Current Sociology

http://csi.sagepub.com

Glocommodification: How the Global Consumes the Local - McDonald's in Israel

Uri Ram

Current Sociology 2004; 52; 11

DOI: 10.1177/0011392104039311

The online version of this article can be found at:
http://csi.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/52/1/11

Published by:

http://www.sagepublications.com

On behalf of:

International Sociological Association

Additional services and information for *Current Sociology* can be found at:

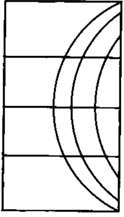
Email Alerts: http://csi.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts

Subscriptions: http://csi.sagepub.com/subscriptions

Reprints: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav

Permissions: http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.



Uri Ram

Glocommodification: How the Global Consumes the Local – McDonald's in Israel

One of the more controversial aspects of globalization is its cultural implications: does globalization lead to universal cultural uniformity, or does it leave room for particularism and cultural diversity? The global–local encounter has spawned a complex polemic between 'homogenizers' and 'heterogenizers'. This article proposes to shift the ground of the debate from the homogeneous–heterogeneous dichotomy to a structural-symbolic construct. It is argued here that while both homogenization and heterogenization are dimensions of globalization, they take place at different societal levels: homogenization occurs at the structural-institutional level; heterogenization, at the expressive-symbolic.[1] The proposed structural-symbolic model facilitates a realistic assessment of global–local relations. In this view, while global technological, organizational and commercial flows need not destroy local habits and customs, but, indeed, may preserve or even revive them, the global does tend to subsume and appropriate the local, or to consume it, so to say, sometimes to the extent that the seemingly local, symbolically, becomes a specimen of the global, structurally.

The starting point for this analysis is the McDonaldization of Israeli culture. McDonald's opened its first outlet in Israel in 1993. Since then, it has been involved in a variety of symbolic encounters, of which two are examined here: (1) the encounter between McDonald's, as the epitome of global fast food, and the local version of fast food, namely the falafel; and (2) the encounter between McDonald's, as a symbol of global-American consumer culture, and local culture, national identity and ideology, as it evolved around the branch location of Golani Junction.[2] It is argued that, in both cases, local idioms have thrived, though only symbolically. On the structural level, they have been subsumed and appropriated by global social relationships.

Current Sociology, January 2004, Vol. 52(1): 11–31 SAGE Publications
(London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi) www.sagepublications.com
DOI: 10.1177/0011392104039311

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

In this study, McDonald's is considered a commodity in the Marxian sense; that is, a manufactured object embodying social and cultural relations (Marx, 1967: 71–83). Like Rick Fantasia, a student of fast food in France, we argue here that fast food '[has] less to do with food than . . . with the cultural representations of Americanism embodied within it' (Fantasia, 1995: 229). Since cultural representation does not relate merely to the expressive-symbolic level, but, concretely, also to the structure of institutional patterns and organizational practices, attention must be paid to the embeddedness of social relations and cultural representations in the commodities.[3] Thus, it is argued that, behind the McDonald's commodity as an object, one should look for the societal intersubjective relations of production and consumption.

Global Commerce Encounters the Local Eating Habitus: McDonald's and the Falafel

The industrialized hamburger first arrived on Israel's shores back in the late 1960s, although the chains involved at the time did not make much of an impression. In 1972, Burger Ranch (BR) opened a local hamburger joint that expanded into a chain only in the 1980s. It took the advent of McDonald's, however, for the 'great gluttony' of the fast hamburger to begin. McDonald's opened its first branch in October 1993. It was followed by Burger King (BK), the world's second largest hamburger chain, which opened its first branch in Israel in early 1994.[4] Between McDonald's arrival and the year 2000, sales in the hamburger industry soared by 600 percent. By 2000, annual revenues from fast-food chains in Israel reached NIS 1 billion (about US$200 million according to the 2002 exchange rate) (Barabash, 2000).[5] McDonald's is the leading chain in the industry, with 50 percent of the sales, followed by BR with 32 percent, and BK with 18 percent. In 2002 the three chains had a total of 250 branches in place: McDonald's, 100; BR, 94 and BK, 56 (Zoref, 2003).[6]

McDonald's, like Coca-Cola – both flagship American brands – conquered front-line positions in the war over the Israeli consumer. The same is true of many other American styles and brands, such as jeans, T-shirts, Nike and Reebok footwear, as well as mega-stores, such as Home Center, Office Depot, Super-Pharm, etc. Israel's globalization, as measured by the development of high-tech industry, and the spread of personal computers and Internet links, ranks high on the world scale (Ram, 2000). As for eating habits, apart from the spread of fast-food chains, other Americanisms have found a growing niche in the Israeli market: frozen 'TV dinners', whether in family or individual packs, and an upsurge in fast-food deliveries (Barabash, 2000). These developments stem from the transformation of the familial life-style as an increasing number of women are no longer (or not only)

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

housewives, the growth of singles households, and the rise in family incomes. All this, along with accelerated economic activity, has raised the demand for fast or easy-to-prepare foods. As has happened elsewhere, technological advancements and business interests have set the stage for changes in Israeli eating habits. Another typical development has been the mirror process that accompanies the expansion of standardized fast foods, namely, the proliferation of particularist cuisines and ethnic foods as evinced by the sprouting of restaurants that cater to the culinary curiosity and open purses of a new Yuppie class in Tel Aviv, Herzliya and elsewhere.

As in other countries, the 'arrival' of McDonald's in Israel raised questions and even concern about the survival of the local national culture. A common complaint against McDonald's is that it impinges on local cultures, as manifested primarily in the local eating habitus both actual and symbolic.[7] If Israel ever had a distinct national equivalent to fast food, it was unquestionably the falafel – fried chick-pea balls served in a 'pocket' of pita bread with vegetable salad and tahini (sesame) sauce (Chen, 1998). The falafel, a Mediterranean delicacy of Egyptian origin, was adopted in Israel as its 'national food'. Although in the 1930s and 1940s the falafel was primarily eaten by the young and impecunious, in the 1950s and 1960s a family visit to the falafel stand for a fast, hot bite became common practice, much like the visit paid nowadays to McDonald's. The falafel even became an Israeli tourist symbol, served as a national dish at formal receptions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zach, 2000: D1). Indeed, one kiosk in Tel Aviv advertises itself as a 'mighty falafel for a mighty people'.

Despite the falafel's fall from glory in the 1970s and 1980s vis-a-vis other fast foods, such as *shawarma* (lamb or turkey pieces on a spit), pizza and the early hamburger stands, and notwithstanding the unwholesome reputation it developed, an estimated 1200 falafel eateries currently operate in Israel. Altogether, they dish up about 200,000 portions a day to the 62 percent of Israelis who are self-confessed falafel eaters. The annual industry turnover is some NIS 600 million (US$120 million) – not that far short of the hamburger industry (Kotan, 2000; Zach, 2000). Thus, surprisingly enough, in the late 1990s, McDonald's presence, or rather the general McDonaldization of Israeli food habits, led to the falafel's renaissance, rather than to its demise.

The falafel's comeback, vintage 2000, is available in two forms: gourmet and fast-food. The clean, refined, gourmet Tel-Avivian specimen targets mainly yuppies and was launched in 1999 – five years after McDonald's landed in the country – in a prestigious restaurant owned by two women, famed as Orna and Ella. Located in the financial district, which is swiftly being gentrified, it is known as 'The Falafel Queens' – a hip, ironic feminist version of the well-known 'Falafel King' – one of the most popular designations for Israeli falafel joints, which always take the masculine form. The new,

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

'improved' gourmet model comes in a variety of flavors. Apart from the traditional 'brown' variety, the Queens offer an original 'red' falafel, based on roasted peppers, as well as a 'green' falafel, based on olive paste. Beverages are a mixed bag, including orange-Campari and grapefruit-arrack ice. Owner Ella Shein rightly notes that the falafel's revival reflects a composite global–local trend:

> We have opened up to the world culinarily speaking, we have been exposed to new raw materials, new techniques, a process that occurs simultaneously with a kind of return to one's origins, to one's roots. (Kotan, 2000)

Apart from its 'gourmetization', the falafel has simultaneously undergone 'McDonaldized' standardization. The Israeli franchise of Domino's Pizza inaugurated a new falafel chain, setting itself a nationwide target of 60 branches. Furthermore, its reported intention is to 'take the tidings of Israeli fast-food abroad' (Kotan, 2000). The falafel has thus been rescued from parochialism and upgraded to a world standard-bearer of 'Israeli fast food', or, as one observer put it, it has been transformed from 'grub' into 'brand' (Zach, 2000: D1). In fact, the Ma'oz chain already operates 12 falafel eateries in Amsterdam, Paris and Barcelona and, lately, also in Israel. The new chains have developed a 'concept' of 'clean, fresh, and healthy', with global implications, because: 'if you are handed an inferior product at "Ma'oz" in Amsterdam, you won't set foot in the Paris branch' either. In contrast to the traditional falafel stand, which stands in the street and absorbs street fumes and filth, the new falafel is served indoors, at spruce, air-conditioned outlets, where portions are wrapped in designer bags and sauces flow out of stylized fountains (Kotan, 2000). At Falafels, the balls are not moulded manually, but dispensed by a mechanical implement at the rate of 80 balls/minute. There are two kinds – the Syrian Zafur and the Turkish Baladi. And as befits an industrial commodity, the new falafel is 'engineered' by food technicians and subjected to tastings by focus groups (Zach, 2000: D1).

Like any self-respecting post-Fordist commodity, the falafel of the new chains is not only a matter of matter but, as stated above, of concept or, more precisely, of fantasy, rendering the past as nostalgia or retro.[8] Branches are designed in a nostalgic style – in order to evoke yearning within the primary target sector – and they carry, in the name of 'retro', old-fashioned soda pops. Thus is the local Israeli habitus dusted off, 'branded' and 'designed' so as to be marketed as a mass standardized commodity. Another trendy aspect of the new falafel is its linkage to the new discourses on the environment or nutrition. The proprietor of Ma'oz notes that 'salads, tehini, and falafel are healthy foods, and we have taken the health issue further by offering also whole-wheat pita bread. The health issue is becoming so central that we are now considering establishing a falafel branch that would serve only organic vegetables' (Kotan, 2000). To sum up, the distinction between the old falafel

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

and the new, post-McDonald's falafel, is identified in a local newspaper report as follows:

> If in the past every Falafel King took pride in the unique taste [of his own product, the secret of] which was sometimes passed down from father to son, and which acquired a reputation that attracted customers from far and wide, in the [new] chains, the taste would always be the same. Uniqueness and authenticity would be lost for the sake of quality and free market rules. (Zach, 2000: D2)

One major change in Israel's culinary habitus as a result of its McDonaldization, therefore, is the demise of the old 'authentic' falafel and the appearance of the new commodified 'falafel 2000'.

But McDonald's had to surmount another – no less challenging – culinary hurdle: the Israeli carnivorous palate. The rise in the country's meat consumption is an indicator of its economic growth. Between 1960 and 1970 there was an almost 100 percent jump in meat consumption, the portion on the Israeli plate taking up an ever growing share. In 1999 Israelis consumed on an average more than twice the meat downed 30 years earlier, an increase unmatched by any other food staple.[9] Given this hankering for meat, especially of the grilled variety, the McDonald's hamburger appeared rather puny, and the Israeli consumer tended to favour the Burger King broiled product. In 1998, McDonald's bowed to the Israeli appetite, changing both the preparation and size of its hamburger. It shifted to a combined technique of fire and charcoal, and increased portion size by 25 percent. The Israeli customer now has the distinction of being served the largest hamburger (120 grams) marketed by McDonald's worldwide. But the most striking fast-food modification to the Israeli habitus is the 'Combina' (the Hebrew equivalent of 'combo'), launched in 2001 by Burger Ranch – a packaged meal for four eaters that taps into the local custom of 'sharing' and, to quote the marketing blurb, allows for 'a group experience while retaining individual dining expression' (*Walla News*, 2001).[10]

It may thus be concluded that the interrelations of McDonald's and the falafel are not simply a contrast between local decline and global rise. Rather, they are a complex mix, though certainly under the banner of the global. Indeed, the global (McDonald's) contributed somewhat to the revival of the local (the falafel). In the process, however, the global also transformed the nature and meaning of the local. The local, in turn, caused a slight modification in the taste and size of the global, while leaving its basic institutional patterns and organizational practices intact. The 'new falafel' is a component of both a mass-standardized consumer market, on the one hand, and a postmodern consumer market niche, on the other. This sort of relationship between McDonald's and the falafel, in which the global does not eliminate the local symbolically but rather restructures or appropriates it structurally, is typical of the global–local interrelations epitomized by McDonald's. So

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

much emerges also in yet another encounter between McDonald's and Israeli culture, to which we turn next.

Global Commerce Encounters Local National Ideology: McDonald's and Golani

Golani Junction, a major intersection in northern Israel, named after an infantry brigade, was the arena of another encounter between McDonald's and Israeli culture. In this instance, Israeli national ideology fought against the spirit of American consumerism, and Golani – its reputation for toughness notwithstanding – lost the battle.[11] The junction was named in the wake of the Israeli war of independence in 1948, Golani having been the military unit in charge of combat in the area. Its casualties were commemorated by a temporary monument, which in the late 1950s was replaced by a permanent one. During the next couple of decades, it became the memorial for all Golani soldiers lost in battle and a museum dedicated to the brigade was erected there. In December 1994, McDonald's opened its doors at Golani Junction, instantly raising a public outcry that the restaurant was diminishing the site.

What is the legacy of the Golani memorial and museum, and why is the mere presence of a McDonald's branch perceived as a threat? The venue is part of a dense network of hundreds of memorial sites on various scales scattered all over the country, whose aim, like elsewhere, is twofold: first, to consecrate former soldiers who died in battle and thereby motivate new soldiers going into battle; and second, to inscribe in 'blood' the affiliation of 'the people' and 'the land', the two arches of the 'nation' (Mosse, 1990; Almog, 1991). The Golani site hosts annual memorials, inauguration parades for conscripts, and educational activities for soldiers, youth groups and visitors from abroad.

McDonald's large 'M' towering above the junction was perceived by some as belittling the site, and, indeed, as the desecration of a national shrine. D. Y., the father of a fallen soldier and one of the leaders of the campaign against McDonald's, put it eloquently:

> Golani devotees regard the site as a place to commemorate and commune with the dead, on both the personal and collective levels, as well as a place to perpetuate the glorious combat legacy of the Golani unit for generations to come. . . . McDonald's restaurant brims with tacky, flashy and vulgar American trappings incongruent with the nature of the site and offensive to our sensibilities, the sensibilities of Golani's retired and current soldiers, and some of the Israeli public'. (D. Y., 1998)

After their request to relocate the restaurant was turned down, the Friends of the Golani Site demanded that its appearance be modified, focusing on 'downplaying . . . showy, American hallmarks', according to the

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

same letter. For example, they asked that the golden 'M' atop the tall pole be removed. This specific demand was granted; not only was the 'M' removed, but it was replaced with the olive-tree insignia of the Golani brigade.[12]

The basic dissonance between Golani and McDonald's is described further by the bereaved father:

> The encroachment by private business interests on public-national sites, such as the memorial site at Golani Junction, should sound an alert, especially at a time of concern about waning motivation for military service. We deem the coarse intrusion [of such interests] into the memorial site an assault on the fundamental national and social values fostered in the past and still fostered by the Golani brigade. . . . Our son's generation internalized a heroic legacy founded on commitment to and self-sacrifice for lofty causes. And what will the next generation inherit? McDonald's and cheeseburgers? (D. Y., 1998)

But is the contrast between the global commodity and local patriotism as clear-cut as the Friends of Golani would have it?

A closer look at Golani Junction indicates that the seam between the sacred military ethos and the profane consumptive ethos is far hazier. For example, it transpires that the Golani weapons on exhibit, which include a 'tripod' of rifles topped by an upside-down battle helmet, are American-made – M16s, in fact. One may legitimately wonder whether the M16 is so categorically incompatible with McDonald's 'M' or, indeed, whether it is even possible to cherish the former and disavow the latter. It seems plausible to assume that the kind of economic, strategic and technological symbiosis that exists between Israel and the US cannot be dissociated from the cultural structure of the country on the receiving end – in this case, Israel. The indubitable linkage to America's material culture seems to be accompanied by a – futile – attempt to reject America's symbolic culture (much like the attempt to drive a Volkswagen in Israel but ban the music of composer Richard Wagner; no equivalence intended [Zuckerman, 1993]). Efforts to sift and filter the accoutrements absorbed from another culture tend to fail.

Furthermore, to the chagrin of the bereaved, the army actually invited McDonald's and other fast-food chains onto its bases located in urban areas. Soldiers are provided with magnetic cards crediting them with a daily meal of their choice from a 'food court'. The convenience is aimed at discouraging them from wandering about street-side food stands or shopping malls just outside the bases, but it obviously dovetails the wholesale privatization policy spreading through Israel.[13]

The army's outsourcing of catering services has an obvious post-Fordist effect – causing the layoff of hundreds of military employees in the service sector. This example of McDonaldization, however, was dressed in exalted social justification: officers declared that it alleviates the socioeconomic gaps evinced by the habit of soldiers from better-off families to circumvent the military kitchen and dine off base (Barzilai, 2000). And so, in an ironic twist,

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

the flagship of American fast food was summoned to the rescue of the Israeli army's egalitarian ethos. Thus, it seems, even when the 'receiving culture' endeavours to resuscitate what is perceived as its own original social values, in the context of globalization the practice is imputed to the medium of the 'transmitting culture'.

Under these circumstances, the rhetoric with which then state President Ezer Weizman – legendary combat pilot of yore, and a successful businessman who imported cars to Israel – attacked McDonald's and the Americanization of Israeli society, rings hollow: 'We must look to our own Jewish and Israeli identity,' he proclaimed, 'especially as we are being inundated with Americanism. The Israeli people', according to the president, were to be wary of three 'Ms': McDonald's, Michael Jackson and Madonna (Maariv, 1995: 5). The statement was made in reaction to a disaster which saw three youngsters killed in a stampede at an annual music festival. His stance was echoed by several leaders from the national-religious sector. But McDonald's franchiser aptly reminded the president that the Israel Air Force, which Weizman had helped found, does not reject American Phantoms and F-15 aircraft, adding:

> McDonald's is one of the most positive meeting grounds between Israeli and American culture, a culture which boasts democracy, freedom, an enlightened constitution and, which, among other things, provided the world with such international brands as 'Coca-Cola,' 'Levi's' and 'McDonald's'. (Maariv, 1995: 5)

What is valid for France, as expounded by Fantasia's study of McDonaldization, is valid also for Israel: 'Attempting to defend traditional cultural forms against "cheap commercialism" while simultaneously encouraging "market forces" as the only logical arbiter of human affairs is a losing game' (Fantasia, 1995: 233).

There is an additional aspect to the Golani Junction affair, which neither the Friends of Golani nor McDonald's chooses to highlight. The ground on which Golani Junction stands is state land and, like many lands in Israel, particularly in the northern part of the country, the Galilee, was once in the possession of local Palestinian villagers. This history refuses to vanish altogether. Occasionally, its blurry traces surface. One such occasion was provided by the opening of the McDonald's branch. When construction work began in 1994, Musalach Atir Aduyi, a Palestinian Israeli citizen, recalled that part of this land had been confiscated from him a decade earlier, on the pretext of 'public interest' – a common official euphemism for a procedure of land appropriation. To his surprise, some 10 years later, 'public interest' suddenly donned the guise of a McDonald's restaurant. The matter was brought to court, where Aduyi was forced to part from his land in the name of 'public needs'. Land, once his, is now graced by a McDonald's branch, and bedecked with the banner of the Golani brigade.

The McDonaldization of Israel does, in fact, pertain to the larger land

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

issue. The shift from the principle of state to market principles, from national to private ownership, and from public to business management, entails the 'defrosting' – another euphemism – or privatization of land as well. Some of the recently built malls and other shopping centres edging highways stand on land formerly zoned for agriculture and leased to cooperative settlements with the goal of national capturing of the land and farming development. In the 1990s some of these lands turned into highly lucrative real estate for business developers. In a creeping process on the ground and in the law books, it became possible for asset holders – members of kibbutzim and cooperative settlements – to have the land they hold on lease rezoned for commercial use and even to acquire the title for it. This enabled veteran Jewish landed elites to preserve their assets even after there was no longer any justification for the historical, national, original leasehold. A number of social advocates, including associations such as Adalla (an Israeli Arab legal association), and other organizations concerned with human rights, equity and environmentalism, are in fact taking legal and public action to retain public assets in the public domain or ensure a more equitable distribution (see Yiftachel and Kedar, 2000: in particular 85–94; Yonah and Saporta, 2000). As regards other tracts of land, which have become commercial real estate sprouting malls, the process of change of title and confiscation that eventually facilitated, inter alia, the establishment of McDonald's branches, has by now sunk into oblivion, covered by layers of cement and glitzy shrines to consumerism (see Berger, 1999).

The case of the McDonald's branch at Golani Junction, as we have seen, thus involved both small and big losers: in the contest between Jewish and Palestinian nationalism over the piece of land on which McDonald's stands, Jewish nationalism won. But in the contest between American consumerism and Jewish nationalism, American consumerism won: the local branch is one of the most thriving in Israel, serving throngs of soldiers, including Golani's own. The one concession made is symbolic – McDonald's was forced to remove its large 'M' from the top of the pole, and this was replaced by the Golani insignia.

This, again, leads to the conclusion that the relations between the global (McDonald's) and the local (in this instance, nationalist ideology and battle heritage, as well as national leased lands) are neither only a one-way nor two-way street, but a composite of two levels: the Friends of Golani won recognition at the symbolic level, but the 'Friends of McDonald's' won the day at the structural level. While the McDonald's banner lost its place at the top of the pole to Golani, the McDonald's system has infiltrated military bases and, literally, soldierly guts, as well as lands allocated for cooperative agriculture. The McDonald's 'logic', the logic of commercialization-rationalization, has pierced the tissue of Israeli society, while the perpetuation of the symbols of Israeli nationalism has become, perhaps, mere ritual.

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

Discussion I: 'One-Way' or 'Two-Way'?

Based on this case analysis, how, then, are we to conceive the relations between global commerce and local idioms?

The literature on relations between the global and the local presents a myriad of cases. Heuristically, the lessons from these may be condensed into two competing – contrasting, almost – approaches: the one gives more weight to globalization, which it regards as fostering cultural uniformity (or homogeneity); the other gives more weight to localization, which it regards as preserving cultural plurality, or cultural 'differences' (or heterogeneity). The former generally predicts the Americanization of the various cultures; the latter predicts the resilience of local cultures and a variety of fusions between the global and the local. Both approaches have earned several appellations: the former is known also as cultural imperialism and McDonaldization, as well as saturation (see respectively Tomlinson, 1991; Ritzer, 1995; Hannertz, 2000). The latter is known also as creolization, hybridization and indigenization, as well as maturation (see Hannertz, 2000; Bhabha, 1994). For the sake of simplicity we shall call the former the 'one-way' approach, i.e. seeing the effect as emanating from the global to the local; and the latter, as the 'two-way' approach, i.e. seeing the effect as an interchange between the global and the local. Ostensibly, the question of which is the more valid can and should be answered by recourse to empirical evidence. The problem, however, appears to lodge elsewhere and therefore calls for a different form of reasoning. Shrouded in conceptual fog, it should be cleared up by theoretical elucidation. We begin by outlining the theoretical debate this article seeks to resolve.

The most prominent exponent of the one-way approach is George Ritzer, in his book *The McDonaldization of Society* (Ritzer, 1995). Ritzer, more than anyone else, is responsible for the term that describes the social process of McDonaldization. Ritzer sees globalization as sweeping and unequivocal homogenization, based on technological efficiency or what Max Weber defined as instrumental rationalization. He considers McDonald's the epitome of modernity in its Weberian sense: 'McDonald's and McDonaldization do not represent something new, but rather the culmination of a series of rationalization processes that had been occurring throughout the twentieth century' (Ritzer, 1995: 31). The principles of McDonaldization are efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. McDonaldization, for Ritzer, is analogous to previous manifestations of a similar tendency, such as Taylorism and Fordism, along with their standardization, routinization, deskilling and homogenization of production and consumption (Ritzer, 1995: 24–7). From this perspective, McDonaldization is an upgraded version of the prevalent rationalization of the 'lifeworld', a process destined to annul all sorts of 'local' or premodern cultures. It is not difficult to discern here the footprints of both liberal and Marxist theories of modernization.

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

Implicit in this analytical approach to McDonaldization is a humanistic critique: it rejects the sacrifice of the unique, the personal, the communal, the spontaneous and the free dimensions of human life. Ritzer's Weberian approach has been taken to task for what was perceived as an overemphasis on rationalization, and a consequent lack of attention to both material commodification (a Marxian critique) and symbolic reification (a post-modern critique) (see Kellner, 1999). But all in all, whether McDonaldization is conceptualized primarily in Weberian (rationalization), Marxian (commodification), or Baudrillardian (consumerization) terms, it is perceived as an expression of sweeping and overwhelming globalization that undermines local cultures. In a more dialectical version of the one-sided view, Benjamin Barber captured the dualistic nature of globalization in his depiction of *Jihad vs. McWorld* (Barber, 1995).

Surprisingly (or not), the one-way approach has also another variant, a (neo)liberal (or, in British parlance, conservative) version. It agrees with the former more critically inclined interpretation that the globalization of consumerist capitalism is historically all-encompassing, but considers the development to have democratic implications rather than being just a crass digression from local autonomy and authenticity. All societies aspire to reach this stage of development, which is thus rendered as 'the end of history' (in the Hegelian sense of the abolition of negations). In the aftermath of the fall of the Berlin Wall there remains no other alternative. Francis Fukuyama (1992) outlines the historiosophical skeleton of democratic capitalism and Thomas Friedman (1999) provides a colourful account.

To recapitulate, the variously motivated, but analytically uniform, versions of the one-way approach to global–local relations, hold that the proliferation and penetration of the global into the local(s) generate cultural homogenization and the erosion of the local, distinctive 'difference'. Contrary to this one-way approach to globalization and McDonaldization, the literature offers another view, which we call here the two-way approach. This view considers globalization only a single vector in two-way traffic, the other vector being localization. The latter suspends, refines, or diffuses the intakes from the former, so that traditional and local cultures do not dissolve; they rather ingest global flows and reshape them in the digestion.

Arjun Appadurai, for one, asserts that it is impossible to think of the processes of cultural globalization in terms of mechanical flow from center to periphery. Their complexity and disjunctures allow for a chaotic contest between the global and the local that is never resolved. To his mind,

> . . . the central feature of global culture today is the politics of the mutual effort of sameness and difference to cannibalize one another and thus to proclaim their successful hijacking of the twin Enlightenment ideas of the triumphantly universal and the resiliently particular . . . both sides of the coin of global cultural processes today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

> sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscape created in and through these disjunctures. (Appadurai, 1996: 34)

Ulf Hannertz estimates that in the course of time, the process of absorption of the global by the local, with the local domesticating the global – what he calls 'maturation' – would override what looks at first glance like 'saturation' of the local culture by the global (Hannertz, 2000).

One typical significant omission of the two-way perspective is its disregard for imbalances of power. This is especially true of the civilizational-evolutionary perspective of Ronald Robertson, for one, who suggestively phrases the global–local encounter as 'the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism' (Robertson, 1997: 73). As against this pristine notion, one should look to the more incisive Marxian cultural studies view, as expressed, for instance, by Stuart Hall. While adhering to the two-way view and insisting upon reciprocity and locality, he does not lose sight of the overwhelming power of the 'global post-modern which is trying to live with, and at the same moment, overcome, sublate, get hold of, and incorporate difference' (Hall, 1997: 33) and he is fully cognizant of the (still) inferior potency of local resistance, even though he sticks to the belief that the 'old dialectics [of domination and resistance] is not at an end. Globalization does not finish it off' (Hall, 1997: 39). Positing 'localization' as a counterbalance to globalization, rather than as an offshoot, some of the cultural studies literature is indeed rich in texture and subtlety when depicting the encounters of global commerce with local popular cultures and everyday life (for instance, Oncu and Weyland, 1997; Kandiyoti and Saktanber, 2002). This literature is at its best when acknowledging that its task is to 'twist the stick in the other direction', from the top-down political-economic perspective to a bottom-up cultural perspective. It falters however, when it attempts to replace, wholesale, the top-down approach with a bottom-up one, without weighting the relative power of the top and the bottom.

The latter move is evident in an ethnographic study of McDonaldization conducted in Southeast Asia by a team of anthropologists. They argue overall that even though McDonald's transformed local customs, customers were nonetheless able to transform McDonald's in their areas into local establishments; this led them to conclude that McDonald's 'does not always call the shots' (Watson, 1997a: 7). They claim that, in the realm of popular culture, it is no longer possible to distinguish between the 'local' and the 'external'. Who, they protest, is to say whether or not Mickey Mouse is Japanese, or Ronald McDonald, Chinese; perhaps, this attests to a 'third culture' that belongs neither to one nationality nor the other, but constitutes rather a transnational culture (Watson, 1997a; and see in particular Watson, 1997b).

This ethnographic discussion stresses the variety of supplemental dishes McDonald's has included on its menu in order to accommodate various local

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

cultures.[14] Applying this approach to our case study, the new falafel, for instance, can be considered a manifestation of maturation, creolization or hybridization of McDonald's. The new falafel assimilated some of McDonald's practices, but accommodated them to local traditions and tastes.

The two-way approach to the global–local encounter is usually portrayed as critical and espoused by radical social scientists, because it 'empowers' the sustainability of local cultures and fosters local identities. Yet, it too appears in a conservative variant. Its paradigmatic manifestation is that proposed by Samuel Huntington in his *Clash of Civilizations* thesis (Huntington, 1996). According to Huntington, the post-Cold War world is characterized by a lack of ideological conflicts, on the one hand, but a rise of cultural conflicts, on the other. The fault lines between groups are identity boundaries over which struggles are waged. Huntington assumes the existence of relatively fixed historical 'civilizations', thereby rejecting the postmodern conception of fluid identities. Nevertheless, he shares its position as to the significance of cultural identity as the most important structural characteristic of any given society. Furthermore, despite the apparent contrast with the two-way approach, he endorses one of its basic assumptions – the fundamental distinction between, on the one hand, the economic and technological influences of globalization and, on the other, the western historical values that define its distinctive cultural identity. Different societies can, therefore, adopt certain components of the global effect and reject others.

Discussion II: 'Both Ways'

To return to the question of homogenization vs heterogenization in global–local relationships, we suggest here the following resolution: (1) both perspectives are valid; (2) yet they apply to discrete societal levels; and (3) the one-way approach is restricted to one level of social reality, the structural-institutional level, i.e. patterns and practices which are inscribed into institutions and organizations; the two-way approach is restricted to the symbolic-expressive level of social reality, i.e. the level of explicit symbolization. Finally, (4) we suggest a global–local structural-symbolic model, in which the one-way structural homogenization process and the two-way symbolic heterogenization process are combined. Thus, heuristically speaking, our theoretical resolution is predicated on the distinction between two different levels, the structural-institutional level and the expressive-symbolic level.

While each of the rival perspectives on the global–local encounter is attuned to only one of these levels, we propose that globalization be seen as a process that is simultaneously one-sided and two-sided but in two distinct

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

societal levels. In other words, on the structural level, globalization is a one-way street; but on the symbolic level, it is a two-way street. In Israel's case, for instance, this would mean that, symbolically, the falafel and McDonald's coexist side by side; structurally, however, the falafel is produced and consumed as if it were an industrialized-standardized (McDonaldized) hamburger, or as its artisan-made 'gourmet' counterpart. Or, in the affair of the Golani Junction, McDonald's 'M' was substituted by the brigade olive-tree insignia, yet military bases and public lands were partially 'McDonaldized'.

The two-way approach to globalization, which highlights the persistence of cultural 'difference', contains more than a grain of empirical truth. On the symbolic level, it accounts for the diversity that does not succumb to homogeneity – in our case, the falafel once again steams from the pita; the Israeli hamburger is larger than other national McDonald's specimens (and kosher for Passover; on this see Ram, 2003); at Golani Junction, the brigade banner rather than the logo of a fast-food chain graces the flagpole; and Israelis have their choice of a culturally satisfying combo-'combina' (just as Egyptians are offered McFalafel). On the symbolic level, the 'difference' that renders the local distinctive has managed to linger on. At the same time, on the structural level, that great leveller of 'sameness' at all locales prevails: the falafel has become McDonaldized; the military has privatized food provisioning; and Air Force 'Ms' can hardly be told apart from McDonald's' 'M'.

The logic of the argument can be illustrated through the example of national flags. On the explicit level, each of the world's 186 national flags is unique in terms of its symbolic make-up (colours, tokens, etc.), a uniqueness that makes it so significant to the people it represents. But on an implicit level, all flags share the same code of 'national flagness', so to speak: not only do they consist of a piece of coloured cloth on a pole but, more importantly, they lend their followers a sense of common national identity.[15] The same is true of McDonaldization. The common language that is formed in institutions and practices is the practical language of commercial-instrumental-technological social organization, of the commodification-rationalization of social relationships. This practical language prevails even as it tolerates – or at points encourages – diverse expressive-symbolic manifestations.

The distinction we draw between the structural and the symbolic levels, wherein the former is globally homogenized while the latter is locally heterogenized, was already suggested in two different, but not entirely unrelated, contemporary classical analyses, one by Dean MacCannell and the other by Herbert Gans. MacCannell proposed the concept of 'staged authenticity' – a commercially manufactured touristic 'authenticity', which incorporates the 'other' within the modern western middle-class order (MacCannell, 1989). Gans proposed the concept of 'symbolic ethnicity' – a nostalgic allegiance of (third-generation) immigrants to the country of origin of their ancestors, a

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

putative 'ethnic revival', which in fact attests to their acculturation and assimilation in the new country (Gans, 1996). In these cases 'modernity' and 'America', respectively, display the same fundamental characteristic we dissect here in globalization, i.e. deep-seated structural uniformity camouflaged by superficial symbolic diversity.

A strong structuralist argument sees symbolic 'differences' not merely as tolerated but indeed as functional to structural 'sameness', in that they are purported to conceal the structure's underlying uniformity and to promote niches of consumer identity. In other words, the variety of local cultural identities 'licensed' under global capitalist commercial expansion disguises the unified formula of capital, thereby fostering legitimacy and even sales. It is in this vein that Fredric Jameson contends that the kaleidoscope of identities and styles that characterizes postmodern culture is, in fact, an expression of the new – post-Fordist – production system. The oft-changing, oft-fragmenting cycles of postmodern consumption well suit the technologically driven cycles of production, constantly creating new markets and constantly marketing inventions. Postmodernity, therefore, divulges the cultural logic of post-Fordist capitalism (Jameson, 1998).

If so, a variety of observers – all with the intention of 'giving voice' to the 'other' and the 'subaltern' – may unwittingly be achieving an opposite effect. These include multiculturalists, who consider the variety of postmodern identities an arena of cultural differences; advocates of identity politics, who consider the postcolonial discourse a basis for subversion and resistance; and ethnographers, who consider everyday rituals as the arena of autonomic interpretation. Exclusive attention to explicit symbolism may divert attention from implicit structures.[16]

Transnational corporations are quick to take advantage of multiculturalism, postcolonialism and ethnography, and exploit genuine cultural concerns to their benefit. It is worth quoting at some length a former Coca-Cola marketing executive:

> We don't change the concept. What we do is maybe change the music, maybe change the execution, certainly change the casting, but in terms of what it sounds like and what it looks like and what it is selling, at a particular point in time, we have kept it more or less patterned. . . . [our activity] has been all keyed on a local basis, overlaid with an umbrella of the global strategy. We have been dealing with various ethnic demographic groups with an overall concept. Very recently . . . the company has moved to a more fragmented approach, based on the assumption that the media today is fragmented and that each of these groups that are targeted by that media core should be communicated to in their own way with their own message, with their own sound, with their own visualization. (Ohmann, 1996: 6–7)

Mattel, the manufacturer of the famed Barbie doll, provides another example of the commodification of identities. Recently, the company decided to diversify the doll's wardrobe with various 'folk customs'. Barbie, who in

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

1959 began life as a slim, American blonde, in the 1980s became multiracial and multinational. A million Barbie dolls are sold each week in 140 countries (Varney, 1998: 162, 164), some of which are supposed to embody in colour and form, garments and accessories, the local (feminine) style. But as Wendy Varney aptly observes, the 'local' versions of Barbie are mere shallow, fabricated images of the texture of local life, which is crushed beneath the global marketing press. As local identity is lost, multinational Barbies and their counterparts become the only available signifiers of local cultures. Hence, ironically, the Barbie doll, like other global commodities, offers a surrogate 'identity', a substitute for the absence of a creation of their own (Varney, 1998).[17]

The case study presented here has shown a number of instances of the process whereby global commodities appropriate local traditions. To recap with the example of the 'new falafel', McDonaldization did not bring about its demise, but, indeed, contributed to its revival, vindicating, as it were, the two-way perspective. The falafel's new lease on life, however, is modelled after McDonald's, that is, a standardized, mechanical, mass-commodified product, on the one hand; or responds to it in a commercial 'gourmetized' and 'ethnicitized' product, on the other hand. In both cases. global McDonaldization prevails structurally, while it may give a symbolic leeway to the local. The Egyptian McFalafel is an exemplary point in case. Rick Fantasia's deduction about the commercialized, standardized croissant in France is equally applicable to our case, namely, that 'the medium (of the social organization of fast food) is the message, and not simply the exchange of equivalent cultural "tastes" ' (Fantasia, 1995: 234). Indeed, from the end-user's or individual consumer's perspective, the particular explicit symbolic 'difference' may be a source of great emotional gratification; but from the perspective of the social structure, the system of production and consumption, what matters is the exact opposite – namely, the implicit structural homogenization.

Thus, the question of global homogenization vs local heterogenization cannot be exhausted by invoking symbolic differences, as is attempted by the two-way approach. 'McDonaldization' is not merely or mainly about the manufactured objects – the hamburgers – but first and foremost about the deep-seated social relationships involved in their production and consumption – i.e. it is about commodification and instrumentalization. In its broadest sense here, McDonaldization represents a robust commodification and instumentalization of social relations, production and consumption, and therefore an appropriation of local cultures by global flows. Jürgen Habermas regards the major tension in contemporary society to be between 'systems' and the 'lifeworld' (Habermas, 1984, 1987). Likewise, Manuel Castells regards the major tension in the contemporary world to be between the 'net' – global sociotechnical flows, and the 'self' – local idiomatic and communal cultures

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

(Castells, 1997). This study has illustrated these tensions, and proposes looking at the relations between the global and the local as a composite of the structural and symbolic levels, a composite in which the structural inherently appropriates the symbolic but without explicitly suppressing it.

Karl Marx defined the fetishism of commodities as the process in which human societal productive relations are concealed behind associations between produced objects. Intersubjective relations are thus objectified, whereas associations between commodities are expressed as relations between subjects; that is, human relations become limited to an abstract monetary exchange, whereas commodities come to serve as representations of identities (Marx, 1967: 71–83). Such fetishism of commodities is epitomized by the example of McDonald's in Israel – just one more case in the general drift towards planetary commodification and instrumentalization, accompanied by a proliferation of symbolic identities and by cultural fragmentation, in the structurally post-Fordist and symbolically postmodern era of global capitalism. This is what is meant by glocommodification – global commodification combining structural uniformity with symbolic diversity.

Notes

The research and publication of this article was made possible by a grant from the United States Institute for Peace (USIP). I would like to thank the USIP for its generosity, and the Graduate Faculty of the New School University for its hospitality. The analysis and interpretations contained herein do not necessarily reflect the views of either of these institutions. I would also like to thank Nava Schreiber, Nitza Berkovitch, Gili Baruch, Eran Fisher (who assisted in the English translation), Sarit Helman, Alona Nitzan-Shiftan and Oren Yiftachel and Eli Zartesky for reading the draft and offering valuable comments.

1 Hartmut Rosa recently expounded this distinction between two levels of societal, collective consciousness: the one is 'implicit', or structural-institutional (where institutions and practices embody meanings); the other is 'explicit', or symbolic-expressive (represented by language, the arts, ideologies, doctrines, etc.). The relationships between the two levels may be interdependent and partially autonomous, thereby enabling a host of possible variations (Rosa, 2001). Rosa takes his cue from Charles Taylor, Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Anthony Giddens's concept of structuration, and others. More on this distinction in the two final subsections of the article.

2 A number of other encounters between McDonald's and local Israeli culture are examined by Uri Ram elsewhere. They include McDonald's encounter with Israel's Orthodox Jewish sector; with the extreme Right and extreme Left; and with Israel's up-and-coming business and middle classes (see Ram, 2003).

3 The term 'Americanization' is used here to denote the proliferation of commercialized American mass culture as a dimension of globalization.

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

4 The exclusive franchise of McDonald's in Israel is of Aloniel Ltd, owned by Israeli businessman Omri Padan. Burger King was franchised locally to Rikamor, owned by international Jewish businessman Meshulam Riklis.

5 According to one estimate 55 percent of the overall volume of fast dining out in Israel is accounted for by hamburger chains; 38 percent is accounted for by Italian fast food (especially pizza; the chains are American [the franchise, Israeli] – Pizza Hut and Domino's Pizza); the remaining 7 percent is split among other fast-foods chains (Nando's roasted chickens, Subway sandwiches, and Dunkin Donuts pastries) (Barabash, 2000).

The general recession in Israel's economy is reflected by the drop in sales in the burger industry – to NIS 750 million in 2001 and NIS 650 million in 2002 (Zoref, 2003).

6 In 2003, Burger King chain are facing losses and its outlets have been offered for sale. The bidders are McDonald's and Burger Ranch.

7 On the habitus as a nexus of predispositions and tastes, which define social categories, see Bourdieu (1984).

8 On this modulation of history see Jameson (1991).

9 In 1999 Israelis, per capita, consumed an average of 343 calories a day from meat, as compared with only 143 in 1960. Other figures for the respective periods are: 28 g of meat protein, compared with less than 12 g; and almost 25 g of meat fat, compared with a little more than 10 g (CBS, 2000: Table 11.11). In meat consumption globally, Israel ranks high – 11th place – with an annual per capita average of more than 20 kg (the record holder is Argentina with 63 kg, followed by Uruguay, with 52 kg, and the US with 45 kg) (MHR, 2000).

10 The ultimate symbiosis between McDonald's and the falafel was achieved in the latter's place of origin, the neighbouring country of Egypt. At the start of 2002, McDonald's there came out with a new product – 'McFalafel', falafel balls in a bun (*Walla News*, 2002b).

11 'Today's American soldiers', my dentist told me, 'are the Coca-Cola bottles in my refrigerator!' This was before the war in Iraq.

12 As if to vindicate Thomas Friedman's book, whose title juxtaposes the olive-tree with the Lexus car (Friedman, 1999).

13 The tendency peaked with the handing over of guard duty at Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank from the military to private security companies (*Walla News*, 2002a); for an analysis of this trend in military affairs see Levi (2003).

14 In Turkey, McDonald's serves yogurt (*ayran*); in Italy, cold pasta and espresso; in Japan, Taiwan and Hong-Kong, burger-teriyaki; in the Netherlands, a vegetarian burger; in Norway, salmon sandwiches (McLaks); in Germany, sausages and beer; in the UK, chicken-McTikka for Indian cuisine enthusiasts (that is, the accommodation of the global to the local Indian that has become indigenous); in France, a cheese assortment; in India, a vegetarian burger or lamb burger; and in Israel – a larger charcoal burger, and a 'Combina' burger for the 'guys to share', and so forth.

15 Benedict Anderson aptly remarked on the contradiction of the self-perceived uniqueness common to all nationalities (Anderson, 1999).

16 See a lucid exposition of this view in Tetzlaff (1991).

17 For a similar analysis of different cases of commercial appropriation of the postmodern and postcolonial discourse on 'difference' see Ono and Buescher (2001),

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

who decipher the commodification of native American women in the movie *Pocahontas*, and Shugart et al. (2001) who analyse the appropriation of feminist themes in the media.

References

ALMOG, Oz (1991) 'Fallen Soldiers' Memorials in Israel: Semiological Analysis', *Megamot* 34: 179–210 (in Hebrew).

ANDERSON, Benedict (1999) *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

APPADURAI, Arjun (1996) 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy', in *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, pp. 27–47. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

BARABASH, Hani (2000) 'DBI: Sales of Fast-Food in 2000 about Billion NIS', *Haaretz* 14 March C4 (in Hebrew).

BARBER, Benjamin R. (1995) *Jihad vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Shaping the World.* New York: Times Books.

BARZILAI, Amnon (2000) 'Armor Against Inequality: Hamburger to Each Soldier', *Haaretz* A6 (in Hebrew).

BERGER, Tamar (1999) *Dionysus in the Centre.* Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz HaMeuhad (in Hebrew).

BHABHA, Homi (1994) *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

BOURDIEU, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

CASTELLS, Manuel (1997) *The Power of Identity: The Information Age, Vol. II*. Oxford: Blackwell.

CENTRAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS (2000) *Annual Statistical Review 2000*, No. 51. Jerusalem: The State of Israel.

CHEN, Shoshana (1998) 'A Short History of Gorging', *Yediot Aharonot* 10 April: 20–1 (in Hebrew).

D. Y. (1998) 'Golani Junction – Memorial and McDonald's', *Haaretz* 22 February: B6 (Advertisement) (in Hebrew).

FANTASIA, Rick (1995) 'Fast-Food in France', *Theory and Society* 24: 201–43.

FRIEDMAN, Thomas L. (1999) *The Lexus and the Olive Tree.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

FUKUYAMA, Francis (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*. New York: Free Press.

GANS, Herbert (1996) 'Symbolic Ethnicity', in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds) *Ethnicity* (Oxford Readers), pp. 146–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Orig. pub. 1979.)

HABERMAS, Jürgen (1984) *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. I. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

HABERMAS, Jürgen (1987) *The Theory of Communicative Action*, Vol. II. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

HALL, Stuart (2000) 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity', in A. D. King (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, pp. 19–39. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

HANNERTZ, Ulf (2000) 'Scenarios for Peripheral Cultures', in A. D. King (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System*, pp. 107–28. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (1996) *The Clash of Civilizations: Remaking of World Order.* New York: Simon and Schuster.
JAMESON, Fredric (1991) *Postmodernism: or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
JAMESON, Fredric (1998) *The Cultural Turn*. London: Verso.
KANDIYOTI, Deniz and SAKTANBER, Ayse (2002) *Fragments of Culture: The Everyday in Modern Turkey*. London: Tauris.
KELLNER, Douglas (1999) 'Theorizing/Resisting McDonaldization', in B. Smart (ed.) *Resisting McDonaldization*, pp. 186–206. London: Sage.
KOTAN, Asnat (2000) 'And We Have Falafel', *Mariv-Business* 9–10 (in Hebrew).
LEVI, Yagil (2003) *Social Stratification and the Military in Israel.* Tel Aviv: Tapuach – Yediot Aharonot (in Hebrew).
MAARIV (1995) 'Following the Arad Disaster: President Weizmann – Israel Should Beware McDonald's, Michael Jackson and Madonna', *Maariv* 5 21 June (in Hebrew).
MACCANNELL, Dean (1989) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books. (Orig. pub. 1976.)
MARX, Karl (1967) *Capital*, Vol. I. New York: International Publishers.
MHR (2000) 'Viandes 2000'.
MOSSE, George L. (1990) *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Meaning of the World Wars.* New York: Oxford University Press.
OHMANN, Richard (1996) *Making and Selling Culture*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.
ONCU, A. and WEYLAND, P. (1997) *Space, Culture and Power: New Identities in Globalising Cities*. London: Zed Books.
ONO, A. Kent and BUESCHER, Derek T. (2001) 'Deciphering Pocahontas: Unpacking the Commodification of a Native American Woman', *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 18: 23–43.
RAM, Uri (2000) ' "The Promised Land of Business Opportunities": Liberal Post-Zionism in the Glocal Age', in Gershon Shafir and Yoav Peled (eds) *The New Israel*, pp. 217–40. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
RAM, Uri (2003) ' "The Big M": McDonald's and the Americanization of the Motherland', *Theory and Criticism* 23: 111–114 (in Hebrew).
RITZER, George (1995) *The McDonaldization of Society*. London: Sage.
ROBERTSON, Ronald (2000) 'Social Theory, Cultural Relativity and the Problem of Globality', in A. D. King (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World System*, pp. 69–90. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
ROSA, Hartmut (2001) 'Four Levels of Self-Interpretation: A Paradigm for Interpretive Social Philosophy and Political Criticism', unpublished manuscript.
SHUGART, Helene A., EGLEY WAGGONER, Catherine and HALLSTEIN, D'Lynn O'Brien (2001) 'Mediating Third Wave Feminism: Appropriation as Postmodern Media Practice', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 18: 194–210.
TETZLAFF, D. (1991) 'Divide and Conquer: Popular Culture and Social Control in Late Capitalism', *Media, Culture and Society* 13: 9–33.

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.

TOMLINSON, John (1991) *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction.* Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

VARNEY, Wendy (1998) 'Barbie Australis: The Commercial Reinvention of National Culture', *Social Identities* 4: 161–75.

WALLA NEWS (2001) 'Israel Star Prize to "Combina" Meal of Burger Ranch', *Walla News* 2 December; at: www.walla.co.il (in Hebrew).

WALLA NEWS (2002a) 'Guarding in Settlement to Civil Contractors', *Walla News*; at: www.walla.co.il (in Hebrew).

WALLA NEWS (2002b) 'McDonald's: The Mediterranean Version: McFalafel', *Walla News* 22 January; at: www.walla.co.il (in Hebrew).

WATSON, James L., ed. (1997a) *Golden Arches East: McDonalds in East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

WATSON, James L. (1997b) 'Transnationalism, Localization, and Fast-Food in East Asia', in J. L. Watson (ed.) *Golden Arches East: McDonalds in East Asia*, pp. 1–38. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

YIFTACHEL, Oren and KEDAR, Alexander (Sandi) (2000) 'Land Power: The Making of the Israeli Land Regime', *Theory and Criticism* 16: 67–100 (in Hebrew).

YONAH, Yosi and SAPORTA, Ishak (2000) 'Land and Housing Policies in Israel: The Discourse about Citizenship and its Limits', *Theory and Criticism* 16: 129–51 (in Hebrew).

ZACH, Yaniv (2000) 'Nouvo Falafel', *Haaretz* 2 November: D1, D4 (in Hebrew).

ZOREF, Ayala (2003) 'The Recession and Mistaken Marketing Policies Toppled Burger King', *Haaretz* 6 February: Gimel 1 (in Hebrew).

ZUKERMAN, Moshe (1993) *Holocaust in the Sealed Room*. Tel Aviv: the author's publication (in Hebrew).

Downloaded from http://csi.sagepub.com at SAGE Publications on January 3, 2008
© 2004 International Sociological Association. All rights reserved. Not for commercial use or unauthorized distribution.