

Marketing's Influence on the Food Culture of a Nation: As told through the Edmonds' Cookery Book

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96

Abstract

Purpose – This article explores how marketing has influenced the food culture of a nation. Specifically the influences of aspects of marketing such as distribution, price, promotion and availability on the creation of food culture in New Zealand between 1880 and 1955 are considered.

Design/methodology/approach – An historical analysis is undertaken which looks at the influences of aspects of marketing such as distribution, price, promotion and availability on the creation of food culture in New Zealand between 1880 and 1955. As a cultural artifact used to produce and record cultural production, The Edmonds' Cookery Book guides this historical piece. The Edmonds' Cookery Book is the longest lasting cookbook in New Zealand and has been published since 1907 until the present day. A market penetration and promotional strategy the cookbook is a commentary on the diffusion of aspects of food culture in the country.

Findings – Distribution and price have been two major influences on New Zealand's food culture along with trends from the UK. Overall, what has been found in this study is interaction between marketing and food culture in New Zealand, with the Edmonds' Cookery Book tending to be a follower rather than an instigator.

Research limitations/implications – Given the influence that marketing can have on the consumption practices of developing nations and obesity levels, a study of the interaction between marketing and food culture development adds to the historical marketing literature and has implications for macromarketers. Influential marketing promotions such as free cookbooks may place the responsibility for developing nations' health in marketer's hands. In these cases, healthy and sustainable foods should be emphasized in any such communications.

Keywords – Food culture, historical marketing, macromarketing, cookbooks.

Paper Type – Research paper.

Introduction

Food connects people through social interaction and is often seen as an object of desire. The way that food is consumed represents complex interrelationships between cultural, economic, social, political and technological factors (Kniazeva and Venkatesh, 2007). At a macro level (i.e. for a whole region), food culture can be defined as "*a culinary order whose traits are prevalent among a certain group of people*" (Askegaard and Madsen, 1998, p. 550). Shared food practices became possible when agribusiness and industrialization of food allowed for stable supplies. Patterns were able to develop then which reflected groups' attitudes towards food consumption (Finkelstein, 2003). Food culture can be influenced by geography as well as historical and economic factors (Wright, Nancarrow and Kwok, 2001) including aspects of distribution and structures of production (Elliot and Ritson, 1997). In current times, food culture within a region is much more fragmented than it has been in the past. This is due to increased access to global brands, better transport and distribution solutions, including supermarkets. Access to goods, even for ethnic minorities, has greatly increased (Wright et al., 2001). As globalization has spread, food culture now crosses regions (Usunier, 2000).

Such aspects of marketing help to shape the food culture of a region and encourage consumption of certain foods. Distribution, price, promotions and product availability shape food culture development, increasing every day food consumption and taste preferences (Witkowski, 2007; Thøgersen, 2010; Gilly and Graham, 1988; Slater, 1968). In developing countries where economic development is decreasing the amount of exercise undertaken through manual labor, increasing food consumption coupled with less calorie usage is a leading cause of obesity (Witkowski, 2007). This interaction

between marketing and food culture in developing countries presents a problem for their health systems who already need to focus limited funds on such health concerns as malaria and HIV-AIDS, and who cannot afford to also focus on obesity related health problems (Witkowski, 2007). Through exploring the aspects of marketing which have influenced consumption of food historically, an understanding of the development of a food culture and food consumption can be gained. Cookbooks, as artifacts of such cultural production (Tobias, 1998), are often used as marketing promotions and are one avenue to guide such exploration.

Cookbooks are cultural products which spread knowledge of the socially acceptable norms surrounding food consumption, from what it is to be healthy, to how to cook and prepare food and how to display and eat it (Tobias, 1998). Cookbooks help to formalize food cultures (Ferguson, 1998) and facilitate its diffusion through a region. Food culture is not only expressed and reflected in cookbooks, but it is also created by them (Brownlie, Hewer and Horne, 2005; Pilchner, 1995; Appadurai, 1988; Miller, 1987). As Appadurai (1988) establishes, cookbooks show the logic of meals and changes in acceptable foods along with effects of household budgets on eating. Marketing trends as well as domestic ideologies pervade cookbooks, along with notions of how to use cooking to maintain relationships and lifestyles in the domestic realm (Clark, 1997). The most influential types of cookbooks are everyday domestic ones rather than non-specialist (Ferguson, 1998; Miller, 1987).

An under-researched area (Symons, 1998; Brownlie et al., 2005), cookbooks are influenced by economic, political and social aspects of a region (Mauss, 1967) and are a commentary on social history (Neuhaus, 1999). Thus, just as food consumption can only be understood if it is linked back to a broader view of the culture within which it takes place (Du Gay et al., 1997; Jackson, 1993), cookbooks can only be understood in relation to their social context (Brownlie et al., 2005; Appadurai, 1988), making historical analysis an appropriate avenue for research in the area (Smith and Lux, 1993). As an avenue for promotion in food marketing, cookbooks have an influence on food consumption. Given the relation between food marketing and obesity in developing nations (Witkowski, 2007) this is seen as an important area for research.

Literature Review

Food culture has been considered by multiple authors within the fields of Anthropology, Sociology and History. The adoption of different foods across the world is discussed by Visser (1999). Foods such as cereal, jelly, margarine, tomatoes and chocolate bars were explored. While food is oft times seen as an entertaining and amusing aspect of life, Finkelstein (2003) considers the boredom with which food is now viewed due to the standardization which has come about with the globalization of food culture in Australia. Analysis of a European lifestyle survey conducted in 1989 to consider the differences in food culture between different regions of Europe was undertaken by Askegaard and Madsen (1998). This shows the similarities and differences between the regions whose food cultures were seen to be created through tradition, globalization, creolization and expatriates. A more recent article by Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2007) looks at the place branding of the island of Funen in Denmark which used the area's food culture as a unique differentiating aspect to increase tourism. They found that using the area's existing food culture in this way protected it against globalization. Wright, et al. (2001) explore aspects that influence food preferences. Here they consider the effects of marketing communications, country traditions and social experiences. They find that both fragmentation and globalization abound making the specific study of each cultural context imperative for food marketers (Wright et al., 2001).

Previous literature on cookbooks has considered their inclusion of ideological representations and role in cuisine development. The use of cookbooks to diffuse ideologies within societies has been focused on by Novero (2000), Neuhaus (1999) and Warde (1994). Novero (2000) considers several cookbooks between WWI and WWII, which were distributed in Germany. The findings show that a modern idea of health and taste were communicated in the books where efficiency and discipline featured prominently. Neuhaus (1999) focuses on 1950s post WWII cookbooks in the United States. She found that many of the cookbooks were ambivalent about the role of women as homemakers. When comparing the ideology presented in the cookbooks with everyday life, the author found that working during WWII had opened women to that possibility, de-valuing and disillusioning their pursuit of becoming the perfect housewife. Also focusing on the role of women presented in recipes, Warde (1994) looks at the norms around food that were presented to women in the cooking sections of women's magazines between 1967-8 and 1991-2 in Britain. He identified themes of novelty, custom, health, indulgence, convenience, care, economy and extravagance. A history of African American

authored cookbooks has been written by Zafar (1999). The article focuses on Vertamae Smart-Grosvenor's 1970, and Carole and Norma Jean Darden's 1978, cookbooks. The books were found to present the political and historical contexts of African American cuisine through the recollections and memories of their authors, constructing the authors' identities as well as communal African American identities along with their traditions and stereotypes.

Ferguson (1988) uses the study of gastronomy in 19th century France to consider the creation of cultural fields for sociological study. She explores how modern gastronomy was created and reflected in cookbooks by structural factors such as social and cultural conditions, gastronomy creation sites, the introduction of standards, and other subfields. The usefulness of cookbooks to study culture is enumerated upon by Brownlie et al. (2005) who consider celebrity's cookbooks. Discourses of cultural capital and culinary tourism as well as those of gender, everyday living and identity are found in the cookbooks. Lastly Appadurai (1988) presents an historical article which discusses the development of a national cuisine in India over the 1970s and 80s. This national cuisine was seen as being developed due to the publishing of cookbooks which included both regional and specialized ethnic cuisines as well as national cuisines.

To summarize, previous literature in the area of food culture has considered the adoption of different foods and preferences. Cookbook literature has looked at their role in the diffusion of ideologies and representations of different groups of people. Literature within marketing has focused on celebrity influence and food preference creation. The one article on the role of cookbooks in food culture creation focuses on cultural and regional influences on food culture (Appadurai, 1988). However, none have considered the role that marketing plays in shaping and reflecting food culture over time.

Method

Given the potential influence of marketing on food culture (Appadurai, 1988) and the social consequences of marketing in general (Nason, 1989), especially with regard food consumption (Seiders and Petty, 2004; Witkowski, 2007; Gilly and Graham, 1988; Slater, 1968; Thøgersen, 2010), it is surprising that there is no literature regarding marketing's influence on the developments in a region's food culture. This article addresses that gap by presenting an historical analysis of developments in New Zealand's food culture between 1880 and 1955 exploring marketing's influence and reflection of food culture. As Brownlie et al. (2005) suggest, this is guided by the *The Edmonds' Cookery Book* as it is a cultural artifact that reflects not only the everyday food culture of the country, but also the creation of that food culture (Appadurai, 1988; Pilchner, 1995). *The Edmonds' Cookery Book* is the longest standing cookbook in New Zealand and a compulsory part of every New Zealand household (Veart, 2008). It is viewed as "the iconic record of New Zealand's culinary culture" (Veart, 2008, p. 129). While this article is not meant as a complete history of food in New Zealand, the objective of this narrative is an understanding of the marketing influences on food culture and how they were reflected in the editions of the cookbook, which acted to diffuse these food culture changes throughout the country. While the *Edmonds' Cookery Book* has been published since 1907 the editions which are focused on are from 1910, 1922, c.1945 and 1955 as the editions that feature major changes in recipes and ingredients. 1955 is the final book considered because after this there are no major changes until after 1970. Between the 1950s and 1970s it is acknowledged by food historians within New Zealand that New Zealand food culture had largely been influenced by the increasing amounts of restaurants, takeaways, and travel to other countries, as well as by new television chefs, taking the emphasis of New Zealand's food culture off of more traditional cookbooks such as the *Edmonds' Cookery Book* (Simpson, 2008; Bailey and Earle, 1993; Burton, 1982; Veart, 2008). Past 1955, globalization took root (Finkelstein, 2003) and a study of how this occurred and its effects is worthy of future articles, but beyond the scope of this current article.

An historical method is used here. Sources of data were accessed from the archives of Goodman Fielder who now own the *Edmonds* brand. The archives included intermittent editions of the cookbook ranging from the 2nd edition⁸ to the latest (i.e., 2010). Mr. T.J. Edmonds' (founder of the *Edmonds*

⁸ Unfortunately the archives did not have a copy of the 1st edition of the *Edmonds' Cookery Book* and any such copy exists only in private collections due to its value. Access for any of the copies of the 1st edition could not be gained for this research and so secondary sources of information surrounding it were garnered from Bailey and Earle (1999).

brand) scrapbook dating from 1904 was also used as a source of data. This scrapbook included postcards and letters from customers to Mr. T.J. Edmonds, requests for cookbooks, promotions, and labels of Edmonds brand products. A commemorative booklet on the history of the Edmonds company along with another booklet about the buildings donated by Mr. T.J. Edmonds to the city of Christchurch have also been used as sources. Transcripts of an interview with Mr. T.J. Edmonds' daughter, newspaper and magazine publications, press releases and photos of the Edmonds Factory were also referred to. Literature on the development of New Zealand food culture, along with statistics were lastly used as sources for this historical narrative.

What follows is a brief history of The Edmonds Company Ltd and the Edmonds' Cookery Book before a narrative of the different marketing aspects which have influenced the food culture of New Zealand. The way in which marketing itself reflects this food culture is guided by the contents of the Edmonds' Cookery Book as a commentary on the aspects diffused throughout society. Finally a discussion of the narrative presents implications to existing literature.

Historical Narrative

The Edmonds Company Ltd

The Edmonds Company Ltd started in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1879. The company was started by Thomas John Edmonds (T.J. Edmonds) who at first sold baking powder. Other baking ingredients were added over the years including baking soda, flour, custard powder, cornflour and yeast, some of which were exported. The brand still sells these and has also added bread, cake, pancake and pikelet mixes, as well as frozen pastry, mayonnaise and other dressings (Edmonds, 2011). The Edmonds' Cookery Book was introduced as a promotion in 1907 and both the cookbook and other food products are still being sold today. Edmonds is a household brand name in New Zealand. The brand is now owned by Goodman Fielder.

T.J. Edmonds came from England to New Zealand in 1879 when he was 20 years old. His position in England had been with Messrs Allen and Sons who were one of the largest confectionary firms in London. With that company he learnt how to mix such products as Sherbet which later enabled him to make baking powder. In his early married life, T.J. Edmonds was a grocer. During his trade, he heard many complaints from women at the time that the baking powder that was available in New Zealand was of inferior quality and their scones would not rise. Thus he set about mixing his own baking powder in his house and sold his first batch of 200 tins to customers of his own grocery store. It is at this point that he coined the catch phrase for the product, which is still used today: When asked by a customer whether his new baking powder was good, he replied to the woman that her baking was "sure to rise" using his baking powder. "Sure to Rise" is still the signature phrase of the Edmonds brand. Wanting to expand his operations, T.J. Edmonds put samples out to merchants but received no orders (Bunt, 1929). Closing his grocery store, he realized that he needed to create demand and knowledge of his baking powder and set out on a tour of the Canterbury region of New Zealand (Chamberlain, 1990) whereby he knocked on doors and left a can of his baking powder with the lady of the house. He stated that she need not pay him now, that he would return and she should only pay him if she was satisfied with the product. He received payment for every single can (Jauncey, c.1990). This approach worked well with stores stocking his baking powder throughout the country.

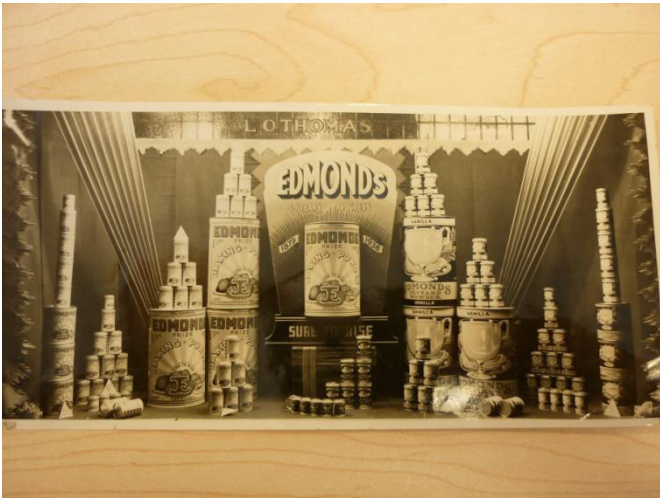
The adoption of *Edmonds Baking Powder* throughout the country was all but complete by 1906. In that year New Zealand International Exhibition cooking competition, five of the first prize winners used *Edmonds Baking Powder* (Bluebird Foods, 1996) and the baking powder is still the most successful baking powder in the New Zealand market today. *Edmonds Baking Powder* gained fame not only in New Zealand, but also abroad and the brand were allowed a stall at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in England in 1924 (see figure 1).

Figure 1.
Edmonds Baking Powder Stall at the British Empire Exhibition (1924)



T.J. Edmonds himself thanked his customers for their loyalty in a commemorative booklet the company published in 1929 stating: *“I feel I must express my appreciation of the long-continued patronage accorded me by the housewives of New Zealand. To serve them has been my constant aim throughout fifty years, and to their recognition of my endeavors is due the fact that the business has continued to progress through each succeeding year”* (T.J. Edmonds, 1929, in Bunt, 1929, p. 2). The company broadened into other baking products through the years introducing custard powder, baking soda, yeast and flour, along with more modern day product extensions such as scone mix, pancake mix and cake mixes (see figure 2).

Figure 2.
Store Window (1938) showcasing Edmonds Baking and Custard Powders



Before being able to introduce new products though, T.J. Edmonds built up his sales of baking powder. He was a shrewd marketer who retained a strong brand name and slogan (“Sure to Rise”) as well as consistent graphics/logos on his packaging (Elton, 1995) which are still used today (see figure 3).

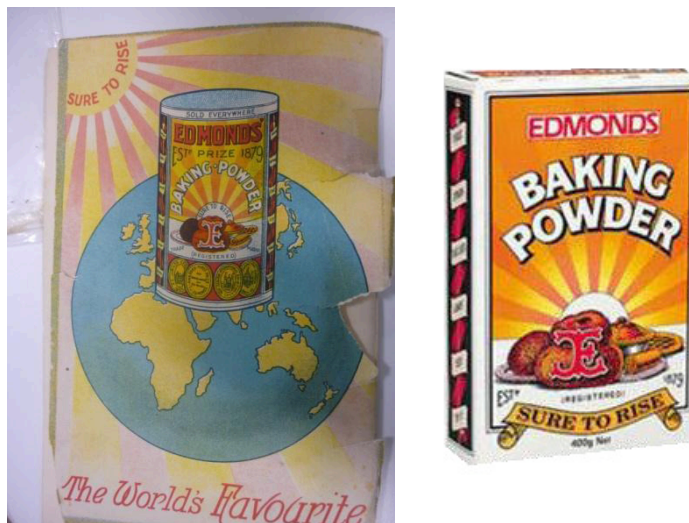


Figure 3.
Picture of Edmonds
Baking Powder Tin
(c. 1923) and 2011
packaging.

In 1911, Mr. J.M.A. Ilott convinced T.J. Edmonds to undertake a large scale advertising campaign for 12 months. Baking powder sales doubled because of it (Bunt, 1929). In an article in *The Advertising World* in 1915, T.J. Edmonds states that advertising was a very important part of his business (p. 33). In 1921 an advertisement released to newspapers around the country in an advertorial style, shows strict instructions for its layout. It was used for advertising and as a public relations vehicle to explain dwindling availability of *Edmonds Baking Powder* during WWI. The heading states “*A great New Zealand business: Two million tins output per annum – Wonderful record of growth*”. The advertisement goes on to present the amount of sales a year and the demand for the baking powder in England before explaining some current day issues. An explanation for the lack of *Edmonds Baking Powder* during parts of WWI was also enumerated upon. The reason given was the lack of quality cream of tartar, a key ingredient in the baking powder. The advertisement discloses that the company would rather close the factory than produce substandard baking powder with the available low quality cream of tartar. Further, there was also a discussion of a tariff that would introduce a 20% duty to non empire produced cream of tartar imported into New Zealand. However the company reveal they had this removed because British cream of tartar was inferior and they refused to use it, and the increase in cost and price of the product from sourcing their normal supply would be too much for their customers (Edmonds Company Ltd, 1921). Table I shows the sales figures for *Edmonds Baking Powder*. These figures have been gathered from advertisements for the baking powder as well as the commemorative booklet on the Edmonds Company. Asterisked years are those in which major marketing initiatives were undertaken.

Table 1.
*Edmonds Baking
Powder Sales
Figures*

Year	Sales
1879	1000
1889	21 000
1894	100 000
1904	350 000
1905	370 600
1906	429 780
1907†	502 548
1908	655 668
1909	743 796
1910†	818 772
1911	878 268
1912	1 077 084
1913	1 171 344
1915	1 250 000
1920	1 750 000
1921 ⁹	2 000 000
1928	2 500 000

(Edmonds Company Ltd 1907; T.J. Edmonds 1921 in Edmonds Company Ltd 1921; Edmonds Company Ltd 1921; Bunt 1929).

The Edmonds’ Cookery Book

As T.J. Edmonds states: “Another and very important branch of my advertising consists of the Edmonds ‘Sure to Rise’ Cookery Book” (in *The Advertising World*, 1915, p. 33). Indeed, the cookbook featured plenty of advertisements for Edmonds products throughout. However, it became more than a vehicle for advertising. As it has lasted from 1907 to the present day it can now be seen as a market penetration strategy, and one that has paid well for the brand. A market penetration strategy is where a company seeks to increase sales of existing products without fundamentally changing their product offering. This can be done through increasing the volume consumed by their current customers or by attracting new customers (Ansoff, 1957). The Edmonds’ Cookery Book did just that. The first edition in 1907 was a 50 page leaflet with 100 recipes in it, mostly for foods that needed baking powder in them such as cakes, cookies, scones, pancakes and puddings. Between 1907 and 1955 the cookbook was given away. Sales of baking powder increased by 30% the year the cookbook was created, up from 17% the year before (Table I). The cookbook now consistently tops the bestseller lists and is the bestselling book ever in New Zealand with over 3 million copies being sold between 1955 and 1990 (Chamberlain 1990) which does not take into account the amount of books given away before 1955. It is the longest running cookbook in the country and has been described as “sacred” (Chamberlain, 1990). As Jane Driessens expands: “Thousands and thousands of New Zealanders have grown up with the Edmonds’ Cookery Book as one of their most valued possessions. It was certainly the most often referred to recipe book in my household when I was growing up” (1992). These prodigious sales may be linked with the note in the front of each copy which stated that only by the use of Edmonds products, could the recipes in the book be guaranteed, coupled with a note on the back cover of the book instructing the reader to read the note at the front of the book.

Originally the book was posted out free to all engaged couples and copies could be obtained if an address was sent to the company. Multiple postcards and letters from those seeking copies of the book have been kept by the company (see figure 4) and almost always are accompanied by a note praising *Edmonds Baking Powder*. One letter from a 10 year old (c.1925) states their delight over the scones made by their mother using the cookbook and baking powder (figure 5).

⁹ Years of major marketing initiatives.

Salisbury Avenue
Hanganui East
20th October 1909

Dear Sirs,
I shall have much pleasure upon
receiving one of your cookery books.
Your Baking Powder excels all. I have tried
and I always recommend young housewives
to use Edmonds'

Yours faithfully
Mrs E. E. Owen

Figure 4.
One of the letters
requesting a copy
of the cookbook
(1909)

Dear Sir,
Would you like to know
that mother always uses your "Sure
to Rise" B Powder and it makes
lovely cakes and scones

Yours Truly,
Winnie Castle
Seddon Terrace
Otahuhu

Age 10 years.

Figure 5.
A child's letter of
gratitude to
Mr. T.J. Edmonds
(c.1925)

An advertisement for the complimentary cookbook stated that it was ‘invaluable’ and would be ‘prized’ as a ‘priceless treasure’. “*The Sure to Rise Cookery Book tells how to use Edmonds Baking Powder and how to ensure the daintiest cooking and most delicate pastry*” (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1915). The card sent with the cookbook by the 1940s was essentially to the wife emphasizing the importance of entertaining people in their new home and the pride with which the husband would show off his new wife’s skills, as well as the role that good meals had in creating a happy home (Taylor, c.1940). It was not sold until the 1955 edition.

As a cultural artifact the Edmonds’ Cookery Book reflects the development of New Zealand’s food culture. What follows is an historical analysis of marketing and historical aspects which have influenced New Zealand’s food culture, with the cookbook reflecting how the food culture has influenced marketing, and being used as a commentary and guide to the diffusion of food culture throughout the country. The Edmonds’ Cookery Book is an especially good cookbook to consider diffusion of food culture as it was a free cookbook that was advertised as such by the most popular brand of baking powder and was also given to all couples who had become engaged. The historical narrative looks at the development of food culture from before colonization until 1955 with specific focus on availability, distribution, price and trends. It focuses on the 2nd (1910), 5th (1922), and 6th (c.1945) editions as well as the 1st deluxe edition (1955) as major exemplars of the changes and shifts in New Zealand’s food culture.

The 2nd Edition – 1910

The indigenous population of New Zealand, the Maori people, brought with them Kumara (sweet potato), taro, pacific yams and gourds when they arrived in the country (Colenso, 1880). Later, between 1870 and 1880, a large amount of immigration from the United Kingdom (UK) was facilitated by assistance schemes from the New Zealand Government. The UK immigrants were generally agricultural workers who were driven to the country due to starvation (Arnold, 1981). These skilled workers tended to own their own land in New Zealand and used it to grow home gardens of produce and keep livestock (AJHR, 1890 B-is). Immigrants tried to transfer their eating patterns from their home countries to New Zealand (Bailey and Earle 1993), but found this difficult given the lack of domestic servants, change in seasons and availability of foods (Simpson, 2008). Now that immigrants had plentiful amounts of food, they ate as they viewed the aristocracy would have back in the UK. This mindset, coupled with hard labor, afforded very large meals and many throughout the day with meat having an important role (Holloway, in Arnold, 1981). Typically breakfast started in the morning with bacon, chops and eggs as well as porridge; this was followed by a morning tea of scones and biscuits. A sit down lunch ensued later in the day including soups, salads, vegetables, hot meat and a pudding, and then afternoon tea featured more scones, cakes and biscuits, freshly baked. The evening meal consisted of bread, butter, jam, pickles, cold meats, vegetables and salads (Veart, 2008; Barker, 1883). This pattern of eating continued well into the 1940s.

The first settlers introduced green and broad beans, beetroot, carrots, cabbage, onions, parsnips, peas, potatoes, radish, turnips, swedes, lettuce and cauliflower. Potatoes being adopted by the Maori people rather quickly (Bailey and Earle, 1993). The 2nd edition of the Edmonds’ Cookery Book does not feature any recipes for vegetables (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1910), possibly reflecting the practice of the day to mainly boil or bake vegetables (Blackie, 1986). Similarly, while beef, lamb and mutton were the major meats of the time (Bailey and Earle, 1993) the cookbook does not feature any recipes for meat. Recipes in the cookbook mainly feature scones, bread, puddings, pastry, cakes, buns and other sweets that include baking powder in the recipe (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1910).

The largest influence on New Zealand food culture is from immigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales (Burton, 1982) as they well outnumbered Maori people who were only 6.3% of the population by 1890 (Census, 1891). Immigrants especially brought with them their sweet tooth, with the first sugar refinery being set up in Auckland in 1885 (Veart, 2008). The Chelsea sugar refinery is still in use today. Afternoon tea was often seen as a social event for women and they were put under tremendous pressure to produce high quality cakes and pastries (Bailey and Earle, 1993). Women would often devote a whole day to baking as it was believed that a successful New Zealand woman was one with tins filled with home baking (Herda and Banwell, 1988). This was also in case visitors popped by unexpectedly. New Zealand was a place where people often travelled and were unable to feed themselves easily while travelling. This meant that visitors may turn up at a house without warning and expect hospitality (Money, 1871; Simpson, 2008). The importance of baking can also be seen in the first cookbook ever published in New Zealand titled ‘*Dainties: or how to please our Lords*

and Masters' (1887) by Mrs. Murdoch of Napier. The '*Colonist's Guide*' published in 1883 also featured 12 pages of recipes for cakes and biscuits (Leys, 1883), and there was a strong push from the public for more cookbooks featuring baking (Burton, 1982).

Butter, milk and eggs were in plentiful supply, and at low prices (Simpson, 2008), as were many different types of fruit including apples, pears, plums and berry fruit (Bailey and Earle, 1993). Flour and sugar consumption were high (Bailey and Earle, 1993), with the New Zealand Official Yearbook (1917) showing that household budgets between 1881 and 1916 were spent on procuring flour, dairy products, cocoa, sugar, jam, raisins, sago, tapioca, honey, golden syrup, treacle, currents, as well as canned and dried fruit. These ingredients are reflected in the cookbook. The cookbook features six recipes for scones in the 1910 edition (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1910) indicating the centrality of the scone to morning and afternoon teas (Barker, 1883; Veart, 2008). There are 19 recipes for puddings and 43 for cakes and buns (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1910) reflecting the use of wood or coal ranges for cooking at the time which meant that slow cooking was one of the only ways to cook (Simpson, 2008; Olssen, 1995; Bailey and Earle, 1993).

The 5th Edition – 1922

The 5th edition in 1922 featured a full range of recipes. There was still an emphasis on baking, but now recipes for salads, eggs, fish, jams, meats, savories and vegetables were also included (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). Poultry was not included (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922) as chickens were kept mainly for eggs, and only eaten when they stopped laying eggs (Bailey and Earle, 1993). Recipes for meat were mostly for meat pies and stews (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922), reflecting the simplicity that early cooking in New Zealand was known for (Simpson, 2008). Only beef and mutton are included (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922) which supports the preference of the time still for those two meats though given the large levels of consumption of pork and bacon (Bailey and Earle, 1993), it is interesting that this was left out.

The 10 recipes for fish certainly support the views of fish in the day (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). Fish was associated with the poor in the UK and so it was not consumed an awful lot by the immigrants. When it was, their preference was for fish they had known in their country of origin (Bailey and Earle, 1993). However, these fish were not readily available in New Zealand, and when they were, they were beyond the budgets of most households (Fraser, 1919). By the time this cookbook was released, there was finally an availability of Salmon, and Oysters were largely consumed (Ayson, 1913). The cookbook features three different ways of cooking fish (boil, fry, steam) and then has three recipes for salmon, one for oysters and another for crayfish (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). The introduction of whitebait fritters is seen here also (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922), which became a unique New Zealand national dish. These cooking styles and plain recipes reflect the general consumption patterns for fish, which were usually eaten as a breakfast food (Bailey and Earle, 1993), with oysters being the most commonly eaten seafood (Ayerton, 1977).

Vegetables that were included in the cookbook were asparagus, carrots, beans, potatoes, mushrooms, parsnips, marrow, lettuce and tomato (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). The increase in recipes for vegetables also happened in other cookbooks of the time such as *St Andrews Cookery Book* which remained in print for 27 years (*St Andrews Cookery Book*, 1919). The inclusion of these vegetables in particular matches the staple vegetables of the time (Fraser, 1919; Bailey and Earle, 1993). However given the availability of many more types of vegetables, and the varied vegetables shown as semi-staples, the cookbook was not leading the way in increasing consumption of new foods (Bailey and Earle, 1993). While there were no food shortages during WWI in New Zealand, due to mismanagement and distribution glitches, there was an increase in the consumption of swedes and parsnips, though only one recipe for parsnips is included in the book (Burton, 1982).

The push in the 1920s for healthier bread that was not the white bread so loved in New Zealand (Bailey and Earle, 1993) was not displayed in the cookbook (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). In fact, many of the types of bread that were readily eaten at the time, such as tin loaves, barracoutta, wheatmeal and malt (Wellington Evening Post, 1920) were not included in the cookbook (Edmonds Company Ltd. 1922). This may be because New Zealanders had their bread delivered to them up until the 1940s and so home baking of bread was not as common (Browne, Leach and Tichbourne, 1981; Brodie and Melton, 1978) though the inclusion of baking powder bread (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922) does suggest some acknowledgement of the rural woman who still had to bake bread daily and did not have access to yeast (Bailey and Earle, 1993).

The widespread adoption of electric stoves by the 1920s revolutionized the housewives ability to bake through consistent temperature control (Law, 1988). This coupled with the advent of refrigerators opened up a whole new avenue of sweets. The cookbook shows the move from hot, boiled or steamed puddings that needed to be eaten straight away, to cold desserts such as jellies, custards, creams and trifles (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). Eggs were one of the only foods in short supply during WWI (Veart, 2008) and this is acknowledged by the number of dessert recipes with a note to the side of 'without eggs' (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). Though curiously, another of New Zealand's iconic foods, the ANZAC biscuit is not featured in the cookbook (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1922). It is said that these biscuits, whose main ingredients are oats and golden syrup, were sent to the soldiers at Gallipoli in WWI in 1915 and omitted eggs due to the shortages. The biscuit's name came from the term used to refer to the soldiers at that campaign who were called the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps or ANZACs for short. The biscuit is still used today to commemorate the ANZACs (Veart, 2008).

6th Edition – c.1945

The 1930s brought with it the great Depression in New Zealand and the advent of the soup kitchen. The Auckland City Mission provided 102 080 meals in 7 months. While single men were able to work in camps in the country which provided 3 meals a day, the family man on the dole was not so lucky. Many families survived on mostly bread and broth and there was an emphasis on home cooking, economizing and recycling of food (Burton, 1982). This was especially so in home preserving and jam making (Bailey and Earle, 1993), which was reflected in the cookbook through more jam and pickling recipes (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945). There were also additions of puddings such as 'Cheap Plum Pudding' and 'Poorman's Christmas Pudding' (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945).

During WWII, rationing was undertaken in New Zealand. Coupon books for rationed foods included tea and sugar, though an extra ration of sugar was allowed if jam was being made (Taylor, 1985). Meat was also rationed and so the ubiquitous Sunday roast was curtailed for a time. Milk was plentiful; however chocolate and cream were unobtainable, as were many tropical fruits such as oranges. Children were sent to collect rosehips to get enough vitamin C to combat winter ills as well as dandelion leaves (Burton, 1982). Pork and bacon were in short supply also, as most of it was given to the American troops stationed throughout the country. Domestic egg production decreased throughout the war as chicken feed became unavailable (Veart, 2008). An increase in the amount of recipes for cakes and biscuits 'without eggs' reflects this (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945).

Looking at the baking sections further, the missing iconic national foods – ANZAC biscuits and Pavlova – were finally added in this edition (Edmonds Company Ltd, c.1945). The addition of Pavlova seems to be rather late in the history of the Pavlova which was named after the Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova, who toured Australia and New Zealand in 1926. The dessert is made with egg whites and sugar and is a cake size version of a meringue. It was named after the ballerina as it reminded people of the white tutu she wore (Veart, 2008). The first Pavlova recipes were in 1929 (Veart, 2008), yet it has taken the Edmonds' Cookery Book until the 1940s to add it, though there were other editions of the cookbook released in between times. One reason may have been due to the scarcity of sugar and eggs over the depression and war which may have made it almost impossible to make.

In 1936, Dr Elizabeth Gregory and Elizabeth Wilson published a report from the Department of Health on good nutrition (Gregory and Wilson, 1936). The report stated that New Zealanders were consuming too much sugar, cakes, confectionery and meat. The New Zealand Food Value League agreed and added that the average New Zealander also ate too little fish, raw vegetables, milk and cheese. They advocated more consumption of lentils, nuts and soybeans as well as wholemeal bread (New Zealand Women's Food Value League, 1940). These health concerns are not reflected in the cookbook at all except for the addition of many more vegetables than had been in previous editions (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945).

The 6th edition added 11 more vegetables than the previous edition. Now artichokes, beetroot, brussel sprouts, cabbage, cauliflower, celery, kumara, peas, pumpkin, spinach and white beets were included (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945). Brussel sprouts were a dominant vegetable in the UK at the time and this may explain this addition (Bailey and Earle, 1993), though still the staples in the country were the same as previous years: potatoes, cabbage, onions and carrots, but now with the addition of cauliflower and silverbeet (Conly, 1984). Here too the first food from the Maori people was included (kumara) which had been neglected up until then (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945). The inclusion of peas from this point (Edmonds Company Ltd., c.1945) occurs because of the introduction

of frozen peas which allowed year round consumption of the vegetable (Bailey and Earle, 1993). Overall, the consumption of green vegetables as compared with root vegetables was increasing (McGlaughlin, 1943).

First Deluxe Edition – 1955

One of the major influences on New Zealand's food culture after WWII was the 100 000 American troops that had been stationed around the country (Taylor, 1987; Bailey and Earle, 1993). They brought with them food ideas such as the consumption of coffee as a main hot beverage rather than tea, chicken, fruit juice, and of raw or lightly cooked vegetables. The New Zealand Women's Food Value League also started to recommend raw vegetables in the way of such salads as coleslaw (New Zealand Women's Food Value League, 1940). While coleslaw was not included in the cookbook (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955), the American influence can be seen through the additions of recipes such as 'Yankee Doodle Cake', 'American cutlets', 'French Fried Potatoes' and 'Saratoga Chips' (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955).

Other earlier health messages were now reflected in the cookbook though. The bread section now had recipes for wholemeal and brown bread, as well as a health loaf. There were sections on types of diets also giving advice (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955). Nutritionists in the 1950s started to advocate fish as a very good source of fat free protein (Gregory and Wilson, 1956) and the number of recipes for fish in the Edmonds' Cookery Book more than doubled (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955). A poultry section was also added (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955), as chicken farms were now operating in the country (Bailey and Earle, 1993).

The last influence on this edition was the returning New Zealand soldiers after WWII. In WWII, 40% of New Zealand's male population went overseas to fight (Bailey and Earle, 1993; Veart, 2008). When they returned they had been exposed to many different cultures and types of food and they brought some of their new found preferences with them (Goody, 1982). More restaurants opened up as well as milk bars and coffee houses (Veart, 2008). Recipes with an international flavor suddenly surfaced in the cookbook for example: Spanish cream, Soufflé, Eggs au Fromage and Ginger Bavarian Cream (Edmonds Company Ltd., 1955).

Conclusion

This article has looked at the development and evolution of New Zealand's food culture. Through an historical analysis and comparison, the Edmonds' Cookery Book has been used as a guide to diffusion of this culture and the influence the food culture has had on marketing. In considering the development of New Zealand's food culture, the narrative explores the influences of different aspects of marketing such as distribution and price along with how marketing in the form of the Edmonds' Cookery Book has been influenced by the food culture. Taking this narrative in the context of past literature, contributions can be seen for marketing history and macromarketing. Previous studies have tended to discuss food culture at one point in time or with emphasis on globalization. Cookbook literature has focused more on incorporated ideological representations than development of food culture. No literature has considered the different contextual and historical aspects that shape food culture, including marketing and its interaction with society, nor the influence of food culture on marketing. Given the influence of marketing on food consumption and the implications for obesity in developing nations, this is an important area of research (Witkowski, 2007).

Distribution and price have been two major influences on New Zealand's food culture along with trends from the UK. In fact, some of the main influences on New Zealand's food culture have been other countries. First, British, Irish, Scottish and Walsh immigrants brought their food traditions, then Americans, and finally international travel. The complete lack of acknowledgement of Maori foods and cooking reflects the fixation on international food culture. Both World Wars and the great Depression also shaped the food culture through changes in distribution. Lastly, the development of ideas in health influenced much of the cookbook, even if it was slow to take up those ideas. Even with views of healthy eating changing, the nation's fascination with cakes and biscuits, and particularly scones, still shines through.

Overall, what has been found in this study is interaction between marketing and food culture in New Zealand, especially with regards aspects identified by Witkowski (2007), with the Edmonds' Cookery Book tending to be a follower rather than an instigator. Not a particularly surprising outcome given that the cookbook is a market penetration and promotional strategy for Edmonds Company Ltd rather than their main business venture. This supports the assertion that cookbooks create and express

food culture (Pilcher, 1995; Brownlie et al., 2005; Miller, 1987) and are a commentary on social history (Neuhaus, 1999). The extension to the literature here is then, that this narrative explores how marketing (i.e. the cookbook) was influenced by food culture as well. Implications of this for macromarketing surround the modern changes in food cultures and food consumption in developing nations where economies are developing. In recent years, marketers, due to globalization have become more powerful influencers in developing nation's consumption trends (Witkowski, 2007; Thøgersen, 2010; Gilly and Graham, 1988; Slater, 1968). Given the influence of marketing promotions such as free cookbooks on the diffusion of food culture, the responsibility for developing nations' health may rest with marketers. In these cases, healthy and sustainable foods should be emphasized in any such communications. This is especially important where large influential international brands are concerned.

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