baker (2007).

The lineage and heritage of Greymouth's pie cart is enmeshed within the local community. Roma Baker launched her Roadside Diner to coincide with the centenary of the Greymouth miners' strike, when local miners demanded 30 minutes crib time<sup>2</sup> instead of the 15 minutes previously allotted them. Her launch of the Roadside Diner on this centenary added to the relevance of the Roadside Diner to the community. Consequently two local councils approached Baker with offers to permanently host her diner within their communities (R. Baker, personal communication February 16<sup>th</sup> 2008).

While cognisant of the history of pie carts in Greymouth, Baker has an open eye for the future of her diner realising the need to keep such a business relevant in order to maintain profitability. Baker capitalises on the annual Wild Foods Festival, as well as ensuring her regular product offering is of a high standard; "at my cart you'll get the best burgers, fish and chips you are likely to find in these parts" (R. Baker, personal communication February 16<sup>th</sup> 2008).



**Figure 3: Christchurch's pie cart 1930s.**  
Source: Christchurch City Photo Archive (2007).



**Figure 4: Motueka's pie cart 1950.**  
Source: Evenden (2007).

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<sup>2</sup> A lunch break.

### 1.3.2 Pie carts in Dunedin

Like Greymouth, Dunedin has a long history of pie carts; “in its heyday Dunedin boasted at least four carts, The Octagon’s cart, the Oval’s cart, the Dowling Street cart and the Exchange cart” (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 133). North East Valley resident Frank Penny remembers the Exchange cart well, especially its then owner Tommy Goodchild, who operated the cart during the 1930s. Frank recalled that Goodchild, “was a respected gentleman, whose pea pie and pud I can still savour. You know he cooked all the food at his house near the Gardens in Willowbank” (F. Penny, personal communication, March 10<sup>th</sup> 2008). But not all of Dunedin’s carts enjoyed such respectability. The *Otago Daily Times*, of June 1939 carried reports of complaints from both the Police and the city’s Chief Traffic Officer regarding the unseemly behaviour of cart patrons. These reports culminated in Council moves to restrict trading hours. Fortunately such a dining restriction was averted, and a cart in Dunedin’s exchange continued to operate under several different ownerships from the 1930s, until the late 1970s.

The cart, a version of which was a renovated City Library Book Bus, was held in such esteem by Dunedinites that when it was retired a local café owner in Stuart Street purchased the “original cab and radiator and put it into the café’s frontage “(Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 135). This installation not only provided a decorative point of difference to competitors, “it also became a talking point for regular customers of the cafe, who held fond memories of visits to the cart over many years” (G. Todd, personal communication, November 30<sup>th</sup> 2008). Of the city’s four carts, it is the Dowling Street cart that best provides the unique view of how a pie cart can provide both customers and staff with a venue that combines business and social interaction.

Long-time worker of the Dowling Street cart Barry 'Bazza' Simpson recalled that orders were taken from the customers and relayed to the cook in a bucolic slang that they had invented; much to the customers' amusement. The terms included "cackle and grunt, little boys' diddles and a pair, elephant balls and a pair" (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008 p. 136). 'Translated' these orders were for bacon and eggs, sausages and eggs, and meat patties and eggs, respectively. But it was not only the ordering calls that caused amusement at the cart. Bazza Simpson recalled that regular counter-hand 'Fang' would "line five hot pies up his arm, on their own separate under papers, top them with the soaked and boiled Prussian peas, add the pud on top, (and) slide them onto the counter and wrap 'em up" (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008 p. 136). Bazza also recalled that they offered their regulars something special . . . cold tea or coffee. In the days when the liquor licensing laws were restricted, cold tea and coffee was a euphemism for a Speight's beer, something the pie cart was not licensed to provide (B. Simpson, personal communication, 28 April 2008). Such offerings were popular especially when visiting international rugby teams ended up at the cart after playing at Carisbrook.

Later the Dowling Street cart was taken over by Bev and Arthur Aitken, and became known as 'Gloria's Pie Cart' to many customers. The Aitkens turned the cart into a family business, and any misbehaviour from patrons was not tolerated by Bev, who "with just a look, could control a crowd" (G. Aitken, personal communication, April, 28<sup>th</sup> 2008). With the passing of Arthur Aitken, the cart was converted to a school tuck shop for Dunedin's Logan Park School, before ending its days in Wanaka.



**Figure 5: Contemporary cart: Tokoroa.**  
Source: Rowell (2007).



**Figure 6: Contemporary cart: Kawakawa.**  
Source: Bryant (2007).

## 1.4 Summary

The history and uniqueness of the Greymouth and Dunedin pie carts illustrate several themes common to both hospitality and to the White Lady. These themes include acceptance, growth, customer loyalty, and an ability to change in order to survive as a business entity. Clearly both the Greymouth and Dunedin carts have been (and are) integral parts of their respective communities and have loyal customer bases. While ultimately profit-driven, these businesses have managed to convey a blend of both humanistic and entertainment elements within the delivery of commercial hospitality.

These elements, coupled with the offering of a high standard of food, have combined to create long-term business successes. Conversely, both carts have also attracted negative press because of real or imagined criminal activity by patrons. These themes are similar to the WL's experience. But unlike the WL, the Greymouth cart has been embraced by its local authorities. Therefore, the Greymouth cart is in a more privileged position in having two offers of a home base, compared to the WL's current lack of permanent trading position.

## **1.5        Introducing Auckland City: A Brief History**

This section provides an overview and brief contextual history of Auckland City from the 1940s until today. This time frame is particularly relevant to the WL because the WL began trading in 1948. Since the Second World War, New Zealand's social history has undergone significant change. These changes have included postmodernism, globalisation, and more recently the emergence of cosmopolitanism as prevailing social constructs. These themes are discussed later in this thesis and have impacted, and continue to impact upon Auckland's cultural and social identity, reflecting contemporary social change that has occurred within the city (and New Zealand) within the last half century.

In 1948, New Zealand's population was less than two million people, with 300,000 of them living in the Auckland area (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008). Like many post-war cities, Auckland was in recovery mode, and as New Zealand's largest city, was considered to be the sophisticated glamour centre of the country by many New Zealanders. For many Aucklanders, post-war recovery offered entrepreneurial opportunity. The range of opportunities varied, from enhanced entertainment options to increased consumerism previously restricted by war-time rationing. Business opportunities were created to cater for consumer need concurrent with post-war expansion.

In the 1940s, dance halls provided entertainment and Auckland's main street, Queen Street, provided then, as now, excitement and stimulation, punctuated with danger, often presented by the unpredictability of the occasional 'street' drunk (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008). It is suggested that the combination of these elements coalesced to become a lure that attracted people to Auckland City's night-life and the downtown area.



A combination of enhanced technology and post-war social change contributed to Auckland's growth. The electrification of rural areas coupled with haulage possibilities facilitated in part by the increasing use of the truck, saw Auckland by 1949 becoming the dominating force within "clothing manufacture, textiles, footwear, foodstuffs, domestic appliances, building materials and engineering" (King, 2003, p. 232) industries.

In 1960, Auckland was New Zealand's first city to have television transmission. The remainder of the country had to wait until 1961 for television access (King, 2003). Also in 1960, airport construction began at Mangere. The airport was ready for use in 1965 (McClure, 2004). Auckland's airport made the city the "logical gateway to the Pacific" (McClure, 2004, p. 206). While the airport linked New Zealand to the rest of the world, it was not until the opening in 1968 of the Intercontinental Hotel on Auckland's Princes Street, that inbound tourists were provided with a 'feeder hotel' that gave luxury hotel accommodation in the city. The development of the Intercontinental Hotel provided the stimulus for further hotel and hospitality development within the city and New Zealand.

While Wellington is New Zealand's capital, Auckland is currently the economic centre. The face of modern Auckland has changed from the 1940s, with waves of migrants arriving in Auckland (and New Zealand) from England (during the 1960s and 1970s), and later from the Polynesian islands.

More recently Auckland, and New Zealand, has seen increasing numbers of Asian migrants making New Zealand their new home. While New Zealand boasts a bi-cultural<sup>3</sup> emphasis, the streets of Auckland City in 2009 are mixed and multicultural.

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<sup>3</sup> Bi-cultural status arises because of the Treaty of Waitangi and the partnership of the Crown and Maori.

It is within this multi-cultural mix that the WL is positioned; it is an important contributor to New Zealand's culinary and social history. As social themes like postmodernism, globalisation and cosmopolitanism wax and wane, and the economic forces inherent within these themes hold sway over populist consumption patterns, the WL offers a unique vantage point for observation and research. While the WL offers this perspective, it also affords an opportunity to examine the quest by New Zealanders to find a national identity, albeit amid the clamour of global influence.

## **1.6 Pie Carts in Auckland**

The Auckland City Council notes that three carts were located in Auckland city; one in Wellesley Street, one in Fort Street (the White Lady), and one in Newmarket. The records at Auckland City Council note that a pie cart business began in Auckland's Newmarket in 1948. This cart was owned by Guy McLeod. While starting out as business competitors, Peter Washer and Guy McLeod became related when Peter's sister married Guy McLeod. This 'new' relationship has generated an ongoing yet good-humoured 'family' argument about whose cart was 'truly' the first. Unfortunately, Council records cannot clarify this argument (Personal communication, Guy McLeod, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2006).



**Figure 7: Newmarket's pie cart and its distinctive eagle side logo.**  
**Source: Washer (2008).**

With the recent upgrade of the Nuffield Street precinct, the Newmarket cart has encountered problems that reflect the White Lady's own. After considerable public debate the ACC granted a renewal for the Newmarket cart to continue trading. Currently both the WL and Newmarket's cart remain operating both under the control of Peter Washer. The failing health of Guy McLeod has prevented his active participation in the Newmarket cart for some years.

## 1.7 The White Lady

The 'birth' of the WL came about through the innovative and entrepreneurial thinking of the present owner's father, Brian Alfred Washer (1913-1986). Brian Washer (often called 'Pop') was a gregarious sort of person who, because of his phenomenal memory, prided himself in never forgetting anyone's name. This was an obvious trait advantage for a budding entrepreneur. Also reflecting Pop's personable nature were characteristics common to many New Zealanders of Pop's generation; a preoccupation with rugby, racing and beer. Of these, horse racing was Pop's predilection. Pop's wife Joyce recalled;

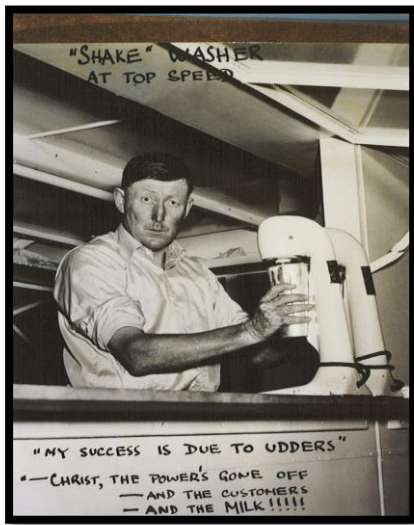
"he went to every race meeting, and he thought nothing of putting £1000-00 on the nose of a horse only to find that it came in second. Once when I knew what he had done I courageously asked him "why not each way?" To which he replied "you never insult a good horse". His mates were impressed, of course."



**Figure 8: The White Lady en route to Shortland Street.**  
**Source: *The New Zealand Herald* (2007).**

Along with flutters at the race track, Pop developed a drinking habit that negatively impacted on his life. This habit eventuated in detoxification for Pop on Rotoroa Island in Auckland's Hauraki Gulf. This centre was operated by the Salvation Army. After some time at the centre, Pop's affability enabled him to persuade a young Salvation Army member to escort him to a horse race meeting at Auckland's Ellerslie racecourse. At the races, Pop's need for a drink became urgent.

Pop realised that he needed to avoid alcohol, but all he could find to drink at Ellerslie was either ginger ale or alcohol. “This was Pop’s Eureka moment” (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 36); he could buy a caravan and, with the help of mates, convert it and sell milkshakes at the various horse race meetings around Auckland. After completing detox, Pop did this until track officials found out that he was also running a book<sup>4</sup> maker’s business as well as offering his beverage service to race goers. Consequently Pop was banned from selling beverages at Auckland’s race tracks. Pop now began to think of other business possibilities using the converted caravan.



**Figure 9: Pop Washer’s early days.**  
Source: Washer (2008).



**Figure 10: The honeymoon couple.**  
Source: Washer (2008).

Around this time Pop met his future wife, Joyce. Deciding to marry, the pair honeymooned in the South Island city of Christchurch. Christchurch was an important choice for the pair. As well as enjoying their honeymoon, Pop coincidentally visited a leading coachbuilder in the city to check on construction progress of his new venture; a pie cart that he had ordered before the pair had left Auckland for Christchurch.

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<sup>4</sup> An illegal gambling activity.

The completion of the coach building<sup>5</sup> and the end of the couple's honeymoon occurred simultaneously and all three, Pop, Joyce, and the new pie cart, travelled back to Auckland.



**Figure 11: An original stinker. (Footnote 5).  
Source: Eastern Southland Museum (2008).**

Pop then applied to the ACC for a trading licence for his new venture; The Pie Cart. After a brief debate, a trading space for the cart was allocated by the Council in Auckland's Fort Street. Joyce fondly recalled her naming of the business;

"Somehow we began to refer to our business in the feminine – "she was busy last night", that sort of thing. Everyone talked like that, expressions like "she's a darn good car" and "I gave her the gun"<sup>6</sup> were common. I named her the White Lady because she was painted white. There were no racial overtones in those days. Children were still allowed their golliwogs."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Historian and Eastern Southland museum curator Jim Geddes suggests that the pie cart coach body shape was influenced by that of the rural "stinker" (Neill, Bell, & Bryant, 2008, p. 143). They were horse drawn and therefore, like the pie carts of the day, were mobile. "Stinkers" (Neill, Bell, & Bryant, 2008, p. 143) were used for farm and field workers as rest huts (Refer; Figure 11). They gained their distinctive title because of the heady combined aroma of food, sweat, and other malodorous bucolic aromas associated with heavy field work that the fieldworkers brought to their mobile rest huts.

<sup>6</sup> Colloquial language meaning to accelerate a vehicle quickly.

<sup>7</sup> A rag doll dressed as a negro minstrel.

The Fort Street site was near to the Shortland Street site that the WL occupied from 1950 to 2006. This location saw the beginning of 56 years of hospitality service by the WL at this location. Pop's new business filled a much needed gap in Auckland's hospitality market;

"In the 1950s and 1960s in the days of the six o'clock swill, and long before the advent of swanky café culture, where else could you be assured of a hot meal and a warm welcome in any New Zealand town or city?" (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 11).

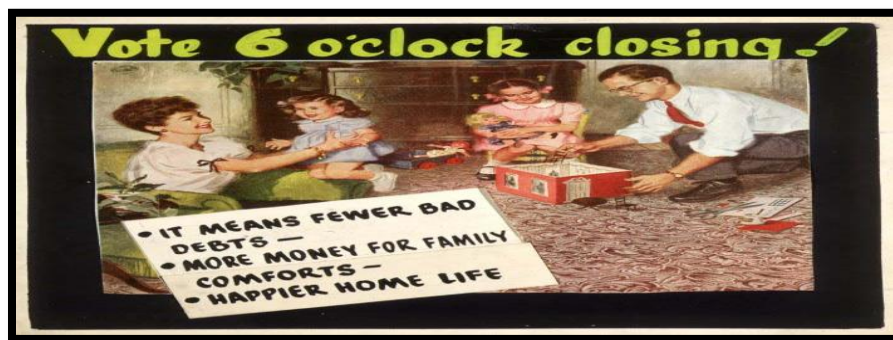


Figure 12: Changing hotel opening hours did not appeal to all.  
Source: Alexander Turnbull Library (2008).



Figure 13: A typical bar scene at the height of the 6 o'clock swill.  
Source: ALAC (2008).

In the early days the WL customers were predominantly men, as;

“Respectable women did not hang out on the streets at night. Then, in the 1960s, with the advent of the chic coffee bars and folk music clubs, this changed; there was somewhere to go that was safe and seductively bohemian”. (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 14).

In the formative years, Joyce did all the cooking herself. Joyce and Brian lived at a property in Holgate Street, Kohimarama, now an affluent Auckland suburb. Back then it was not an affluent neighbourhood and their property reflected this. In it, Joyce prepared all of the food that was later on-sold at the WL;

“I did the cooking for the cart. We had a big bain marie<sup>8</sup> to cook things, and I cooked everything at home, a little bach<sup>9</sup> in Holgate Street, Kohimarama. The bach was very cold. It had holes in the walls. I’d cook curried sausages with raisins and hard boiled eggs, and steak and kidney stew, all on a four-burner gas primus stove on the floor of our tiny kitchen”.

The cooking of food products at home for later commercial sale was a common occurrence in the 1950s and 1960s. Such cooking was a consequence of (the comparatively) relaxed food hygiene legislations, compared to today’s requirement of food preparation within registered premises. Today, preparing food at home for later retail sale is forbidden by law (Auckland City Council, 2007). The relaxed food hygiene requirements of Joyce and Pop’s day were also reflected within customer experiences at the WL. Joyce Washer recalled;

“We also had tomato sauce, bread and butter, and glass dishes of cut tomato, cucumber and onion on the counter (of the WL). But no fancy serviettes. We used a communal tea towel, and the customers were all happy with that”.

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<sup>8</sup> A hot water bath used to either cook food (baking modified by steam), or to keep food hot.

<sup>9</sup> A holiday home.



As well as spartan cooking facilities that included the primus stoves that blew out anytime someone opened a door at the bach, (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008), and hygiene practices at the WL that would be considered unacceptable today, back then Joyce experienced other food production problems;

“After the war there were still gas and electricity restrictions. I’d also preserve eggs, for the curry, and cook the potatoes that Callie, a neighbour’s daughter, had peeled before she set off for school.”

However, and despite these shortages, the post-war era was one of opportunity and growth. While standard fare at the WL consisted of pea, pie and ‘pud’<sup>10</sup>, and an assortment of pre-cooked items that were kept hot for service (including steak and kidney stew, and curried sausages), Joyce became intrigued by the menu offerings of one of the WL’s competitors; Bertie Pierce. Pierce’s ‘new’ style of cookery included his production of hamburgers, a product that the WL did not sell because “Pop was not keen” Joyce noted. Joyce recalled her own Eureka moment regarding the hamburger and the new style of cookery incorporated in its production; *à la carte*<sup>11</sup> cuisine;

“Before the war, Bertie Pierce opened a hamburger shop opposite the Chief Post Office in Queen Street (a location within 300 metres of the WL). I will never forget my first hamburger there. First he toasted the bun, then buttered it, added lettuce, beetroot, tomato and the fried mincemeat patty, topped with generous lashings of fried onions. During the war there was a big hamburger place at the apex of Great South Road and Manukau Road (about 4 km from the WL site) The Frisco Bar”.

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<sup>10</sup> A meal consisting of a meat or beef mince pie, topped with overcooked (by boiling) Prussian peas (pea) and finally mashed potato (pud). Pud is short for potato. This term is used almost exclusively to describe this pie combination. Often the pea mix is poured over the potato, or (as in Australian pea, pie and pud) the peas are plated, the pie and potato set atop the plated peas. This dish is known as a ‘Pie Floater’. The pie and potato literally float atop the pea mix.

<sup>11</sup> Individually priced and cooked to order (a benefit for the WL, as only food ordered by customers was cooked, thus minimising the waste of previous ‘bulk’ cookery: curried sausages, steak and kidney).



Figure 14: A typical pie cart menu pre-1967 Ping's pie cart New Plymouth.  
Source: Puke Ariki/Taranaki Newspapers (2008).

After some initial resistance to the idea, Pop agreed that hamburgers had a culinary future and a place at the WL. Slowly the menu began to change toward an à la carte style, beginning with a hamburger-based menu range. This was enhanced further by an increase in business revenue. With increased business Pop employed Bob Eels to run the cart. This in turn gave Pop more free time. Under Bob's supervision, and with Pop never far away from the cart, business boomed. Today's WL menu offers many products from Eels' time plus some others including sandwiches, gluten-free wraps and a limited selection of non-alcoholic beverages.

Then percolated coffee, as Joyce Washer recalled, was both a novelty and a big seller at the WL;

"The WL offered the great novelty of percolated coffee. We made this in a Dutch Convection Goldie Tripolator, and our coffee was a hit. Americans staying at Auckland's top hotel of the day, the Trans-Tasman in Shortland Street, regularly visited the cart just for the coffee. They'd often remark it was the only place where you could get a decent cup of coffee in all of Auckland."

While coffee sales currently at the WL are not comparable to previous years, for Peter Washer the excellence in standard of the ingredients used in all of the menu items is of paramount importance. Peter's food philosophy is simple, and reflects that of his father before him, "quality products and consistency". Within the menu, Peter perceives quality ingredients as a significant point of difference between the WL and other fast food competitors, insisting like Coco Chanel that "quality will always be remembered long after the price has been forgotten".

Along with limited menu change over time, social changes continued to impact on the WL's trading. The change in hotel closing times from 6pm to the later time of 10-30pm heralded the end of the six o'clock swill, and changes in the dining patterns of cart customers (Refer; Figures 12 and 13). The emergence of a night club scene in Auckland, the rise and fall in popularity of recreational drugs, have all impacted on the cart, each also offering challenge and opportunity for the WL business. Changes in transport legislation by Land Transport Safety Authority<sup>12</sup>(LTSA), combined with hygiene requirement amendments within the Food Hygiene Regulations 1974, and the Food Act 1981<sup>13</sup>, with its HACCP requirements (Hazard Analysis Critical Control Point)<sup>14</sup> offer ongoing compliance challenges for the current owner, Peter Washer.

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<sup>12</sup> The LTSA replaced the Ministry of Transport as transport's controlling (government) body.

<sup>13</sup> The integration of the Food Act 1981 and HACCP occurred in 2002. Food health authorities are promoting this integrated approach as the legislation of best choice for food outlets, while discouraging food operators to comply with the Food Hygiene Regulations 1974.

<sup>14</sup> HACCP is a seven point food safety programme designed to proactively lessen food risks because of the monitoring, recording and audit of key information that tracks the progression of food items through the arrival, storage, production and consumption phases.

Peter Washer took over the WL in 1978, later inheriting the WL upon Pop's death in 1986. Peter wanted a career in forestry but a motorcycle accident, and Peter's admission of a conversation with God (the accident was caused by a local priest), combined to position Peter in continuing the Washer/WL lineage. Peter continued on and, like his father, has faced, and continues to face, trading obstacles. Peter believes that the WL is unique and somewhat controversial because this business, unlike many other businesses, tends to polarise those with knowledge of it. Peter proposes;

"My customers ignore the likes of Burger King and McDonald's to eat what they feel is truly indigenous. I like to think that we are akin to Marilyn Monroe's beauty spot - to some an indication of a malignant melanoma, to others a defining uniqueness."



**Figure 15: The White Lady's diverse customers concentrate on their food.**  
**Source: Washer (2008).**

Currently the WL employs between five and seven workers, a contrast to the 16 male-only employees of the Bob Eels era, and the employment relations strategies of 'Pop' who would regularly fire all employees every Friday in what Peter Washer recalled was then termed '*firing Fridays*'<sup>15</sup>. While not engaging the '*firing Friday*' philosophy, Peter Washer has found that during his tenure at the WL the majority of his workers tended to be newly arrived New Zealanders;

"The people who end up working at the WL tend to reflect the latest migrant trends to New Zealand. Early on it was Kiwi workers at the cart, but over time this has changed. We've had Islanders, locals and recently lots of Asians. As I said our workers generally come from new migrant backgrounds."



**Figure 16: White Lady staff enjoy a drink: New Year 1986.  
Source: Washer (2007).**

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<sup>15</sup> Firing Fridays often occurred after Pop had overindulged in alcohol. Staff soon realised the temporary nature of their dismissal, and returned to work the next day, like 'Pop', forgetting the incident had even occurred.

The WL has not only experienced staff movement but also changes in location, because of Auckland City Council requirements. Until recently, the WL was located in Shortland Street but subsequently relocated into Commerce Street. Both street locations are within Auckland's central business district (CBD). Commerce Street could be considered 'fringe' CBD because it is 200 meters distant from Queen Street, Auckland's main street. The previous site on Shortland Street was at the corner of Shortland Street and Queen Street, and could be considered a more central location within the CBD. Both Shortland Street and Commerce Street are areas undergoing change. Before this change began, Commerce Street could have been considered by some to be slightly sleazy with a predominance of red light, massage and strip club activities located there. A map of Auckland's CBD (Travelplanner, 2008) shows key streets and locations associated with the WL. (Refer Appendix 8).

Currently, the corner of Shortland and Queen Streets are experiencing an upgrade with the construction of the new Bank of New Zealand building by developers Multiplex. This development abuts the previous WL site. As well as housing the bank, this complex offers two floors of up-market retail outlets as well as offices. This project is currently in its construction phase.



**Figure 17: The Multiplex building development at 80 Queen Street, Auckland.**  
Source: Author's Own.

Although a number of red light venues still exist in the Shortland Street/Commerce Street area, their numbers are in decline. Recently many cafés and specialty restaurants as well as commercial business operations have opened in this area. This change has occurred as a consequence of the building and redevelopment work.

These changes have benefitted the Shortland Street/Commerce Street area. A resurgence of public interest, primarily because of the increased number and variety of restaurants to be found there, as well as the influx of office and business workers has occurred. A number of small dairies and convenience stores, along with internet providers, a language school, and backpacker accommodation can now be found here. With this development the people 'mix' of this area has changed. Throughout the day and early evening hours, business people, shoppers and hungry diners now frequent the area. Later in the evening the demographic of the area changes again. By the late evening hours those seeking more 'adult' natured activities are in evidence. These streets also provide a pedestrian short cut from Quay Street to Queen Street, and consequently have a considerable volume of foot traffic.

The WL is now located outside Barfoot and Thompson, (Refer Appendix 8), a commercial real estate office on Commerce Street. Auckland City Council allows for parking space for the WL here and, daily, council workers place road cones in the space to be occupied by it. This is necessary because of the electrical power requirement of the WL. The road cones are to prevent cars parking in these spaces. At one end of the WL parking space, there is an electricity 'plug-in' box, and a water connection. These utilities enable the WL to both power up and obtain water. Used water is stored within the WL's own waste-water storage system.

The Commerce Street area where the WL parks is well-lit in the evenings, and the WL provides additional fluorescent illumination, creating a brightly lit trading space. The combination of people and activity within the Commerce Street area gives a feeling of relaxed enjoyment, within a relatively non-threatening environment. It is within this contemporary environment that the contested viewpoints of participant stakeholders are founded.

### **1.7.1 Food at the White Lady**

The essential products of a hospitality provider include food, beverage and accommodation (Brotherton, 1999). The WL supplies its customers with food and beverage. While once famous for its coffee in the 1950s and 1960s, the WL now sells more cold drinks, a reflection of Auckland's widespread and increasing café culture. Food sales provide the WL with its major income.

Food offerings at the WL have changed over the years as previously noted. Initially serving curried sausages, pies and steak and kidney dishes, today's sales mix includes a wide hamburger selection, with an emphasis on à la carte cookery style (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008). Despite these changes, one consistency in the production of food at the WL since its inception has been an emphasis on its quality. The emphasis on product quality is noted by a regular customer who eats weekly at the WL;

"The quality of the food has gone up, definitely, fresh lettuce, fresh tomatoes, onions, the meat might be the only thing, it may have a little bit more preservative in it now than what it formerly had, but I couldn't be sure about that, that's the only thing that I would question, no the food is, I think quite fantastic."



While the WL owner strives for product quality, comments from the staff also reflect a pride for the product because of the longevity of the WL and also because of their participation in its creation. Reflecting this, an ex-staffer recalled the WL's culinary evolution;

"You know, we are the oldest hamburger makers in New Zealand now. We are the second ones to start doing hamburgers since 1958/59. There was only one other place that was doing them and it was The Frisco that used to be on the corner of Manukau and Great South Road in Broadway Newmarket. That's the first and in the early days it was more working man's food, like curried sausages, eggs and steak and kidney, mashed potatoes and stuff like that."

The food at the WL was considered so good that during the 1980's the WL acted as the room service food supplier for De Brett's Hotel. At that time, De Brett's Hotel, located on the corner of Shortland Street and High Street, housed the premier eatery in Auckland, Delmonico's Restaurant. Delmonico's was under the chef stewardship of Judith Tabron.

Residents at the hotel would telephone for room service food which was then promptly supplied to them from the WL, re-plated and delivered to the De Brett's in-house guest. The supply of food by the WL to the hotel of the day was one of Auckland hospitality's best kept secrets. WL respondents to this research were coy in their admissions relating to the servicing of the hotel guests with room service food. The only WL staff respondent comment was; "yes, yes the De Brett's was a big thing".

The lack of boastfulness concerning the fact that the WL once supplied Auckland's 'best' hotel with food for their room service needs, correlates with the distinctions that many hospitality stakeholders realise between the values of 'posh' eateries and takeaway outlets, like the WL. For other patrons, the quality of the WL's food reflected the longevity and success of the WL business operation over time. A successful businessman respondent who clearly believes that the on-going high standard within

product delivery is a key to a successful business operation noted; “the longevity (of the White Lady) has been achieved by a continuing high standard in the food that it sells to its customers. Otherwise it wouldn’t survive.”

While many research participants were keen to credit the WL with the supply of high standard food to its customers, some respondents perceived that the food supplied impacted on customers in different ways. One long term staff member recalled that; “for some Americans, once they had eaten a pie from there, I know, on several occasions they would avoid going out for dinner to a flash restaurant so they could come and have a pie and they would want a few slices of bread with it”. These comments articulate the shared feelings amongst WL staff and customers about the experience. Research findings strongly suggest that the WL serves (in the opinions of participants) food of a high standard, and further suggests that the food and the WL itself are strong ‘*identifiers*’ for many of the research participants.

This latter suggestion is made because both the WL’s food and the WL itself provided for a number of research participants an area of common ground within their wider life experience. This input is from a long-term Tongan employee and reflects the ‘wider’ life experience the WL afforded her. This employee enjoyed relating her story and while talking about it, continually laughed with obvious excitement at both the story and its outcome for her (a good car at a discount price);

“A lot of old people, you know, they talked about it, ‘oh, that’s right, we remember that place ...we used to go and have pea-pie and pud there. I remember one time I wanted to buy a car so I had to go around this dealer, anyway I walked in there and all I got from him was ‘we see you down at the White Lady every weekend’ and I said ok.”

As a consequence of the experiences enjoyed at the WL, customers and staff too, shared common ground facilitated by their WL association. For

some participants, this association included memories both positive and negative. It is within the shared experiences and differences within them coupled with compliance issues that impact upon the WL that many areas of contestation are to be found.

### **1.7.2 Fast Food Competition and Hospitality Growth in Auckland**

The rise of fast food competition and restaurant growth is a relatively recent phenomenon in New Zealand. Fast food growth in New Zealand has occurred in two main phases. The first growth phase was during the 1970s when Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC), McDonald's, and Pizza Hut started up. The second fast food growth phase occurred as a consequence of the pizza boom in the new millennium. The Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2007) statistics suggest that pizza takeaway sales have been the consistent star performer in terms of New Zealand food service.

The combination of these growth phases served to change New Zealand's culinary landscape from what Bailey and Earle (1999) suggest was one dominated by English dining traditions and food content, towards a new and more innovative culinary style. Chef and culinarian Simon Gault proposes that New Zealanders developed this new and innovative style by engaging a combination of travel and hospitality-related education undertakings (Howard, 2006). Today's innovative New Zealand cuisine mirrors the mindset of the earlier frontier culture. This may be because of New Zealand's geographic isolation impacting upon the country's early history, as well as contemporary culinary history. The continual growth of restaurants and other eateries, especially fast food outlets, continues to directly impact on the WL.

Contributing to culinary innovation, Bailey and Earle (1999) offer an interesting insight into the culinary development of New Zealand restaurants, especially those in Auckland. Bailey and Earle (1999) note that during the 1960-1961 periods Auckland had 94 unlicensed restaurants, no licensed restaurants and only two ethnic restaurants. This is in stark contrast to their later findings for 1975, when Auckland could boast 160 unlicensed restaurants, 57 licensed (a total of 217 restaurants), with 38 ethnic restaurants (Bailey and Earle, 1999). In 1986, Bailey and Earle (1999) noted further increases; 168 unlicensed restaurants, 203 licensed restaurants (total 560 restaurants) with 113 ethnic eateries. Congruent to the rapid rise in restaurant dining, was a simultaneous increase in fast food outlets. In August 1971, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) opened its first New Zealand outlet in Royal Oak, Auckland. In September 1974, Pizza Hut was launched in New Lynn, Auckland, and in Wellington in June 1976, McDonald's opened their first fast food outlet in Porirua (Brailsford, 2003).

In 2008, Restaurant Brands, owner of KFC and Pizza Hut operated 95 KFC outlets and 96 Pizza Hut outlets nationwide as well as 44 Starbuck outlets (R. Joyce, personal communication 23 June, 2008). This growth is reflected in the Restaurant Association of New Zealand statistics for 2007. The Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2007) found that fish and chips, ethnic food, hamburger, chicken takeaway and pizza takeaway generated \$860 million in annual sales, representing a 36% growth rate from the 2005 – 2006 period. The growth and visual appeal of fast food outlets, especially the American chain operations, contrasted strongly with New Zealand's image of its own fast food culture of the 1960s. Ray (1976) succinctly notes this disparity in observing that New Zealand's own fast food culture of the 1960s was characterised by 'greasy joints' filled with young people with nothing better to do. Ray (1976) contrasts this with the new American fast food outlets, suggesting that they were spotlessly hygienic and gleaming with stainless steel kitchens and front of house fit-outs.

Despite the apparent decor and hygiene contrasts, New Zealand's fast food outlets and the newly introduced American models held a commonality. This commonality is noted by Brailsford (2003) who proposes that fast food outlets, no matter their origin, are representative of more than just the products they sell. This is echoed within academia where fast food represents an opportunity for academics like Brailsford (2003) to participate in discourse related to globalisation. Brailsford (2003) posits that newly introduced fast food chains provide academics with a contestable arena within which to discuss wider globalisation concepts and theory discourse.

The desire to participate in the process of globalisation, for many New Zealanders, may be prompted by aspirant images of America, perceived through fast food advertising and the semiotic values contained within it. These aspirations, coupled with an opportunity for introspection, prompted many New Zealanders to be lured away from their traditional dining arenas to the newer and brighter models of consumption provided by the American market entrants (Ray, 1976). Brailsford (2003) suggests that American values were readily embraced by New Zealanders as a consequence of fast food advertising. This advertising incorporated American themes of "newness, cleanliness, efficiency, conviviality, affordability, and the centrality of the nuclear family" (p. 13); a stark contrast to Ray's opposing (1976) portrait of New Zealand's own fast food outlets.

These themes may have struck a chord with New Zealanders' sense of self and the increased experience of freedom found as a consequence of the relative 'freedoms' brought by the postmodernist era. These changes also reflect a move away from previous English-style cuisine food preferences. While New Zealanders keenly embraced their new fast food entities, one of them, McDonald's, contemplated adaptation to the local market.

This contemplation was short lived, however. Gary Lloyd, McDonald's national managing director noted "there's a tendency to New Zealandise McDonald's, to say New Zealanders won't like this or that. But in fact it's much simpler to McDonaldise New Zealand" (Baird, 1985, p. 50). Lloyd's (1985) statement adds impetus to Brailsford's (2003) suggestion that fast food outlets significantly contribute to globalisation. While the increase in take out options has given New Zealand consumers greater choice, for business operators more outlets may simply mean increased competition in the marketplace. While the range of competitors has increased, WL owner Peter Washer has remained philosophical about the threat of multinational fast food outlets to the WL.

## **1.8 The White Lady: A Temporal Lens**

The theoretical framework for examining the WL includes contemporary and historic constructs; the WL as an existing business is part of a 'lineage' of fast food eateries traceable to medieval England. With this in mind this research not only views the WL through a "temporal lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) but also through Lawrence, Winn and Jennings' (2001) emphasis on time. This position is echoed by Blount and Janicik (2001) who suggest that similar themes (in this case within fast food) exist within a time continuum (as cited in Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645).

Therefore, because time is a relative concept the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645), provides an ideal ‘mechanism’ to view the different opinions of research participants related to the type of customers who ‘use’ the WL. The sociological relevance of the “temporal lens,” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) is documented within all stakeholders’ participant reflections within this research. This is particularly evident in participant contributions that denote the changing socio-political structures within New Zealand. This research suggests that the contemporary participant reflections of this research are just as potent and temporal as is the research of Civitello (2004), Fernandez-Armesto (2002), FitzStephen (1934, as cited in Spencer, 2003), Mason (2004), and Lashley (2004).

Of note and contributing to this claim, a respondent noted that the WL had been part of the city for a long time and, as such, had its own history as well as being a mirror that reflected Auckland’s ‘au courant’; most notably its changing cultural and ethnic demographic. As well as acting as the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) the WL also incorporates another vista; the “cultural lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645).

The “temporal and cultural lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645), enable the widest view of the WL because these views incorporate a time continuum. For the WL, the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) mirrors the historical similarities that the WL currently experiences, as well as post modern themes of celebrity and self-identification by some participants. However the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) enables two vantage points, one reflecting the ACC perspective, the other the WL stakeholders’ perspectives.

This research suggests that, as a consequence of the ACC view within the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) concept, a possibility exists within the recent relocation of the WL that the WL and its cohort may be faced with marginalisation because of that relocation. The “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) is enhanced with a discussion on “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1995, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) and how food typologies incorporate ‘values’ and semiotic meanings for different stakeholder groups. The work of Bourdieu (1984), Finkelstein (2004) and contemporary media highlight these themes within this research. Food ‘value,’ “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1995, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p.27) and the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) are overlaid within a discussion on the history of an emergent New Zealand cultural identity, and how this identity is placed within fast food culture. This examination recognises the place of nostalgia within New Zealand culture; ‘the good old days’ and the recognition of New Zealand’s uniqueness, most popularly expressed within the concept of “kiwiana”<sup>16</sup> (Bell, 1996, p. 114).

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<sup>16</sup> Everyday items that are of cultural significance to New Zealanders. The pavlova, the buzzy bee, and gumboots, are items included within the construct of ‘kiwiana’.



## 1.9 Cuisine Styles: A Binary Opposition

Within commercial hospitality offerings, a hierarchy of food is clearly evident. Top chefs like Gordon Ramsay, Marco Pierre White and Raymond Blanc feature at the apex of this pyramid, when the criteria for classification is hallmarked by refined foods with French overtones and a Michelin star rating. Conversely, fast food is at the lower end of the hospitality spectrum. This polarity touches upon class and food typologies and how, as consumers, differentiation becomes apparent within food types. The concept of “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) is a key factor that assists consumers to identify and come to know food hierarchies. Through utilising a known concept and its opposite; “binary opposition,” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) it is possible for consumers to gain knowledge by becoming familiar with other knowledge provided by an opposing construct.

Bahloul’s (2004) semiotic themes are congruent to Levi-Strauss’s (1981) “binary opposition” (as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) within hospitality. Both become obvious within the semiotic inferences contained within *French classical cuisine*’s ‘meaning’ when compared to that of fast food. The meanings and values inherent within French cuisine styles evoke qualifiers relative to age, longevity, and vintage, with fast food implying the opposites. The semiotic themes within French Classical and haute cuisine styles generally reflect values of elaboration, plutocracy and excess, while fast food does not. The French nouvelle cuisine style fosters and encourages newness and themes of contemporary change, whereas the more commonly accessible *cuisine bourgeoise* reflects middle class values of aspiration. While recognising and illustrating “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) within food, Bourdieu (1984) suggests that the widest lacuna between the fast and slow food movements lies within the concept of symbolic capital.

For Bourdieu (1984), symbolic capital is entwined within economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. These themes are reflected within an individual's ability to understand and negotiate the dominant culture's systems of social and cultural functioning.

Bourdieu (1984) suggests that these 'capitals' are assimilated within individuals of all class groupings and generate what Sloan (2004) terms "symbolic struggle" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 19). Sloan (2004) concurs with Bourdieu's (1984) earlier suggestion that "tastes of necessity" (p. 198) are derived from the need for heavy and filling foods to fuel labour producing power to the working class. These elements are evident within the operation, menu and client base of the WL, and reflect Marxist production theory principles previously noted. For the WL, "symbolic struggle" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 19) began with the entrepreneurship of Pop Washer and his recognition of opportunity in starting the WL operation. Pop's entrepreneurship is similar to a "site of struggle" (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132), and is also congruent to Lights (1972) Protected Market Hypothesis because 'Pop' Washer began his business by serving people like himself who recognised value for money relative to the cost of a pint of beer (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008).

Bahloul's (2004) semiotic position is also demonstrated within the following comparisons; the WL's operation, unlike haute cuisine or "slow food" (Jones, Shears, Hiller, Comfort and Lowell, 2003, p. 298) is positioned at the lower end of the eating hierarchy of food typologies. This is exemplified by the range of foods offered; haute cuisine establishments tend to utilise more refined ingredients, and maximise their rarity or expense as significant points of difference. Conversely, the WL utilises common food types that are more associated with the concepts of cuisine bourgeoise than those of the 'heights' of haute cuisine. Other differences support Bahloul's (2004) assertion. These include the shorter eating time guests tend to have at fast food outlets compared to haute cuisine establishments, and differences between fast food and haute cuisine restaurant décors.

Fast food outlets, by comparison to haute cuisine outlets, tend to have minimal décor that is designed for a fast turn-around of clients. These comparisons are indicative of the categories of both customisation and standardisation, which again reflect the theme of "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27).

Within the wider domain of Auckland's cultural development and maturation this research suggests that themes of "symbolic struggle" (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132) "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27) and dialectic antagonism have been fostered within and by a culture of postmodernist thought and theory. It is within this multidisciplinary and multifaceted domain that the WL and other businesses operate, albeit within a necessary overlay of acute business competition.

More importantly is an understanding of, and negotiation within, the values inherent within these concepts by stakeholders. Later research will reveal that in moving the WL location, this business may potentially become financially endangered. For the WL, endangerment and marginalisation may be facilitated by “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27). This is most notably expressed through the views of different stakeholders, and differences within the perceptions of streetscape. This research suggests that because of “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27), some stakeholders may hold value judgements of it that may negatively impact on the long term viability of the WL. Media-facilitated discussion has incorporated and sometimes capitalised on the concept of “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27) when reporting items of news related to the WL.

Contemporary media, due to rapid global technology, are now able to communicate quickly, maximising a variety of media formats. One media outlet that historically illuminated “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27) for its readers was *Metro*<sup>17</sup> (1984) magazine. In *Metro*’s August 1984 edition, the restaurant review section maximised the polarity of food type and “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007 p. 27) in its review of three eateries. In later editions of *Metro* many readers were outraged. This was because of the combination within *Metro*’s previous reviews of The White Lady, Le Gourmet, and Tony Astle’s Antoine’s restaurant grouped together in the August 1984 edition. In *Metro*’s August (1984) edition, the distinctive language used by the author clearly polarised subsequent readers, leading them to make judgements and to consequently contact *Metro* to voice their displeasure at the magazine’s grouping of restaurant combinations in that edition. This polarity is demonstrated within scene-setting descriptors, most evident within the review of Le Gourmet and Antoine’s.

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<sup>17</sup> A popular lifestyle magazine that retails New Zealand-wide.



Figure 18: Metro's cover, August 1984.

Source: APC Media Archive (2008).

In the review, these eateries are shown to exhibit upper-class values by the writer. An Antoine experience is described as including a “quintessential overheard conversation, ‘Remember dear, my first husband was a Viscount, and we took Lord Cowdray to Arrowtown.

Of course people know their place in the South Island” (Metro, 1984, p. 44), and of Le Gourmet “there in an Ellesse t-shirt, jeans and a denim jacket, was Mr Brown, a British Airways ‘Great Chef of the World’, looking very tennis-y” (Metro, 1984, p. 44). Magazine readers and restaurateurs later asked ‘How could *Metro* (1984) magazine review restaurants of substance, Antoine’s and Le Gourmet (*sic*), and the WL, side by side within the same edition and section? Their inference and concerns were clear; the mix of Auckland’s top restaurants and a take away was incongruous to them. This infers the relegation of the WL to the status of ‘other’, a situation congruent to “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1995, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) and the variety of value judgements inherent within named cuisine styles as previously noted.

*Metro* magazine thus fostered and encouraged a media climate that promoted ‘food snobbery’. This snobbery highlighted the hierarchy of elitist elements within Auckland hospitality and the competing “sites of struggle” (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132).

Bourdieu (1984) and Sloan (2004) assert that there is a discourse and semiotic link through the concept of “objective negation, so that the meaning of behaviour is totally reversed depending upon which viewpoint is adopted” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 193). This theme is obvious in the *Metro* (1984) article. Finkelstein (2004) adds to this by suggesting that up-market restaurants are a medium for social status and conspicuous consumption.

The *Metro* (1984) reviews accurately reflect the dichotomy between high status/low status haute cuisine/fast food eateries and the semiotic meaning within each typology, as exemplified within the likes of Antoine’s and Le Gourmet restaurants and their apparent juxtaposition with the WL. The elitist attributes of Antoine’s and Le Gourmet restaurants are in stark contrast to the positioning of the WL, whose ‘hospitality’ may be more likened to Finkelstein’s (2004) concept of a pre-revolutionary French café, as each reflects the up-market and down-market sectors of Auckland’s hospitality industry. This is because of the WL’s ability to provide a unique environment within which customers’ proximity to one another stimulates conversation between different groups of customers, a theme congruent to Finkelstein’s (2004) position. However, such value-laden themes are not new. For example, Marie-Antoinette may have proposed the ultimate elitist class consciousness about what other people eat, her statement mirroring a perceptive value judgement on not only what people eat but what *they* are ‘able’ to eat. *Qu’ils mangent de la brioche* (let them eat cake).

## **1.10 Research Aims and Objectives**

Within Auckland City and New Zealand, commercial hospitality has been clearly shown as a competitive growth industry (Goodsir, 2008, The Restaurant Association of New Zealand, 2007). The WL, as part of commercial hospitality has, because of its longevity, endured many of the changes that have occurred as a consequence of hospitality's growth and competition. Similar experiences to the WL's have occurred at Dunedin's Dowling Street pie cart, and to a lesser degree, at Roma Baker's Roadside Diner in Greymouth. Perhaps because of Auckland's larger population, two carts remain trading in the city; the WL and the Newmarket cart. Because of this longevity the WL has become a focus of attention for some stakeholder groups, because of the WL's location change from its long-term position on Shortland Street, to its most recent location on Commerce Street.

With this background in mind, the central aim of this research is to ask

1. Are pie carts a valid<sup>18</sup> part of New Zealand's culinary and social culture?

Within this aim the researcher sought solutions to the contested areas identified within the research. Therefore a second aim emerged;

2. To generate solutions to the research-identified areas of contestation.

To facilitate the research aims, this work engaged the following objectives;

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<sup>18</sup> Validity within this research implies longevity and authenticity.

### **1.10.1 A Stakeholder Analysis**

Stakeholder groups were invited to participate in this research because of their direct links to the WL business. While the 'link' varied between groups, respondents were either staff, customers of the business, its owner, and the departments of the Auckland City Council that hold compliance administrative responsibilities for the WL. Specifically these departments included City Planning, Open Space Design, Street Trading and Environmental Health. A fourth stakeholder group comprised university-aged students. This group was invited to participate in the research to address an age bias that became apparent within the other stakeholder groups, specifically the WL customer group. The criteria that participants were required to meet in order to be selected to participate in the research, after earlier invitation, included that they meet one of the following three selection categories;

- Selection by ownership or area of expertise. This selection category applied to the owner, Peter Washer, and to the participants from Auckland City Council.
- Selection by long-term association with the WL. This selection category applied to the staff and the customers of the WL.
- Selection by being a full time university student, and not being older than 30 years of age.

### **1.10.2 The Illumination of Fast Food and Early Settler History**

Academics including (Warde, 1997, Bringeus, 2001, Civitello, 2004 and Finkelstein, 2004) propose that food is a symbolic marker and identifier that holds cultural meaning. When this position is combined with culinary and fast food history, the importance of combining this history and New Zealand's early European pioneer history provides significant points of understanding when examining the attitudes and beliefs of the contemporary stakeholders of the WL.



In examining the English history of fast food, an interesting parallel is found with today's WL; historically, fast food outlets were contested within some of the same themes that today's WL is. New Zealand's early European history and the concepts of mate-ship and the culture of necessity provide an understanding of the attitudes of many of today's WL stakeholders. The combination of these themes therefore, presents a contemporary view of fast food, as exemplified by the WL, and the postmodern attitudes of many of today's stakeholders.

### **1.10.3 Discussion of the WL through Postmodernist Constructs**

Because the WL has been in business since 1948, the business and its stakeholders have experienced the social changes that have occurred in New Zealand since that time. Two themes of change that have impacted on these stakeholders are modernism and postmodernism. Witcombe (2000) suggests that modernism incorporates a reliance on reason and perfection, and is grounded in notions of absolute truth. Postmodernism according to Witcombe (2000) and its synonym constructive postmodernism,

"Deconstructs the ideas and values of modernism to reveal what composes them and shows that such modernist ideas as equality and liberty are not natural to humankind or true to human nature but are ideals, intellectual constructions ... postmodernism partakes of uncertainty, insecurity, doubt and accepts ambiguity ...the post modern is reflexive." (n.p.).

Therefore, research within this thesis undertook a postmodern position that engaged themes of "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27), "site of struggle" (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132), and the "temporal lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) concepts.

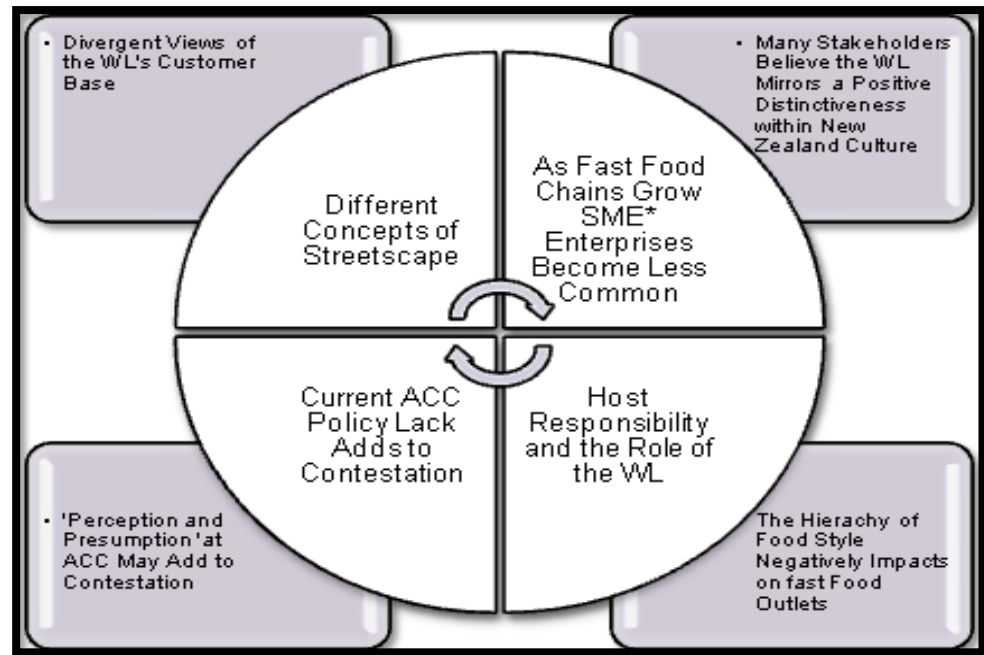
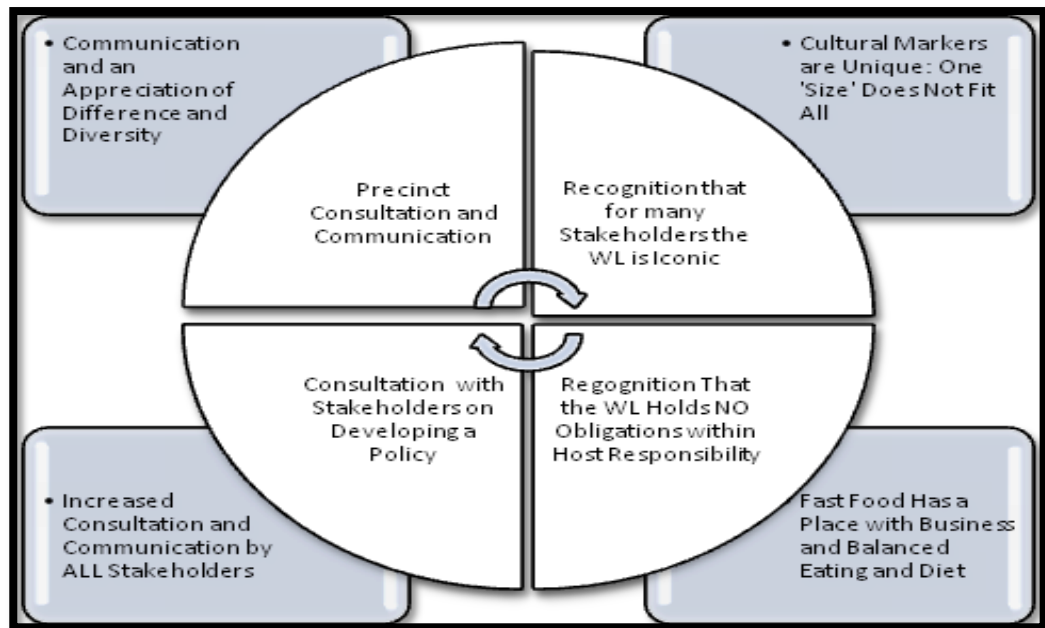


Figure 19: The White Lady: Areas of Contestation. Source: Author's Own (2008).

The contested areas identified through research concern the differences in stakeholder opinions on the following topics; concept of streetscape, the impact of fast food chains on small business, the administration of Host Responsibility, and the overarching impact that the lack of street trading policy has had upon street traders and administrators alike (as noted in Figure 19, central circle). While these themes are diagrammatically presented separately, each is connected to the other. For example, the concept of streetscape and the images derived from the street include other factors reflected within Host Responsibility and compliance issues relating to alcohol consumption (Refer Appendix 3).

Congruent to the areas of contest identified in Figure 19, is extended data that underpins the base contestation. This is found in the information contained within the outer boxes of Figure 19. This information shows that the issues of contestation are multifaceted and complex. This complexity is compounded because the inputs from the Auckland City Council could be considered modernist, whereas the inputs from the other stakeholders are postmodernist.

In concluding the research and within postmodern constructs the researcher offers solutions to the areas of contestation. These solutions are noted in Figure 20. Within Figure 20, the central circle denotes the basic (proposed) solution while the data contained within the outer rectangles extends the theme identified within the circle by proposing a more holistic overview of the solution.



**Figure 20: Generated Solutions. Source: Author's Own (2008).**

Figures 19 and 20 therefore provide the conceptual framework within which contestation and the proposed solutions are presented. In Figure 20 the following themes will be outlined, (Refer Chapter Four), as researcher-suggested solutions to areas of identified contestation;

- Communications development
- A recognition of the 'value' of fast food
- An appreciation of diversity and difference.

### **1.11 Research Methods**

A mixed methodology incorporating qualitative and quantitative research methods was used for this research. These methods enabled the illumination of the contested areas of stakeholder opinion as noted by the participants themselves. For the student group, quantitative inquiry facilitated a statistical dimension to the research that assisted in the support of the qualitative findings of the other stakeholder groups.

The qualitative methods included the researcher's use of "unstructured and semi-structured" interviews (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) where participants told their own unique 'story', in their own way, and, most importantly, in their own words. The data collected from interviews was distilled into categories of common theme utilising Strauss and Corbin's (1990, p. 8) "open coding" system. "Open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) through commonality of participant input gave rise to the clear identification of the contested areas as identified by the participants. This was vitally important because the emphasis on participant contributions avoided any preconceived ideas that the researcher may have brought to the research.

The quantitative methods included the statistical breakdown of participant responses and an analysis of student group input via Likert (Clason, & Dormody, 2003) type questioning and response collation into percentage responses. The quantitative research helped to both underpin the qualitative research findings and also offer new information that could be of commercial benefit to the WL. From these final processes, and with any participant amendments undertaken by the researcher, the final body of work was compiled. The mixed methodology not only provided this research with data, it also afforded an opportunity for researcher-based solutions to the areas of contestation (Refer Figure 20).

## **1.12 Overview of Theoretical Framework**

While the participant input provides the research data, the theoretical framework for this thesis is found within the topics included in the literature review and the themes within Chapter One. The WL is positioned within New Zealand's hospitality industry, and because academics like Collier (2004) suggest that the base elements of hospitality (food beverage and accommodation) are part of tourism, this thesis deconstructs hospitality, providing a theoretical framework that aids the reader in understanding the evolution, history and the 'place' the WL holds as a fast food supplier.

Congruent to the discussion on hospitality is the presentation of underpinning theoretical frameworks including an overview of New Zealand's class system, and the concept of "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27). While the literature review places the WL within academic constructs of food and hospitality, it also serves to interpret some of the issues facing the WL. The duality of academe and interpretive discussion reflects the similarity between some of the historic academic findings of the literature review and their similarity to the areas of contestation facing the modern WL. This situation is particularly relevant within the discussion on the historic views of street traders. Spencer's (2003) views on the English street food scene of medieval London, and the disdain of the upper classes of the day, hold direct parallel, to contemporary WL contestation discussed later in the research. It is within these themes that the theoretical framework from which context and understanding of the domains of contestation will become apparent to the reader.

## **2 Chapter Two: Hospitality, Food and Identity: A Literature Review**

### **2.1 Introduction**

As well as identifying and discussing the related literature associated with the WL and the hospitality history within which it is placed, this review adopts a “bricolage”<sup>19</sup> (Levi-Strauss, 1966, p. 19) approach in sourcing relevant topics that are included within it. This approach has been undertaken for a number of reasons. Primary among these is the fact the WL has been in continual business for over 50 years. During this time, global and domestic social change has occurred that has both impacted and influenced WL stakeholders. A key force within that social change has been the decline of the meta-narrative in social science theory in favour of a postmodernist theoretical underpinning (Strinati, 2004). Within the rise of postmodernist theory has been a congruent awareness by individuals of their own expression of self (Strinati, 2004). This change has found ‘voice’ and consequently facilitated enhanced consumerism. Within contemporary society, hospitality and food and beverage consumption has generated consumer elitism. This elitism has encouraged the elevation of food types and food service styles generating a food hierarchy, with haute cuisine at its apex, and fast food at its base. This review reflects these themes by the inclusion of topics and discussion on fast food, class, food and social identity, fast food competition and growth in Auckland and the rise of American fast food chains.

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<sup>19</sup> This literature review is constructed from a diverse range of sources and themes.

Toward this goal, the format of this literature review will use section headings to examine academic literature that aids in the identification and illumination of the social constructs within which Auckland's WL has been founded and currently operates. This approach will aid the reader in the subsequent understanding of background issues that emerge as contested issues among stakeholders within the research findings.

## **2.2 Deconstructing 'Hospitality'**

"If food is treated as a code, the messages it encodes will be found in the pattern of social relations being expressed.... The message is about different degrees of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion boundaries and transactions across the boundaries." (Douglas, 1993, p. 249).

Essentially the WL provides hospitality, specifically fast foods, especially hamburgers and beverages. Telfer, (1996); Lashley (2004) and Spencer (2003) all note the centrality of food within the offering and acceptance of hospitality and its importance in hospitality's own definition. Spencer (2003) goes furthest by suggesting that food offerings within hospitality reflect a variable multiplicity of factors that impact on our daily lives and throughout our history; that food both mirrors and shapes our times. Spencer (2003) also suggests there is a socio-historic element within food offering by implying that trades associated with hospitality are as old as history itself, stretching back well beyond early Roman times. Yet the evolution of arguably fast food's most common menu item, the hamburger, has a more recent history. The modern origins of the hamburger are reflected in Spencer's (2003) description;

"Invented by some accounts at Seymour, Wisconsin, where Outgamie County Fair concessionaire Charles Nagreen, 15, finds that his customers want his butter-fried ground beef but don't want to stand about eating when they could be strolling about the fairgrounds. He places the beef between bread slices and calls it a 'hamburger'." (Trager, 1998, p. 320).

Hospitality is a growth industry in New Zealand (Restaurant Association, 2008). The global growth in hospitality is noted by Ritzer (1999) who suggests that hospitality is growing annually and, in doing so, contributes to postmodernist patterns of consumption, namely conspicuous consumption. While Ritzer (1999) and Brotherton (1999) note that commercial consumption is a large part of hospitality, other academics, most notably Lashley (2004), recommend a need to view hospitality in a more holistic manner. Lashley (2004, p. 13) proposes that hospitality 'exists' within three specific domains or areas; the "social", "private", and "commercial". Lashley (2004) continues this position by noting that these domains, while separate, are overlapping synchronic concepts. It is within these domains that a holistic overview and definition of hospitality can be established. Prior to Lashley's (2004) domain classification, Brotherton (1999) succinctly advanced an academic definition of hospitality;

"a contemporaneous human exchange, which is voluntarily entered into, and designed to enhance the mutual well being of the parties concerned through the provision of accommodation, food and drink." (p. 168).

While Brotherton (1999) provides an academic definition of hospitality and clearly identifies key participants and hospitality products, Brotherton's (1999) definition falls short. Brotherton (1999) neglects to emphasise the service element inherent in all forms of commercial hospitality. The service element is not only found within the WL customer and staff dynamic, but is also present as a key component of all other commercial hospitality situations and environments. Hospitality service and product respectively represent the intangible and tangible nature of the hospitality experience for guests. Lashley (2004) supports Brotherton's (1999) position in recognising that the definition of hospitality falls short because of its failure to recognise the service elements inherent in hospitality.



The closest that Brotherton's (1999) summation of hospitality gets to reflecting the intangible components of it, occurs within and during the service process between provider and guest and Brotherton's (1999) concept of contemporaneity. Between Lashley (2004) and Brotherton's (1999) earlier position, the intangible nature of hospitality may be descriptively problematic within academic literature. How can the service element and the feelings contained within it be convincingly conveyed without the academic writer/reader conveying and interpreting an emotional sterility within the process? The contemporaneous nature of hospitality service is difficult to capture within the written word, albeit that true hospitality is an *experience* that includes tangible product and intangible elements of 'feeling'. It is the intangible service component within hospitality that makes written description of it difficult. The problems encountered within such descriptions are not limited to hospitality. The concept of "Emotional Labour" (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002, p. 18) within wider 'people'-focused employment situations is a congruent theme to that occurring within hospitality environments.

However, a Saussurian insight may assist in the understanding of hospitality's wider meaning. This insight relies on the identification of a concept through the recognition of its opposing construct or theme. The identification of opposites helps hospitality consumers to gain knowledge. For example, for customers to know and recognise exemplary service, they most likely will have experienced its opposite; bad service, or the way in which one knows what hot water is by experiencing its opposite, cold water (Morley, 1992).

Examples of the difficulty within academic writing relating to the intangible service elements customers experience, '*feelings*', can be paralleled to the product/service dilemma within hospitality. Shostack (1982) posits that products and services are separate entities because products are tangible while services are not, while Rust and Oliver (1994) believe that products and their associated services are integrated concepts. The difference reflects that services, unlike products, cannot be a possession that is owned (Shostack, 1982) by the customer, in the same way that food and beverage can be. However, Czepiel, Solomon and Surprenant (1985) propose that hospitality's service is a 'special' occurrence simply because many service encounters between workers and guests do not result in any direct financial benefit for the company. Gronroos (1990) takes these suggestions further in noting that service is a separate entity that is primarily used to 'solve' consumer problems within the hospitality experience.

However, it is Lashley (2004) who is best able to tie together the concepts of emotion/product and product/services within hospitality. This is because Lashley (2004) recognises the emotional component within service by his suggestion that; "on receiving genuine hospitality, the individual feels genuinely wanted and welcome. This is not the same as being welcomed as a valued customer," (p. 14). Lashley's (2004) suggestion therefore transcends the social, private and commercial hospitality domains because it recognises all the component parts of hospitality and the emotive elements inherent within them. Selwyn (2004) takes Lashley's (2004) position further, by noting that hospitality is a tool that enables relationships to be formed, built and enhanced, often when no previous association or relationship between the parties existed. Williams (2002, p. 30) suggests that for hospitality consumers, these feelings are mirrored within their "moments of truth".

A “moment of truth” (Williams, 2002, p. 30) for customers is every interaction between them and a service worker, and is a pivotal experience within hospitality. This is because these interactions serve to confirm, contradict or negate the perceptions that customers have of an intended hospitality experience, before that hospitality experience begins. This attitude toward the hospitality provider from guests may be based on their past experience or their perception of the recommendations of others. Williams (2002) proposes that the strength of hospitality is to be found within the “moments of truth” (Williams, 2002, p. 30) concept because of the feelings conveyed within this service dynamic. “Moments of truth” (Williams, 2002, p. 30), incorporate and engage participant “emotional labour” (Brotheridge and Grandey, 2002, p. 18). Product for Enis and Roering (1981) is driven by (and for) customer need. For Enis & Roering (1981), success in product delivery is reached when customers are satisfied. However, a more fragmented approach to product is suggested by Gabbott & Hogg (1998) who suggest that product success is a multifaceted process that is dependent upon buyer response, exhibited by their ongoing and positive “moments of truth” (Williams, 2002, p. 30).

## **2.3 Fast Food History**

Many of the academic sources that are used in hospitality study, and included within this review, are postmodern in composition, origin and timing, emerging in research published after the mid 1960s. This is because hospitality research in academic institutions began around the same time that post-modernist thought and writing became popular. Because of the longevity of the WL, it is therefore essential to establish a clear understanding of the evolution of hospitality and how the development of hospitality has impacted upon the WL. Western hospitality history (British history in particular), as well as New Zealand’s own history, are the dominating forces that have impacted on the WL.

The key themes in New Zealand history that influence the WL include the pioneer culture of necessity, social stratification and the development and impact of postmodernism and the value systems within each of these domains. The WL serves fast-food-to-go; not elaborate haute cuisine. “Fast food” and “street food” are overlapping terms. This is because of the take-away nature of the operations that serve this type of food. Customers do not dine at a table; they either stand at a counter and eat or take the food away from the WL to consume it elsewhere. The history of fast food/street food is traceable through many ancient societies including the Roman, English, French and Chinese cultures;

On the streets of Beckett's London, public kitchens were open day and night for food to suit all purses, selling game, fish and poultry roasted, fried or boiled. In Paris in the 13<sup>th</sup> century you could buy boiled and roast veal, beef, mutton, pork, lamb, kid, pigeon, capon, goose, spiced pastries filled with chopped pork, chicken or eel, tarts filled with soft cheese or egg, hot waffles and wafers, cakes, pancakes, simnels and tarts, hot mashed peas, garlic sauce, cheese of Champagne and Brie, butter, hot pastries. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Piers Plowman heard the vendors cry; “Hot pies, hot! Good piglets and geese! Go dine, go!” (Fernandez-Armesto, 2002, p. 220).

Spencer (2003) relates an English street food scene of medieval London as noted by William FitzStephen;

“On the riverbank in London, amid the wine that is sold from ships, and wine sellers was a public cook shop. If friends weary with travel should suddenly visit and it is not their pleasure to wait for food to be brought, prepared and cooked, they can hasten to the riverbank and there all things desirable are ready to hand.” (FitzStephen, as cited in Spencer (2003) p. 61; (1934) Historical Association Leaflet).

Civitello (2004) suggests that in early Rome (AD 80), street food was commonly found. This was because the poor had no kitchens, and consequently had to eat away from home. To meet this need, local markets and restaurants sold fast food. Fernandez-Armesto, (2002) notes a similar theme in China during the Chinese Song Dynasty (around 1027). At that time, fast food street vendors were plentiful and, like their Roman counterparts, catered for the less wealthy citizenry.

Spencer (2003) notes the convenience that these food outlets provided their customers who, like their Roman and Chinese fast food counterparts, tended to be the poorer working classes of London or those in transit looking for a quick and convenient meal. Spencer's (2003) research on cook shops and medieval street food is congruent to that of Carlin (1998, as cited in Spencer, 2003), who also notes that the main customers of street food vendors were predominantly the poorer classes. Spencer (2003) also notes that the English street food of the day was not to everyone's liking "nobles and rich churchmen disdained their product" (Spencer, 2003, p. 61) even though the food offerings were extensive, ranging from roasted game birds to dairy products, pastries and other baked goods.

Historically street food vendors experienced many problems similar to today's WL operation. These problems included compliance and waste issues, and reputations for disreputableness (Mason, 2004). These situations were to be repeated half a world away within a polarisation of contested views on street food in Auckland New Zealand. No matter the era or culture, fast food/street food was often the domain of the poorer classes, the working-class.

This adds depth to Brillat-Savarin's catch-cry "tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are" (Brillat-Savarin, 1982, p. 174), a theme modernised with political correctness by Lashley (2004) who notes that, "in hierarchal societies, social class differences between people are frequently expressed in the way different groups consume food and drink, and accommodation" (Lashley, 2004, p. 9). The association between class and fast-and street-food in history continues today. This association, for many participants, represents their "site of struggle" (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132) and is particularly evident within English street/fast food settings;

"The chip shop or the chippy developed sometime during the mid-nineteenth century and became an important ready-to-eat food, initially for the urban working class and later for many from other backgrounds too.

Although it is regarded as quintessentially British, it owes much to immigrant communities; fish frying was a trade pursued by East End Jews, and the Italians, Chinese and Greek Cypriots were all important in running fish-and-chip shops during the twentieth century." (Mason, 2004, p. 170).

Mason (2004) suggests that street/fast food within England represented regionalism;

"Another great working-class food tradition is restricted to London. This is the eel, pie and mash shop, which sells eels, cold in a gelatinous mass, or hot, stewed and served with mashed potato and thin green parsley sauce.

The pies are hot meat pies, filled with minced beef. In the 1940s, London had at least 130 eel, pie and mash shops scattered throughout the city...the food could be eaten in, sitting at marble-topped tables, or bought as a takeaway from a window opening onto the street." (Mason, 2004, p. 172).

This discussion suggests, therefore, that fast food is consistently a part of culinary and social history. Clearly, many issues and experiences of today's WL are not new. A polarity has existed throughout history regarding street food/fast food and the public's wider perceptions of it. This dichotomous mindset of either a fondness for fast food or a complete loathing of it is echoed by Mason (2004), who considers that;

"attitudes toward takeaways are ambivalent; some people avoid them, claiming they are unhygienic or unhealthy. Others value them as (a) relatively cheap, swift source of precooked food, and use them as an element of socializing, ordering them to share with friends or as a convenient meal" (Mason, 2004, p. 170).

A history of concern, and sometimes condemnation, of street food/fast food, masked within class consciousness, is evident throughout history. It is suggested that today's WL operation is the 21<sup>st</sup> century manifestation of these themes. Today's contested voices of the WL stakeholders mirror the evolutionary changes within contemporary society that provide a platform for academic and public discourse and contribute to the future direction of such debates, and to the WL itself.

## **2.4 Class Food and Social Identity**

The historic and cyclic nature of street food and the association of class and food typology are both congruent to the research of Bourdieu (1984) who holds that a link exists between food types, their intake by consumer groups, and the structure of class within Western cultures to which these groups belong. Bourdieu's (1984) belief in the association and relationship between food and class has relevance to New Zealand's wider culture and to the WL. Seymour-Smith (1986) suggests that class, while holding Marxist and feminist perspectives, denotes social stratification that incorporates economic and power inequity between groups of people.

However, within New Zealand's culture Bedggood (1980) suggests that many New Zealanders hold the belief that, as a nation, New Zealand is virtually classless. The concept that New Zealand is a classless society is erroneous; class structures and stratification exist within New Zealand culture. Any concept of the existence of an egalitarian society within New Zealand is dismissed within the research of Bell, (1996), Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor (2004), Crampton, Salmond and Kirkpatrick (2004). While recognising the myth of egalitarianism, Bell (1996) concisely encapsulates an obvious disparity within New Zealand culture that denotes social stratification through gender; "we also grew up with an assumption of egalitarianism. Looking back, it was a strange sort of egalitarianism; it was one which gave total priority to men" (Bell, 1996, p. 23).



Bourdieu (1984) recognises the significant link between food identity and cultural belonging. While this link is important, other factors, including class and concepts of wider social identity, coalesce in providing a broader view of how food impacts and contributes to this matrix. However, for some academics the concept of cultural identity expressed through a shared community experience is flawed. For example, Anderson, (1983), Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor (2004) suggest that because all members of any group will almost never get to meet and know all the other members of that group, their image of a shared identity (whether it incorporates egalitarianism concepts, shared food, or not), is therefore incomplete. Anderson (1983), Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor (2004) believe that within identity, the sense of group identity, although believed by participants to be shared, is actually an imagined state. This belief differs to Bourdieu's (1984), but holds congruity with the precepts of postmodernism, and the media-fed notions of McLuhan's (1967, n.p) "global village" and consequent theme of globalisation.

As previously noted, within New Zealand, and against the myth of egalitarianism, class structures exist. Crampton, Salmond and Kirkpatrick's (2004) publication; 'Degrees of Deprivation in New Zealand; An Atlas of Socio-economic Difference (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition)' by name alone exemplifies New Zealand's inherent social differences and implicit class structures. Fairburn, and Olssen (2005) have been specific in identifying exact class structures in New Zealand within the taxonomy of "a three-class model consisting of a lower, a middle class and an upper class", (Fairburn and Olsen, 2005, p. 178). Previously, Bell (1996, p. 12) positioned the three-class model by proposing that those citizens within the bottom levels of the lower class are often objectified by the others who often label this group as "social problems".

Bedggood (1980) also recognises class structure in New Zealand, albeit within the proposition that early (pioneer) New Zealand was a stratified society when viewed via a Marxist perspective. Because the basic tenets of Marxist theory relate to the means of production, Bedggood (1980) consequently identifies four production modes in pioneer New Zealand, and in doing so identifies class structure via production. Bedggood's (1980) assertion is pivotal because it identifies colonial New Zealand as a 'working-class' country. Finkelstein (2004), takes Bedggood's (1980) position further by suggesting that food within cultures represents a potent symbol of conveyed shared meanings, and contexts for all participants. For Finkelstein (2004), food reflects the symbolic meanings of shared cultural values that specifically relate to "ethnic identity, status, gender, age, sexuality" (p. 62). Therefore, from Finkelstein's (2004) perspective, all food within cultures holds political meaning for participants relative to cultural mores.

Evident within contemporary hospitality, fast food outlets like Starbucks make a point of difference to their consumers by offering organic coffees and readily acknowledging the payment arrangements with its bean growers and suppliers. In doing so Starbucks maximises the marketing of their own company's acts of social responsibility (Starbucks 2009). This observance counters claims of grower exploitation and may contribute toward a 'feel good' factor within the customer purchase experience and expectation. While such disclosures may benefit growers, it is suggested that Starbucks' intent is to increase its own sales, by making themes of social responsibility a tool that is used to increase the company's own sales revenues.

Historically the use of food as a political tool is well documented. Civitello's (2004) examination of foods consumed during World War II by Americans revealed that many foods with German names or those that were associated with the earlier German settlers to the United States were subsequently rebranded. This exercise occurred because Germany at that time was perceived by many Americans as the enemy.

The association of food to both class and politics is pan-cultural *ménage à trois*. The most radical expression of this association may be found within supposed 'primitive' societies where the victors of battle in some cases, but not often, literally consume the vanquished. Bringeus (2001) describes this phenomenon by suggesting that food acts as an identifier, a discerning agent that can both unite and divide people. The ability of food to be a catalyst for identity is evident within New Zealand's early history and European settlement because most early migrants to New Zealand had working-class backgrounds.

However, Phillips (1987) suggests that some other arrivals were of more 'respectable' descent coming to New Zealand to be part of a 'colonial experience'. Phillips' (1987) suggestion that some early settlers 'escaped' their countries of origin to settle in New Zealand may imply that some of them may have arrived in New Zealand to distance themselves from disadvantage and to begin a new life perceived by them to be possibly superior. No matter their rationale for arrival, New Zealand's early settlers brought with them many of their behaviours and attitudes gleaned from their countries of origin.

Bourdieu (1984) suggests that all people bring with them their own systems of being; their dispositions and habitus. Bourdieu (1984) suggests that these behavioural and attitudinal dispositions are transferred by people within both conscious and unconscious behaviours and actions as people move between locales. Sloan (2004) suggests that basic needs are a key driver in the development of these dispositions and habitus. Sloan's (2004) suggestion is particularly relevant to New Zealand's early settlers because of the lack of resources to be immediately found in the new land. Therefore, new arrivals to early New Zealand had to quickly develop a mindset that reflected the culture of necessity and develop a 'can do' attitude. Simpson (1999) suggests that early migrant habitus may have been underpinned by recollections of poverty as sometimes experienced by them in their countries of origin.

Motivation through the experience of poverty, coupled with the possibility of abundance and opportunity that life in a new land presented to them, encouraged further positive disposition formation for some settlers. Fairburn (1990) suggests that New Zealand's '*abundance*' was used as a tool to promote New Zealand as a destination for migration, further suggesting that upon arrival the supposed 'abundance' of the country was not immediately apparent to the migrants.

Dispositional habitus traits and skills developed in other countries could now be strengthened and modified to meet the demands early settlers faced in their new land; New Zealand. This development may include a geographic element. Relative to the closeness of European countries, New Zealand is geographically isolated. This isolation, coupled with initial resource scarcity experienced by early settlers, assisted in the development of a culture of necessity and a subsequent mentality of innovation that emerged within New Zealand's early settler history.

Sloan (2004) suggests that people will, in times of resource scarcity, make do by emphasising the expediency of the resources that they currently have, especially if these resources are perceived as practical and useful. Within New Zealand's early settler culture, Bourdieu (1984) and Sloan's (2004) positions assist in the illumination of the emergence of a New Zealand cultural identity that incorporates not only a cultural element associated with necessity, but also an innovational element required to circumvent hardship caused through resource scarcity. The habitus and dispositions of new migrants were underpinned with the knowledge and experiences of their 'old' life and understanding of the value systems within their countries of origin. The attributed deficits of their homeland were tools used by agents to present a glowing picture of the new land. In doing so, such promotional activity encouraged migration to New Zealand (Simpson, 1985).

With an encouragement to migrate, coupled with Sloan (2004) and Bourdieu's (1984) dispositions, the attributes of recently arrived migrants are encapsulated by noting that colonial settlers had a multiplicity of skills and knowledge that they had gained prior to and subsequent to their arrival. Phillips (1987) further observes that the culture of necessity facilitated by resource scarcity enabled colonists to do almost anything. While some settlers gained varied work experiences in their new country, others used prior knowledge and experience within their new homeland to their immediate advantage. Hunter (2007), identifies examples of early settlers who, utilising their previous knowledge skill base, established successful businesses in New Zealand. Hunter's (2007) examples include early chocolate-maker James Whittaker and boot-maker Robert Hannah. Both of these businesses are long-term New Zealand success stories because they are still trading in 2009. Without doubt, entrepreneurial culinarians featured within these business start-ups.

With previous work skill and the possibility of new options in a new land, entrepreneurial opportunities presented themselves freely to those adventurous enough to take advantage of them. Hunter (2007) suggests that such business ventures significantly contributed to New Zealand's early growth economy, and in part contributed to alleviate the culture of necessity and resource scarcity. Such circumstances where entrepreneurial business opportunity develops holds congruence to Light's (1972) Protected Market Hypothesis. Light's (1972) theory posits that entrepreneurial businesses often begin by servicing the needs of their own communities first. Pioneer New Zealand was a tabula rasa of opportunity because of the scarcity of business infrastructure and business resources. For new residents, entrepreneurial opportunity, and the products and services delivered from it, provided a cultural fit for newer arrivals; street food in early New Zealand would have not only provided nutrition, but also acted to demarcate class structures, as well as providing a shared cultural symbol for settlers who frequented such providers.

Both commonality and differences within settler society would be established through such food offerings. The provision of hospitality, through food and beverage outlets in early New Zealand, provided a 'tool' that both reinforced and affirmed the new social structures introduced by the new settlers themselves. In New Zealand, Simpson (1985) suggests that the newly forged food driven identity also reflected plenty, in that early settlers, having overcome resource scarcity, began within a short space of time to eat a better quality of products, in more abundance, than their counterparts did in their countries of origin.

Warde's (1997) position that food is an identifier of commonality fits with early New Zealand pioneer life too. This commonality is reflected in the concept of mate-ship. Phillips (1987) suggests that the cult of mate-ship among early settlers reflected over time themes of dependence, loyalty and comradeship between pioneer men in New Zealand.

Brickell (2008) takes the mate-ship construct further by suggesting that it not only encompasses Phillips' (1987) concepts but also extends to the possibility that mate-ship facilitated for many early male settlers homosexual opportunity. Mate-ship reduced the culture of necessity because informal networks were formed. As well as forging a new cultural identity, the self-reliant, innovative New Zealander who 'could turn their hand to anything' emerged. The identity of the self-reliant 'turn your hand to anything' New Zealander is further delimited by Phillips' (1987) suggestion that because of the rough and ready pioneer lifestyle and culture of necessity, the ability for early settlers to maintain the signifiers of a stratified society were severely diminished. However, as Simpson (1999) points out, the culture of necessity also offered economic gain for hard-working migrants who, in good health and sober habit after a period of paid work could, if economical, become financially independent.

Facilitating mate-ship and the emerging New Zealand identity was the 'code of mate-ship'. Phillips (1987) suggests that the cornerstone of mate-ship was the belief by participants that, within the new environment, the restraints of previous class systems could be abandoned. It is within this development that this review suggests that the beginning of the myth of New Zealand's egalitarian culture finds its genesis.

However, within New Zealand's early pioneer culture not all residents sought egalitarianism. The New Zealand Colonization Society sought to establish a model England, with a clearly stratified hierarchy within the emerging European culture of pioneer New Zealand; however, this did not eventuate. Hunter (2007) suggests that a combination of Calvinism and lower middle class aspirations pervaded New Zealand society. This, for Hunter (2007), was in direct contrast to a culture controlled at that time by the minority capitalist elite, as was the case in England.

Phillips (1987) notes a popular image of early New Zealand that contributed toward the formation of the mate-ship ethos among early settlers was the image evoked by the effete 'just landed' English gent. The juxtaposition of an emergent mate-ship culture and the imagery evoked by the supposed effeminacy of the 'just landed' English gent are contributory factors promoting Phillips' (1987) suggestion that through the search for a New Zealand identity an almost cult-like pioneer dominant male image emerged that rejected the effete English gent. This position is echoed by Bell's previously noted (1996) belief that men dominated New Zealand culture.

Phillips (1987) posits that the new New Zealand man believed in thrift, hard work, self reliance and self help; characteristics that were in keeping with New Zealand's growth economy of the day achieved through primary and servicing industries. The pioneer man and the subsequent emergence of the new New Zealand male identity were impacted further by male drinking habits. Phillips (1987) posits that the 'new' man, as well as being a hard worker, was different from newer settlers. Phillips (1987) suggests that one of the main differences was that, after long periods of hard work, established settlers would often engage in prolonged and excessive drinking binges. Since New Zealand's early European settlement the propensity to overindulge in alcohol has permeated New Zealand's culture over time. New Zealanders' drinking habits, the sometime consequence of restrictive legislation, has directly impacted on business patterns at the WL over time, too. This is most evident as a consequence of the 6 o'clock swill<sup>20</sup>, and again in more recent history as drinking laws became more relaxed, business trading patterns at the WL altered accordingly.

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<sup>20</sup> The closing of hotel bars and alcoholic beverage sale outlets at 6pm prompted workers to drink in excess between leaving work and the bar closing.



New Zealand's participation in two world wars also served to reinforce a New Zealand cultural identity. Again, Phillips (1987) suggests that New Zealand's armed forces embody the earlier New Zealand pioneer/frontier values of mate-ship. Phillips (1987) posits that the frontier settlers and those within the military service shared the common bonds of mate-ship, innovation, versatility and strength; similar masculine characteristics that Phillips (1987) attributed to frontier culture.

The high casualty rate of New Zealand servicemen of both world wars is noted by Phillips (1987) to be another contributor to the supposed attributes of an emergent New Zealand identity. War casualties were significant; in the second World War, New Zealand had 15,700 wounded soldiers and 11,600 mortalities (Lockyer, 2002) from a total population of 1,781,200 in 1946 (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The changes that occurred throughout New Zealand's short history since European settlement have forged a New Zealand identity, influenced by English values. The positive economic period that emerged after the Second World War contributed to New Zealand's widespread prosperity, opportunity and growth (Lockyer, 2002). Lockyer (2002) notes that, "in 1956 New Zealand had the highest income per person in the world. In the 1980s, however, this position had slipped to seventeenth." (p. 73). One of the key freedoms that emerged as a consequence of post war growth, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, was the fact that young people now had discretionary income. With income came relative economic freedom.

Such economic freedom had not been experienced by previous generations. For Sloan (2004), postmodernism represented a new era in which communities and cultures could shake off and rid themselves of unnecessary traditional cultural burdens, attributes and behaviours. In New Zealand, the undermining of authority of the late 1960s was in large part facilitated by resistant youth movements, the press and other emergent media.

Increased discretionary spending money, especially for young people, also brought a 'voice' and sense of potential power to many people. Storey (1993) suggests that during the late 1960s and 1970s minority issues and minority groups gained prominence and, more importantly, new resistant voices were heard within a culture that previously marginalised, discouraged and suppressed minority inputs. Sloan (2004) suggests that a key concept within postmodernism was the beginning and growth of an appreciation of the aesthetic nature of everyday life. A part of this appreciation of the aesthetic was the emergence of pop art, most notably that of Andy Warhol. The emergence of the 'ordinary' within art, as exemplified in Warhol's cans of Campbell's soup, challenged the then recognised notions of what constituted the canons of art content, taste and preference and challenged the concept of elitist connoisseurship.

Parallel to Warhol's artistic preoccupation was his fascination with iconicism within his art. It is suggested that Warhol made the ordinary extraordinary (Campbell's soup), and the extraordinary ordinary, the latter being most obvious within his prolific coloured prints of Marilyn Monroe.

Postmodernist aesthetics combined to suggest that post-war change enabled the ordinary person to now hold a valid opinion on many matters previously excluded them, as exemplified by art appreciation (Freedman, 2003). Cumulative cultural changes were reflected within the WL as research will later reveal. Many research stakeholders believe the WL to be an iconic Auckland institution. It is suggested therefore that this elevation by stakeholders is consequential to the prevalence of the postmodernist ethos; something 'ordinary' made extraordinary by groups of people who held little previous influence in an earlier dominant culture. This reflects the postmodernist themes of Warhol and the influence of media in promoting postmodernist constructs.

Yet more changes were afoot that would impact on New Zealanders' sense of identity. These changes reflected the political upheavals of the early 1980s. Bell (1996) suggests that as a consequence of these political upheavals, New Zealand's national identity moved from a position of relative certainty to one of uncertainty.

Therefore, the proposition is made within this work that identity for New Zealanders is an ongoing concept, partially visionary, partially based on nostalgia, yet embedded within the participants' own active and varied environments. Adding clarity to the concept of nostalgia, Bell (1996) suggests that "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning" (Bell, 1996, p. 181). Within New Zealand cultural identity, the ability to reminisce and possibly romanticise the past through nostalgia assists in making sense of the present and in understanding the future, thus reinforcing for some an enhanced concept of identity.

While each generation and society has 'its good old days', for many New Zealanders this theme was realised and encapsulated within Mason's 1962 one-man play and subsequent film *The End of the Golden Weather*. Mason's (1962) work provides a metaphor of life past; '*the good old days*' of times gone by. Taggart (2008) suggests that for many New Zealanders the retrospective view implies that by comparison the previous shared experiences were '*not so bad after all*'. These themes coalesce in contributing a reassurance factor to participants within their search for identity. Further, Neill, Bell and Bryant (2008) suggest that the post-war era was an optimistic time, with a growth economy that enabled people within the postmodernist construct to realise their potential more than at any previous time had permitted. Because of the longevity of the WL, it is inextricably linked to the concepts of post-war opportunity, the positive reflection of times past and their comparison to the '*relative*' hardships of today, through the rise of the postmodernist construct. Contemporary academics like Fernandez-Armesto (2002) echo similar value themes by viewing fast-and take-away food as being synonymous with postmodernism itself, in that fast food facilitates the urgency of modern life, allowing people to multi-task for both business and pleasure pursuits. However this position may be a short-sighted one. This is because the history of fast food is much longer and enduring than that of postmodernism, as the history contained within this work attests.

Clearly, many academics concur that food is a significant social marker (Bedggood, 1980, Bourdieu, 1984, Bringeus, 2001 Finkelstein, 2004,). Within New Zealand a clear relationship is evident between class and food type. This relationship links New Zealand's early pioneer culture to contemporary expressions of postmodernism. Within this dynamic the WL provides this research with a cultural metaphor that expresses past and present values of New Zealand's diverse society.

This expression has been generated not only because of postmodernism, but also because within postmodernism, knowledge and status are often realised through the construct of opposition.

## **2.5 Fast Food and McDonaldisation**

Academics, including Ritzer (1996) and Brailsford (2003), adopt a different position to fast food in suggesting that fast food represents a pan-cultural threat. Williams (2002) agrees;

“Companies such as McDonald’s, Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC) and Burger King spend billions of pounds every year seeking to convert consumers to the McDonald’s experience (and in doing so) often irrevocably break traditional eating cultures at the same time.” (Williams, 2002, p. 10/11).

It could be successfully argued that because the WL has traded since 1948, it is a part of Auckland’s traditional eating culture. According to Williams (2002), it is under direct threat from the foreign fast food providers identified by Brailsford (2003), plus other subsequent operational competitor market entries like Subway. Brailsford (2003) suggests that McDonald’s restaurants are leading the New Zealand ‘charge’ within fast food competition. McDonald’s has come under intense, and some may argue disproportionate, academic scrutiny as a consequence of expansion and Ritzer’s (1996) theory/thesis concept of McDonaldization.

For Ritzer (1996) “McDonaldization” (p. 293) is not about the growth and business expansion of the franchise, but rather the seepage of McDonald’s service and production traits into the wider social domain. Ritzer’s (1996) concern regarding “McDonaldization” (p. 293) is a global concern that is not limited to the United States.

Concern by Ritzer (1996) relates to themes of “efficiency, calculability, predictability, control and (the) irrationalities of rationality” (p. 293/294). While Ritzer (1996) recognises that these attributes streamline McDonald’s operationally, it is within such a process that the hospitality experience of many consumers of hospitality may be negatively impacted upon. Particularly applicable to the WL within Ritzer’s (1996) concepts are the themes of “efficiency” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 293/294) and “predictability” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 293/294). In emphasising “efficiency”, McDonald’s have altered how New Zealanders perceive the service they receive within the hospitality experience. The assembly-line that constructs a McDonald’s burger has (for McDonald’s) been carried over to the service elements of it.

Consequently, Ritzer (1996) suggests customers are required “to acquire and consume their meals efficiently” (p. 293). This “efficiency” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 293/294) is in stark contrast to the service element customers experience at the WL. Later research within this thesis notes that some customers have experienced hospitality within its most holistic interpretation at the WL.

Secondly, the McDonaldised concept of “predictability” (Ritzer, 1996, p. 293) as posited by Ritzer (1996) assumes that McDonald’s employees follow pre-scripted text in soliciting orders and interacting with their customers. Again, this is in direct contrast to the customer skills exhibited at the WL, which are unrehearsed, unscripted, and are reflective of a more ‘regular’ or ‘naturalistic’ conversational style.

The WL’s emphasis on the individuality of its client base is summed up by Van der Wagen and Goonetilleke (2004). For these writers the intangible nature of hospitality’s service aspect, and customer perceptions of product and service, strategically impact upon all participants.

For customers, service differences often distinguish competitive businesses, through the positive feelings conveyed within the service transaction. Pre-1960, New Zealand's dining culture was limited to "restaurants, cafés, and dining rooms of hotels, tearooms, coffee shops and oyster bars. These outlets served up a narrow menu of grilled meats and hearty desserts" (New Zealand History OnLine, 2007). The limited range of food and beverage outlets during the WL peak-trading period (1950s-early 1970s) was underpinned by other factors. These factors included staff skill shortages, under-developed viticulture and ingredient suspicion. Older Auckland chefs like Tony Astle remember how things used to be "Forty years ago (1966), Navy cooks were all we had, there was no wine in New Zealand, only fortified sherry. We were told not to eat wild fennel because dogs peed on it." (Howard, 2006, n.p.).

At this time public bars and hotels closed at 6pm, the result of a war time measure introduced in 1917 and then eventually repealed by the Sale of Liquor Act (1962). Trading hours for public bars and hotels were extended until 10 pm in 1967 (New Zealand History OnLine, 2007). These combined changes modified drinking behaviour by consumers and brought an end to New Zealand's 6 o'clock swill.

The later closing time alleviated the situation hotel bars experienced when workers previously rushed to them in order to imbibe as many beverages as time permitted. This is reminiscent of earlier pioneer binge-drinking. These contemporary social changes impacted on the WL as New Zealand's hospitality industry grew dramatically over the last forty years.

This growth is reflective of the social impact and change inherent within changing government legislation, plus a growing awareness by New Zealanders of their sense of self; their cultural identity. In fast food, this growth was initially fuelled by KFC, McDonald's and Pizza Hut (Brailsford, 2003).

Other hospitality topics discussed among academics relate to themes of education in hospitality (Airey and Tribe, 2004), the servile nature of service work in hospitality (Guerrier and Adib, 2004) and the interface between the guest and host within the exchange processes within hospitality (Andrews, 2004). More recently, academics have explored the concept of the relationship between gastronomy and hospitality (Santich, 2007) and the wider socio-assimilative possibilities that hospitality afforded colonial settlements like Australia (O'Mahony, 2007).

## **2.6 Conclusions from the Literature Review**

This literature review has positioned the history of Auckland's WL within several sociological, social anthropological and populist domains. This positioning is not accidental. It reflects the legitimacy of the wide-ranging sources of analysis within popular culture. Over time, the ways of explaining the phenomena of popular cultural have changed. The WL can no longer be positioned within a structuralist model of society as a purveyor of cheap food for working-class consumers. Instead, like other popular cultural icons as social theory has shifted, the commentary of the WL has drawn upon concepts from postmodernist analysis.

The WL offers a compelling view of the 'place' that fast food outlets hold within New Zealand's wider society. This view is most noticeable within the construct of urban city streetscape. These elements conspire to generate different opinions and concerns for the varying stakeholder groups and contribute toward a polarity of opinion between them. This thesis posits that the differing concepts of streetscape, is a key element that overarches all the other domains identified as contested.



Moreover the literature review has revealed through analysis of contemporary social theory, that the WL provides a “cultural lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) through which New Zealanders can see their identity, Yet, this view of identity is contested with a semiotic overly inherent within food hierarchies, as exemplified within the *Metro* (1984), debate. The WL’s endurance over time includes the possibility that, while some values and concepts change, many other influencing factors have remained constant or become cyclic. Over time this congruity is reflected within history, legislative and moral concerns relating to fast food outlets and their customers, many of which are synonymous to today’s WL stakeholders concerns.

Fast food customers at the WL represent diversity; however, many stakeholders place undue emphasis on this believing that many WL customers mirror the “flip side of day-time respectability” (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 12). This negative image is one which WL detractors are keen to promote. But this view may be slightly askew with the reality of the WL customer base. Like its food stall antecedents, today’s WL caters for people on the move, those wanting hot food quickly, many of whom enjoy the active interaction of their hospitality experience while at the WL. These customers, as Neill, Bell and Bryant (2008) explain, come from all walks of life. Yet the WL customer base and its place within the streetscape remain contested constructs.

Much of this contestation occurs within and is fuelled by the media. The WL as a topic is keenly reported in the print media. Aside from the *Metro* (1984) article, the recent move of the WL from Shortland Street to its new Commerce Street location (via a brief trading stint at Auckland’s Ferry Building) generated numerous *New Zealand Herald* newspaper articles, and a flood of radio talkback input from the public.

In times of adversity for the WL such vocal support leads to the proposition that, because of the WL's longevity, many Aucklanders may take the WL for granted, and need only rumours of its closure to galvanise their verbal support of it. The fervour of WL support is complicated by Auckland City Council's lack of street trading policy. This has created a vacuous stalemate situation for all participants. The WL generates both social esteem and social derision, which in turn generates differing feelings for stakeholders and the wider community.

While helping to position the WL within academic discussion, the literature review has also revealed points of contestation amongst stakeholders. The areas of contestation revealed within the research findings section of this work hold direct congruence to the content of the literature review. Here a chronological and cyclic pattern of similarity is evident within the contested themes. These similarities include the association of food stalls and pie carts to lower socio-economic groups, and the distinctive overlay of class values expressed via food consumption typologies and patterns, and the enhancing development of a distinct New Zealand identity, one that is free from the "cultural cringe" (Bell, 2002, p. 149) necessitated through the once-dominant 'mother England', and the polarity of distinction brought about through "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) and the elitist elements of food consumption. Within the contemporary construct of Auckland's WL these domains find their expression in the following contested themes;

- The differing views of 'streetscape'
- Differing perspectives of the WL's 'place' in Auckland
- The impact of fast food competition to the WL
- WL participation in Host Responsibility
- The lack of a definitive street trading policy.

These themes are examined further in the research section of this thesis.

### **3 Chapter Three: The Research Methodology**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

To enable the illumination of the contested voices of the WL stakeholders; namely its customers, owner and staff, the ACC, and a group of university-aged students, a mixed methodology of qualitative and quantitative methods was used. This approach has, and congruent to Sechrest and Sidana's (1995) position, reduced the reliance on and problems connected with a single methodology, while concurring with Johnson and Onwuegbuzie's (2004) position that a mixed methodological approach to research "can incorporate the strengths of both methodologies" (p. 23). By using a mixed methodology, this research ignores the paradigmatic differences between them by capitalising on the differing strengths each approach brings to this research. These differences are most noticeable within the inductive nature of qualitative research as well as the deductive nature of quantitative research. This research therefore mirrors Johnson and Turner's (2003) "fundamental principles of mixed research" (n.p.).

These methods and an overview of the applied research practice will be presented in the following chapter, and a research diagrammatic overview is presented in Table 3; The Mixed Research Process. Within the application of Table 3, the pivotal aspect that differentiates the circular research phases from the triangular analysis phases was the difference within the epistemology of the researcher's interpretation of the participant's input, consequent to the mode within which that data was collected and subsequently analysed.

### **3.2 Qualitative Research**

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as “multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter” (p. 7). A qualitative methodology suited this research because of the interview techniques, the sample size and the participant selection criteria, plus the coding and analysis domains were all designed to solicit perceptions of ‘the other’; the participants and their subjective experiences as found within their voice, language and values.

This interpretation and understanding occurred because the qualitative research methods maximised the subjective inputs of the research participants. Qualitative research enabled the researcher to engage in the everyday life of the research participants and, as Malinowski (1922) suggested, see the world from the “native’s point of view” (p. 25). Qualitative research, according to Merriam (1988), embraces both diversity and variability, because it seeks to explore the inter-relationship between the participants and their subjective experiences.

Yow (2005), like Malinowski (1922), suggests that within qualitative research, the researcher “learns about the way of life by studying the people who live it, and, (by) asking them what they think about their experiences” (p. 7). This uniqueness is encapsulated by Portelli (1991), who suggests that researchers involved in oral histories consider all participant inputs as relevant. These considerations are inclusive of beliefs and value judgements of the participants, as well as of any erroneous information.

Therefore the multiplicity of input found within the WL research participant contributions agrees with Yow's (2005) suggestion; that within a diverse and rich research approach, an examination of the participant perspective that social anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973) termed "thick description" (Geertz, 1973 p. 6) has been undertaken. These themes are congruent to Chenail's (1995) suggestion that the "data which (has) been painfully collected, should be the star in the relationship; its richness, breadth and depth" (p. 2). Therefore the data from this research elicits a broad response; a process that is particularly evident within the role that food, and the WL, play within New Zealand culture and the search for self-identity and place undertaken by many New Zealanders. These concepts are seminal constructs within the WL's research if the researcher and reader are to successfully achieve an accurate understanding of participant input.

"Participant observation" (Silverman, 2001, p. 45) was utilised within this research. Perks and Thomson (2005) posit that "participant observation" (Silverman, 2001, p. 45) provides a valuable opportunity for researchers to "check the (participants) accounts against the collected data" (Perks and Thomson, 2005, p. 142). Within this research, "participant observation" (Creswell, 1998, p. 58) occurred via an unsolicited invitation from the WL owner for the researcher to "work the counter for a couple of sessions" (P. Washer, personal communication, June 9<sup>th</sup> 2006). "Participant observation" (Creswell, 1998, p. 58) at the WL concurred with Lincoln and Guba's (1985), suggestion that a prolonged interaction with participant groups enhances the relationship between researcher and participants. This in turn added credibility to the final research output as "participant observation" (Creswell, 1998, p. 58) eased the researcher/participant relationship. "Participant observation" (Silverman, 2001, p. 45) is aligned to Geertz's (1973) concept of the researcher's ability to see the world from the 'natives' (sic) point of view (Geertz, 1973).

It is clear that the “the longer one stays in the field, the greater the reliability and validity of information one gathers” (Perks & Thomson, 2005, p. 142). Given that hospitality includes concepts of tangibility (food and beverage ‘products’), and intangible (service) dynamics, “participant observation” (Creswell, 1998, p. 58) at the WL ‘bridged’ the gap between these two elements as well as the aforementioned participant/researcher relationships.

### **3.3 Quantitative Research**

Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) suggest that quantitative research, whether “descriptive (or) experimental” (p. 75), seeks to statistically evaluate and research the relationship between variables and to then express these generalised findings within measurable, deductive and objective research outputs. A quantitative research methodology was used within the student group and added an important dynamic to this research; a marketing lacuna was identified that represents a future business possibility for the WL.

The application of a quantitative methodology to the student group blends with Bryman’s (1984) suggestion that such a methodology distances the observer from the participant and through questionnaire analysis research outputs “can be operationalised” (p. 77). Bryman (1984) extends this point further by the suggestion that survey tools within qualitative research add clarity to the epistemological domains that underpin it. In this way a mixed methodology adds balance to this research.

### **3.4 Applied Research Practice: A Mixed Methodology**

This section provides an overview of the applied research practice that is subsequently expanded upon within the sections relating to the participant groups. While Coffey & Atkinson (1996) suggest that there are no definitive formulae in the collection or analysis of qualitative data, Hoepfl (1997) believes that qualitative researchers utilise an inductive process in the analysis of their data. It is from this data and its subsequent analysis that the critical themes emerge within qualitative research. The subjective participant responses gained from the combination of “semi-structured and un-structured interviews” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) and participant observation enabled the researcher to make sense of the WL stakeholder data by formulating a coherent corpus of research outcome, via “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8). The application of “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) determined the ‘groupings’ of information gathered from participants. Further to this was an opportunity for the participants to add more data. Additional participant data was a frequent occurrence within this research. ‘Extra’ contributions contributed a wider and ‘thicker’ research outcome congruent to Geertz’s (1973) and Yow’s (2005) themes.

Additional participant inputs occurred because participants were actively involved in a wider process of research than simply just answering questions; they actively approached the researcher on subsequent occasions to add more data to that previously given by them. Accordingly, the applied research practice within the qualitative research undertakings maximised “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) to reflect the analytic classification of data through its coding, which in turn enabled the researcher to incorporate Hoepfl’s (1997) inductive mindset to both classify and then write up these themes that were identified.

The quantitative research methodology was applied to the student cohort only. For this group the methodology centred on the use of a survey tool that incorporated both short answer questions and a Likert based (Clason, & Dormody, 2003) series of questions. These questions and the research format provided the total research a base of “systematically collected data” (Bryman, 1984, p. 81) that bridged the academic lacuna between the words, feelings and actions of the qualitative-based research participants and the more ‘scientific’ data collected from the student group (Bryman, 1984). Specifically, the quantitative research within the student group utilised a questionnaire that contained scaled responses that solicited “nominal, ordinal and ratio” (Altinay and Paraskevas, 2008, p. 195) responses. The data received from these responses was in most cases converted into percentiles, or presented ‘as given’ by participants.

Importantly, the combination of these methodologies assisted in the interpretation and understanding of the participants’ research inputs. It was because of the use of mixed methodology that the identification of areas of contestation and the author-sourced solutions to these areas came into being; thus providing cornerstone material for this research.

The mixed methodology used holds with Johnson and Onwuegbuzie’s (2004) suggestion that a mixed approach may be integrated into research “within and across the stages of research” (p. 19). For this research these stages include the use of qualitative research for all groups except the student group; here a quantitative approach was undertaken. The quantitative methods used within the student group enabled the identification and subsequent, statistical interpretation of their inputs. Thus the combination of research methods provided a balanced approach to the topic that served to both illuminate while also reinforcing participant inputs and subsequent research findings.



### **3.5 Sample Size, Recruitment and Stakeholder Selection**

The sample group of participants for this research project was small, yet highly representative, of the stakeholders associated with the WL. Because of the smaller size of the research participant group, this research was particularly suited to the soliciting of research data that was rich and multi-levelled, providing “thick description” (Geertz, 1973, p. 6). This position is congruent to Yow (2005) and Hoepfl’s (1997) assertion that “qualitative researchers seek illumination, understanding, and extrapolation” (p. 84).

#### **3.5.1 The Elite Participant**

As owner of the WL Peter Washer was a key participant within this research. Peter Washer facilitated employee and customer introductions to this research, and therefore is deemed the “elite” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 105) or what Ritchie (2003) refers to as the “gatekeeper” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 88) participant. “Gate-keeper (s)” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 88) are important because as Ritchie (2003) posits, “others often wait until the gatekeeper has sanctioned the interviews” (p. 88), before deciding whether to contribute toward the research themselves. Lofland and Lofland (1984) posit that researchers are more likely to gain successful access to research situations when they make full use of the contacts that can help to remove any barriers to participant research input (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, as cited in Hoepfl, 1997). WL owner Peter Washer holds the unique position of being the cart’s second manager/owner; Peter’s father Pop Washer was the first, the WL having had only two owner/managers in its lifetime. Peter offers this research a laconically expressed, pragmatic down-to-earth contribution. Peter’s input is typified in his quote relating to his long-term view of the ACC and the WL; “we have been here trading for years, while they (the Council) come and go.” (P. Washer, personal communication, July 10<sup>th</sup> 2008).

### **3.5.2 The WL Employee Group**

As the “elite” (Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 105) or “gatekeeper” (Ritchie, 2003, p. 88) participant, Peter Washer introduced to the researcher all current employees of the WL and, with the researcher, jointly offered them an opportunity to participate. Peter also researched his employment files and located past staff. Those who were currently contactable were also invited to participate. After the initial invitation and offer to participants and an overview of the research implications for stakeholders, the group was narrowed down to a group of active research participants. The WL employee group consisted of five participants.

Given that the WL is a single small business operation, classified as “a small firm having 0-5 employees” (Ministry of Economic Development, 1999, as cited in Massey, 2005, p. 11), this limited number was considered a fair employee representation. The total years of work experience of this group was considerable; 50 years. Many of these employees worked together at the WL. The longest serving employee involved in this research began working at the WL in 1966 and finished working there in 1986.

### **3.5.3 The WL Customer Group**

The WL customer group consisted of seven participants. Participants in this group needed to meet ‘regular customer’ status; they would be required to have a minimum of six months’ association with the WL, or a total of (not less than) twelve visits to it. This status would be deemed ‘regular customer’ by this research.

The age range of this cohort was from 25-67 years of age with a gender mix of 60% male and 40% female. Contact for interviews with this group occurred at their homes, with one exception. One regular customer asked the researcher to join him at his plush 'gentleman's club' for the initial interview. None of the WL customer group participants were interviewed at the WL.

#### **3.5.4 The Auckland City Council Group**

The ACC Group consisted of five participants whose stakeholder status was predetermined by the compliance issues that face the WL, coupled with their extensive and expert knowledge in the decision-making processes that impact upon the future 'shape' of Auckland City and the WL's place within it. The areas of Council that hold an interest in the WL include City Planning and Open Spaces, Street Trading Licensing and departments within Environmental Health.

ACC designated a spokesperson from each of these areas to handle this research enquiry. The Environmental Health section of Council chose to provide four participants from that department, each having separate (yet overlapping) compliance responsibility and expertise.

#### **3.5.5 The Student Group**

Unlike the other stakeholder groups, the Student Group is not a direct stakeholder within the WL/ACC dynamic. This group is included in this research because an age bias developed as participant research groups formed. The inclusion of The Student Group is designed to redress this bias. The age bias of this research (until addressed by the student group inclusion) was a result of participant selection of older WL customers.

The age bias of the customer stakeholders was disproportionate to that of other groups, namely the ACC and WL staff cohorts. In realising and addressing the age variation this research has been enhanced. The use of both mixed methodologies applied to research results gleaned from the student group helps identify information of advantage to the WL's long-term business options.

The student group consisted of 30 (randomly chosen) university-aged students. The average age of this cohort was 19.5 years of age. The students were all studying toward a Bachelor of Arts Degree, and were in the second year of degree study.

### **3.6 An Overview of Interview Types and Benefits**

The two prevailing forms of data collection associated with qualitative enquiry include interviews and observation. Bogdan & Biklen, (1982) expand this by suggesting that interviews, observation and document analysis are both key and dominant strategies used within this format. Lincoln and Guba (1985), Howarth (1999), and Yow (2005) further suggest that trust is *the* critical element that needs to be established and maintained between the researcher and research participants within all qualitative enquiries.

Honesty and directness are cornerstones of access for the current research undertaking and within any subsequent research processes. It is vital for the researcher to “build up trust between the interviewer and the interviewee (by) keep(ing) in contact with the informant; tell(ing) him or her what is happening” (Howarth, 1999, p. 168).

An environment of trust facilitates the best opportunities for participant information disclosure and research information gathering. This research used a combination of interview strategies. These included “semi-structured and unstructured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) techniques. These techniques were ideally suited to this research because of the nature and diversity of participants and their subjective experiences. To facilitate interviews, an interview schedule was prepared after participants had been identified, briefed and then given their consent to participate (Appendix 2).

### **3.6.1 Interview Techniques for Employees and Customers**

The “unstructured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) and the “semi-structured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) formats were the best suited interview formats for the owner/employee and customer research groups. This was because this interview typology minimises the researcher's role yet emphasises the subjective experience of participant input. This method also reflected the informal nature of the participant/researcher relationship. This relationship was formed over a longer period of time than the time spent within the ACC staff stakeholder group, thus enabling a more fluid discourse. This fluidity better enabled participants to ‘tell their own story’ in a style that was best suited to them. The “unstructured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) and the “semi-structured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) methods also enabled the researcher to understand, rather than have explained, participant perspectives within the data-analysis phase of this work. The interview questions for participants centred on the evolution and survival of the WL against a backdrop of socio-historical events that have occurred within the WLs’ trading lifetime and the participants’ association with it.

The base questions for the employee and customer groups included;

1. What is your experience as an employee / customer of the WL?
2. What do you believe the future of the WL is?
3. How would you classify the WL within existing business structures?

### **3.6.2 Interview Techniques for the ACC Group**

Conversely, the “semi-structured interview” (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) was best suited to participants from the ACC. This was because the nature of response from this group were more structured, topic-related, and in relative terms, more rigid than that of the other research groups. This rigidity occurred because of the compliance and business relationship that these stakeholders maintain with the WL operation. Within the ACC stakeholder group this meant that interview topics revolved around compliance and street trading policy issues. For the remaining stakeholders, the range of questions and responses was wider and more varied simply because of their differing relationship to the WL.

The base questions for the ACC group included;

1. What is Auckland City’s street trading policy, and how is the WL positioned within it?
2. How do legal hygiene requirements impact on the WL’s operation?
3. How do the concepts of streetscape and urban planning impact on the positioning of the WL within existing city structures?

### **3.6.3 Techniques for the Student Group**

Participation for the Student Group involved their completion of a simple questionnaire. No interviews were conducted with this group. Results from student input were collated, and either converted into a statistical analysis, or, reported verbatim. While the inclusion of this group in the research was initially designed to redress an age bias, their overall responses added an unexpected dimension to the research findings that may enable a clearer future direction for marketing the WL in the years to come. The research results from this group along with all other groups, is located within Section Four; Research Findings.

### **3.7 The Classification of Research Inputs: Open Coding**

Within this research work it was the participants themselves who guided the ultimate direction of this research undertaking. This guidance became manifest through the participant interview inputs, and in the case of the Student Group, their quantitative feedback. From the collection of data, the analysis of it followed Strauss and Corbin's (1990) "open coding" (p. 8) system.

"Open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) provides a format for explaining and describing the relationships, differing concepts, and time frames within which participant groups offered their research contributions. Within "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) the researcher named categories of information which began over time to form a research data framework. The categories emerged directly from the participants' inputs. From this framework the linked relationships of stakeholders emerged, and because of the fluidity of "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8), a combination of participant inputs generated a melange of stakeholders' reality.

“Open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) gave a ‘work in progress’ mindset to the research that reflected the cornerstone of qualitative inquiry. Coffey & Atkinson (1996) suggest “there are no formulae or recipes for the best way to analyse the stories we collect” (p. 80); “qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, meaning the critical themes emerge out of the data” itself (Hoepfl, 1997, p. 8).

Enhancing qualitative enquiry was the inclusion of the researcher’s inductive analysis. Inductive research methods are congruent to qualitative research because through inductive enquiry, data is collected and from its analysis a theory is formed (Hayes, 2000). The combination of inductive research and “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) provided the theme identification within the research findings section of this thesis. Inductive research practice facilitated the subsequent interpretation of the research findings, participant themes and contestation solutions.

### **3.8 Reflexivity, Researcher Interest and Bias**

The contemporary qualitative researcher seeks to solicit Denzin’s (1989) interpretive approach and integrate this within their work. This approach incorporates the author’s value systems within themes including political, social, and economic and gender values that may become intermixed within interpretive writing (Creswell, 2007). In embracing the interpretive approach this research contextualises the findings within the wider social constructs of the day. In doing so researcher bias has been minimised. This concurs with Gilgun’s (2005) suggestion that “writings are co-constructions, presentations of interactive processes between researchers and the researched” (n.p.). Within this “co-construction” (Gilgun, 2005, n.p.), the researcher brings bias.



Researcher bias that favoured the WL research participants and the concept that pie carts are positive contributors to New Zealand's culinary history and fast food landscape began as part of the researcher's own upbringing. Elder brothers' visits to the Gore pie cart on Friday and Saturday nights sometimes ended in street brawls and drunken behaviour. It is against this backdrop, and the declining number of pie carts operating in New Zealand that this research interest began and with it a confessed bias favourable to some WL stakeholders, namely the WL owner, staff and customers.

The researcher also experienced a bias toward the ACC participants. Compared to the WL stakeholder bias the ACC researcher bias was a negative one. As a city ratepayer the researcher held a preconception that the ACC and its employees were enmeshed in bureaucracy, and because of this lacked humanity and the ability to engage in animated discourse. This preconception proved totally unfounded. The discourse between the researcher and the ACC participants was not the formal stilted event anticipated, rather, it was lively, engaging and, most importantly, open and honest.

The researcher's consistency of awareness avoided the skewing of questions and responses to fit any preconceived ideas that the researcher may have had based on prior experience or knowledge within all research groups. Opportunities within this research for the researcher to declare and acknowledge the subjective nature of the researcher's own account, enabled a laying bare within the research of any bias the researcher held for others to openly see. In this regard, a reflexive approach was integrated into the entire research undertaking.

This approach assisted in building relationships with many research participants. Throughout this undertaking the researcher was acutely cognisant of personal bias and the greater need that the research undertaken should inform readers, and not dominate the reader's perception of it with researcher bias. Given that researchers bring value judgements to their work, Patton (2002) suggests that the researcher's attitudes need to be tempered with reflective introspection. Such value judgement introspection will empower the researcher and in doing so they may differentiate themselves from their research participants. Within this research undertaking the researcher was acutely aware of the knowledge and sources of that knowledge he already possessed prior to the research commencement and the social and familial factors that had shaped them.

This was an important process in this research. In coming to terms with these values the researcher was then able to 'step outside' of these constraints and in doing so 'speak' to the research by placing the perceptions and information gleaned from participants at the forefront of this endeavour. This in turn added clarity for the researcher to maximize the research output, while realising the essence of it was the participants' own perspectives and values.

While the researcher became enmeshed within the world of participant stakeholders, two distinct voices are evident within this work; the participants' and the researcher's. The subjectivity of qualitative research enables the accurate reporting of participant perspective, whereas the clinical methodology inherent in the statistically based quantitative research method did not.

Bias may have also existed within the participants themselves and their selective responses (based on their own bias) of social changes and their feelings and interpretation of them. The disparity and congruence of participant opinion within social and business change, or any other matter within their research contribution, reflected both the nature and diversity of the participants and the implicit strength of the subjective qualitative methodology. It is suggested that the disparity and difference within all participant inputs adds to the illumination of the stakeholder perspectives within this research.

### **3.9 Trustworthiness/Reliability and Validity**

As Silverman (2001) posits, “the issues of reliability and validity are important, because in them the objectivity and credibility of social science research is at stake” (Silverman, 2004, p. 283). Qualitative research, by its nature, is open to the possibility that bias, attitude and perspective may influence the trustworthiness of the research outcome.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) “there are four components of trustworthiness that are relevant to qualitative research; truth value; applicability; consistency; and neutrality” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 11). For quantitative researchers like Smith and Heshusius (1986), naturalistic research can “only offer an interpretation of the interpretations of others” (p. 7). But for qualitative researchers like Lincoln and Guba (1985), the notion of trustworthiness is simple; “how can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 11) Geertz (1973) provides an answer in his recommendation that researchers engage the concept of “thick description” (p. 6).

Within this research, the reliability of the qualitative method is reflected in the analysis of the research findings and the coding used for their categorisation; “the more agreement there is in coding observations, the more reliable the instrument” (Dixon, Bouma, & Atkinson, 1992, p. 102). The proof in the efficacy of trustworthiness, reliability and validity of this research lies in the final work itself; “a qualitative study is credible when it presents such accurate descriptions or interpretations of human experiences that people who also share that experience would immediately recognize the descriptions” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 11). Qualitative research reports, typically rich with detail and insights into participants’ experiences of the world, may “be epistemologically in harmony with the reader’s experience, and thus more meaningful” (Stake, 1978, p. 2).

### **3.10 Research Limitations**

It is at this point that the respective strengths and weaknesses of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies become most apparent. A ‘one size fits all’ mindset within research methodology is an erroneous one. This is because such a mindset potentially limits the research outcomes and fails to recognise the heterogeneity found within the richness of the social sciences, humanities and people.

Three research limitations are noted within this work. These include the fact only one pie cart, Auckland’s White Lady was examined; the “recall selectivity” (Ross and Conway, 1986, as cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 118) of participants; and the ability (or not) of participants to link the world of the WL to the wider social context within which it operates. The research limitations noted clearly reflect the subjective nature of qualitative research methods.

Because this research examined one pie cart, the WL, there are inherent limitations to this work. Even though the WL holds parallels with both the Greymouth and Dunedin pie carts the results of this research cannot be transferred and equally applied. Because of the emic perspective, an oral participant may “suffer from recall selectivity, focusing on subsets of experience, filling in memory gaps through inference, and reinterpreting the past” (Ross and Conway, 1986, as cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 118). Crites’ (1986) concept that “the illusion of causality” (as cited in Marshall and Rossman, 2006, p. 118) thus created adds a limitation to this research may be evident by researcher reflection; did the participants experience difficulty in associating business practice to the wider social, economic and political construct of the day?

### **3.11 Research Ethics Approval**

Before any research was undertaken for this thesis, application was made to The Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC) for ethics approval. AUTEC gave permission for this research undertaking to occur under application number 05/215 filed in May 2006. During the period of active research and subsequent compilation, no ethical issues arose with participants that were brought to the attention of either the researcher or the nominated contact at AUTEC. Participants within this research were fully briefed within the research structure as outlined within the consent and participant information sheets presented in Appendices 1 and 2.

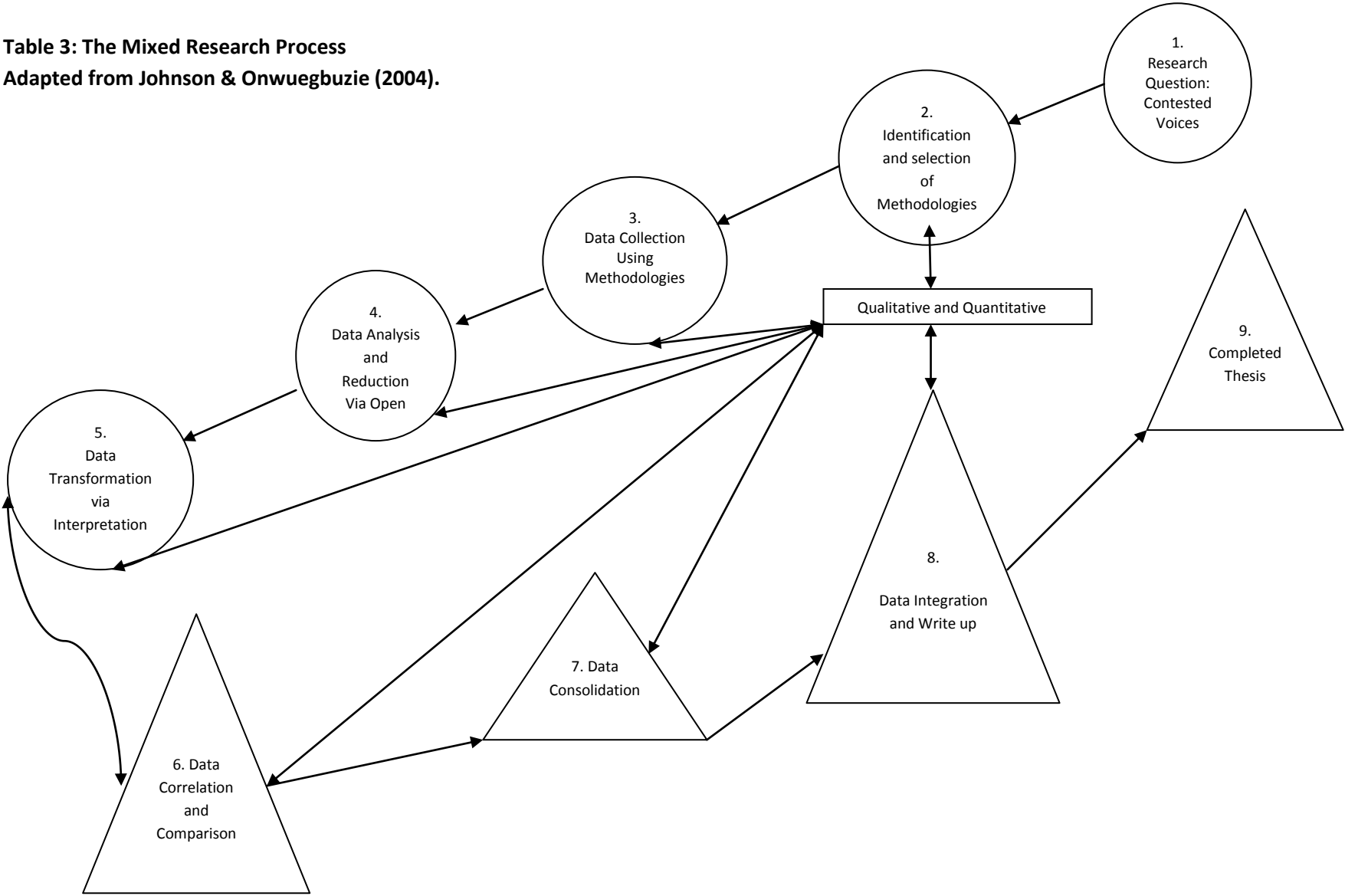
### **3.12 Conclusion**

For all participants it was essential that the researcher establish a trusting relationship with them. This was an important research step, as trust between researcher and participant would promote ease of discourse within the interview process. To this end, time and effort was allocated by the researcher to 'get to know' the participants. This process was (for employees and customers), facilitated via "participant observation" (Silverman, 2001, p. 45) where the researcher became actively involved in the night-time operation of the cart. This activity promoted closer relationships between the researcher and WL customers and employees. These activities made the interview processes easier with the participants.

Both "unstructured and semi-structured interview" (Bryman, 2004, p. 113) methods were used on all participants except the Student Group. This group completed a written set questionnaire. The inclusion of the Student Group within this research was to redress the age bias of other research participants. Through completion of the questionnaire the Student Group contributed an unexpected research outcome; the identification of an untapped youth/student market for future WL business.

The data from the interview processes and Student Group inputs were analysed using "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8). From the "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) process the researcher identified themed knowledge groups of participant input.

**Table 3: The Mixed Research Process**  
**Adapted from Johnson & Onwuegbuzie (2004).**



## **4 Chapter Four: Research Findings**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This section illuminates the research findings by identifying and discussing the areas of stakeholder contestation. The subjective nature of participant experience means that many participants, while undergoing similar experiences will, because of heterogenic factors, interpret these experiences differently. This is a strength of the qualitative research method. In turn, this strength illuminates the contested voices within this research as diverse perspectives reflect different participant positions and attitudes. It is suggested that a seminal difference between the WL stakeholders and the ACC stakeholders is founded within the concept and practice of hospitality. To be successful in the hospitality business arena, workers and staff need to embrace concepts of fluidity, change and rapid adaptation within contemporaneous human exchange (Brotherton, 1999); that is the essence of hospitality. This hospitality attribute may be at variance to the prescriptive methodologies inherent within entities like the ACC. This difference occurs primarily because the ACC responsibilities lie not within hospitality provision and human exchange, but within the dynamics of compliance administration and regulation.

The research findings reflect the process of “open coding” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 8) and the applied results of the researcher’s use of a mixed methodology within the research. The clearly identifiable themes that are contested between stakeholders are related to the ‘place’ within the city streetscape that the WL holds; the informal reliance upon the WL as a source of Host Responsibility, and the lack of a coherent street trading policy. While these themes are identifiable, they exist within wider social constructs, most notably cultural identity, iconism, cosmopolitanism and its precursor post-modernism and modernism, as well as the nature of business competition brought about through branded fast food competition.



Within this amalgam are crossover issues that combine to create ‘tensions of belief’ between stakeholders. For example within streetscape, issues of city planning and space coupled with themes of cultural identity coalesce. Similarly, the views of overseas media in portraying New Zealand life serve to both reinforce and contradict stakeholder beliefs. Therefore it is within the identified areas of contestation and the collateral domains within which they exist, that this thesis discusses stakeholder contestation.

Within the final section of this chapter, author-generated solutions to contested areas will be presented. The contested themes discussed in this chapter were previously presented in diagrammatic format in Chapter One; Tables 3 and 4. With this in mind, it becomes clear that while the ‘relationship of professional distance’ is noted between stakeholder groups and is an important consideration, it does not detract from the validity or reality of participant input. Rather, the ‘relationship of professional distance’ establishes the professional detachment necessary for Council employees to undertake their paid employment tasks for the WL and other city businesses, and facilitates for this research an expertise of contribution within each stakeholder group. ‘Professional distance’ provides a platform from which all stakeholders draw their respective perspectives and knowledge bases.

For WL stakeholders the ‘relationship of professional distance’ is reflected in the following comments from customers and staff in relating their association or relationship with the ACC. This from a middle-aged professional male customer at the WL who had trouble differentiating between bureaucratic Council staff and other Council staff actively engaged in keeping the city streets clean;

“The association with the council is more with the street sweepers and the street cleaners, and that sort of thing .... I know that council pushed to get rid of the cart, as I think they (*Council*) saw it (*the White Lady*) as a trouble spot at the early end of the night; I just think their perception of it was just a bit of a nuisance.”

This is reinforced by older staff members at the WL who recalled that their interactions with the Council were of a purely practical nature. These interactions reflect the Council's obligation to maintain clean streets, and for some WL employees, this meant that they picked up rubbish left on the streets by WL customers. Clearly for some WL employees, interaction with and knowledge of the ACC reflected themes of practicality, keeping the city streets clean within the WL's environs. Others, most notably a taxi driver and a staff member at the cart, were somewhat pessimistic when discussing how they viewed the WL's relationship with the Council. A long-time worker at the cart who is now a self-employed painter and still takes an active interest in the WL's operation, and wider City Council activity notes;

"I think there are a lot of people who have come and gone in the Council who have their ideas and they have tried to categorise people into certain groups and go 'ok that group goes here-strippers in Fort Street, clubbers K'Road, homosexuals Ponsonby Road, IT corporate execs the Viaduct. There's certain people in Council, mainly civil servants who have no problem with the pie cart but you get an elected official who will jump on the bandwagon and start causing waves, or whatever you call it."

This from another male customer in his late 40s who once regularly frequented the cart over a number of years, but now, with rural business interests, rarely visits it;

"Anything from Auckland City Council is rather prescriptive and restrictive and probably in some respects they would like to see the White Lady off the streets."

A successful older businessman in his early 60s, suggested that the Council's part in the WL dynamic was minimal. He proffered a strict capitalist business survival approach, which reflects his own business life experience and acumen;

"If it wasn't viable, well, it wouldn't be there, so they are commercially viable."

This research suggests that the ACC knowledge shortfall due to 'professional distance' may be of more urgent import and relevance than that of the WL stakeholder group. This suggestion is made because the ACC stakeholder group holds responsibility for planning, devising and knowing the larger picture that reflects Auckland City's past, present and future dimensions and directions. This is encapsulated in the concept of streetscape and generates seminal themes within the meta view of any metropolis. By comparison, the 'world view' of the WL stakeholders is limited.

Congruent to this theme is an emotional association and link many WL stakeholders hold toward the WL business. This link or loyalty found expression on three levels; a 'connection' with its current owner that exceeds the widely accepted employee/employer relationship; a connection to the uniqueness of the business itself, reflecting the perceived status of the WL; and employee pride in the WL product. These themes reflect the relationship the WL owner has with his staff and his 'hospitality' toward them as people. The close relationship that Peter Washer has with his staff emanates from the approach to human resource management Peter gained from his father.

By contrast Council employees tend to rely, by their own admission, on "perception and presumption" as the measure of assessment of the customer base of the WL, and by logical extension, other judgements about the business. It is within differing frameworks that this research suggests that a 'relationship of professional distance' exists between these two groups.

"No, we haven't, so that is entirely a perception and presumption on my behalf and that again is supposed from what I hear, my own observations, informal over time and the kinds of complaints we receive and the comments of others in the industry and so on and so forth. No, there is no science behind it at all."

#### **4.2 Elements Underpinning Contestation: Perceptions of 'Place'**

The participant inputs relating to the sense of 'place' occupied by the WL reflect the themes contained within streetscape and the participant reality expressed within the "temporal and cultural lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645). Perceptions of 'place' relating to the WL also reflect "site of struggle" (Eggermont, 2001, p. 132) themes and also the Americanisation of New Zealand's society. This is evident in participant reflections and expressions of marginalisation or mainstream cultural change that participants ascribe as impacting on the WL.

Participant perceptions reflect the personal manifestation of globalisation and the emergence of New Zealand as a nation state, albeit influenced by American 'ideals'. Hopper (2007) suggests that within the development of powerful nation states, minority cultures and ideals are often sacrificed for 'a' greater good. This thesis therefore suggests that, within this context, the WL represents a marginalised business entity; one that within Hopper's (2007) concept may be 'sacrificed' for the perceived greater 'globalised' good; albeit in the form of 'upmarket retail' development in Auckland's CBD.

However, many respondents suggested that because the WL has been, and continues to be, such a prominent and unique part of New Zealand's hospitality industry and food service scene, many consider that the WL is an iconic New Zealand institution. The proposition that the WL is iconic was a common theme within all stakeholder groups. Of special note by some respondents was a parallel contrast of New Zealand's supposed uniqueness and individuality that these respondents feared losing to social structures that were more regimented and ordered, should the WL cease trading.

In this regard, several respondents compared Auckland's relative 'freedoms' as represented by the existence of WL, to other countries that these respondents considered to be highly monitored and prescribed cultures, most notably Hong Kong and Singapore. For these participants a link between 'freedom' and the uniqueness of the WL was an important one. Consequently, the WL holds a unique place in Auckland for these people. This situation is compounded further because of a contradiction between the reality to be found on the streets and ACC's aspirational mindset relating to the concept of the most desirous streetscape as evidenced by ACC employee inputs to this research.

This input from an enthusiastic ACC employee who, as well as adjusting to her new home in New Zealand, is also adapting to the dynamic within ACC's own political structures, shows the apparent contradiction;

"You know, I have sat there in meetings where they have talked about this is the way we see it, and this is what we want, and they talk about liveable spaces at street level so that the city has vibrancy, it's the whole buzz word in the Council you know, we want a vibrant sophisticated city, and you walk down (the) Viaduct and Queen Street and Chancery Square during the day, (it's) absolutely lovely during the day, I consider it in my opinion and I think that in most people's it would be vibrant and quite sophisticated, but go there at four in the morning, it's definitely not vibrant, it's definitely not sophisticated. It's intimidating, it's ugly, it's not attractive and I think one thing they can't account for when they design these spaces is how it's actually going to be occupied and that's a massive thing that we can't control."

Planners and decision makers in the ACC have a responsibility to know who and what type of people frequent any urban area if they are to make the correct decisions that ultimately impact on those people and that area. This suggestion is echoed in ACC's 2007 Audit Report;

“Auckland City Council is responsible for providing, protecting and enhancing what we have today to keep Auckland's future bright. This report looks at how we are facing the challenges of managing our resources to ensure that the economy, our environment, society and culture are developed in a way that will enrich our city today, tomorrow and into the future.” (Auckland City Council, 2007).

These considerations are especially important when ACC undertakes future city planning and development. Impacting upon the consideration of future city planning is a disposition by Council research participants to associate fast food and excess alcohol consumption to WL clients. This theme is relevant to WL customer knowledge and the ‘*perception and presumption*’ mindset expressed by some ACC inputs. The WL is one of only a few food outlets within the city that trades in the late night/early morning hours. However, it might also be suggested that, unlike the stakeholders who frequent the WL, respondents from ACC tend to classify the clients of the WL based on shared or assumed knowledge, rather than through direct observation, interaction or presence at the cart itself during its operation. In this regard, some generalisations and stereotyping may occur within ACC when considering the WL.

However, it may be possible that ACC recognises a middle ground and larger picture within Auckland City streetscape and the sense of place that the WL holds. This middle ground encompasses the notion that different types of people use the same part of the city at different times of the day and night. This from another ACC source who, realising this perspective, contributed the following;

“I don’t think the WL has a problem with streetscape, it only opens at 5pm at night. People will be gone by then anyway. Like the ‘White House’ (*a brothel*) open next to a kindergarten they operate at different times. Why should the streetscape be a problem, morning and afternoon, it changes.”

Yet, while recognising that certain parts of the city hold different uses at different times of the day, Council is sending participants mixed messages. Is the CBD to be turned into precincts, or will recognition of different uses at different times become the accepted position? While noting that the '*perception and presumption*' attitudes that are evident at ACC may generate and enhance a professional '*relationship of distance*', some views that participants within the ACC cohort noted are broad generalities, which may foster further erroneous beliefs, namely; the assumption that many WL customers are intoxicated, and a presumption that the WL is a highly profitable business enterprise. This input from an ACC senior employee reflects his financial knowledge of the WL operation;

“He (the WL owner) hasn’t shown me figures but he has indicated that over time he has done pretty well.”

This statement was made by an ACC staff member, with no supporting evidence. In support of ACC’s position and also the WL staff and customer cohorts, the latter two groups held a much wider knowledge of the customers of the WL as a consequence of their direct and often daily contact with the business and its regular customers.

It would be therefore reasonable to posit that because the research cohorts hold different relationships to the WL, the communal group differential in knowledge is both an understandable and reasonable one given the different situations impacting on stakeholder groups. Yet lack of knowledge is a compounding factor within the ongoing contestation. An older business gentleman who is a frequent WL customer exemplifies this difference adding a globalised perspective to his local situation;

“Yeah, it’s been there for a long time, quite traditional and I think it should stay there for a long time, if you start taking things away from a city like that you’ll end up like Singapore, completely and utterly sanitised, and I think exposure to a few germs is good for you.”

This respondent later continued;

“The last thing I would want (for) Auckland is to be like Nathan Street in Hong Kong and its auxiliary streets which is a total scene of commercial disorder... The White Lady should not be hidden out of sight, and I think the city would be the poorer but for a vehicle like the White Lady.”

Clearly the discussion of streetscape is linked to ‘place’ and has included many diverse elements ranging from the ‘view of the street and its inhabitants’ to the views of outsiders and how the WL may be representative of more than a fast food outlet. In considering the perceived status of the WL by many participants and the claim by ACC that Auckland City mirrors a distinctly Auckland look and feel that promotes heritage and cultural aspects of the city, (Auckland City, 2009) this research asserts that the WL as a long term business and cultural marker deserves consideration as part of the CBD ‘look and feel’ that the Council espouses.



#### **4.2.1 Streetscape, Urban Space and Planning**

A fundamental difference exists between the ACC stakeholder group and the WL stakeholder groups within the concept of streetscape. Bonham (n.d) suggests that streetscape relates to “the appearance or view of a street” (p. 5), while Chalup, Clement, Marshall, Tucker and Ostwald (2007), believe that streetscape is established within the complexity of appropriate visuality to be found within an urban environment. Auckland City’s own vision for streetscape can be encapsulated in the following quote from the city’s website;

“People’s experience of Auckland’s CBD (Central Business District) will reflect the energy of Auckland as one of the most cosmopolitan cities of the Pacific. The CBD’s character will be distinctively ‘Auckland’. This will be evident in the ethnic and cultural diversity of the people in the CBD, the kinds of events, the artworks and the architecture. The council plans to protect and promote the city’s heritage and to ensure that all new developments look and feel distinctively ‘Auckland’. Artworks, events and street activity will be actively encouraged in a bid to bring life back to the streets.” (Auckland City 2009).

This statement does not mention the integration of city precincts, a theme mentioned within this research. Then, precinct possibilities served to both include and exclude the WL from Auckland’s streetscape; through the addition of specialty areas within the city, one of which may be food related, thus providing the WL a base for future trading.

While the ACC is aware of the dynamic large business holds within the business community, Council employees feel caught between the needs of big business and the smaller operator like Peter Washer. This frank admission is from a senior ACC employee;

“The sway of large and small people and that is absolutely true with regard to where the WL was and where it is now, I’m sure you are aware that there is quite a divergent view in the community as to where the WL is and we have had discussions...you have got that relationship between upmarket retail shopping and what probably those people would consider to be a down-market operation, and while it’s not generally operating when they are operating, creates an appeal to the area that they don’t think fits in 2007.”

Clearly differences in opinions in what constitutes streetscape can be identified on many levels. These differences are compounded because of the differences between the ACC and WL stakeholder groups on this topic; the WL stakeholders tend to value the humanity of the street, the people who comprise the CBD population, whereas the ACC perceive a distinctively Auckland ‘feel’ to the street albeit tinged with elements of undesirability that ACC sometimes links to the WL; a more negative humanistic view.

This research founds this claim upon the ACC perspective of the WL’s customer base and a stereotypical generalisation by some Council employees of these people that may cloud streetscape realities whilst fuelling opinions gained by a ‘perception and presumption’ mindset;

“The White Lady has a certain kind of clientele, and many patrons of the White Lady are people who have actually had a good night out on the town and are inebriated.”

Interestingly, only one ACC staff member interviewed had taken time out to get a feel for the street ‘vibe’. The lack of street knowledge, compounded by stereotyping, may be further impacted by ACC employees who transfer knowledge from other cultural settings (and their interpretations of them) to new locations, in this case Auckland.

This employee, in Open Place Planning, has since been seconded to another area of Council business, but his insight captured the heart of urban areas, and the people who inhabit them throughout the evening and the early morning hours;

"I spend a lot of time in the early hours of the morning walking around town centres, at 1,2,3 am. I went out one night in the CBD (central business district) and I went out at 1,2,3 am and I went out at 5-50am just before the cleaning crew come through and you would have no idea what the street looks like, the mess, the food, the bottles, everything, the damage to the roadsides, people lying round on the footpath drunk, you know it's like another world. At 3am you've got the vibrancy of them all getting home and the noise, by 5 that has all gone, then by 7 if you go out everything has been cleaned up and has gone."

Another view was expressed by a relatively new New Zealand resident who is also employed at ACC;

"I have been to New Zealand before, eaten quite a few pies but never from the White Lady. I was familiar with this sort of concept at home. We don't call them pie carts but there is obviously takeaways."

However, Peter Washer believes that Council's concept of streetscape is unrealistic;

"Council are obsessed in the creation of a CBD area that is more reminiscent of an architect's drawing...perfect streets with perfect trees, perfect triangular people frequenting perfect shops ...when the reality of the street is something totally different."

Clearly different participant groups hold different opinions on streetscape. Implicit within this dynamic is the impact of big business and the possibility that in the creation of streetscape, big business may have more influence within Council than the smaller business operator might. While there is difference in opinion regarding streetscape all stakeholders participate within Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman's (2001) "temporal

lens” (p. 645). A contemporary component of the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) is the measurement of time and cultural identity through the recognition of celebrity and the ‘use’ of celebrities as both cultural and time markers. The association of celebrity within the identification of self is a contemporary part of postmodernism. Workers at the WL were keen to boast who and what celebrity frequented the cart. Two bubbly and enthusiastic long-term ex-staffers (20 and 30 years’ employment respectively) who arrived in New Zealand from Tonga and worked at the WL recounted their celebrity experiences;

“There are lots of well-known people, you know, I got to meet sort of celebrity-type people around town who were regular ... it (the White Lady) would be one of the most widest cross sections of people you’d ever run across in one place.”

“Oh it’s so funny because we get regular customers down here you know, like for years and years they keep coming ... like I said we had you know, All Blacks down there, sometimes when they were not even playing in Auckland, Lomu, Sean Fitzpatrick and all that people.”

“We had people that live on the street, they were not really customers, they would get things for free, university students out in the night time they felt hungry and the people who went to the movies. And the night club closes at 5 o’clock, 3 o’clock in the morning then we’d have a big rush, you know the movie people, the night club people, but now everything is open all sorts of hours now so you have customers coming for breakfast.”

In the identification of celebrity, WL workers validate their sense of self and that of the celebrity and identify their concept of streetscape. Interestingly, many of the contemporary celebrities identified by participants mirror the themes that ‘Pop’ Washer enjoyed-namely rugby racing and beer. Therefore, the identification of celebrity integrates themes of iconisation within the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645). While noting celebrity, other WL workers were more circumspect in their observation of the WL clientele, preferring to discuss the more ‘ordinary’ customer;

“Earlier in the evening we would have people on their way out and then when the pubs closed management-like people always arrived there, street workers, prostitutes, lots of prostitutes came all the time, drunks of every description.”

These comments illuminate the broad consumer base the WL has and reflects the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) concept. For some stakeholders, the WL clearly represents a cultural artefact that reflects their perceptions within a time space continuum. This perception is apparent on two levels. Firstly, the ACC has required that the WL move from its long term Shortland Street location, initially to Quay Street, then finally to Commerce Street. This move was necessitated by the new building construction at 80 Queen Street, undertaken by Multiplex. This development incorporates the new Bank of New Zealand building, with street-level shopping areas that Multiplex describe as ‘up-market retail’. The shop frontages on Shortland Street will directly view the parking space and operation of the WL, should the WL be returned to its previous site.

Because of the construction and the possibility of the WL becoming an incongruous fit with the new upmarket streetscape provided by the new construction, it is suggested that the WL never did and continues not to fit within the amended “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) afforded the Shortland Street area as a consequence of the Multiplex development as viewed by the ACC stakeholder group.

Secondly, and from the staff and customer stakeholder perspectives, it could be suggested that the relocation of the WL to the Commerce Street site is a move that further isolates both the WL and its stakeholders from the supposed up-market retail ambiance afforded by the Multiplex development. This suggests that the “temporal lens” (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) for some participants may have a finer focus than it does for others, who may, as a consequence of change, experience feelings of isolation brought about through the WL’s newer, yet by comparison, more isolated location. While television media cannot be considered an authoritative source of information because of the need for positive ratings, popular media like television, does hold considerable sway over the public’s knowledge and mind-set. This assertion is borne out by Palino’s (2009) documentary;

“The forced move from Shortland Street to the more seedy Commerce Street; the cart no longer turns a profit as a result.”

Council’s concept of streetscape and the opinions of WL customers are also at variance as WL customers reflected upon the more ordinary and upwardly mobile status of many WL clients. This comment from the successful businessman, who offered the following information from an interview at one of his favourite city cafés;

“Yes I go there, not as frequently as I used to, but I would say that you could say there is a lower standard perhaps of clientele at these pie carts throughout New Zealand, but conversely you could have at one end of the pie cart you could have someone in evening dress who has just come back from a party and down the other end you could have a couple of surfers who have been surfing all day, partying all night and decided to fill their stomachs, so there has always been a cross-section, but probably favouring the more prosaic or ordinary client.”

A married man with two children, in his mid-thirties, who drove a taxi and had just dropped a fare off at the WL, enthusiastically recalled the following, from the open window of his taxi;

“When you look at the people on the pavement eating their burgers, they could be anyone from Winston Peters to a bus driver from Mangere, you know, the whole gamut.”

#### **4.2.2 The ‘Administration’ and Application of Host Responsibility**

Host Responsibility has emerged from changes to the Sale of Liquor Act (1989). Host Responsibility was designed to create a safe drinking environment where non-alcohol options were offered, food and beverage offerings were integrated, and operators and staff of licensed premises were actively encouraged, via server intervention, to become active participants within drinking customers’ overall safety. These requirements and others were integrated into legislation within the amendments (1999) to the Sale of Liquor Act (1989). The Sale of Liquor Act (1989 and amendments) is applicable to businesses that serve or sell alcoholic beverages.

The WL does not sell or provide such beverage, but the business has unwittingly become associated with the concept of Host Responsibility. This is because the WL provides food, and is open at times when many other food outlets are not. The association between the WL and Host Responsibility has occurred by default. Because the WL does not sell alcohol, it is not ‘part’ of the Host Responsibility legal requirement. Yet a senior respondent from the ACC ascribes a role to the WL that while convenient is unfounded; that the WL serves to fill the stomachs of intoxicated people, with food. Under Host Responsibility legislation (via the Sale of Liquor Act, 1989) it is the provider of the beverage who has this obligation, not the WL. This from the senior ACC respondent;

“The association of alcohol and food that actually it is also true to say that the White Lady operates at times when very little other food places do, and that not only strengthens that element that they can bring to fill up stomachs, but also

people who happen to be out later at night and want something to eat. Might be out at 2 in the morning, chances are there are not many cafés and restaurants which will be open to serve people in the morning.”

Contact with the WL by ACC staff is primarily related to and prompted by staff actions necessitated by Council’s need to ensure that the WL meets its compliance obligations. This thesis posits that the Council holds a responsibility to be more familiar with the White Lady’s customer base than this research reveals because the Council needs to balance its requirements (that the White Lady shift location at its request), and the erroneous information set that it currently holds relating to the client type of the White Lady (coupled with Host Responsibility attribution), with the commercial income it receives from the business as a city tax contributor. This responsibility is compounded because the White Lady is uniquely placed because of its vulnerability compared to a shop fronted business, and, because of this, this thesis posits special attention from Council toward the White Lady is necessary. Compounding this suggestion is a statement from a Council compliance administrator that clearly indicated that the Council has not conducted any research into the WL’s customer base;

“No we haven’t so that is entirely a perception and presumption on my behalf and that again is supposed from what I hear, my own observations, informal over time and the kinds of complaints we receive and the comments of others in the industry and so on and so forth. No, there is no science behind it at all.”

While the WL provides food to intoxicated people it may also bear the stigma that is often associated with intoxicated people. Direct observers and others at a ‘distance’ may have incorrectly associated drunkenness to the WL; whereas this behaviour should have been directed to the locations where these customers consumed their beverages, not where they chose to eat. Within this consideration, the WL may unwittingly have become associated with negative social behaviours towards which it had no direct contribution.



#### **4.2.3 The Lack of a Definitive Street Trading Policy**

At the time of writing ACC has yet to complete and formalise a street trading policy. In the interim current traders continue to operate while others wanting to begin street trading have, until very recently, been unable to do so. Therefore, the lacuna created by this lack of policy negatively affects the WL and other businesses wanting to establish themselves as street traders. For Auckland City, street traders are not a new occurrence; the WL for example has been trading since 1948.

This research suggests that because of a lack of definitive street trading policy, mobile businesses like the WL are disadvantaged compared to fixed shop-front businesses. This disadvantage is manifest because, unlike a viable shop-front business, the WL is mobile and as the cityscape changes, the ACC requires that it move location. This has occurred with Council's recent request that the WL change location. This situation is unlike the store-front business which, while economically viable and within its lease agreement, can continue trading until either of those variables change.

The mobile nature of the WL, coupled with the lack of direct street trading policy by ACC, means that the WL could be economically disadvantaged by location moves, especially if those relocations are to marginal areas with less dense numbers of people and traffic flow. As a business, this possibility is one that could be considered unique to the WL because there is an assumption by ACC that the WL is an economically viable operation that is able to withstand location change without negative impact on levels of profitability.

Conversely, impact on levels of profitability would be of prime concern to any regular shop-front business that would consider any location change. Except for the WL's owner, such considerations appear to be ignored within the WL's current change of circumstance by other stakeholder

groups, namely the ACC. These comments from the senior planner encapsulate the current Auckland street trading policy and its inherent variability, albeit at the overall discretion of the politically motivated wider Council;

“The licenses are annually renewable but there is no right of renewal so anybody operating in a public space has no right as such and that is quite a contentious view because there is a view that you have some right because you have an existing license.

Now there may be a moral right or a practical right if everything is going well, for that to be renewed, but there is no legal (right). Council retains that (right) for itself simply to stop an operation that you know the reasons. The expectation right through the process is that if you are operating a business which is meeting the terms of the license and is a good operation, then you will get renewed unless there is a reason not to renew. So it's a positive approach.”

While ACC employees consider issues of streetscape that hold or do not hold congruence to city areas considered ‘upmarket retail’ image, it could be argued that mobile businesses like the WL are further disenfranchised and, within that process, such businesses are considered through inference to be less desirous. While an impasse situation exists, awaiting street trading policy development, this response from a senior ACC employee reflects the perspective held by some ACC employees, and how the lack of policy impacts on their stakeholder-ship and their ability to gate-keep in the absence of definitive policy;

“We have been working in a vacuum as far as street trading is concerned and it's very difficult for officers in this situation where there is no policy to then go about and effectively create a set of rules that enable a person to maintain some kind of activity. Invariably, number one, you are actually going to get out of sorts with politicians who will have some grounds for complaint because, after all, they have to give approval, tax or otherwise for something to be able to occur. Number two, when you make policy on the hoof it tends to be incomplete and it tends to only be a part of policy which may work from your perspective but may not work from the perspective of anybody else in Council. Number three, huge opportunity for variability in the different business rules and different situations, and before you know it, why the hell are we doing this

there is all kinds of stuff happening, so it's really messy operating in an environment like that."

This respondent pauses briefly before continuing, giving himself time to collect his thoughts, continuing to reflect the Council's own position, while reinforcing that a lack of control (the absence of a street trading policy) may be interpreted (in itself) as a form of control;

"Now, we have 20 or 30 or more people every week wanting to do something on the streets of Auckland. It could be some kind of festival or it could be a café with outdoor seating. So what do you do in a situation like that? My predecessors and me up until very recently have simply said until such time as we have a policy we will not be issuing any new street trading licenses. It's simply a way of us managing all those enquiries."

The Council's ability to cope and come up with a policy in good time has impacted negatively on the Council's reputation in dealing with this process. This negativity is experienced by would-be street traders and Council employees alike. A Council respondent recalled;

"Unfortunately, because the policy has been so long in coming that feedback is seen as disingenuous and bureaucratic, and our street trading officers are getting sick and tired of having to trot that out 20 to 30 times a week, and often umpteen times to the same person who says 'Oh well, I'll come back' and sometime later and we haven't done anything."

Despite time lags in policy development, ACC employees have recently decided to start issuing street trading licenses. This move has been laced with doubt from the Council's own perspective. While this is a bold move, it could be one that backfires on Council staff. While the granting of licenses helps to solve immediate problems, namely new applicants being granted permission to trade, these actions are fraught with discrepancies and variation within the application process.

A senior planner at ACC recognises this;

“I have very recently decided that we will issue some street trading licenses ...we have not done it yet but intend to do it for a number of locations. We are working our way through the details at the moment and already beginning to wonder if perhaps I have not bitten off more than I can chew, because once you actually say yes to some people, you have got hundreds of people wanting to do the same thing. And then you get the things ‘Well, if you’ve given one to him, then I should have it’. Are we going to say first in first served? Or call for tenders or anything like that?”

The future of the WL is complicated by the vacuum in street trading policy, its recent move from Shortland Street to Commerce Street and Council preoccupation with the concept of ‘streetscape’. While providing a ‘big picture’ overview, this ACC respondent may foreshadow an inevitable outcome that may not bode well for the WL;

“The primary reason for needing to shift that operation was for the redevelopment of that end of Queen Street being identified. Now the issue of the future regarding the While Lady is twofold. The first one is what is the future of pie carts actually, you know, is there still a need for them?, and I would like to make some more comments about that in a minute. And there are very polarised opinions in our community about that and that is something that the policy people need to put their minds to about the future of pie cart operations and where they should be located and things like that. The second is more specifically to return the White Lady to its previous location in Shortland Street, which is something I know Peter Washer would like to happen. Regrettably for him and I don’t know whether Peter really understands this, it is unlikely that will happen. The reason for that is that the development of the ground floor of the BNZ complex is going to be upmarket retail, and a pie cart operation from a perception point of view or the retail environment, now I hasten to add there has been no official discussion in Council about this.

This is somewhat anecdotal, there has certainly been no political sign-off or executive sign-off one way or the other about the future of the While Lady in Shortland Street, but certainly Peeks who were the developers at the time and have spoken about this particular issue to me and is undoubtedly going to be debated when the new complex is built, (their preference is) ‘anywhere else, not in our back yard.’”

Further complicating street trading policy development is the fact that the ACC has not recorded enquiries by potential street-trading applicants in

chronological order. This failure complicates the application process. The lack of prioritisation may create a scenario whereby those applicants who generate the most enquiries to Council, receive permission before less 'vocal' applicants might, despite their relative application chronology. This possibility is recognised by Council. The same planner commented;

"And by the way, you may issue a license for a guy that sells strawberries when there is some other strawberry seller who has been ringing us up for the last three years to do that (sell strawberries) and we haven't actually registered his name. So it is actually fraught with all kinds of problems. And on top of all that we may end up issuing a license for some kind of activity that we think is okay, but when the city fathers get to hear about it they may find it absolutely appalling."

While recognising the disappointment experienced in the application process by potential street traders, this research suggests that the ad hoc approach made by Council employees is one that holds the potential to backfire on them. While recognising that the interim change by ACC in issuing street trading licenses was borne of frustration, this change contains inequity. Council employee frustration is palpable. Again, from the same senior planner;

"I have got to the stage where I felt I had to do something and we have to as much as we possibly can within the constraints, the rules and regulations, that we are charged with managing to try and provide as open a trading environment as possible, within what we understand to be the direction that Auckland City wants to go in. We need to become much more enabling than perhaps we might have been in the past. Very, very, difficult for people in our roles to actually do that."

While some new interim licenses to street trade are being issued in lieu of policy, the Council notes the following statistics;

"So at the moment we (Auckland City) have only got about 22 long-term street trading licenses in Auckland and two pie carts."

While noting the number of traders, the ACC's employee language use was an interesting one. The language used objectifies through the specific identification of the WL, separate from its peer group of long-term street traders, that the WL is not part of this group. Within this difference, another becomes apparent; this respondent did not say '*inclusive* of two pie carts'.

Language semantics aside, the senior planner made the following comments about when a formal street trading policy would be developed and ready to use;

"I am on record as having said to a number of licensed premises that I was confident we would actually have a street trading policy in time for this summer (2008/09). But that hasn't happened and I'm told by (xxxx) ...that we should have a policy by next year and I sincerely hope that happens because it is during the summer months that things get difficult as you can imagine."

For Peter Washer the lack of policy has added to his anxiety and concern for the long term business survival of the WL. The combination of a changing streetscape and the lack of profitability because of location change caused Peter to note;

"We can get a phone call between now and Friday which would demand me to close."

#### **4.2.4 Cultural Identity: Is the WL a Culinary and Cultural Icon?**

Customer diversity is a hallmark of the WL. This is reinforced by Neill, Bell and Bryant's (2008) research which noted that some patrons of the WL recognise the WL as a 'cultural experience';

"Someone told us they took their four teenagers to the White Lady a few years ago, as a 'cultural experience' ...it's part of the city's history, and while it's changed, it's still there! He added, 'just the fact that the staff that night were all Asian the pie cart over the years has reflected the changing demographic(s) of downtown.'" (p. 17).

These patrons perceive the WL to be more than just a fast food outlet. Their comments reflect a past knowledge of the WL, and their perception that the WL not only reflects the changing socio-economic landscape of Auckland, but also that the WL mirrors the city's changing migrant demographic, as exemplified through the WL's employee base.

While acknowledging diversity, as exemplified by the WL, these respondents do not clarify whether the 'cultural experience' visiting the WL was a positive or negative 'cultural' event for them. For the initiator of the WL visit, there may be an element of stability as represented by the WL; a reassurance that, because the WL has been there for a long time and is part of the city's history, that it adds an element of confirmation to some stakeholders' existing mindsets. This mindset may tie into Bell's (1996) suggestion that, "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning" (p. 181). These comments also touch upon a possibility that the WL may, for many stakeholders, hold an elevated position within Auckland's dining scene because of its business longevity and status as a cultural artefact.

The longevity of the WL, coupled with its diverse client base could contribute to the suggestion that the WL is an iconic Auckland business entity. Disregarding the religious association with iconography, New Zealand cultural icons for Bell (1996) combine regional elements that merge to evoke and reinforce larger national identity themes. Bell (1996) further suggests that New Zealand cultural icons and identifiers range from the geographic (Rangitoto Island) through to the commercial multinational (Wattie's Foods) and include paraphernalia reflective of our food preferences (the pavlova) and New Zealand's primary industries (the gumboot). Within business longevity, the WL has achieved an enviable status; continual trading since 1948. Within this longevity are enmeshed the lives of participant stakeholders.

For these groups, the WL represents a significant marker in their life experiences. This research suggests, therefore, that the WL is a mirror of Auckland's wider culture, reflecting through its diverse clients the changing trends, mores, and attitudes and wider socio-legislative parameters of Auckland and New Zealand's cultural milieu.

Therefore, for many stakeholders, the WL is one of their 'life markers', and as such it maybe natural for them to consider the WL to be iconic. The ability of the WL to reflect the lives of some of its stakeholders is exemplified in the following contribution by the WL's owner Peter Washer. Peter is in his early 50s, and has worked the cart for the majority of his adult life;

"They'd come after the six o'clock swill. Then a surge of customers followed as the pictures got out, and then in more recent times, as nightclubs and bars have stayed open longer, we now have a surge (of customers) at 2am. I remember in the 1970s when marijuana use was big, people would arrive at the cart with the 'munchies' and eat a couple of burgers each. We had great food sales, and because everyone was mellow, very little violence. Now amphetamine-based party drugs are popular and we have noticed a big increase in water and drink sales as takers stave off dehydration."



Clearly, changes in both local and national legislation have social repercussions and therefore have direct impact on public behaviour. For example, the six o'clock swill came about as workers hurried from work to the nearest pub. There, within the short space of time (from when work ended and the pub closed at 6 o'clock), pub patrons (in many cases) imbibed as much beer as possible. Upon leaving the pub, many patrons stopped off at the WL for a meal. When six o'clock closing was amended in the Sale of Liquor Act (1961), the propensity for workers to rush to the local pub and drink rapidly diminished, simply because the urgency of the six o'clock closing was removed. This gave patrons a wider time frame within which to drink alcohol. The changes within the Sale of Liquor Act (1961) impacted upon the busy trading times that the WL experienced; from the rush times experienced by six o'clock closing, the WL now began to experience a busier period after 10-30pm. Similarly Auckland's changing club scene, with its later trading hours, impacted on trading at the WL. Member of Parliament, former Mayor of Carterton and drag-queen diva Georgina Beyer recounted;

"The pie cart in (Fort Street) Auckland is not unknown to me. It was a regular stop on Saturday and Sunday mornings when I'd finished work as a drag diva at Alfies nightclub, around the corner in the Century Arcade." (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 44).

While recreational marijuana and amphetamine drug use remain illegal in New Zealand, there is no doubt that drug elements are a part of New Zealand's cultural fabric. Research from Statistics New Zealand (2008) reveals that drug convictions for Auckland (including the North Shore) were 162,486 in 1980, and in 2005, 107,950.

This research therefore posits that, because the WL stakeholders represent the diversity inherent within the Auckland City population, the WL therefore mirrors Auckland's downtown culture. A combination of business longevity and adaptation through change, coupled with the diversity of stakeholder origin and opinion, coalesce to suggest that the WL is a "cultural lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) through which we see ourselves and others reflected. The "cultural lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645) posited by postmodernist theorists can be refined and narrowed to a more concentrated focus, to one that reflects Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman's (2001) concept of the "temporal lens" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645). The "temporal lens puts time and timing front and centre" (Ancona, Goodman, Lawrence and Tushman, 2001, p. 645).

Finally, one WL worker summed up the type of customers the cart serves in a very succinct manner. This summation came from a cook at the cart, who took pride in meeting different 'sorts' of people who frequented the cart while he worked there;

"We had everybody, everybody from sort of street workers to management. Really the thing you saw while working at the White Lady is that there is not that much difference between those people. One might be a millionaire, and with another guy boozed to the eyeballs and a lady with a \$2000 dress and the \$500 haircut will (all) fill a spot in the gutter."

By contrast to the views of the WL stakeholders, ACC participants held more 'limited' views of the WL's customer base and by implication the streetscape they occupy. This input was from a senior city planner. His knowledge of the WL was gained through his work association at ACC and with the WL. His input was given in a considered, measured and well thought out manner. This reflects his wide knowledge and the responsibility of his employment.

During his interview, conducted in a meeting space at the ACC central office in Aotea Square, this respondent often made reference to tangential points. He subsequently returned to these points without interviewer prompt, incorporating them within continuing dialogue;

“I have pretty much from the start been aware of what the White Lady is all about and the various issues associated with it...I’ve been aware of this business for many years ...I doubt that I have had a hamburger from the White Lady to be honest, but I’ve certainly been aware of its existence.”

While it is unreasonable to expect that the ACC stakeholder group should have in-depth knowledge of a particular retailer as ‘consumers’ of ACC’s services, a pattern is noted that reflects a relationship of professional distance by ACC employees toward the WL. While some ACC staff actively engaged with WL staff, it is within the execution of compliance requirement that takes uppermost priority within the ACC participant actions. This noted, other ACC employees freely gave their personal thoughts of the WL regardless of their business compliance associations to it. This respondent, like the previous ACC participant, had not visited the WL as a customer.

Her input incorporated a range of positions and emotional content ranging from personal comments and observations to a professional perspective. As a relatively new resident in New Zealand, her observations reflect her own value judgements that may hold foundation in her country of origin, as well as attitudes and attributes gained from her new environment; Auckland. This participant expressed amazement and astonishment in discussing the WL, her input delivered in an animated and somewhat amused manner;

“We drove around the corner and I went ‘oh my god, what is that monstrosity there? I cannot believe that we have this thing on the street. First I couldn’t believe it was there and then I couldn’t wait to see if he had a license, I couldn’t believe this thing was on the street and had no idea what it was doing there. Someone said that’s the White Lady and I went what is the White Lady? Then I got this whole spiel about it and I went so we know about it, do we? Ok, do we

get any complaints about it then? Went and had a look in the files. I think it's a beast of a thing, the fact is I put my signature on this piece of paper (street trading license), because my personal opinion of it and my professional opinion are quite different... so putting my personal opinion aside, it has mellowed since I know their street trading license is part of Auckland history, taking into account the culture of the city that I live in, I have mellowed."

To the professional credit of this respondent, she was later able to differentiate her personal views from her professional views. While acknowledging her horror at the visual 'appeal' of the WL, she did not let this interfere with her final professional decision regarding the WL's street trading license.

Of particular note is this participant's first active response upon seeing the WL. This was to 'check out' the WL by utilising the resources of Council. This action may reflect efforts to either reaffirm her horror of the WL, or to possibly find a rationale to support her initial view that such a monstrosity should not be on the streets of Auckland.

By implication, given her first negative response and subsequent investigation, her preference was that the WL be removed. This position changed upon peer consultation that increased her cultural awareness, coupled with her own professionalism. These factors combined to promote a more reasoned long-term view and decision continuum for her.

While Auckland City strives to gain a uniquely 'Auckland' identity the city and country are impacted upon by greater forces, most notably globalisation. Globalisation has impacted on the WL. Hopper (2007) posits that globalisation and cosmopolitanism are linked; further suggesting that cosmopolitanism is a growing theme within the social sciences. Cosmopolitanism within academic writing puts an emphasis upon social science study practice that is free from the limitations and prejudices within national cultural identity and is to be found within the work of Beck (2000 & 2002), Tomlinson (1999) and Urry (2003).

Offering a contrary view, Friedman (1999) argues that cosmopolitanism is a domain inhabited by elitists who are far removed from the everyday work lives and affairs of the general population. While the concept of cosmopolitanism's application within this research is a congruent one, cosmopolitanism holds its own contradictions to WL research. This contradiction is another expression of stakeholders' interpretive subjective experience as they experience their 'reality' juxtaposed within the micro environment of Auckland, and the macro view within a globalised world.

Hopper (2007) proposes that "cosmopolitanism is a multi-dimensional concept requiring a range of different types of analysis in order to comprehend it; especially its influence upon the individual" (p. 158). Part of this multi-dimensional approach includes media input, a theme congruent and integrated within globalisation, postmodernism and cosmopolitanism. The dominant media domains included radio, magazines, newspapers and television and the Internet.

The inclusion of postmodernist and cosmopolitanist concepts is in keeping with the 'life experience' of the WL and its stakeholders. These themes are expressed in the concept of streetscape; as participants go about their daily life within urban environments. These positions also enable a wider and more holistic understanding of how 'other' perceptions of the WL and streetscape elements are possible.

### **4.3 Views from the Outside: Cosmopolitanism Reveals New Zealand's Cultural Uniqueness**

Cosomopolitanism offers the WL research an opportunity to be examined through the gaze of 'others'. Facilitating a cosmopolitan gaze for this research was a CD-ROM (Appendix 4 ). Peter Washer explains;

"I had an approach from a Japanese film crew in the early 2000s who just wandered up to the WL one night. Language was a problem, but I soon caught on that the programme they wanted to make was a documentary-type thing featuring New Zealand's tourist hotspots. Later I found out that their show would be hosted by some of Japan's best comedians, and that they wanted to use the WL and set it up to provide Don Buri for passers-by. The upshot was that I loaned them the WL, they prepared food, and the people who ate it had to rate it. If the average rating was below 8.5 (I think), then the comedians had to bungy jump off of Auckland's Sky Tower. It was all great fun as you can tell when you watch it. I think about 50 milllion people saw it (the programme) an amazing number."

Washer's overview of this programme is a correct one (Appendix 5). However, it would be prudent to note the following content and format elements that are unique to the programme and also reflective of Japanese media and its entertainment values. This programme is titled '*Haute Cuisine Paradise and the Best Prime Foodstuff Open the Store, Umetatsu Donburi Bower (New Zealand, SP)*'.

This comparatively long title is typical of Japanese comedy programmes, and forms a strong contrast to the shorter Western television titles such as *'Hell's Kitchen'* or *'Friends'*. The key participants in the programme were Tatsuo Umemiya, Junji Takada, Tetsuro Degewwa and Harumi Yamoto. This team had already filmed similar documentaries in Hawaii, Thailand, Mexico, Italy and Papua New Guinea. These programmes and the New Zealand episode were designed for Japanese audiences. Because of the comedy format, the programme is full of foolish acts, smutty yet funny comments and a large array of facial expressions from the presenters. These elements are common in Japanese comedy and its reliance on a two-part input; that of a sharp-tongued, somewhat smart, leading participant, and another participant who is more passive, slightly in denial, yet supportive of the main dominating character's attitudes. One of the programme's aims was to introduce Japanese cuisine, most notably 'Don'-type dishes, to the rest of the world.

In featuring 'Don'-type dishes, New Zealand products were used and the completed dishes were offered to New Zealand consumers. Two locations were chosen, Christchurch and Auckland. In the Auckland segment of the programme, programme presenters prepared and cooked 100 Don Buri style dishes.

Should customer satisfaction levels fall below 80% (found via customer survey after eating), the leading character had to bungy jump off Auckland's Sky Tower. The tower is one of Auckland City's leading tourist attractions. Part of the tower's attraction is the novelty of being able to bungy jump off of one of the highest points to land at ground level; a distance of 192 meters (630 feet) (Sky City, 2008). The controlled descent takes 16 seconds (Sky City, 2008).

The programme offers an interesting insight into a Japanese perspective of New Zealand's culture and food. In doing so, the programme provides a textural bridge between the Japanese documentary and the direct stakeholders input within this thesis. The Japanese programme reflects the perspectives of an agent of influence and not direct stakeholder input, as is the case with the other research participants.

The Japanese insights offer New Zealand viewers a unique opportunity to see themselves as others see them. The audience size for this programme is 50 million Japanese viewers so the programme is strategically placed to either inform or misinform large numbers of Japanese viewers on New Zealand food and culture. While this programme clearly offers entertainment, it also provides an educational opportunity for its audience. As a consequence of viewing it, what will members of the Japanese audience believe about what New Zealanders find important about food? And, as regards the food, what items were deemed 'interesting' enough to be included in the programme? How does location fit within this dynamic?

This research proposes that because the Japanese film crew utilised iconic ingredients in their Don Buri preparation, they consequently chose iconic locations in which to present them. By presenting lamb, paua, snapper and kiwifruit in the same programme as the WL segment, a clear message was given to the programme's audience; that the WL is equally as iconic as the food being prepared in it.

Christchurch's Tram Restaurant and Auckland's WL were separately deemed interesting enough, in their own right to be selected for programme inclusion. Surely it would have been easier and less time-consuming for the film crew to hire a restaurant location in either city and hold their 'competitions' there? However, they chose not to do this, instead opting in both Christchurch and Auckland for venues that they considered to be unique.



These claims are supported within the programme dialogue as an examination of the programme script reveals (Appendix 5). The Japanese participants describe New Zealand as a country;

“harmonising two cultures (that) of the native Maori and the British. New Zealand is a treasure house of foods as well as a boom in the gourmet food market”.

The food choices in the Auckland episode focus on iconic New Zealand food items including lamb, kiwifruit, crayfish, snapper, oysters and paua. These foods are often referred to as being iconic in culinary and trade-promotional materials in New Zealand; most notably *Cuisine* (Cuisine, 2008), the government sponsored Starfish (2008), and the New Zealand Trade Manual (2008).

Iconic food status is supported within other imagery presented in the programme. The programme features many iconic themes of New Zealand including sheep grazing on lush green grass, boiling mud pools in Rotorua and scenery typifying New Zealand’s unique mountainous geography. The programme also reinforces the high status of the previously noted food items by visiting top restaurants in Auckland that specialise in them. The programme presenter notes that these foods hold;

“auspicious and symbolic meaning”.

While the programme does not expand upon this theme, comment is made on the cost of food in New Zealand relative to its cost in Japan; a commercial fact that clearly impacts upon its symbolism;

“Look at how cheaply the snapper is priced here.”

The programme offers a curious blend of visual display and semiotic meaning. These meanings reflect the past, the present and the future direction of the WL, as represented by the staunch samurai warrior atop the tractor pulling the WL into frame. Within this episode featuring the WL, a clear cultural and visual history is evident.

Therefore this documentary steps 'outside' Friedman's (1999) concept of cosmopolitanism, subscribing more to Hiebert's (2002) suggestion that the cosmopolitan experience occurs where communities extend beyond and overlap each other. The documentary adds a depth of understanding because the perceptions of the WL were interpreted by people less familiar with it than its immediate stakeholders. This position offers a unique perspective; how 'others' perceive the WL.

In featuring the WL, the programme circumvents Hopper's (2007) suggestion that the tourist experience is, for its participants, devoid of "meaningful encounters with the locals" (Hopper, 2007, p. 160) or, as Hunter (2001) argues, the tourist is encased within their own culture's protection. This programme clearly recognises and presents the WL as an iconic business and integrates it into a wider cultural framework. Yet the dissociation of the tourist 'to' their experience is minimised within this programme thus reflecting Hiebert's (2002) cosmopolitanism. Interestingly, Bauman (1993, 1996) suggests that both street vagrants and tourists hold commonality. For Bauman (1993, 1996) this commonality suggests that neither group becomes actively involved in the social debates within the areas that either visits. This is an interesting concept given that the WL attracts both vagrant and tourist alike; itself an area of contest and one that subscribes to Hunter's (2001) position.

The identification of the WL within the CBD streetscape as part of this documentary, clearly indicates that the producers of this programme perceive the WL to be a key element in Auckland dining, a must-visit point of difference within the city, and of sufficient 'novelty' to feature as a dominant section of the documentary. These elements combine to

generate the opinion that 'others' outside of the conventional stakeholder groups, may perceive the WL and Auckland streetscape differently to the research participants. The programme featured the WL as a New Zealand icon. This view is shared by some of the research participants. Complementing the 'outside' view are the perceptions of a cross-section of other research participants who present an 'inside' view. As a consequence of research questions related to the food at the WL, many respondent inputs contained a multiple emphasis, prompted either by their recollections of food or good times experienced at the WL. The association of longevity, quality and good times at the WL prompted many respondents to mention the word 'iconic' as a WL descriptor. Again, the voice of the Tongan staffer is clear;

"The White Lady was only New Zealand icon. Nowhere else ... the White Lady was Shortland Street, and that's why it is an icon because it is the one and only in the whole world - the world comes in here and they speak about it – they've got to find out where the White Lady is and that."

Others noted that their concept of the WL's iconic status was relative to other 'like' operations abroad. For this respondent, comparison clearly validated their WL beliefs. This from a Washer family member and WL staffer;

"I think it's a mainstream icon really. You know, you'd say Harry's Café with wheels (a well-known Australian pie cart famous for Pie Floaters) and the White Lady, they have both been there for a long time. Harry's been there for a long time and we've been there a long time".

Other respondents mentioned the iconic status of the WL as a consequence of publicity that implied that the WL was endangered and faced possible closure. Again, the staffer and Washer family member commented;

“You know, client faith is a big thing. When that thing came out in the *Herald* about us moving, so many people were ringing me up and wanting to know what was going on, it was quite bizarre really. Many people have grown up with it-it’s been there for so long. I think there would be quite an uproar if they tried to close it down.”

An older customer perceived the WL to be similar to an ANZAC day parade, in that the WL provided a venue that young people could visit and, in doing so, gain knowledge and understanding of the past. This theme holds congruence to other participant comments, that a visit to the WL was a ‘cultural experience’. These themes coalesce and are therefore representative of the uniqueness that many stakeholders believe the WL holds;

“The younger generation in the same way they turn up for war memorial day parades now, they have an idea of the place, the things filled in the past and they like that kind of historic connection.”

Respondents from the ACC also commented on the status of the WL within a wider context. The first input from the recent arrival to New Zealand and the ACC, reflects on her impression of what the WL might mean to New Zealanders;

“Yes, I think it is classed as an icon because we have heard that they have been around for 40-50 years and I think even New Zealanders, if you said it would be gone tomorrow, even if you had never been to it, I think in my opinion, New Zealanders would say no (*don’t let it go*). ”

The second input from a male and longer-term ACC employee;

“Iconic is a very subjective thing, isn’t it? You’ve got the buzzy bee and jandals and pavlova, whether they are Australian or not, people generally think they are iconic. When you get something like the WL, I’m sure you would have a polarised view. People who have used and enjoyed it for what it is would say ‘yes’ other people would say ‘no’, it’s a horrible old thing that should be shot’. So it’s very subjective and that’s the thing you are up against with the community views on these things.”

Congruent to input on the iconic nature of the WL was discussion on the position of the WL within existing business structures. These inputs from participants discussed the business 'stability' of the WL by asking participants to note their impressions; was the WL a mainstream business, a marginalised business or how would they classify it? Staff and customers commented;

"It's partly sort of iconic and it's definitely not mainstream, it's a little bit marginalised. People that go there as they did when I was there because it's one of the things you promise yourself you are going to do to top off a visit to Auckland, not necessarily because you are looking forward to eating a burger out of there, just to say you have been there."

(it) "is marginalised and iconic, because it has had such a wonderful reputation over such a long time."

Contributing to the themes of marginalisation and iconicism of the WL is the ACC's street trading policy. This policy (or the lack of a policy) has been a key factor in media items about the WL especially, and in recent times, the move of the WL from Shortland Street to its current site in Commerce Street. It is suggested that media coverage of the WL not only raises its profile, it also encourages the public to think about the WL. The opportunity for people to pause and then think about a topic assists in providing a wider perspective. This from a senior ACC source;

"I don't know about a New Zealand icon, but certainly an Auckland icon, yes, well known. It's been there for many, many years, if the word icon is correct ...but anyway we will call it an icon. Yes, it adds to the character of the place besides the practicality of it."

Clearly personal, professional values and associations to the WL impact upon the various stakeholders' opinions on it. Owner Peter Washer is concerned with the commercial future of the business given the current relationship between the WL and the ACC relating to street trading and the recent location changes the WL has experienced.

However, while the street trading policy formulation and consultancy process continues, the WL remains trading. Heal (1990) suggests that hospitality's commercial domain "is a kind of hospitality (that is) not very hospitable" (p. 18). Heal's (1990) rationale for this is that the purist definitions of hospitality's engagement are clouded by profit motives.

While the WL is actively involved within the "commercial domain" (Lashley 2004 p. 13), and therefore has profitability as a primary goal, staff at the WL demonstrated an awareness of the street and its inhabitants, especially those who are marginalised within the wider society; street people. The WL's staff engagement with street people reflects Heal's (1990) wider and non-profit-motivated hospitality suggestion. Heal's (1990) 'hospitality', when targeted toward the less-fortunate members of society, assists that group to achieve what Maslow (1962, 1970) terms basic "physiological need" (as cited in Weiten, 1992, p. 344). The fact that the WL offers more than commercial hospitality was noted by a WL customer;

"In a way it (the White Lady) supplies a social service, even chefs that have been cooking all night would come down and get a simple hamburger. It was a place you could unwind after you had done what you set out to do initially, you know."

While this respondent noted that the WL serves as a social service for the gainfully employed, a pair of Tongan long-term WL staffers collectively recounted their experience of Heal's (1990) hospitality rationale, albeit within the regular commercial operation of the WL's nightly operation;

"I remember I used to do the morning shifts on Saturday and Sundays, you know, and all the street guys, the ones that live on the street, they'd been down to Seamart, you know, the fish shop there and they had given them some fish heads and they came down to the pie cart, you know, to ask us to cook 'oh, can you please cook us something to eat?' I said, 'If Peter finds out that I am cooking fish on the grill he will kill me, give it here.' So they give me the fish

heads, I boil the kettle, fill it up with hot water, salt, pepper and onions and I cook it, up, not on the grill, but in one of those stainless steel containers and after that it's cooked in about half an hour. Buttered some bread up, put it in a plastic container and 'off you go.'"

This instance is not an isolated one. Clearly staffers at the WL have catered in this way on other occasions and were somewhat worried what the owner of the WL might think of their actions. The Tongan pair laughingly continue;

"I remember one New Year's Eve they came down (the street people), and Peter brought us a few drinks, and he (the street person) was telling Peter how they used to bring fish heads there and I used to cook them and used to send them away 'hurry up, go before Peter comes and don't say a word, and then he (the street person) comes and tells Peter how I always used to cook his stew! And, I say 'shhh, I told you not to say'. Even when street kids came along you know, if we made a mistake (cooked more items than ordered) we keep it underneath the warmer and if anybody comes up off the street then Peter said 'just give it to them,' he was like that."

These acts mirror Lashley's (2004) suggestion that "the redistributing of food and drink to neighbours and the poor helped to build social cohesion" (p. 7). While these acts of hospitality were generated through staff initiative and social concern, these actions also reflect the values of the current WL owner and, in turn, the original owner's own hospitality philosophy.

Clearly, the WL's current owner holds a similar philosophy to that of his late father. Peter Washer shared an intense and friendly relationship with his father that may well be likened to a mate-ship or friendship, as well as a genetic link;

"It's not just a service that we provide, I think that's the main thing. My father used to say that we're more along the lines of a soup kitchen than a restaurant. For people in a hurry, drunks who want something to eat before they drive home sort of, that sort of thing. We serve on the street, we don't invite, people don't come in (literally) we are actually serving on the footpath itself. That's

their domain, that's our domain. Like a permanent drive-through, walk-through, whatever you would like to call it. If no-one comes, alright, just be there, you've got to be open, you know you can't be open and shut, open and shut because you know people are going to expect the White Lady to be there and that's the whole consistency."

In this regard, the hospitality at the WL is congruent to Lashley's (2004) academic concepts of food and sociability. This is especially so within the hospitality offered to street people;

"On receiving genuine hospitality, the individual feels genuinely wanted and welcome. This is not the same as being welcomed as a valued customer."  
(Lashley, 2004, p. 14).

Of note within the research was one WL worker whose hospitality extended further than her working association at the WL;

"Some homeless people come here and one night I took one of them home when we closed the White Lady. Margarita was a noble lady ...she needed a bath tub and we had a bath."

While these acts of hospitality and personal generosity by the WL's staff are admirable, many other hospitality providers maximise their businesses and business connections to support causes to engage acts of charitable transformation. Mark Gregory's Dine-aid, (Auckland City Harbour News, 2009) would be New Zealand's most recent nationwide hospitality charity fundraiser, and historically many restaurateurs and hotels (Pub Charity, 2009) have assisted in providing assistance to various charitable projects.



Academics including Heal (1990), Warde (1997) and Bringeus (2001) agree with Selwyn's (2004) suggestion that hospitality is a potentially transformative process. Warde (1997) emphasises an identification of group belonging through food consumption similarities, while Bringeus (2001) states that;

"Food and meals can both unite and divide people. Food acquires a symbolic function by its role of distinguishing between people, both those above and those below. "(p. 74).

These positions add an academic dimension to the practical hospitality offerings experienced by many at the WL. Even Selwyn (2004) acknowledges that hospitality's continuum is a divergent one reflecting counterpoised themes of hospitality and hostility. This continuum may be an active 'ingredient' at the WL. While recognising that the WL often provides food for intoxicated people, no participants within the ACC stakeholder group made comment regarding any hospitality offered at the WL that did not include monetary exchange.

Staff within this research employed by the ACC tended to be primarily concerned about the provision of food for sale to people who had over-indulged in alcoholic beverage. This reflects the wider theme of Host Responsibility, and compliance issues as noted within the Sale of Liquor Act (1989) as administered by a section of the ACC administration. Interestingly, the WL does not serve alcohol; however, a common perception by some ACC staff is that the WL provides a vital food service to intoxicated patrons.

This situation recognises a disparity between legislation (Sale of Liquor Act 1989) and practice; namely, that outlets selling alcohol need to have a supply of food available at all times when alcoholic beverages are served. Clearly, some stakeholders at ACC consider the WL a food safety net, given its provision and sale of food to members of the intoxicated public.

From a recounted input unsolicited by the interviewer, this from an ACC stakeholder;

“If someone goes to the WL drunk, and I’ll say Host Responsibility is all around the city, if there is something to eat it kind of sobers them up, so that could be looked at as a negative. He has drunks at the WL or are they trying to sober up or whatever? And trying to be a bit more responsible and he is providing a medium to do that as opposed to a medium to get drunk.”

This customer who has had a 40 year association with the WL recalled;

“(There are) two types of customer, one who used to go there after a boozy night out with the munchies on the way home and secondly, I had a taxi for about four years and I used to sometimes work in the evenings, and would often go to the WL and have my dinner there ...so you see it slightly different(ly) when you are doing that.”

This research proposes that these acts of hospitality are congruent to Heal’s (1990) proposition. Consequently, these acts have positively impacted on stakeholders’ opinions of the WL. It is further asserted that acts of generosity by WL staff hold a triple benefit; that the recipient of the generosity benefits, the staff gain a ‘feel good’ factor in helping people, and that paying customers of the WL vicariously may gain pleasure from acts of generosity by staff, in that their payments to the WL somehow ‘subsidise’ such activity.

Streetscape and the varying views of it lie at the heart of the themes of contestation this thesis research has revealed. ACC participants’ views of streetscape, the impact and input of big business, and their wants and needs are at odds with other WL stakeholder views. Discussions on precincts, the different use at different times of the day of city districts has only added further confusion to streetscape themes for all participants. Atop this a view of Auckland’s streetscape and the WL by a Japanese television programme has served to present the WL as a New Zealand icon, and an implicit part of a vibrant city streetscape.

These themes are enmeshed within a synchronic overlay of 'perceptions of place', 'the impact of fast food chains', 'Host Responsibility,' and the 'lack of definitive street trading policy' and coalesce to create contestation between stakeholders. Bringeus (2001) states that;

"Food and meals can both unite and divide people. Food acquires a symbolic function by its role of distinguishing between people, both those above and those below (p. 74)."

#### **4.4 Other Themes Impacting on The WL**

##### **4.4.1 Fast Food Chains**

While the arrival of the "big three" (Brailsford, 2003, p. 11) heralded the first major competitive threats to the WL, the growth of fast food outlets generally has compounded over time to present ongoing business threats to the WL. Most recently competition has come from the (nationwide) expansion of pizza outlets. The Restaurant Association of New Zealand (2008) notes that the average growth rate within this sector between 2004 and 2007 (inclusive) was an astonishing 32.33%, compared to the average growth rate of other fast food outlets of 11.61% for the same period. For Palino (2009) the competitive threat to the WL is more immediate;

"In this day and age with all this competition it's just not good enough."

Although competition and eating options have become diversified, many WL customers who participated in this research have been loyal and long-term clients of the WL. One such respondent was especially aware of feelings of 'guilt' associated with fast food outlets and their impression that the WL's food was healthier than that of larger and competing corporate fast food outlets;

"Sometimes you know, if you go there at one o'clock or two o'clock in the morning you are going to see quite a different crowd to what you would see there at 7.30 or 8 o'clock at night. If you go over there at 8 o'clock at night you'll see quite a lot of tourists and often older people, not always but sometimes my

wife works late one night a week and she didn't feel like eating or cooking when she comes home and I don't feel like cooking for one so I often sneak over there and grab a burger, and I don't ever feel guilty about eating their burgers because they make their own beef patties, they're not full of preservatives or crap like that, all their ingredients are good and I don't feel like...if I have McDonald's for dinner I think Jeez, what sort of dinner was that, I don't have any feelings like that about the White Lady."

This is particularly relevant when considering that feelings of concern and even 'guilt' by male New Zealanders concerning their diet and consequential health outcomes may run contrary to academic research findings. These findings tend to suggest that men's health in New Zealand suffers from a lack of active profiling that discourages men to foster health awareness;

"Men have higher mortality for all 15 leading causes of death and an average life expectancy 5-7 years shorter than women." (Jadad, 2001, p. 1013).

It is suggested that this participant's increased awareness of diet and healthy eating might be as a consequence of the promotions of the New Zealand Heart Foundation, and the "Pick the Tick" (The New Zealand Heart Foundation, 2007) campaign designed to encourage healthy diet and lifestyle. It is also suggested that the identification and wider awareness brought about within New Zealand of 'metro-sexual' values incorporating health and diet concerns has added to a general increased health awareness among men.

#### **4.4.2 Fast Food and the Student Group: An Opportunity for The WL**

The Student Group consisted of 30 university-aged students. Their ages ranged from 18-28 years. While this group adds an age balance, readers of this research need to be cognisant that this group of respondents are not, and do not, constitute the same status and relationship to the WL that the previously identified stakeholder groups hold.

None the less, this group of research participants as well as adding age balance, also offers alternate views and opinions related to the WL. In recognising that the student respondent group hold a unique perspective to the WL, their views on it are of strategic importance to the ongoing success of the WL as a viable business entity.

This may be an important consideration for the WL's owner. As the WL's owner looks toward a business future, it is within the younger generations of Auckland's current population that the WL will find her future. Therefore, the student respondent cohort represents a sample of young Aucklanders whose views and fast food dining patterns will hold consequence for the WL. Within this context therefore, the views of this group hold significance to this research. The data collected from this additional cohort give the reader a Foucauldian insight into the knowledge and power dynamic that these respondents bring to this research. This is an important contribution because their knowledge, attitudes and behaviours as consumers of fast food will impact on the WL now, and more importantly in the future.

The relationship between young people and fast food outlets, and the advertising undertaken to attract them, is well documented within academe. Nestlé (2003) suggests that many marketing executives believe that it is critical to target young people when this group is still developing their buying patterns. This strategy has the underlying hope that if marketing 'contact' is made with this group early enough, they may become lifelong consumers of the product. Nestlé (2003) further suggests that the amount of money spent on food advertising (globally) directed toward young people "rose from \$6.9 billion in 1992 to \$12.7 billion in 1997" (p. 179).

The large corporate spend on attracting young consumers, coupled with the perception by young consumers that heavily advertised fast foods are "cool" (Nestlé, 2003, p. 194) combine to reflect the integration of another theme woven throughout this thesis; postmodernism. Arguably, postmodernisms largest contribution to modernist society may relate to how persuasive and pervasive the use of media has been in conveying imagery to consumers, and how in turn, this imagery has helped people to define themselves and their social relationships. McDonald's 'golden arches' have become symbols for many young people engaged within this research as the 'ultimate' in fast food.

The following research outcomes from a group of young university-aged students who regularly consume fast food, tend to confirm this suggestion. While many student research participants regularly eat fast foods, many of them are not familiar with the WL (as a business), nor do they eat takeaway food from it. This finding may confirm the efficacy of the McDonald's (and other American fast food chains') marketing and advertising strategies.

This student research group was presented a written questionnaire format. The student participants responded with either yes/no answers, or by contributing fuller written responses. Responses to closed questions were later converted to percentages (Tables 4 and 7), while qualitative responses are included within Table 6.

Question	Yes %	No %	No Response
Do you know what the WL is?	4 10%	25 62.5%	27.5%
Have you visited the WL as a customer?	1 2.5%	27 67.5%	30%

**Table 4: Student Knowledge of the White Lady**  
**Source: Author's Own.**

The analysis of the questions in Table 4 reveal that the majority of student respondents do not know what the WL is, and do not visit it. This claim is supported by the responses from Table 6. Within the responses in Table 6, only 37.50% of respondents held accurate knowledge of the WL. Many of the responses in Table 6 were totally inaccurate. Descriptors used by respondents ranged from literal definitions, or definitions and descriptors that may reflect English language difficulty or English as a second language. Clearly evident is a lack of knowledge about the WL within this group.

Question	0	<5	<10	>10	No Response
How many times have you eaten at the WL in the past year?	19(47.5%)	3 (7.5%)	1 (2.5%)	0	50%
How many times have you eaten at other fast food outlets in the last year?	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)	5(12.5%)	18(45%)	37.5%

**Table 5: Student Fast Food Eating Habits**  
**Source: Author's Own.**

Analysis of the fast food consumption patterns of this group (Table 5), reveals that the Student Group eat out at fast food outlets, and do so regularly. Of those surveyed more than 50% had eaten out at fast food eateries more than 10 times in the previous year. This is in stark contrast to the finding that only 10% of student respondents ate out at the WL in the last year.

Question	Number and Response %	Responses
How would you define the WL?	15 37.50%	A lady who wears white (a nurse) A lady in white (a ghost) A lady in a white dress A Caucasian lady A portable diner in Fort Street and Newmarket  A restaurant (x2) Is it a bar or restaurant? A night time moving restaurant Provides food at midnight Don't know (x3) No idea (x2)

**Table 6: Defining the White Lady.**  
**Source: Author's Own.**



The lack of knowledge by the Student Group of the WL was also reflected in their responses to questions relating to the WL and its Auckland environment. This lack and subsequent confusion was mirrored within their responses (Table 4 and Table 6). Clearly, the responses within these two tables not only reflect a small sample size, but also confusion within the participant Student Group. This noted, all respondents revealed that they held no knowledge of any social issues relating to the WL. Given the low level of food consumption by this group at the WL, this outcome may not be an unexpected one.

However, some participants within the Student Group commented that the WL serves fast food, late at night, and noted that it was important that within Auckland's hospitality industry that a wide range of eating options are available to consumers. These themes are congruent to the research findings of the WL customer-base respondents. The research undertaken within the Student Group reveals that younger participants hold limited knowledge of the WL. Further, the results show that this group does eat fast food; their consumption of it however does not occur at the WL.

These findings conclude that many young people within this age range may not be familiar with the WL, its food offerings or its existence. This finding was reinforced in data collated from the second section of the student questionnaire. In the second section, respondents were asked to write a short sentence that outlined their definition of the WL. Student responses ranged from the accurate to what may best be described as guess work (Table 6). These findings reinforce the age bias noted within this research; older people tend to be more familiar with the WL than do younger people.

The familiarity of older people with the WL reflects their longer-term association with it. Many WL customers have been regular customers over many years. The lack of familiarity of younger people with the WL may reflect the fact that the WL does not advertise. The lack of advertising may assist in explaining why young people do not know about the WL or frequent it as a takeaway business, yet consume other, more advertised, takeaways.

This research therefore suggests that the WL is missing a valuable opportunity for new business because of this advertising lack and the consequent lack of knowledge about the WL within the student research group. While the WL is a long-term survivor in hospitality and has experienced many social changes, it could be argued that the current WL is endangered. As well as the contestation of different stakeholder groups the WL is endangered from a strategic business position because the WL does not advertise its business. This claim is evident within the Student Group input.

Within the current hospitality and business climate of fierce competition, this lack does little to secure the future generations of customers needed to support the WL business. Clearly, a lacuna exists; there is a ready market of young people who eat takeaway food, yet they do not know of the WL and fail to become aware of its existence because of the lack of advertising. While the WL cannot compete with the 1999 advertising budgets of “McDonald’s (who) spent \$US627.2 million, (and) Burger King \$US403.6 million” (Nestlé, 2003, p. 22), the possibility exists that the WL could reflect New Zealand fast food values and culture within advertising, and in doing so generate a genuine point of difference between the WL and the “big three” (Brailsford, 2003, p. 11). While the WL owner has made this distinction himself, he has failed to act upon it.

#### **4.5 Generalisations of the WL to 'Greater' New Zealand**

This research has concentrated on Auckland's WL. Many of the contested domains found within this research have been experienced in other locations within New Zealand. Dunedin's Dowling Street cart and Greymouth's Roadside Diner parallel the experience of many WL stakeholders and like the WL, these carts also hold meaning for workers, owners and customers. At variance with the WL's experience is the Greymouth cart, as two local Councils have offered owner Roma Baker long-term operating spaces because of the popularity of her operation (Neill, Bell and Bryant 2008). Conversely the WL's long-term survival may be because of Auckland's large population and subsequent client base, a luxury unavailable to carts in less dense urban areas.

Throughout New Zealand, pie carts have been in steady decline since the 1970s, many of them experiencing similar problems to Auckland's WL. Neill Bell and Bryant (2008) suggest that there are many reasons for this decline, namely changes in legislation, increased competition and in some cases active Council action to rid the streets of operating carts. Many of these actions mirror the history of food stalls and the supposed socially unwanted clients they may attract. Historically food stalls and latterly pie carts were often the domains of the less-wealthy, although this has changed over time. The WL has an especially diverse client base. Nonetheless, over time pie carts have been negatively perceived as catering to the less-desirable elements of society supporting the notion that a clear association exists between food types and class values. This association is represented by the WL and other carts whose clients hold fond relationships with their favourite pie cart. Conversely, detractors perceive that pie carts have had their day and no longer fit with contemporary cultural and social values;

"It's had its day really. It's past its use-by date, We're like Covent Garden in London, if you like, and this does not fit." (*The New Zealand Herald*, 2000, n.p.).

Yet a duality exists within the fit of pie carts and class values. Other participants within this research linked the WL to themes of social identity, that pie carts were markers of it and that pie carts may reflect the values of days gone by, especially the more positive aspects of them. These themes are key components within the literature review and culminate in the concept of “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27). The polarity of “binary opposition” (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27) generates a link to the key themes of the literature review and to the WL experience. Therefore, this research suggests that as postmodern values have permeated New Zealand society the more the lacuna between viewpoints, class and general values has widened to a point previously not seen in New Zealand.

Within this lacuna are participants who may wish to dismiss the more unsavoury elements of society and in doing so objectify others by labelling them “social problems” (Bell, 1996, p. 12). The relegation of this group and their association with street food and latterly pie carts has contributed to a mindset whereby some participants have implied that by getting rid of pie carts, “social problems” (Bell, 1996, p. 12), will vanish too. A clear and potent link exists between long-term mobile fast food outlets and their stakeholders. This link is deeper and more meaningful than the provision of food alone indicates. For many customers pie carts have been cultural markers, significant components in their lives, which may have become iconised by many because of the social changes that have occurred within New Zealand’s culture and society, and the congruent increase and diversity in hospitality offering. For many participants pie carts (and especially the WL) have become part of New Zealand culture keenly reflecting New Zealand’s own recognition of things ‘kiwi’; and emergent ‘kiwiana’ culture.

For others, pie carts are part of “the cultural cringe” (Bell, 2002, p. 149); something to be avoided because it may smack of cultural inferiority. This research suggests that rather than being a part of New Zealand’s culinary and societal “cultural cringe” (Bell, 2002, p. 149), pie carts and their culinary and social histories are significant contributors toward both New Zealand culinary and cultural identities, and for some stakeholders represent iconic institutions.

#### **4.6 Author Generated Solutions**

Research findings have revealed the following areas of stakeholder contestation;

- The differing views of ‘streetscape’
- Differing perspectives of the WL’s ‘place’ in Auckland
- The Impact of Fast Food Competition on the WL
- WL participation in Host Responsibility
- The lack of a definitive street trading policy

While five domains are identified as contested, a commonality of theme exists between them. This commonality constitutes the lack of effective communication between the stakeholder groups. With this in mind, researcher generated solutions to contested areas combines the following themes within the discussion on Communications Development; the differing views of streetscape; the differing perspectives of the WL’s place in Auckland; the WL’s participation within Host Responsibility and the lack of a definitive street trading policy. Finally the following section rounds out these themes with an overview of the importance in appreciation of diversity and difference. This section expands upon the solutions noted in Table 4.

#### **4.6.1 Communications Development**

A lack of effective communication is clearly evident and has impacted on all stakeholders within the domains identified as contested; streetscape, the 'place' of the WL, Host Responsibility and street trading policy development. The development of 80 Queen Street by Multiplex into an upmarket retail area has necessitated the move of the WL to Commerce Street. This research has shown that this move has negatively impacted upon the WL.

Within contestation the ACC is caught between the needs of Multiplex, its own concepts for streetscape, and the requirements of small businesses like the WL. Yet within this 'structure' the parties have not participated in a meaningful or direct dialogue. Peter Washer remains unsure if the WL will ever be returned to the Shortland Street site, and the ACC is caught between contrasting stakeholder demands. This is compounded because the concept of streetscape is subjective and clear differences exist between stakeholders.

Within the current redevelopment of 80 Queen Street the concept of streetscape has emerged as a contested issue. While different opinions on this topic exist, the ACC may benefit by communicating 'their' concept of streetscape to stakeholders in a more 'personable' and consultative manner. Streetscape is compounded by differing concepts of the 'place' that the WL holds for its stakeholders. Like streetscape, the concept of 'place' and the WL causes diverse reactions among stakeholders with many believing that the WL is iconic (and part of streetscape), while others believe it an eyesore; (and something to be removed from the streetscape).

Since the media has played a pivotal role in providing stakeholders with information on both the ACC and the WL, this research suggests that stakeholders need to be more proactive in their 'use' of the media and, in doing so, enable a wider communication experience and knowledge-sharing process. Effective media use may positively impact on WL business levels, ACC visibility and generate an environment in Auckland whereby more is known of the WL, its customers, and its uniqueness, as noted by many research participants, and contribute toward a better understanding of the inherent 'value' of the WL.

For many participants the type of customers that the WL attracts, and the observation that many of these customers were intoxicated, has compounded participants' existing thoughts on both streetscape and place. Many respondents referred to the WL's 'service' to inebriated patrons, but a tenuous link exists between this and the elements of Host Responsibility as noted within the Sale of Liquor Act (1989).

The WL does not have an active role in alcoholic beverage service in Auckland City, yet many respondents noted that the WL sells food to many drunk people. The situation may be a factor that contributes to a belief by some stakeholders that the WL customers are unsavoury types.

The reality is, however, that the WL serves these people whose inebriation came about through custom at other businesses, yet an implicit blame for their drunkenness is sometimes attributed to the WL. While a commonly held 'belief', this situation is erroneous and consequently a negative factor for the WL. This research suggests that through better information relating to Host Responsibility this situation may be redressed. While the Host Responsibility 'catch all' status of the WL may be convenient for Council, its own lack of a street trading policy continues to negatively impact on the WL, other existing street traders and aspirational street traders.

The lack of a street trading policy also holds the potential to negatively impact on the Council. While consultation has occurred with stakeholders regarding street trading policy, a hiatus is now evident within policy formulation. The lack of policy communication is fostering further uncertainty within stakeholder groups. This research recommends further and urgent consultation with stakeholders on street trading policy development by Council. It is further suggested that ACC amend its current ad hoc policy of issuing street trading permits until a chronological system is implemented.



#### **4.6.2 The Recognition of the 'Value' of Fast Food**

It would be easy to dismiss fast food (and the WL as a supplier of it) as a contributor to obesity. The 'value' of fast food within this thesis negates its nutritional aspects, and recognises the value that fast food brings to the economy and the convenience factor fast food holds for its consumers. Fast food businesses are increasing in number. As previously noted, pizza sales represent the largest area of fast food growth in New Zealand (Restaurant Association of New Zealand 2008). Student participants within this research noted their propensity to eat out at fast food eateries. Although the WL has not capitalised upon the youth market, the WL has been a significant contributor to Council rental income and a contributor to the national economy through taxation and Goods and Services Tax (GST) within its long business trading lifetime. Throughout its trading lifetime the WL has provided many people with employment, and has, according to many research participants, contributed to the value of their identity.

Like all contemporary fast food businesses and historical street-stall food sellers, the WL offers its customers convenience, amid competition;

"Societal changes easily explain why nearly half of all meals are consumed outside the home, a quarter of them as fast food, as the practice of snacking doubled from the mid 1980s to the mid 1990s (Nestlé, 2003, p. 19).

Arguably, all businesses contribute a combination of these attributes to their respective communities. However this thesis posits that the WL is a unique institution not only because of its longevity but also because of the association and significance many stakeholders have attributed to it. In this regard, 'value' is not measured by economic contribution alone, rather it is measured by more intangible elements that evoke a sense of belonging and mirror New Zealanders aspirations and identities, that for Peter Washer incorporate themes of indigenous business differentiation.

### 4.6.3 An Appreciation of Diversity and Difference

Auckland City (2007) proposes that Auckland is;

“an inclusive and diverse city ... its residents value the city’s cultural diversity as well as its shared natural and cultural heritage, and its bicultural origins. The city supports opportunities for its citizens to build identity and self-expression however they define or experience their culture.”

While the ACC recognises cultural diversity and its multifaceted expression, Thomas and Ely (1996) suggest that diversity could also;

“be understood as the varied perspectives and approaches to work that members of different identity groups bring.” (n.p).

Toward this goal Thomas and Ely (1996) propose that two perspectives are necessary in guiding diversity initiatives; the “discrimination and fairness paradigm, and the access and legitimacy paradigm” (p. 2). While it could be argued that Human Rights legislation covers the former, the latter could be supported and further encouraged by bodies like the ACC. Thomas and Ely (1996) suggest that;

“we are living in an increasing (*ly*) multicultural country, and new ethnic groups are quickly gaining consumer power. (Companies) need a demographically more diverse workforce to help gain access to these differentiated segments.” (p. 5).

Within this research the WL has been established by many stakeholders as part of a wider New Zealand cultural identity. Given the diversity espoused by ACC, and in consideration of Thomas and Ely’s (1996) position, surely the WL represents a significant point of cultural difference that bureaucracies like the ACC could maximise to cultural, tourist, and business advantage.

This research suggests therefore that the WL is marginalised through underutilisation and that this occurs as a result of the Council ignoring a part of New Zealand's social and culinary history which represents points of diversity and difference that could well serve to enhance the city's reputation with regard to the tourist experience.

#### **4.7        Researcher Bias**

As previously noted a finding of this research has been researcher bias. Researcher bias was present on two levels; a positive bias toward the WL owner/staff and customers, as well as a negative bias toward the ACC and its employees. A combination of self-disclosure and awareness of researcher bias contributed toward their minimisation.

## **Chapter 5 Conclusion to Research**

### **5.1 Introduction to the Conclusion**

This research has clearly identified contested areas of opinion related to Auckland's WL. These domains were initially identified within broader participant responses, and then discussed as themes identified as contested areas. Within the contested areas a common theme is evident, which if incorporated into the WL dynamic may serve to alleviate many of the present areas of contestation that currently exist and which have impacted negatively on all WL stakeholders over time; a lack of effective communication. As 'city fathers' occupying a position of power, the ACC could facilitate a process of public consultation that would assist in addressing contested issues of importance for all stakeholders. The follow-up of any current consultation with stakeholders is also an urgent matter Council needs to address. Such a proactive step by ACC would encourage input as well as provide an example to the wider public of a mindset that reflects both consultation and therefore of democracy, freedom of speech and free expression.

This suggestion does not imply that the Council currently imposes draconian measures with WL stakeholders, rather, and as a consequence of this research, the implementation of this suggestion would reflect in considerable measure a more humanistic relationship between the stakeholders, and one that may be more congruent to Brotherton's (1999) hospitality definition. However, such a measure is not reliant on Council alone. Any stakeholder could initiate communication, and through it 'bring on board' other interested parties. Toward this end encouragement via this research is given to primary stakeholders, the WL owner and the ACC, to initiate an enhanced dialogue and communication strategy. This strategy may aid in the reduction of the underlying communications failure. This failure is noted within a lack of knowledge or an 'assume and presume' mindset by some stakeholders.

Consultation and communication are mediums that would assist all stakeholders come to a better understanding of the position that other stakeholders hold. Within the process of communication and understanding of difference, stakeholder parties may become better informed, and therefore experience a reduction of contested opinion because of better communication.

The principle aim of this research was to ask 'are pie carts a valid part of New Zealand's culinary and social culture?' In order to achieve this aim the contested voices of the WL stakeholders illuminated the perceptions and social meanings that the WL held for them. Within the research aim two other tasks were achieved; researcher-generated solutions to the identified contestation and; the provision of a platform (this thesis) that may enable stakeholders a common ground from which to engage in future dialogue. While the two subsequent achievements of this research are important, this work has clearly demonstrated that pie carts, and specifically the WL, are seminal businesses that have had a profound impact on the lives of many stakeholders within the Auckland community. The primacy and impact that the WL hold's for many of its stakeholders is clearly shown by the participants. Many participants have divergent and polarised views on the WL. Similarly, the contestation surrounding the WL has reflected ongoing social change within New Zealand and the development of Auckland City's streetscape.

It is within these elements that the future of the WL rests. Modernists might consider that the WL is a relic of history and one best consigned there. Postmodernists may suggest the opposite; that the WL is a representation of the past that carries forward into the future and in doing so provides a unique link between Auckland's past and its future. Clearly, this research cannot conclude that either the modernist or postmodernist viewpoint is the 'correct' one, or conclude a future direction that any stakeholder *should* take in deciding the place or continuing life that the WL may have.

This research can conclude however, that the WL holds significant import to all stakeholder groups, and within the following sections of this chapter, some future directions for the WL and its stakeholders are noted.

## **5.2 Hospitality in Contemporary Auckland**

In stark contrast to the commercial hospitality of the 1950s and 60s, contemporary Auckland is a cosmopolitan city with diverse hospitality offerings. Accommodation and food service providers now employ 7% of Auckland's total workforce (Statistics New Zealand, 2008)-employees within 66,805 Auckland businesses (Auckland City 2008). Within the expansion and diversity of food and beverage offering has emerged an eating hierarchy, with fast food at its base, and more formal haute cuisine styles at its apex. This thesis suggests that promoting this growth and hierarchy has been consumer elitism prompted through postmodernism. Simply put, the rise and economic clout of the individual, consequent to postmodernism, has encouraged consumers to show their discernment and discriminating taste via conspicuous consumption. This is most notably expressed through consumer engagement in dining experiences that are aimed toward the top end of the eating hierarchy, and the restaurants that advertise such an experience as their point of difference. This has facilitated a polarity of taste; a "binary opposition" (Levi-Strauss, 1981, as cited in Adamenko, 2007, p. 27). This polarity has 'spilled over' into the concept of streetscape especially within the concept of '*up-market retail*'.

Currently, Auckland, like the rest of New Zealand and the world, is experiencing an economic recession. Within this recession is a concern that hospitality businesses will suffer a downturn, and industry leaders are quick to offer advice to the industry;

“I don’t believe that people will stop eating out because when purse strings tighten our customers will still want to eat in our restaurants and cafés. The social act of eating together is important; it “reunites us with our tribe”, transforming us from solitary beings to members of a group. However in order for us to see through this period we must not always operate the way we did when times were good, we must learn and practice new ways to work smarter and with more effective intensity.” (Egan 2009, as cited in Restaurantnz, 2009).

Within Egan’s (2009) suggestions, Auckland’s WL has begun a process of change, growth and renewal.

### **5.3 The White Lady**

The WL continues to trade from its Commerce Street site. During the compilation of this thesis the WL has benefited from a resurgence of popularity generated by John Palino’s ‘Kitchen Makeover’ (Palino, 2009) television programme that featured the WL (Refer Appendix 7). This is evident by increased customer numbers, higher customer spend, and according to Peter Washer the WL “is now consequently trading its way out of considerable debt” (P. Washer, personal communication, May 18<sup>th</sup> 2009 ). As well as increased business, Peter Washer was awarded a Life-Time Achievement Award at the 2009 Lewisham Foundation Awards.<sup>21</sup>

However despite these successes the WL is still not assured an ongoing or permanent trading site within Auckland’s CBD by the ACC. Yet despite this, the ACC is capitalising upon the iconic nature of the WL to serve its own marketing needs within the city’s “Big Little City” (Big Little City, 2009) advertising campaign. The WL features on the “Big Little City” (Big Little City, 2009) television advertisement designed to promote Auckland City as a tourist destination. The advertisement is a part of Auckland City’s marketing strategy, and features other hospitality-focused themes within the city.

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<sup>21</sup> The Lewisham Awards are presented annually in memory of Richard Lewisham, a well-known Auckland hospitality entrepreneur. Within Auckland hospitality circles the Lewisham Awards are commonly known as ‘the hospitality Oscars’.

Given that the permanency of the WL within Auckland City's streetscape has not been confirmed via street trading policy, this situation suggests that while Auckland City capitalises upon the uniqueness of the WL via advertising, the ACC by contrast is doing little to reassure the WL's owners that they hold the prospect of ongoing street trading or permanence of any trading position. This new situation mirrors other themes within this thesis; the relationship and relative 'power' of small businesses and larger corporate businesses. The underlying concept of this relationship relates to themes of streetscape and the polarity of '*upmarket retail versus 'downmarket retail'*' and the relative power dynamic within each. If big businesses do exert more influence at Council than smaller businesses do, and both groups share a common view of streetscape, then it is automatic that the dominant concept of the most desirous streetscape will prevail. The positioning of the WL directly outside the Multiplex 'up-market retail' development at 80 Queen Street is a case in point.

The dynamic is not a new one. Auckland's Newmarket pie cart has experienced a similar situation;

"Sue Gunn, manager of the Newmarket Business Association, which lodged a complaint on behalf of property owners and retailers (*in Newmarket*), said that while times had changed, the pie cart had not. It's had its day really. It's past its use-by date. We've pitched ourselves (Newmarket) in the marketplace as the premier shopping destination in New Zealand. We're like Covent Garden in London, if you like, and this does not fit" (Gunn, 2000, as cited in Austen 2000, n.p.).

While possibly seeking the best outcome for Newmarket businesses such statements reflect an elitism best articulated as the '*not in my back yard*' mentality. This thesis posits that such a mindset leads to greater fractionalisation within communities and societies, and is incongruent to the base concepts of hospitality.



## 5.4 Mobile Takeaways of the Future: Descendents of the WL

Although the WL currently faces many obstacles, other entrepreneurs in hospitality may be showing directions that the WL may benefit from observing. Recently, Auckland has seen a rapid rise in the number of mobile coffee carts trading in business and industrial estates and parks. This growth has been matched by ‘new-age carts’ that sell products maximising organic and local produce.

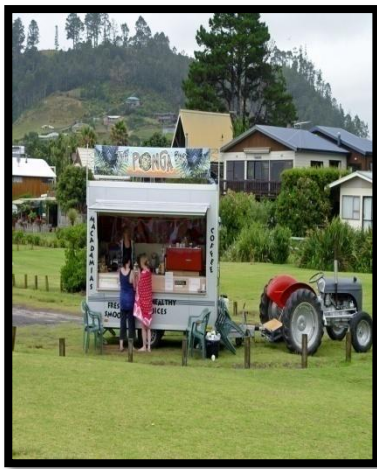


Figure 21: The Ponga Bar Cart  
Source Bryant (2008).

Typifying the ‘carts nouveau’ (Neill Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 162) is Hamish and Harriet Pilkington’s Ponga Bar cart located in picturesque Hahei on the Coromandel peninsula. The Ponga Bar is health-focused, emphasising local products sourced from “environmentally friendly/ethical companies” (Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 166).

The menu does not feature traditional pie-cart fare, rather it offers a selection of dishes including artisan yoghurt, and macadamia nut muesli. Hamish suggests “you are what you eat or drink, and these options all offer flavour, texture and nutritious elements” (Hamish Pilkington as cited in Neill, Bell and Bryant, 2008, p. 166) in a health call echoing Brillat-Savarin’s famous catch phrase.

## **5.5 Implications of the Research**

This research highlights a number of interesting findings related to the WL's operation. These findings were distilled from the owner, WL staff, customers, the ACC and student group perspectives. As one of only two full-time food carts operating nightly in Auckland, the WL does not enjoy the stability that a fixed-premises operation might. This insecurity of position is compounded by the uncertainty inherent in ACC's current lack of a formal street trading policy. Despite a first appearance of disparity, a commonality exists within the areas this research has identified as contested.

The contested issues are compounding, multi-faceted and conspire in their obtuseness to generate further confusion and dilemma for all stakeholders. In understanding the contested issues surrounding the WL from a participant perspective, it becomes obvious to an observer/researcher that it is a lack of communication between all stakeholders that is the fuel that fires the contestation, and is a primary cause of ongoing contestation.

## **5.6 Limitations of the Research**

To date, there has been no direct academic research undertaken on New Zealand's fast food service that specifically relates to pie carts except *The Great New Zealand Pie Cart* in 2008, (Neill, Bell and Bryant). Academic articles on this topic are non-existent, yet a starting point has been established within the *Australian Journal of Folklore*. This journal incorporated a review of *The Great New Zealand Pie Cart* (Neill, Bell and Bryant), (see Appendix 6). While copious fast food data exists, no previous body of knowledge has provided a stepping-off point for this research specifically on pie carts.

As well as a lack of previous research, this thesis has relied upon the experiences of its participants, namely the WL owner, staff customers and the ACC. Within these parameters lie two key limitations of this research, namely the accuracy of human memory, and the way people think. While these considerations provide a cornerstone of qualitative research, they also add limitations because of the heterogeneity of the research participants. Therefore this research does not represent an objective reality, rather it maximises the subjective input of participants.

Also impacting on research limitations was the age bias of respondents. The age bias occurred because of the requirement that participants within the WL customer group had had a long term association with the cart. This requirement skewed the average participant age. This bias was addressed through additional research within a younger cohort; the Student Group.

Finally, limitations existed within the consistency in application and existence of legislation within New Zealand and how this has impacted upon pie carts. While the WL can be considered threatened because of the lack of street trading policy, the same cannot be said for the Greymouth cart. Legislative inconsistency adds limitation to the research because part of the contestation directly relates to the lack of legislation; a definitive street trading policy for Auckland City. Therefore, a degree of caution is urged to the reader of this document because findings and data of this work require prudent judgement by them before research comparison or transference of this data to other settings is undertaken. This research utilised one case study; Auckland's WL. Because of this, generalisations to a wider New Zealand application of this research need careful consideration.

## **5.7 Recommendations for Future Research**

This research has identified a need for more research which extensively examines New Zealand's own fast food industry. Future research is important, especially if it seeks to capture the wider social barometer within which fast food businesses exist. Food is a powerful tool in social and cultural identity and cohesion, therefore fast food research not only tells a 'food story', it also exposes cultural mores. Because of the cultural element in food, the recommended methodology for future research is an interpretivist one. This choice is recommended because this position examines the subjective experience of the research participant, thus illuminating a wider social position that participants bring to the research. Qualitative research is a vital tool for researchers to use when soliciting a holistic overview of a topic. Qualitative research is recommended within this domain because it looks beyond the measured quantitative research outcome. Yet a place exists for quantitative research within New Zealand's fast food industry. An examination of the growth and/or decline in profitability, market share, or menu engineering analysis of fast food outlets like the WL would benefit from and be ideally suited to the quantitative research methodology.

A number of topics have been identified within this research undertaking that are recommended for future research. These topics include themes of fast food and customer narratives; how street-trading policy impacts on mobile food outlets; debates that define New Zealand cuisine and fast food; consumer experiences within corporate and privately owned fast food entities; streetscapes and how they blend into everyday life, and the examination of media messages in food service.

Because hospitality is a potent medium that reflects cultural mores, research into hospitality and fast food serves to illuminate cultural understanding within the social sciences. Toward this aim, this thesis has provided a focused view of an endangered New Zealand culinary icon, the WL, illuminating its strengths and weaknesses as it faces an uncertain future.

Concluding this thesis and reflecting on the status that the WL holds for many stakeholders, the final words belong to owner Peter Washer;

*“Is a city without a pie cart a city at all?”*

*(Peter Washer, as cited in Metro Magazine, 1984, p .44)*

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## **Appendix 1**

### Information and Invitation to Participate

# **Participant Information Sheet**



## **Date Information Sheet Produced:**

19<sup>th</sup> June 2007

## **Project Title**

The Contested “White Lady” : Perceptions and Social Meanings of the “White Lady” in Auckland.

## **An Invitation**

I would like to extend an invitation to you to participate within my research of the “White Lady”. This research will conclude my (Lindsay Neill) Masters study at Auckland University of Technology, School of Hospitality and Tourism, Masters of International Hospitality Management Qualification. Your participation is welcomed, valuable and voluntary, and you may choose to participate (or not). If you do participate in this research, you may withdraw from the research at any time and without penalty.

## **What is the purpose of this research?**

This research will provide the foundation for thesis material to complete my Masters of International Hospitality Management. This process will formalize the history and direction of the “White Lady” within both culinary and social history constructs in New Zealand. As a consequence of this research the possibility exists to present conference papers on this topic both within New Zealand and internationally.

## **How was I chosen for this invitation?**

Because of your background and / or ongoing association with the “White Lady”, your input, assistance and contribution would be greatly appreciated.

## **What will happen in this research?**

Participants will respond to set questions, with elaboration as necessary. Digital recording of these interviews will occur. This will facilitate accuracy and future direction. Participants will have given consent to this.

## **What are the discomforts and risks?**

No discomfort factors have currently been identified. However, participants will have an opportunity to review their inputs via the process of triangulation. Triangulation will enable participants to delete or amend any information causing them discomfort.

## **How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?**

Discomfort will be minimized for participants through consent, throughout the entire process, and open communication throughout the research process. Consent, use of pseudonyms, and discretion will be used within areas of sensitivity. An open dialogue will be promoted by the researcher encouraging participants to clearly identify any discomfort or risk that they may perceive or experience, at any time.

## **What are the benefits?**

The participants benefit because they are empowered an opportunity, within this research, to express their views, thoughts and experiences via direct participation. This will facilitate the creation of a valuable historical record obtained because of this research and the direct participant input.

The community benefits through participation in an area thus far lacking in research outcomes; especially because of the association with the participants within the "White Lady" research, and the longevity of the "White Lady" business enterprise. Further community benefit arises because this research will present a balanced view of a contested topic: the "White Lady".

## **How will my privacy be protected?**

Through the use of pseudonyms as needed, and as previously noted the use of discretion. Because this research involves triangulation, all participants will have access and contribution to the final document. This will enable (before publication) any privacy issues to be re-addressed.

## **What are the costs of participating in this research?**

It is anticipated a single one hour interview will provide the necessary participant information. Some participants may require additional time. This will be directly negotiated with participants by the researcher.

## **What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?**

A two week consideration period is offered. The researcher is happy to answer any questions that you may have within this consideration time period, that may assist you in making your decision.

## **How do I agree to participate in this research?**

The researcher will provide a Consent Form to you for your signature. This completed form will confirm your willingness to participate within this research, however (and as already stated) you may decline to participate at any time within this research.

## **Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?**

Yes. The researcher will meet with you at the end of the research period, and before publication. This meeting is designed to check the accuracy of the research material obtained from you (triangulation). At this time you will be able to have added input, and also request an e-copy of the final work.

## **What do I do if I have concerns about this research?**

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Lindsay Neill, [lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz](mailto:lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz) 09-921-9999 extn 8442.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTC, Madeline Banda, [madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz](mailto:madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz) , 921 9999 ext 8044.

## **Whom do I contact for further information about this research?**

### **Researcher Contact Details:**

- *Lindsay Neill* [lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz](mailto:lindsay.neill@aut.ac.nz) 09-921-9999 extn 8442

### **Project Supervisor Contact Details:**

- *Associate Professor Eveline Duerr*  
[eduerr@aut.ac.nz](mailto:eduerr@aut.ac.nz) 09-921-9999 extn 7001

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee  
on May 20<sup>th</sup> 2005 *was granted*, AUTC Reference number 05/215**

## **Appendix 2**

### **Participant Consent Form**

<h1>Participant Consent Form</h1> <p>For use when interviews are involved.</p>	 <p><b>AUT</b> UNIVERSITY <small>TE WĀNANGA ARONUI O TAMAKI MAKAU RAU</small></p>
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*Project title: **The Contested “White Lady” : Perceptions and Social Meanings of the “White Lady” in Auckland***

*Project Supervisor: **Associate Professor Eveline Duerr***

*Researcher: **Lindsay Neill***

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 2007.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐  
No ☐

Participant's signature:

.....

Participant's name:

.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

Date:

***Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on May  
20<sup>th</sup> 2006 AUTEK Reference number 05/215***

*Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form*

## **Appendix 3**

Host Responsibility Sale of Liquor Act (1989)



## Background

In 1989, changes to the Sale of Liquor Act brought about a significant increase in the number and range of places selling and supplying alcohol. ALAC was looking for a means of harnessing the significant community energy around alcohol issues at the time, and initiated a unique approach to tackling these problems, using a tool labelled Host Responsibility.

Based on an American concept called 'Server Intervention' Host Responsibility outlines a broad set of strategies designed to help create safer drinking environments. Substantial international research indicates that well-managed drinking environments assist drinkers to make responsible decisions about their drinking and subsequent behaviour.

Host Responsibility was launched in 1991, following the development of the National Guidelines on Host Responsibility.

The campaign marked a move away from focusing on the drinker as the key problem and emphasised the role of the drinking environment in contributing to alcohol-related harm. Furthermore, it placed the onus on the server of alcohol and their role in limiting or preventing intoxication and its associated problems.

Initially the campaign focused on the private host, in an attempt to popularise the concept with the general public. Target audiences included the health field, legislators, the liquor industry, the media and the wider community.

During the 1990s, Host Responsibility moved into the commercial arena attempting to deal with the issue of intoxication in licensed premises.

ALAC recognised that the reduction of intoxication is probably the most effective Host Responsibility strategy for reducing alcohol-related harm.

The 1999 amendments to the Sale of Liquor Act (1989) demonstrate just how far Host Responsibility has come, with some aspects of Host Responsibility incorporated into legislation, making them legal requirements.

In the last decade ALAC has supported the work of other agencies to deliver many initiatives under the Host Responsibility banner, including mass media campaigns, resource development and training programmes. Today, Host Responsibility operates under a multitude of guises with many different organisations taking ownership of the concept.

## Why a new strategy?

Given the organic way in which the Host Responsibility programme has developed over recent years, combined with the current demand for further resource development, ALAC thought it timely to review the Host Responsibility Strategy in consultation with key stakeholders.

A consultation process was undertaken with approximately one hundred stakeholders during March and April 2003, with meetings held in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch, and with input from a number of smaller interest groups.

A number of issues emerged from the consultation process with the key area of concern being intoxication. Host Responsibility is seen as a tool that can begin to address intoxication.

## A new emphasis on intoxication

Recent ALAC research indicates that occasionally drinking to the point of intoxication is the accepted norm for people of all ages in New Zealand.

Many adult drinkers do not regard drinking to intoxication as problem (McMillen 2004).

Further findings (McMillen 2004) show the current drinking culture in New Zealand to be characterised by:

- :: a general tolerance for drunkenness
- :: a general lack of concern about physical or mental well-being in relation to drinking
- :: a reluctance by drinkers to limit alcohol intake to avoid negative consequences.

In terms of reducing alcohol-related harm, the general population of moderate drinkers who occasionally drink to the point of intoxication will generate considerably more problems for society than the small percentage of people with an alcohol dependence (Saunders 1989).

The new focus of Host Responsibility is to prevent intoxication and its associated problems, utilising a number of strategies aimed at creating safer drinking environments.

While Host Responsibility provides us with a valuable tool for creating safer drinking environments, there is limited evidence as to the potential effectiveness of programmes aimed at reducing alcohol-related harm as long as existing social, economic and cultural structures remain unchanged (Holder 2000).

Host Responsibility must be seen as part of a broader strategy to address intoxication and its associated harms.

## A new focus on licensed premises

The concept of Host Responsibility focuses on the places in our communities where we serve alcohol. It is about creating drinking environments that are welcoming and comfortable and where alcohol is served responsibly.

Just as some groups are more at risk of alcohol-related harm, so some drinking environments appear riskier than others. Identifying these high-risk locations enables better targeting of strategies to reduce such problems.

The new Host Responsibility Strategy focuses on reducing intoxication primarily within licensed premises.

Drinking in licensed premises has been shown to contribute disproportionately to certain types of acute alcohol-related harm including violent behaviour (Stockwell 1995) and impaired driving (Single and McKenzie 1989, as cited in Single 1997; O'Donnell 1985).

Serving practices in commercial environments also set the standards for what is appropriate behaviour for both drinkers and social hosts (Mosher 1991). This provides us with an opportunity to role-model Host Responsibility practice and influence wider attitudes and behaviour around drinking. In support of this, Single (1997) has identified that changes in drinking patterns often begin in public drinking locations where drinkers might first be introduced to prevention strategies.

While the concepts of Host Responsibility are applicable to both licensed premises and social settings, the Sale of Liquor Act (1989) provides a structure in which statutory agencies are able to encourage, monitor and enforce safer drinking behaviour.

Host Responsibility remains a valid settings-based approach to reducing alcohol-related harm in a variety of environments including workplaces, private homes, marae and clubs.

## The six key concepts of host responsibility

Host Responsibility incorporates six key concepts designed to assist in creating safer drinking environments that reduce the risk of intoxication and its associated harms.

Host Responsibility makes good business sense. It is about customer service and a competitive edge in a challenging market environment.

Strengthening the wording of the key concepts enables a stronger, clearer and more consistent message to be delivered to the wider community.

### :: A RESPONSIBLE HOST:

:: Prevents intoxication	:: Provides and actively promotes low and non-alcoholic alternatives	:: Serves alcohol responsibly or not at all
:: Does not serve alcohol to minors	:: Provides and actively promotes substantial food	:: Arranges safe transport options

THE FOLLOWING MODEL WAS DEVELOPED BY SKYCITY TO TRAIN STAFF  
IN THE RECOGNITION AND INTERVENTION OF INTOXICATION.

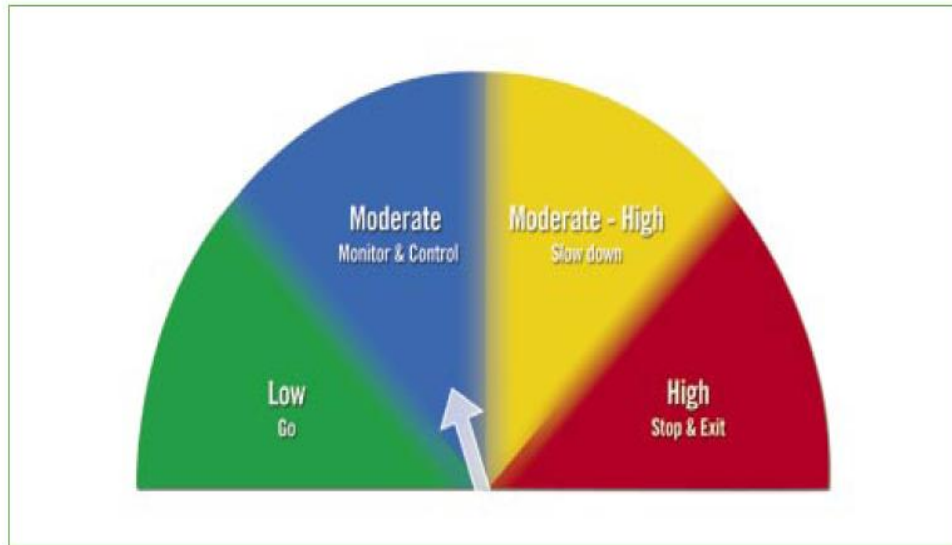
## :: RECOGNISING CUSTOMER BEHAVIOURS



## :: MONITORING AND SLOWING CONSUMPTION



## RESPONSIBLE SERVICE OF ALCOHOL MODEL



The aim is to keep customers within the blue zone.

Recognising where customers are at on the drinking continuum is a key task of the server if they are to maintain a relaxed and friendly atmosphere without the problems associated with intoxication.

Slowing down the service of alcohol by substituting other products is always better than dealing with an intoxicated customer.

### SLOWING DOWN INTOXICATION

It is the responsibility of the server to prevent customers from becoming intoxicated. If a customer is starting to display early signs of intoxication, there are actions you can take to slow this down. As a server you might:

- ∴ actively promote other products such as food and non-alcoholic drinks

- ∴ wait for a customer to re-order rather than offer a refill
- ∴ be busy attending to other customers
- ∴ serve water on the side
- ∴ engage the person in conversation
- ∴ wait for a glass to be empty before replacing

## DENYING ALCOHOL SERVICE

If a customer does become intoxicated on your premises, you will need to stop the service of alcohol and remove them from the premises.

### :: Communicate with management and other staff

Make sure staff are aware of your intention to deny service and remove a customer from the premises, so they can back up your actions and provide support

### :: Host Responsibility policy

Make sure your house policy is displayed in a prominent spot. This will provide support for your actions (see policies and procedures on page 23)

### :: Signage

Refer to the signage that states your inability to serve intoxicated patrons. This provides further support for your actions (see resources on page 28)

### :: Be non-confrontational

Don't imply that you know what is best for the patron or come down too heavy on them. Don't use language that will inflame them like 'drunk' or 'pissed.' Be aware of your body language

### :: Be firm

Don't bargain or negotiate. They may be argumentative and irrational. You are simply doing your job. Clearly state what is acceptable and what is not and your intention to remove them from the premises

### :: Don't embarrass the customer

Always treat people with respect and keep your discussion as private as reasonably possible

## DRINKING AND DRUGS

The results of combining alcohol with other drugs are uncertain, although we do know that the effects of each or both may be escalated. Combinations of some drugs may severely affect bodily functions resulting in permanent damage or even death.

The combination of alcohol and drugs in a person's system may make them more unpredictable than someone who has only consumed alcohol. The Sale of Liquor Act states that an intoxicated customer must be denied service and removed from the premises. It does not differentiate between intoxication due to alcohol consumption or other drug consumption.

Drink spiking is a relatively new phenomenon that may result in a customer inadvertently becoming intoxicated at the hands of someone else. Drink spiking is a crime and is often done to assist sexual assault.



## A responsible host does not serve alcohol to minors

The minimum legal age at which people can purchase alcohol is 18. This is generally referred to as the minimum drinking age.

A minor (person under 18) cannot purchase alcohol under any circumstances, even if accompanied by a parent or legal guardian. Minors accompanied by a parent or legal guardian may consume alcohol in either a supervised or undesignated area, but only if the parent or legal guardian purchase the alcohol for them.

A legal guardian is not a relative, spouse, coach or older friend, it is someone who has legal guardianship under the Guardianship Act 1968. The server has a responsibility to establish proof of the relationship and is entitled to request identification to establish this.

There are three possible designations for licensed premises – restricted, supervised or undesignated. These designations relate to whether or not someone under the legal minimum purchase age can be on the premises and under what conditions.

It is the responsibility of management to ensure that staff do not serve alcohol to minors or allow them on the premises illegally. Heavy penalties can be incurred for service to minors.

Many premises adopt the policy of identification checking for anyone who looks under 25. This protects both the staff and premises and prevents minors from targeting your establishment.

### AREA DESIGNATION FOR LICENSED PREMISES

:: RESTRICTED	:: SUPERVISED	:: UNDESIGNATED
No one under 18 years may be on that part of the premises	No one under 18 years may be on that part of the premises unless they are accompanied by their parent or legal guardian	Anyone of any age can be on that part of the premises

### PROOF OF AGE

The onus is on the customer to prove they are old enough to purchase alcohol or be on your premises. If they cannot supply adequate proof, there is no obligation to allow them on the premises and they should be denied entry and service. The penalties are serious and your liquor license and managers certificate may be at stake, plus a fine of up to \$2000 for the server.

The Sale of Liquor Act makes provision for four age identification documents.

Each contains a photograph for positive identification:

- :: New Zealand passport
- :: Overseas passport
- :: New Zealand drivers licence
- :: An approved 18+ photo identification card

### OFF-LICENCES

Supply to minors is a big issue not just in licensed premises, but also in off-licenses. Increased levels of enforcement have resulted in a number of prosecutions from off-licenses. Many of these have been as a result of Controlled Purchase Operations (CPO's)

ALAC has developed some guidelines for carrying out CPO's.

## A responsible host provides and actively promotes low and non-alcoholic alternatives

The Sale of Liquor Act states that licensed premises must provide a reasonable range of non-alcoholic refreshments. This supports the customer's choice not to drink alcohol and makes the choice easier for them.

Low alcohol drinks, including light beers, diet drinks and alcohol-free drinks, are now widely sought after and widely available. People choose to drink non- or low-alcohol drinks for a range of reasons including sport and fitness, weight loss, driving, non-drinkers,

pregnancy, intolerance, or getting over a big night the night before. Having a good range of options to offer customers makes good business sense. You may also choose to promote them as a means of slowing down intoxication, keeping your environment relaxed and enjoyable to be in and to work in.

Low and non-alcoholic drinks should not only be available but actively promoted by way of menus and recommendations.

## A responsible host provides and actively promotes substantial food

Food works to reduce intoxication by slowing the rate at which alcohol is absorbed into the bloodstream. For this to be effective, food must be consumed before drinking begins or before the customer becomes intoxicated.

The Sale of Liquor Act states that a reasonable amount of food must be made available at all times that a licensed premises is open for business. The provision of appealing food is part of the overall package that attracts customers to an establishment while providing an opportunity to make more money.

The type of food provided very much depends on the type of premises and clientele one is trying to attract. Providing something that is bulky and filling is important if it is to slow down the absorption of alcohol into the bloodstream.

Licensed premises may have a full commercial kitchen; a freezer and a microwave; an arrangement with a local food provider where meals are brought in, or anything in between. The key thing is that appealing and affordable food is provided and promoted at all times.

This may mean menus on every table, a menu board, or food on display. Good bar-staff will actively promote the range of food options available.

The provision of free bar snacks that smell and taste great will encourage people to think about and maybe purchase further food, thereby reducing the chance of intoxication.

:: UNACCEPTABLE PRACTICES

Promotions which offer alcohol in non-standard measures and/or by virtue of their descriptive titles, such as laybacks, shooters, slammers, test tubes, blasters, and their method of consumption, encourage irresponsible drinking habits and are likely to result in intoxication.

Promotions or drink cards which provide multiple free drinks, extreme discounts of limited duration on a given day or night, which have the capacity to be readily stockpiled by patrons or transferred to other patrons. In other words the promotion or drink card must not, by design or potential, create an incentive for patrons to consume liquor more rapidly than they otherwise might.

Any labeling or titling of promotions that may encourage patrons to consume liquor irresponsibly or excessively.

The refusal to serve single measures of spirits on request or provide reasonably priced non-alcoholic drinks.

Any promotion that encourages a patron to consume liquor excessively (all you can drink offers; free drinks for women; two for one deals) and to consume it in an unreasonable time period.

Any promotion that compromises patron safety or puts them at risk of harm.

:: ACCEPTABLE PRACTICES

The traditional "happy hour" during or immediately following normal daytime working hours.

A complimentary standard drink upon arrival.

Promotions involving low alcohol beer where it is clear from the advertising and promotional material that it is a low alcohol beer promotion.

The advertising of a consistent price of a particular brand of liquor across the entire trading hours of a premises on a given day or night, providing the price is not so low that it will, in itself, encourage the excessive consumption of alcohol and intoxication.

Promotion of particular brands of liquor that provide incentives to purchase that brand by virtue of a consistent reduced price, offer of a prize, etc but does not provide any particular incentive to consume that product more rapidly than a patron's normal drinking habit.

Competitions with prizes of food, meal deals or other prizes consistent with host responsibility.

Promotions involving food, meal and drink combos and other offers that reflect host responsibility.

# A responsible host arranges safe transport options

As of 1 April 2000, a condition of any liquor licence is that the licensee provides assistance with or information about alternative forms of transport from the licensed premises for both staff and patrons.

The provision and promotion of safe transport options is not designed to allow your customers to become intoxicated and then wheel them home.

Once again, it is part of the overall service offered to valuable customers to ensure they enjoy a safe and relaxed experience at your establishment.

Particularly, it is designed to minimise the risks of your customers drinking and driving. There are a number of options available:

- :: Making taxis as available and easy to use as possible

Offer to call a taxi for your customers

Have a free phone available for customer usage

- :: Taxi signage

Discount taxi schemes

- :: Dial-a-driver

Taxi system that delivers a driver to take the customer home in their car

Signage in a visible spot

- :: Courtesy coach

This can be used to pick up and drop off customers providing a further service to promote your establishment

- :: Designated driver

Encourage groups to designate a sober driver and provide them with free non-alcoholic drinks

## Developing a host responsibility policy

A Host Responsibility policy provides documentation of a premises' commitment to host responsibility practices. Most District Licensing Agencies (DLAs) demand to see a policy as part of the license renewal process.

The checklist and sample policy below are taken from the Manager's Guide (Blair, Bennett-Bardon 2002).

### MANAGER'S CHECKLIST

1. Your Host Responsibility policy is written specifically for the premises, ideally with staff input
2. The policy is clearly visible to patrons and staff
3. Staff are aware of the policy, are suitably trained, and receive obvious support from management, including the ongoing discussion of issues
4. Food is available at all times alcohol is being sold. Menus are clearly visible
5. The safe and healthy use of alcohol is encouraged:
  - :: various food promotions and specials are available cheaply and quickly
  - :: low and non-alcoholic drinks are promoted and readily available and there is a positive staff attitude towards these drinks
  - :: the premises support a designated driver scheme
  - :: here is active encouragement of safe drinking and driving levels
  - :: tea, coffee and iced water are available at the bars
  - :: there is clear signage about the size of spirits served - doubles or singles
6. Clear and obvious notices about the laws relating to serving minors and intoxicated persons are displayed
7. Staff are trained to recognise and understand intoxication and practical interventions. They are instructed not to continue serving alcohol to any customer who appears to be getting intoxicated, either directly or through friends
8. A telephone is readily available so patrons may call a taxi easily
9. There are no promotions which encourage intoxication

NB: It is a condition of all licences that food, non-alcohol and low alcohol drinks are available at all times alcohol is sold or served.

## Sample host responsibility policy

The management and staff of *[the premises]* believe that we have a responsibility to provide an environment that is not only comfortable and welcoming but also where alcohol is served responsibly. Because of this the following Host Responsibility Policy has been implemented:

We provide and actively promote a range of non-alcoholic drinks, including *[low-alcohol beer, fruit juices, soft drinks, tea and coffee. Iced water is available free of charge at all times]*.

A good range of food is always available *[as well as substantial meals]*. Menus are visible at all times.

It is against the law to serve minors. If we are in doubt as to your age, we will ask for identification. Acceptable forms of proof of age are the photo driver's licence, the HANZ 18+ card or a current passport.

Patrons who are visibly intoxicated will not be served alcohol, will be asked to leave the premises and encouraged to take advantage of safe transport options.

We will promote transport options to get you safely home.

We will encourage more people to have a lifesaver (designated driver). We will make the lifesaver's job more attractive by providing an interesting range of low-alcohol and alcohol-free drinks.

We will make sure all these services are well promoted and will display signage required under the Sale of Liquor Act.

We will maintain a training and management policy to give our staff the skills and support they need to do their job responsibly.

Please be our guest and take advantage of the services we offer.

Host responsibility makes sure that everyone has a good time, and leaves in safe shape for the road home. It could save our licence, and it could save your life.

We're Responsible Hosts

*[signed]*



# The Sale of Liquor Act (1989)

The Sale of Liquor Act (1989) is the legislation governing the sale and supply of alcohol in New Zealand. A liquor licence is required before alcohol may be sold, and licensees, managers and staff are required by law, to take responsibility for their customers.

The object of the Sale of Liquor Act is to establish a reasonable system of control over the sale and supply of liquor to the public with the aim of contributing to the reduction of liquor abuse, so far as can be achieved by legislative means.

## ADMINISTRATION OF THE SALE OF LIQUOR ACT

Several agencies have a statutory role in ensuring licensed premises are operating according to the law. These agencies can also apply to have a licence suspended, varied or cancelled if they have evidence that a premises is breaching the Sale of Liquor Act. Each agency has a particular focus for their input into the licensing process and it is likely that they will visit premises from time to time to make sure they are meeting the conditions of a liquor licence.

## POLICE

Police are particularly interested in the suitability of licence applicants, particularly those with criminal records, and premises with a history of anti-social behaviour. Police functions include monitoring premises for compliance with the Act and reporting to the District Licensing Agency (DLA) or the Liquor Licensing Authority (LLA). Police have the power to issue infringement notices to any person alleged to have committed an offence under the Sale of Liquor Act.

## PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE – MEDICAL OFFICER OF HEALTH, HEALTH PROTECTION AND HEALTH PROMOTION

The Public Health Service is concerned with the wider impacts on public health associated with alcohol misuse. Their function is to inquire into licence applications, monitor premises for compliance with the Sale of Liquor Act and report to DLA or LLA.

## FIRE SERVICE

At the time of a liquor licence renewal, the Fire Service requires the licensee to sign a statement that a fire evacuation scheme is in place, or that the premises are exempt from having to have an evacuation scheme. Trial evacuations must be held six-monthly.

## TERRITORIAL LOCAL AUTHORITIES (TLAs)

Territorial local authorities have a clear role to play in the development of strategies to control the availability of alcohol. Through the District Plan and the Long Term Council Community Plan, TLAs have the ability to influence the number of liquor outlets in any given area as well as the hours of operation. Part of this responsibility includes setting out specific conditions in the District Plan that apply, depending on where the liquor outlet is opening, for example, maximum opening hours, noise levels, numbers of outlets in an area, staggering closing times, etc.

### **DISTRICT LICENSING AGENCY (DLA) – DISTRICT LICENSING INSPECTOR (DLI)**

The DLA administers the Sale of Liquor Act, receiving all licence applications and obtaining appropriate reports in order to grant and issue a licence. The DLA reports on all licence applications and monitors premises for compliance with the Act. Should there be reason to oppose the granting of a licence, the DLA will put the application forward to the Liquor Licensing Authority in Wellington.

### **LIQUOR LICENSING AUTHORITY (LLA)**

The LLA is the agency with ultimate responsibility for overseeing the Sale of Liquor Act. It is a tribunal administered by the Department of Courts, and consists of a district court judge and one or two appointed members. The LLA provides direction and sets precedents on sale of liquor issues and determines the outcome of opposed applications.

### **MONITORING IN LICENSED PREMISES**

On granting an application for an on-licence, the DLA may impose a range of conditions, which will include their expectations around host responsibility practices and procedures.

In their monitoring of licensed premises, both the DLA and the Public Health Service will be looking for evidence of the implementation of host responsibility procedures.

## Other relevant pieces of legislation

Host Responsibility is about creating drinking environments that are welcoming and comfortable. Laws and regulations about smokefree environments and gambling contribute to the provision of safe and comfortable drinking environments within licensed premises.

### SMOKEFREE ENVIRONMENTS ACT (2003)

The Smokefree Environments Act contributes to the creation of such venues by encouraging positive and healthy social settings that are free from the negative effects of smoking.

From 10 December 2004 hospitality venues (bars, clubs, restaurants, cafés, casinos and gaming machine venues) were required to be 100 percent smokefree indoors.

This may have implications for barstaff in monitoring people's alcohol consumption levels when customers choose to step outside to smoke (and potentially drink). The inability of barstaff to keep an eye on drinkers will necessitate strong communication between all members of staff including security.

### THE GAMBLING ACT (2003)

Host Responsibility encourages licensed premises to offer a range of alternatives to drinking. Increasingly, this includes the provision of gaming machines that are governed by the Gambling Act (2003).

Having gaming machines on a licensed premises calls for extra vigilance around age monitoring. The minimum age to play gaming machines in New Zealand is 18 and premises will be fined for allowing those under 18 to access machines.

For further information refer to the Department of Internal Affairs  
[www.dia.govt.nz](http://www.dia.govt.nz)

# Training

Training is the key to the successful implementation of Host Responsibility practices within a licensed environment.

Before an applicant can apply for a General Managers Certificate they are required to show evidence of a number of things, including recent and relevant training, plus evidence of industry experience. The Certificate is awarded by the local DLA.

Current training requirements vary around the country according to the requirements of the local DLA. There is currently no standard mandatory national training qualification required to apply for a GM certificate. However the implementation of this is well down the path.

Unit standards are available in the Sale of Liquor Act and Host Responsibility.

Generally, training for a General Managers Certificate will take place over 1-2 days and cover knowledge of the Sale of Liquor Act, and also knowledge of Host Responsibility. Candidates will gain a national qualification if the training is based on unit standards. Otherwise they will gain a 'local programme' certificate e.g. AUT Certificate in Host Responsibility.

As the result of the passing of the Sale of Liquor Amendment Act 2004, plans will now move ahead for the development of the Liquor Licence Controllers' qualification.

## **Appendix 4**

CD-ROM Japanese Television Programme

## **Appendix 5**

Transcription of Japanese Television Programme

## Appendix 5: CD-ROM Transcription of Japanese Television Programme

Translation for Lindsay Neill by Sarah Fujisawa August 2008

The program starts off with the explanation of the whole purpose of the program. This TV series is titled, "Haute cuisine paradise & the best / prime foodstuff Open the store, Umetatsu Donburi bower (New Zealand SP)" and it is not the first time to be played on TV.

(Note: Many humorous Japanese TV show likes to give a program a very long title. Use of comical performance is a key to the success.

"The dunce and the sharp-tongued smart one who make up a comedy team." Japanese comedy require two parts, a person who makes a foolish comments and another person who aggressively in denial but in a way he is supporting him. Throughout this TV program, you should be able to detect dispute, foolish acts, making slightly smutty yet funny comments and facial expressions especially by the producer. However, it is all act and to get more program ratings.

The program is composed of four main characters who carry the show through to the end. The main character is the head chef, Tatsuo Umemiya, Junji Takada as a producer, Tetsuro Degawa is a food supplier and Harumi Yamoto's duty is to be the cooking assistant.

The head chef, Tatsuo Umemiya (what he does in real life, I am not too sure) is the main character of this TV program. His major duty is to extend "don", which the Japanese culinary culture takes pride of, to the world. (This particular Japanese dish, "don" is a popular meal loved and eaten often by many Japanese people. (Rice in a bowl topped with a meat –and – vegetable) Up to this day, head chef, Umemiya has been played out this hotly contested game around chosen counties including Hawaii, Thailand, Mexico, Italy and Papua New Guinea. For this time, Auckland, New Zealand has been chosen as a battle field for the chef to take on the game of "don" challenge.

Challenge/ game is to make at least 80 New Zealanders out of 100 to say his “don” is “delicious” at a final food tasting session which will be held in Auckland viaduct America's cup village.

The head chef Umemiya will be supported by a producer, Junji Takada. (He is a well known Japanese entertainment celebrity in Japan. He often acts as a host, MC and comedian on many popular TV shows including serious documentaries. Just so you know that he is not always a clown like he is in this DVD.).

Tetsuro Degawa, whose duty is to supply food to the head chef plays an underling part of in this program. (He gets worked hard by Takada producer and the head chef. He plays an important part in this show to add a comical act.).

Next, the commentator briefly explains New Zealand as a country surrounded by abundant ocean nurtured by Mother Nature and a rich variety of foodstuff is available. New Zealand gets described as the paradise of Southern hemisphere for the reason of availability of fresh produce from surrounding ocean and open country.

The team member first appears sitting at the table inside Observatory restaurant in Sky Tower. The rules of the don challenge are briefly explained. The head chef, Umemiya needs to come up with only one type of original don dish and produce 100 of them using fresh products available in New Zealand. It is a must for the head chef to do ‘Sky jump’ if he loses the game. (Japanese likes to play games which apply some sort of punishment as a consequence of losing.)



To be able to “restaurant” to open for the final don tasting session, the following steps/journey are to be taken by the don crew.

1. Taste Research
2. Food supply research
3. Food sampling session
4. Menu decision to be reached
5. Street stall location hunting
6. Set up a stall/restaurant
7. Making final “donburi”
8. promotion activities

### **Taste Research**

Harmonising two cultures of the native Maori and British, New Zealand is a treasure house of foods as well as a boom in the market for gourmet foods. Most important of all, the crew firstly visits Soul located in Auckland viaduct which is a restaurant bursting with energy and popular among both Aucklanders and tourists. The recommendation at Soul is the meat dish, the commentator introduces. The crew member try out two meat dishes, beef and lamb. The first dish served is oyster served on top of beef fillet steak. (Oyster is known as luxurious food item in Japan usually eaten raw, lightly grilled or cooked as a hot pot dish in winter. It is very unusual and new to many Japanese people to taste meat and seafood together as such.) The crew member was very surprised and delighted to taste a new innovating combination of flavour. This dish was commented to be delicious as combined umami of beef and oyster are well matched and intertwined. The second dish served is pan fried lamb rack. The crew members remark on tenderness of the lamb rack and states that the lamb is even tenderer than beef. They also say “Comparing to lamb available in Japan, this lamb is much tenderer and has no particular smell.”

The commentator explains the reasons, “Lamb in New Zealand can get to live unconstrained in vastly grown grass.”

### **Food supply research**

As to extend knowledge of a large variety of food available in New Zealand, the crew visited Fish Market in Auckland. (Sea food has been a big part of diet in Japan for many years. Donburi dish often applies combination of sea food including, salmon caviar, herring roe, urchin eggs and many other fish and many of sea food item has auspicious meanings and are symbolic.). The commentator again accentuates New Zealand as islands abundant with seafood.

The producer points out how cheap snapper is priced. (Snapper is treated as a classy fish and usually only eaten for congratulating event) The head chef points out that New Zealand catches many similar kind of fish, as Japan experiences similar climate as he takes notes and jot down ideas. The chef shares his ideas on his new donburi invention, “ Tekka don (a bowl of rice topped with raw tuna) would come out well, Chirashi (rice dressed with vinegar and topped with egg and seafood served in a box or bowl) would look great too...” He goes” Those Cray fish looks similar to those ones we see in Japan.” Then the producer exclaims, “I found something delightful here, you better come check this out, chef!” The producer found a seafood restaurant located within the fish market. The crew immediately take seats and order a plate each of cray fish to try out. “Amazing!” “Wow!” everybody raise ones voice. “Nice colour, shining.”, “Firm flesh and Bursting with flavour,” “delicious, tasty and juicy” everybody shouts for joy.

After tasting this delicious crayfish, the crew except the producer was inspired to actually go catch some of their own. So then they decided to head for Kaikoura as Kai means to eat/food and koura means crayfish in Maori language, this place must be the destination to get high quality crayfish. The crew flies down to Christchurch and catches a train for another three hours to get to the destination Kaikoura. Kaikoura's population is 4000 and many of them are Maori, the commentator explains. Thirty five years of experience catching crayfish, Butch MacDonald and his son Morgan meet the party on their arrival and take them "fishing". Being pulled by a tractor, a fishing boat drives through the small town to be launched to sea. It is a very unusual sight for Japanese people to see fishing boats to be kept on the land. Butch explains parking the boat on the road slows down the corrosion process. Traps set up earlier get pulled up by Butch and Morgan. The cages are filled with many crayfish caught in a trap.

Tetsuo and Harumi dive into the sea as an order of the head chef to catch some paua for him to try out later on as part of his food research. They ended up getting help by these two kiwi fisher men to get paua for them. With all the freshly caught kaimoana, the boat heads back to the land back to their home for a cook up. Butch demonstrates his cooking to the member. He has a very interesting way to cook paua shells. First, he de-shells paua, punch holes into a piece of kelp. At this moment, the crew cannot recognise what it is. When they discover this "cow leather" was kelp, they were so shocked by unbelievable thickness of kelp in New Zealand. (In Japan, eating kelp called 'konbu' is common. Often used as stock to make soup, as pickles to be eaten as side dish or cooked in hotpot and eaten as a part of main meal.)

Butch continues, after punching holes into kelp, he threads (rope? long piece of seaweed?) through the “cow leather” and make a “boot”, a cylindrical shaped container. Butch stuffs paua one by one into the “boot” and stitches it off. He then places the “boot” into a smoky open fire for it to do its thing. Next, Butch starts preparing crayfish. He hacks the head off the crayfish and plugs in a halved potato to keep everything together and into the hot boiling water. Trying out the finished product, the crew was gratified to eat such a sumptuous meal. Comments, “This feast makes me want to say congratulations.” Butch was so pleased to see the crew delighted, he decides to cook one more dish for them to try out. He minced paua flesh, mixed up with flour and chopped up vegetables and makes pate, in the hot pan. Yes, Butch made paua fritters. The head chef was again very surprised by the taste of such a simple dish and an unusual way of cooking paua shell. (Paua is very expensive in Japan and treated as a high-class food. For its expensive being, paua is usually served whole or sliced in a way it can be distinguished as paua by eaters. Never get minced!)

### **Don sampling session**

After visiting Kaikoura, the crew catches a train back to Christchurch to take a further step. Next task, the chef must take on is to come up with a number of recipes and create ‘don’ samples for people to try out in order to be able to make a final decision. The head chef rents a kitchen of one Japanese restaurant and starts work out a concrete proposal. From God knows where, the producer suddenly appears dressed as a tram guard. He explains his absence he was out looking for a place to take a don sampling session. The producer takes the team out for a walk to the venue. The venue turns out to be a tram called the tram restaurant, a renowned tourist attraction in Christchurch.

Moving into the kitchen inside the tram restaurant, the chef comes up with three don dishes. First is crayfish and paua don topped with white sauce, the second don uses a medley of sea food(white prawn, oyster, cockle, muscle), vegetable, served with cream sauce topped with the chef's original kelp puree.(kelp from Kaikoura) The last don is karaage lamb don. (lightly battered and deep fried, sort of like tempura but coated with different batter.). People who gathered to taste the head chef's sample don included a local chef, Collie Whume? Cannot spell (he is introduced as a cooking champion from 2004), the owner of the tram company, John Smith and a tram guard, Peter as well as Butch and Morgen from Kaikoura. The rest of tasters, I am not too sure who they are. The first don, majority of tasters thought it had lovely taste but paua was too chewy. The second dish, many commented positively on kelp puree. A practice of eating kelp in New Zealand is not common and tasters seem to enjoy the new flavour. John Smith, the owner of the tram company makes a comment, "I would not mind to add this dish to the menu."

Out of nine tasters, one liked crayfish and paua don, three liked seafood don and five liked lamb don the most. Concluding the advice from the tasters, by learning New Zealand's home cookery and using kelp could be a key to the success. As a result of the don sampling session, the chef asks the food supplier, Tetsuro to go back to Kaikoura to get more kelp.

With a guidance of Takada producer, the crew goes on a mission to learn some New Zealand home cooking. They go visit a housewife who is known to be a professional at home cooking with a hope of getting more ideas for donburi creation. Fiona Atokin and her husband Bruce own a kiwi fruit farm within their property. The crew member especially the head chef was very impressed by plentifully grown kiwi fruits. He grows his own kiwi fruit in his home garden in Japan but he can only get about twenty in a year.

The crew member gets to try out picking kiwi fruits and taste the fresh produce. The member points out the sweetness of kiwi fruit. (Kiwi fruits available in Japan are imports from New Zealand). After experiencing picking and tasting kiwi fruits, Fiona invites them to barbeque. She brings out a big plate of beef and lamb covered with sliced kiwi fruits. The crew members look at a thing wonderingly and ask what the kiwifruit was doing on top of the meat. Fiona explains that kiwi fruit tenderises meat.

Again they ask a question, “Which do you eat more of, beef or lamb?” Fiona answers, “That would be lamb.” The chef takes over the barbeque. While the meat is sizzling, Fiona goes into her kitchen and whip up a sauce. She makes golden kiwi salsa to go with lamb. The commentator introduces golden kiwi fruits to the TV audience and explains how Fiona’s sauce is being made. The commentator explains further that eating kiwi fruit together with meat helps with digestion.

The crew member eats food introduced by the home cooking pro, Fiona. “Meat is tender and delicious”. “Its’ flavour is something Japanese people are not used to be tasting”, the chef makes a comment.

The crew is back to Auckland. At this point, it is only two days before the restaurant must open. The head chef cooks in the kitchen in his hotel room deciding on which ingredients to use for his final don.

### **Stall Location**

Takada producer and Tetsuya takes a walk down to the America’s cup village at the viaduct water front. They wanted to negotiate with the restaurant owners if they could rent their restaurant to use as a venue for the final don tasting. They must find a location where they can open their don restaurant for the chef to take on the game.

They start their negotiation. They get rejected by every restaurant one by one. They end up at the further end of the village where there are no more restaurants. Takada producer sees an open area which is used as a car park. He suggests an idea of using that space to open up own restaurant just for a few hours. They ask a girl called Jessica who's boss owns the car park to find out if they were to be able to use it. The producer manages to get consent to use the space.

A night before the opening of the restaurant, the chef is still in the process of decision making. He cooks and eats cooks and eats. He repeats this process till midnight to come up with the final decision.

While the chef is in his hotel room cooking, Takada producer and Tetsuya is out and about Auckland City looking out for inspiration and ideas. As they walk down Queen Street, they find White Lady, a mobilised burger shop. They get inside the vehicle and eat burgers. They exclaim, "Delicious!" Of course they want to use the kitchen for tomorrow and want to negotiate to borrow the White Lady.

The producer felt the size of the kitchen in the White Lady would be adequate for the chef. The producer really wants to be able to hire this vehicle for the chef. The commentator explains to the audience this burger store is still steady with customers even after midnight! Back in the hotel room, chef finally decides on the final don recipe.

Early in the morning, the chef and his assistant Harumi begin preparation of the final don. This don will decide victory or defeat. The chef is cutting up kiwifruit given by Atkin and his wife. Yes that's right, the chef has made a final decision for the final don to use lamb.

While the chef and assistant are busy preparing for final match of cooking don, Producer Takada and Tetsuro starts Japanese style promotion activity by distributing pocket tissue with a piece of paper with the detail stated. After advertising campaign, the parking lot was introduced to the chef as the venue location. Then the crew starts setting up a temporary restaurant for its opening. The chef asks a question, "Where is the kitchen for me to cook?" At that moment, suddenly, the White Lady and Producer standing on the bonnet appear gloriously from the corner of the parking lot. The producer explains that he managed to win a negotiation to rent White Lady for the chef to use for today.

The chef proposes the team his final don is to be using lamb. The member gathers and decides this don to be called "New ZeaLAMB Don" and its price to be \$5.

The chef begins to cook then food supplier, Tetsuro notices something he shouts out, "You are not using konbu (kelp) I got for you!" (He is annoyed because he went all the way back to Kaikoura from Christchurch just to get kelp for the chef. As you have seen, he struggled hard against rough sea and to cut off strips of them.

This is an example of Japanese punch line of a joke acted by these comedians to keep the documentary entertaining, funny and foolish with purpose of getting viewers attention.

### **Opening Ceremony**

Opening ceremony commences with Maori Haka. Specially, Tetsuya participates.



## **The Restaurant Opens**

Although “New ZeaLAMB Don” uses lamb which is not a common meat eaten in Japan, it has been flavoured with Japanese style. Lamb was tenderised with kiwi fruit, a new technique learned through visiting Fiona, the home cooking pro. Then the meat gets marinated in soy sauce, mirin, sake, garlic, white and black sesame seeds and Tabasco sauce to add spice. Then the meat gets battered with ‘dogtooth violet starch’ (a.k.a potato starch in NZ) and deep fried. Mushrooms and onions are stir fried and go on top of steamed white rice and then Lamb goes on top then garnished with asparagus and tomato.

Many people have turned up to the restaurant. At first, most of customers were satisfied with flavour and ate all of it. Customer comments, “lamb is juicy and tender” “Lamb has good taste”. As they leave, the customers are to leave bowl to an either side of the table, “good tasting” or “bad tasting”. Many left happy leaving the bowl to the good tasting side of the table. A few did not like it as they were not used to using chop sticks and complained about rice sticking everywhere around their face. Others thought the lamb did not have much flavour at all. From this stage, many customers started to think the don is “bad tasting”. Chef finds himself in a fix so then the chef himself taste lamb and finds it to very weak in taste.

The reason of lamb not tasting flavoursome as it used to be was because the restaurant got to the peak, the marinating time for the meat became less. To fix this problem instantly, the chef starts pouring the marinades sauce on top of rice and fried lamb itself. The chef manages to recover his tempo and get back into stride. Two hours after the restaurant opened, the 100<sup>th</sup> order, the last order came in to the kitchen.

The game is over. Out of 100 bowl of “New ZeaLAMB don”, I’m sorry I do not remember the figure. However, the chef won the game with many satisfied customers.

As a consequence of chef winning, Harumi jumped Sky tower as a “punishment”.

**THE END**

## **Appendix 6**

Australian Journal of Folklore Review

## A Barometer to (Community) Life and Egalitarianism across the Tasman? :

A Review Article

J.S. Ryan

(i) *pie-cart*...A mobile eating-place, usually set up nightly as a regular street-stand and serving meals (traditionally *pea, pie, pud.*) *The Dictionary of New Zealand English*, ed. H. W. Orsman, Auckland, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 596.

(ii) 'If you want to know how a city ticks, open a pie-cart. You will see and hear it all.' John, of Christchurch, quoted on p. 109 of *The Great New Zealand Pie Cart* (2008).

(iii) 'Pie carts really are a part of our New Zealand way of life.' Roma Blackall, she recently located on New Zealand's West Coast, South Island, and quoted now on p. 96 of the last named volume.

In this present year, 2008, Hachette Livre NZ Ltd., have published a sumptuously illustrated volume of regional and subtle but genuinely anecdotal and zestful essays<sup>22</sup> concerned with the style and social history - and the two cannot be separated - of the long time mobile 'cheap eatery' of that country, the 'pie cart'. The author-compilers of *The Great New Zealand Pie Cart* - all from Auckland - are three:

- 1) Lindsay Neill, who lectures in hospitality management at the Auckland University of Technology (AUT), and is both a chef and a prize-winning food writer;
- 2) Claudia Bell, a sociologist at the University of Auckland, whose main research is on everyday life in New Zealand, she having already published on kiwiana (i.e.

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<sup>22</sup> There are some 17 essays of specific locations, containing tantalizing details of the social history, regional lore, and engaging and personally known and savoured anecdote, the whole followed by a coda, 'Pie à la Carte', pp.156-158. All are selectively illustrated with excellent colour photographs and on a quality gloss paper, making it a table book that is much more relevant to history and culture than most.

quirky and distinctive items redolent of New Zealand life and culture), small towns and their character, local festivals, roadside landmarks, local landscapes, and folk art, as well as her earlier and informative and significant book, *Inventing New Zealand* (Penguin, 1996); and

3) Ted Bryant, a champion of an old-fashioned field of the preparation and presentation of food, one now designated 'hospitality education' with a vast experience in the United Kingdom, in Bermuda and in New Zealand, and for thirty years the Head of the AUT's School of Hospitality, a presenter of the popular educational programmes entitled *Ethnic Cookery*, and a peculiarly distinctive commentator/ interpreter of New Zealand's foodways. These, it must be stressed are much different from Australia's, due to cooler climate, the customs and traditional tastes of the native people, the Maori, and the richness of the fish stocks, as well as the still surprisingly 'British' core to the population, something peculiarly intriguing to visitors from other countries.

The volume's parts are arranged in an ingenious [if not quite an 'isoglottic'] fashion that is both : (1) locational – moving from the top of the North Island to the far south with Stewart Island; and (2) chronological, since most essays cover a period of some sixty years and more, with the treatment of sequential owners or operators of representative businesses being cited or interviewed.

Further, the frank informants are many and it is clear that the fieldwork has been done both honestly and meticulously.<sup>23</sup>

The range of proprietors of the mobile food-bars is a considerable one, with several Chinese owners, and more Chinese persons operating/ working in the units, especially in the current metropolitan settings. Although these do not intrude, many of the writers offer various comprehensive reflective passages in the last section, 'Pie à la carte, the last word' (pp.156-157). This chapter succinctly underscores points emerging from earlier interviews and anecdotes, yet these are peculiarly informative for outside/ Australian/overseas readers, -

1) today's pie carts clearly date back to the 1930s 'when tough times meant that there was little money<sup>24</sup> for people to spend on food' (p.156);

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<sup>23</sup> There is a measure of gentle tact in telling various of the anecdotes of a salacious, or, perhaps, of a criminal implication.

2) that New Zealand society remains remarkably egalitarian, as is indicated by the fact that business men, socialites, derelicts, sporting and other categories of patrons are still to be found companionably alongside each other in numerous of these eating places [i.e. pie-cats], particularly in the evenings of Friday and Saturday and more so in the colder months;

3) the legendary regard and affection in which pie cart operators are still held<sup>25</sup> in such locations, these to be found in the largest cities, in small regional towns, and even in the most isolated spots, often with a distinctive clientele of deerstalkers, pig-shooters, state forest employees, helicopter pilots, or itinerant caravan retirees to be found eating there;

4) many social historians link the same food carts' ethos with the Great Depression (c.1929-1935), and/or as a counter to the notorious six o'clock swill of the 1950s and 1960s, long before the rise of a café culture in New Zealand. There were numerous 'tea-rooms' in New Zealand between the wars, but these were for middle-class women and small children, and males were effectively precluded from attending such places.

In contrast to other public places of eating, the role of the pie carts for New Zealand was an evening and a social one, since they could and did sell plain but tasty food, the only alternatives to which were 'the expensive hotel dining rooms serving the inevitable steaks and roast dinners' (p.11).

#### *A political pedigree for the pie cart?*

Interestingly - indeed intriguingly - and a point of comparison for the vastly less Australian tolerance for state/ federal governments of the left, the writers/compilers of this book, - and the various heritage records that they cite from time to time - would seem to make an equation of sorts, namely that the pie cart -

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<sup>24</sup> This point may well be compared with the British 'soup kitchens' of the 1930s, or the famed wartime 'British restaurants', which in some areas continued dispensing cheap and nutritious meals till the late 1950s / the drawn-out end of food rationing. [These are different from the road/ truckies' cafes which still exist in England, especially along the motorways, where they have the American -style title, 'roadhouses'. It is interesting that the first British quotation of this last compound in the *Supplement to the Oxford Dictionary*, Vol. III (1982) is only dated 1936.]

<sup>25</sup> This may profitably be compared with the graciousness and mirth of the legendary English rural tavern host of the generations before the Industrial Revolution. [Compare the British love of this topos in Jeffery Farnol's *The Broad Highway: A Romance of Kent*, 1910, a work that is a classic of the nostalgia for the country inn of the eighteenth century or earlier.]

- 1) was /may be seen to be regarded as / is still synonymous with the social reforms and nation-building engendered by the Labour Party as New Zealand came out of the Great Depression in 1935-1937;
- 2) was given a more solid and significant foundation as an institution, at least in the North Island and in all the then numerous naval ports foundation, by the massive numbers of American servicemen present from 1942 -1946;
- 3) was linked to the enormously popular cult of the Friday Night Dance- and the long-running Late Night Shopping, also a feature of most towns on Fridays, for perhaps two generations; however, this would be much undermined by the coming of television;
- 4) a meeting place for pakeha and Maori men and women, alike, the latter in due course creating the more popular large scale public 'eaterie', the *hangi*, or 'Maori earth oven' aspect of shared/ bulk cooking by retained heat and steam from hot stones, the process always taking three hours. [This last is one of the most fascinating ways of the races coming together in harmony and greater understanding.]

*In some sort of summary:*

This set of essays has been interpreted by the present writer/reviewer as a picture of the coming together of three essential ingredients – (1) the long time need for hot and cheap food in New Zealand's public places, especially after the normal working hours; (2) the essential gregariousness of all New Zealanders, this belying the possible outsiders' prior notions of class distinctiveness and so association; and (3) endemic desire to defy the 'enemy', the bureaucrat from the local council, with continual regulations about such factors as excessive evening noise, the absence of toilets, and the seediness of a portion of the patrons.

And it must be pointed out, especially in relation to the last reservations,

that a nice wry humour runs through the text, particularly in the witty section (p. 18,ff.), entitled 'A very succinct history of pies', with somewhat droll glances at the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, 12<sup>th</sup> century Britain, the Renaissance food opulence, Victorian street eating, especially on the edge of the growing slums; the American/New World pie culture, and, especially, its National Pie Day on 23

January, when one is encouraged to share 'random acts of pieness' and give slices of pie to strangers.

*A Greater Nostalgia in the Perspective*

Perhaps one has to leave the topic now, but a last point must be made, the writers' and informants' significant perception of the New Zealand folk born there in the 1930s, and their strength of character - as opposed to the rougher and more selfish economic policies of the Muldoon-led years. This respect for the past is encapsulated in the wry observation -

the people like my dad who lived through the Second World War were a special lot. They worked hard, helped others, yet stood no nonsense, unlike people today...[he ] never let anyone go hungry, in that way he had a heart of gold, helping the 'down and outers'. (p.52)

Clearly the humble New Zealand meat pie and the protocols of its consumption – and garnishings - constitute a remarkable and highly significant national activity, process of (earlier?) socialization, and illustration of both cultural and community imperatives and needs.

Like the customary activities at the American diner, the company and converse at the Old English inn, or at the Polynesian feast, the meal at the pie cart can - and should- be seen as a symbolic gathering whose survival is parlous, and so the more intriguing for the mores there enshrined.



## **Appendix 7**

CD-ROM The Kitchen Job

## **Appendix 8**

CBD Action Plan 2008-2011

A nighttime photograph of a city street, likely in Auckland's CBD. The image shows a sidewalk with palm trees and modern planters on the left. The road on the right has long, vibrant light trails from cars, with red and orange streaks indicating traffic moving away from the viewer. Buildings and streetlights are visible in the background, creating a dynamic urban scene.

# Auckland's CBD Into the Future: CBD Action plan 2008-2011

February 2008

Find out more: phone 379 2020 or visit [www.aucklandcity.govt.nz](http://www.aucklandcity.govt.nz)

## Contents

This action plan is divided into two parts. Part 1 outlines the vision, outcomes and strategies that Auckland City Council has developed for Auckland's CBD. These come from the Auckland's CBD into the Future document. Part 1 also outlines the trends over the last three years and the themes for the next three years that emerged during the consultation.

Part 2 contains the key actions for the next three years by outcomes.

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## Introduction

The action plan is a companion document to Auckland's CBD into the Future strategy. The strategy is the council's plan for reshaping and revitalising Auckland's central business area to make it the prosperous and vital heart of New Zealand's leading city.

Auckland's CBD into the Future strategy contains a vision for Auckland's CBD, which is about ensuring that Auckland remains internationally competitive as a place to live, work and visit. It is about celebrating and enhancing those things that set Auckland apart from other global cities – its superb natural setting on the edge of the Waitemata Harbour, its rich Maori and colonial heritage, its youthful and cosmopolitan population, and its great lifestyles.

To reach that vision, Auckland's CBD into the Future sets out the outcomes that the council wants for the CBD and the strategies it will use to achieve them.

A series of three-year actions plans will drive the strategy. The first action plan for 2004-2007 is complete.

This action plan takes the next step. It sets out what Auckland City Council is going to do during 2008-2011 to help deliver the strategy's outcomes. It identifies and prioritises the actions that the council will take, either by itself or with others, to help create the CBD of the vision.

The council cannot make this plan happen on its own. Achieving the vision will require the city to take a great leap forward. It is critical to the success of the plan and the CBD's future that other businesses, community groups and organisations join with Auckland City Council in working towards the vision and the actions in this plan.

## Vision and outcomes for Auckland's CBD

### The vision

The vision is a call to action. It forms the framework for planning for the CBD's future.

'In the next 10 years Auckland's CBD will grow and consolidate its international reputation as one of the world's most vibrant and dynamic business and cultural centres.'

### The outcomes

The outcomes are what will set the Auckland CBD apart from other cities and what the council wants to achieve for it.

The Auckland CBD will be:

- 1 recognised as one of the world's premier business locations
- 2 a high-quality urban environment
- 3 the most popular destination for Aucklanders and visitors in the region
- 4 a world-class centre for education, research and development
- 5 a place that feels like the heart and expresses the soul of Auckland.



A key strategy is enhancing and supporting the development of the CBD as a shopping destination.

## The strategies by outcome

Auckland City Council plans to achieve each outcome through a number of strategies.

### 1 Recognised as one of the world's premier business locations

The strategies are:

- providing certainty for the future direction of the CBD
- working to provide the infrastructure needs of business and CBD users
- assisting emerging growth sectors
- strengthening relationships with key companies and sectors
- building the reputation of the CBD as a good business location
- ensuring the CBD is easy to access to support the needs of business and workers
- supporting the education industry and its development, so that it is complementary to the key role of the CBD as a business service location.

### 2 A high-quality urban environment

The strategies are:

- developing high-quality, international-standard open spaces and streetscapes that meet the needs of users
- increasing public enjoyment of and access to the waterfront
- improving the ease of moving to and in the CBD
- ensuring good urban design throughout the CBD
- ensuring the CBD is a safe place for people to live, work and visit
- planning for and encouraging better quality residential developments while balancing the need for commercial and business growth
- facilitating the provision of sufficient social and community infrastructure for residents, workers, students and visitors
- planning for and facilitating more mixed-use development
- encouraging environmentally responsible and flexible design for developments
- promoting the distinctive character of the quarters of the CBD
- encouraging greater environmental sustainability.

### 3 The most popular destination for Aucklanders and visitors in the region

The strategies are:

- enhancing the visitor experience
- developing the CBD's reputation for premier and cutting-edge arts and culture
- enhancing and supporting the development of the CBD as a shopping destination
- supporting and developing the CBD as lively at night and day
- strengthening marketing the CBD as a destination.

### 4 A world-class centre for education, research and development

The strategies are:

- developing a strong strategic relationship between Auckland City Council and the universities
- building the CBD's reputation for attracting and sustaining quality education and research
- ensuring that the social and physical infrastructure needed by the education sector is in place
- aligning the relationship between CBD education and CBD business sectors.

### 5 A place that feels like the heart and expresses the soul of Auckland

The strategies are:

- developing the character (look and feel) of the CBD as distinctly 'Auckland'
- supporting and celebrating ethnic and cultural diversity in the CBD
- protecting and promoting the heritage aspects of the city
- developing and enhancing the relationship with āhi kaa of Auckland city in developing the CBD
- promoting the CBD as a people place.



## Trends for the CBD over the last three years

During the review of the first action plan the following trends emerged.

- The number of people using the CBD each day is 260,000. Of these, 7 per cent are CBD residents, 30 per cent are CBD workers, 30 per cent are students, and 5 per cent are overseas tourists.
- The number of people using the CBD on an occasional basis is increasing. These people primarily use the CBD for recreation, dining and leisure. The most popular areas are the Viaduct Harbour, Aotea Quarter, the west side and the old town.
- Numbers of residents has increased exponentially in the last 15 years, with 18 per cent growth a year in the last five years. Many residents were born overseas and this includes students residing within the CBD (77 per cent). People of Asian ethnicity (47 per cent) now predominate over people of European ethnicity (43 per cent).
- There are more families living in the CBD, and a high proportion of these families have young children under the age of five.
- A high proportion of the older European residents live close to the waterfront, while the Victoria Quarter also houses an older population. The young and Asian residents live around the Aotea and Learning quarters.
- Working residents employed in the CBD (45 per cent) tend to walk or jog to work (64 per cent).
- The economic structure of the CBD is changing, with land-intensive businesses moving out of the CBD. Property, finance, insurance and business services sectors are filling the gap.
- The CBD grew as a residential and education centre, while retail remains steady.
- Thirteen per cent of the employment of Auckland region is now in the CBD.
- In the last four years, office space increased by 100,000 sq meters and now totals 1.2 million sq meters. Building consents slowed over the last few years, but there are a number of significant new developments planned.

What this means is that over the next three years:

- the changing face of the residential community will result in changing service demands and retail impacts
- we need to give occasional visitors a reason for coming to the CBD more often and focus on improving their experience when they are in the CBD
- there will be competing demands for commercial and residential development
- access will continue to be a priority in the long term and this will require managing growth in the quarters and improving accessibility to create a 24/7 environment.



Over the next 10 years Auckland's CBD will grow and consolidate its international reputation as one of the world's vibrant business centres.

## Themes arising during the Action Plan Review

### During the consultation, six themes emerged:

- Rugby World Cup 2011
- transport
- sustainability
- safety
- key infrastructure
- resident needs.

#### Rugby World Cup 2011

Auckland City Council is working collaboratively with key organisations across the region to develop a vision and set of desired outcomes that will maximise the opportunities from this event. The council has established a programme of work with a dedicated team. There is an opportunity for the next CBD action plan to enable the development of key infrastructural elements required to host the Rugby World Cup and provide a legacy for the future.

At the same time, the event is also a constraint for the programmes of work. To ensure the best presentation of the CBD, no major construction should occur during the Rugby World Cup. Programmes of work will need to be complete before the event, while new work may need deferral until after the event is over.

A number of capital and operational service initiatives are included in the action plan that will support this event, and provide a legacy into the future.

#### Transport

During consultation, several issues raised concerned the improvements to transport both within the CBD and for access to the CBD. These include parking, changes to transport policies and implementation of a CBD transport plan. The Central Area Access Strategy has five strategies, which remain as relevant to the CBD today as when they were first developed. A CBD transport plan will form the action plan for their implementation.

The urban design framework supports becoming 'a more connected city where people have a choice of transport options that are comfortable, convenient, efficient and affordable'. The actions in the CBD action plan will support this framework.

#### Sustainability

Sustainability is about making decisions now with the future in mind, and it incorporates economic prosperity, resilient communities, civic and social leadership, environmental stewardship, and social cohesion. It is not just about green measures. Auckland City Council has a long-term plan to tackle the issues and challenges surrounding sustainability. The Urban Design Framework for Auckland city published in 2007 includes a goal of becoming a more sustainable city.

Actions that address or advocate for sustainability (such as support for businesses, travel plans and green buildings) are included in this action plan.

#### Safety

Safety issues raised encompass personal safety and security, as well as safety for pedestrians and cyclists. Both the Central Area Access Strategy and the urban design framework include strategies aimed at safety for pedestrians and cyclists. This means including both operational improvements and capital works in the action plan.

#### Key infrastructure

Auckland needs three new items of additional infrastructure: a large, flat event space, larger convention space, and improved cruise ship facilities. All three items will require collaboration with agencies outside Auckland City Council. Actions for scoping and planning on these three initiatives are included in this action plan.

#### Resident needs

The CBD needs to provide sufficient social and community infrastructure to meet the needs of the changing resident population, which includes the increasing numbers of families with preschool and school-aged children. Advocating for providing amenities such as meeting places for families, schools, affordable service space for not-for-profit organisations and other services have been considered within this action plan, but delivery may occur under a future action plan.



## Three-year action plan

### 1 Recognised as one of the world's premier business locations

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Providing certainty for the future direction of the CBD		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Explore developing a regulatory framework to focus on supporting investment in the CBD</li> <li>• Advocate for early completion of the Harbour Bridge to City motorway and Grafton Gully (stage 3)</li> </ul>
Working to provide the infrastructure needs of businesses and CBD users	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocate for finalising decisions on funding and location of a convention centre</li> <li>• Advocate for the development of facilities to support growth in cruise ship visits</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a broadband strategic framework and implementation plan for the CBD</li> </ul>
Assisting emerging growth sectors		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Understand the fringe areas of the CBD and identify opportunities that will benefit growth sectors</li> </ul>
Strengthening relationships with key companies and sectors		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support the development of creative industries within the CBD</li> </ul>
Building and promoting the reputation of the CBD as a good business location		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investigate the need for a commercial quarter</li> <li>• Actively market the advantages of the CBD to retain and attract a range of businesses</li> </ul>
Ensuring the CBD is easy to access to support the needs of businesses and works		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deliver the CBD Transport Plan</li> </ul>
Supporting the education industry and its development so that it complements the key economic role of the CBD as a business services location		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enhance the quarter's innovation and knowledge potential by building relationships and partnerships with key organisations</li> </ul>



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## Three-year action plan

### 2 A high-quality urban environment

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Developing high quality, international-standard open spaces and streetscapes that meet the needs of users	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complete and implement the open space plan and design frameworks for the CBD</li> <li>• Ongoing implementation of the streetscapes programme</li> <li>• Ongoing alignment of the renewals programme with the streetscapes programme</li> <li>• Implement increased service levels for maintenance and cleaning of CBD streets and open spaces</li> </ul>	
Increasing public enjoyment and access to the waterfront	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the Waterfront Programme to 2011</li> </ul>	
Improving ease of moving to and in the CBD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a network of pedestrian links through the CBD</li> <li>• Advocate for the introduction of more free buses and extend the services in the CBD and fringe</li> <li>• Make the CBD more pedestrian friendly</li> <li>• Provide information on how to access the CBD</li> <li>• Advocate for the Harbour Bridge to City motorway project</li> <li>• Support the introduction of integrated ticketing for passenger transport</li> <li>• Enhance safety and accessibility in the CBD</li> <li>• Look after the environment by advocating for more low emission buses</li> <li>• Advocate for early completion of the CBD to Airport link</li> <li>• Review CBD Parking policy to address needs of residents and short stay visitors and implement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Make our roads work smarter</li> <li>• Improve passenger transport</li> <li>• Influence travel choices through a cycling and walking strategy</li> <li>• Advocate for more ferry services</li> <li>• Develop more park and ride services on CBD key PT routes</li> <li>• Work with Transit New Zealand to identify new Harbour crossing</li> </ul>
Encouraging greater environmental sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Deliver higher service levels of maintenance and cleaning CBD streets and open spaces</li> <li>• Improve recycling practices in large building complexes and introduce provision of on-street recycling facilities</li> <li>• Improve rubbish collection and waste disposal behaviours in the CBD</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support businesses to develop operational sustainability plans</li> <li>• Investigate the best methods of encouraging sustainable retrofitting of existing buildings in the CBD</li> </ul>

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## Three-year action plan

### 2 A high-quality urban environment (continued)

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Ensuring good urban design throughout the CBD		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the actions set out in the CBD urban design framework</li> <li>• Continue support for bluewater in transforming the Britomart quarter into a vibrant mixed-use area</li> <li>• Develop gateways on major transport routes by placement of markers or art works</li> <li>• Change the pedestrian environments by introducing way-finding signage and additional links in the pedestrian network</li> <li>• Implement the CBD urban design framework actions</li> <li>• Implement the central area plan urban design audit</li> <li>• Work with building owners and developers to maximise opportunities to improve streetscapes</li> <li>• Implement the CBD open space plan</li> </ul>
Ensuring the CBD is safe for people to live, work and visit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the City Safe plan in the CBD</li> <li>• Improve access to the CBD to support businesses, commuters and visitors</li> <li>• Extend passenger transport in the CBD</li> <li>• Influence travel choice through a cycling and walking strategy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve lighting on key pedestrian routes</li> <li>• Provide high quality open spaces for pedestrians</li> </ul>
Planning for and encouraging better quality residential developments while balancing the need for commercial and business growth		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Assess CBD residential growth targets in relation to business growth targets (gain understanding of what the residential and commercial mix should be in the CBD)</li> </ul>
Facilitating the provision of sufficient social and community infrastructure for CBD users		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Identify and facilitate actions to meet the social infrastructure needs of the CBD users and residents</li> </ul>
Planning for and facilitating more mixed-use development		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote the Britomart precinct as a high-quality mixed-use development</li> </ul>
Encouraging environmentally responsible and flexible design of developments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support the development of environmentally sustainable (new) buildings</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advocate for developers to plan for better transport options for their buildings, eg fewer car parks, showers, bike racks, etc</li> </ul>
Promoting distinctive quarters in the CBD		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue the quarter planning process and identify the potential for new quarters</li> </ul>

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## Three-year action plan

### 3 The most popular destination for Aucklanders and visitors in the region

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Enhancing the visitor experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop the marine events precinct on the western part of the Viaduct Harbour</li> <li>• Provide electronic way finding signage for passenger transport within the CBD</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a public art work trail map</li> <li>• Develop an arts precinct around the Auckland Art Gallery</li> <li>• Identify locations for temporary art works in the CBD</li> </ul>
Developing the CBD's reputation for premier and cutting-edge arts and culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support the development of the Q Theatre</li> <li>• Implement the CBD public art works plan and install new art works</li> <li>• Redevelop the Auckland Art Gallery and promote it as Auckland's icon of art, accessible to as many people as possible</li> <li>• Reinforce the Aotea quarter as the CBD's arts, culture, civic and entertainment precinct</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement activities and art works that animate the CBD streets</li> </ul>
Enhancing and supporting the development of the CBD as a shopping destination		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the retail strategy for the CBD core, Queen Street and K' Road</li> </ul>
Supporting and developing the CBD as lively at night and day	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Address noise issues where conflicting activity occurs</li> <li>• Identify large flat spaces for events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the Public Space Activity Plan</li> <li>• Investigate methods of connecting pockets of night time activity</li> <li>• Investigate ways to support the music scene in the CBD</li> </ul>
Strengthening the marketing of the CBD as a destination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work with key agencies to develop a coordinated, destination marketing plan</li> </ul>	



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## Three-year action plan

### 4 A world-class centre for education, research and development

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Developing a strong strategic relationship between Auckland City Council and the universities	Finalise and implement the Learning Quarter Plan to strengthen links to the city and support the students' and residents' way of life	
Building the CBD's reputation for attracting and sustaining quality education and research		• Finalise and implement the Learning Quarter Plan
Ensuring that the social and physical infrastructure needed by the education sector is in place		• Progress recommendations from the social infrastructure research that supports community development
Aligning the relationship between CBD education and business sectors		• Finalise and implement the Learning Quarter Plan



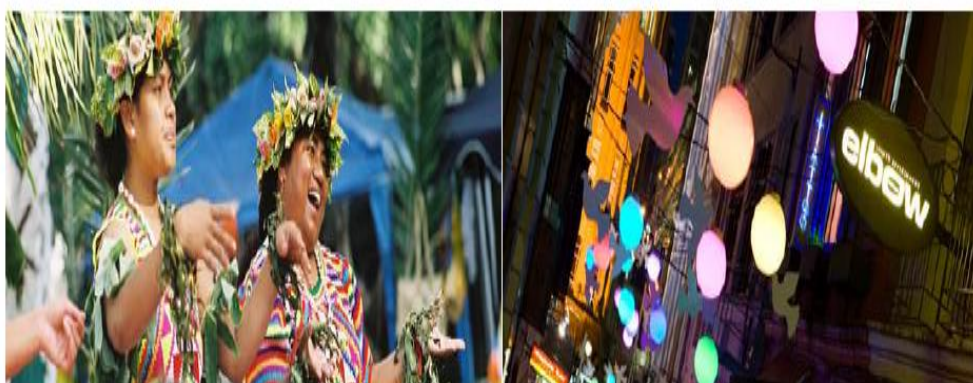
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## Three-year action plan

### 5 A place that feels like the heart and expresses the soul of Auckland

Strategy to get there	High priority actions	Medium to low priority actions
Developing the character (look and feel) of the CBD as distinctly 'Auckland'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continue to support the Auckland Festival to grow and be successful</li> <li>• Integrate the distinctive city goal from the urban design framework into the design of public and private developments</li> </ul>	
Supporting and celebrating the ethnic and cultural diversity in the CBD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Actively encourage ethnic groups to participate in the development of the CBD as a welcoming and friendly place</li> <li>• Implement the CBD Street Performance Policy</li> <li>• Encourage more ethnic and cultural festivals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Implement the events strategy in the CBD</li> </ul>
Protecting and promoting the heritage aspects of the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protect heritage and historically significant buildings and special character areas through appropriate guidelines and controls</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote heritage walks in the CBD</li> </ul>
Developing and enhancing the relationship with ahika of Auckland city in developing the CBD		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Investigate opportunities to help resource Ngati Whatua, which will increase the visibility of a bi-cultural presence in arts, cultural and streetscapes projects</li> </ul>
Promoting the CBD as a people place	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support the plan to actively encourage ethnic groups, iwi and Maori individuals to participate in the development of the CBD as a welcoming and friendly place</li> </ul>	



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