BRANDING AUSTRALIA
The commercial construction of Australianness
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the results of a doctoral research about commercial nationalism in Australia, analysing the construction of Australianness in consumer culture. Although previous studies have considered this phenomenon as relatively new, this thesis proposes to understand commercial nationalism as a historical process characterised by the intersection of nationalism and consumer culture in practices related to nation-making, the creation of national symbols and the defining of national identities. Based on this definition, the thesis argues that commercial nationalism has played an important role in the construction of Australia in three ways: facilitating synergies between public and private organisations, commodifying national symbols and nationalising commodities, and mediating the construction of national identities and citizen participation through consumerism. This argument is developed through a case study research analysing concrete manifestations of commercial nationalism in three periods of Australian history. The first period corresponds to the first half of the twentieth century, when Australian nationalism was characterised by a strong connection to Britain. This part of the thesis presents a case study of a buy Australian-made campaign called the "Great White Exhibition Train". It demonstrates that this and other buy-Australian campaigns were important for advancing the agendas of British-Australian nationalism, specifically for making Australia a new nation within the British Empire. The next period corresponds to the second half of the twentieth century, a time when Australian nationalism was detached from British influences and the nation started a makeover aimed at reinventing its national identity. This period is analysed through a case study mapping out the process by which Vegemite came to be considered, in spheres of popular and official culture, a symbol of this new national identity. This part of the thesis shows how Vegemite and other bread spreads have materialised historical issues and debates surrounding the idea of Australianness. The third period is located in contemporary times, when Australia is redefining its identity on the basis of the local and following the principles of neo-localism. This part presents two case studies. The first analyses two corporate campaigns in which Australian supermarkets, Woolworths and Coles, incorporated nationalism in their corporate cultures and became involved in the advancement of nationalist agendas in the marketplace. It shows how supermarkets claim to be contributing to national development by assuming a series of national causes as their own responsibility. The second case examines the nation-branding campaign, "There's nothing like Australia", and explains how Australians citizens were enlisted as co-creators of commercial imaginaries of Australianness on the internet. It explains how the organisations behind the campaign claim to be constructing a democratic and authentic image of Australia that is based on the knowledge and experiences of local citizens. The thesis concludes by discussing the implications of commercial nationalism in the historical construction of Australianness. This discussion identifies specific trends related to the integration of consumer culture in nation-making projects, the creation of national symbols, and the defining of national identities, and explains a series of shifts in the actors, things and practices involved in these processes.

I certify that this thesis, except with the Graduate Research Committee's approval, contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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PREFACE

This thesis is about the construction of Australianness in consumer culture. Coming from Colombia, where regional identities are stronger than national ones, one of the things that I noticed when I arrived in Australia was the fervour that locals have for their national identity, and particularly, the commercial enthusiasm that surrounds the idea of Australianness. In Colombia, I had been studying the commercial construction of nations for some years, and after my arrival I decided to study this phenomenon in Australia. My first approach to understanding the commercial construction of Australianness took place on Australia Day 2012.

From early January in 2012, I started to see television advertisements for Australia Day. The first I saw, announced that McDonald's was bringing back the "McOz", a burger with beetroot and barbecue sauce created by "Macca's" in the 1990s, which is occasionally removed from the menu and then reintroduced months later with patriotic fanfare and always topped with a toothpick flag. Another advertisement for Australia Day did not announce any product, but persuaded Australians to celebrate the Day using images of beaches, flags, sports, fireworks and a colourful logo accompanied by the slogan "Celebrate what's great" (Figure 0.1). I discovered that "Australia Day" is the brand of the National Australia Day Council, a committee created in the late 1970s to promote the celebration using social marketing. Another advertisement encouraged Australians to get involved in the commemoration fighting "un-Australianism". It was the traditional "address to the nation" of Australia's official "lambassador", Sam Kekovich (Figure 0.2). That year, he insisted that – no matter diets, cultural traditions or religions – Australia Day should be celebrated by "throwing some lamb on the barbie", and warned that any other form of celebration was un-Australian.

Figure 0.1 Screenshot of "Australia Day" advertisement.

Figure 0.2 Australia's official "lambassador" in his address to the nation.

Around the same time, the celebration of Australia Day started in supermarkets. In my local Coles at Malvern in Melbourne, I found an entire section of "Aussie" paraphernalia to celebrate the day by having a "barbie". I also found special editions of products with their packages printed with the flag, the map or the "100% Aussie" mantra – most of them made by foreign companies. Some of these products were remarkable. Twining's, for example, released a new blend to commemorate the celebration. The new tea, said an advertisement, was the first Twining's blend "created with Australians and for Australians" (Twinings, 2012). In fact, the tea was called "Australian Afternoon" and had been blended by the Honourable MP Kevin Rudd, Minister for Foreign Affairs at the time (Figure 0.3). Kraft had also prepared something special. That year, Vegemite would change its name to

Australia, equating the bread spread to the nation (Figure 0.4). "From today", said a media statement released on its website, "Vegemite will celebrate Australia Day by launching a limited edition collectable Vegemite jar, featuring a map of Australia in the place of the famous Vegemite red diamond shaped logo and a new name – Australia" (Vegemite, 2012).

Figure 0.3 Kevin Rudd launching "Australian Afternoon" (McIlwraith, 2012).

Figure 0.4 Vegemite jar for Australia Day 2012[1].

Not everything was about television and supermarkets. Australians were also called to go online and become co-creative consumers. Fairfax Media organised an "iPhoneography Challenge" where mobile users were invited to share iPhone pictures showing "what the day, and what being Australian, means to [them]", offering a prize of $200 to the best picture. They claimed to have been "inundated with the creative, the funny and the unusual" (IPhoneography, 2012). The galleries of the pictures selected by newspapers reproduced stereotypical images of Australians using the flag as a cap and Mexican sombreros (Figure 0.5). Another online photographic competition was "Living Australian". In this one, Australians were invited by "Aussievault" (an initiative of the brand "Australia Day") to share pictures representing what being Australian meant to them. The winners were announced that day in Sydney with the pictures transformed into postcards and stamps by Australia Post (Figure 0.6).

Figure 0.5 One of the pictures included in the "iPhoneography Challenge".

Figure 0.6 One of the pictures selected from the competition "Living Australian".

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[1] Image source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/vintuitive/6855133329

When compared to traditional manifestations of nationhood and to the ways in which nations and national identities have usually been explained, these forms of commemoration make evident a series of shifts in the idea of "the nation". Traditionally, literature on nationalism has explained the nation as a form of territorial, economic and political organisation created at the end of the eighteenth century as a result of nationalist projects attempting to replace monarchies with democratic systems. This process installed the principles of modernity and industrialization at the centre of societies (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992). These perspectives have often explained nation-making as the exclusive work of elites such as the state, the intelligentsia or public education systems. They have also reduced the symbolic repertoire of the nation to official forms of representation such as the flag, the map or the coat of arms; and have suggested that national identities are assigned to individuals through their indoctrination in a series of traditions invented by elite institutions such as public education, national monuments, public ceremonies, anthems and personifications of the nation (e.g. Hobsbawm, 1983a, 1983b; A. D. Smith, 1991). More recently, new approaches to nationalism have explained the nation as the product of mundane practices and forms of representation inscribed in the everyday life (Billig, 1995; Edensor, 2002). But, although this emergent field has identified commercial processes and commodities as important elements in the construction of nations, they have not fully developed this dimension of everyday nationhood or proposed extensive frameworks for their study.

Both of these perspectives appear to be a poor fit when explaining the commercial forms of nationalism that are evident in the celebration of Australia Day in the marketplace and the media. To begin with, these forms of commercial nationalism blur divisions between elite institutions and non-elite organisations. In terms of nation-making, commercial nationalism seems to operate through synergies and integrations between public and private interests, such as when Australia Day is managed through a brand or when Honourable Members of Parliament endorse products for the celebration. It is also difficult to accommodate the symbolic repertoires of commercial nationalism within traditional approaches that analyse national symbols. Commercial representations of nationhood can be created through commoditised versions of official symbols such as the souvenir flag sold at supermarkets or logos that are printed on the packaging of all kinds of products. But these representations can also work the other way around when commodities such as the McOz or Vegemite are institutionalised and legitimised as symbols of national celebration. Also, the national identities constructed in the marketplace and the media are problematic when they are analysed following institutional approaches. Mainly, because the "official" ceremonies (e.g. Australia Day) used to reaffirm a sense of belonging and express patriotism have been transformed into commercial rituals. In the case of Australia Day, these rituals revolve around shopping in supermarkets or the generation of content in social media. While at the level of everyday, things as mundane as having a "barbie" are becoming a hegemonic form of celebrating the commemoration.

These forms of celebration of Australia Day suggest that if we want to understand the construction of contemporary nations we should look beyond traditional models, and we should start to pay more attention to commercialised forms of nationalism in everyday life, where nationalism and consumer culture intersect. It is time to take into account the corporate character of the institutions involved in making the nation. We must look also at the commercial products used to represent the nation and the platforms and practices mediating the involvement of citizens in national matters.

After Australia Day 2012, I started to explore the intersections between nationalism and consumer culture surrounding the idea of Australianness and discovered that they are not new, and that in fact they have a long history. What then, is the role that commercial nationalism has played in the historical construction of Australianness? In particular, what have been its implications for nation-making, national symbols and national identities? These are the questions that I attempt to answer in this dissertation.

INTRODUCTION

The commercial construction of Australianness

Since the inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia, commercial forms of nationalism have played an important role in the construction of Australianness at different moments of history, and have made the marketplace a key site for the production and reproduction of a distinctive national identity. There is empirical evidence suggesting that "the nation" was imagined in the marketplace before Parliament, that it was made tangible in commodities before national symbols, and that Australians expressed their patriotism shopping before they could vote (c.f.Cozzolino & Rutherford, 1980). However, most scholarly works looking at commercial nationalism in Australia have been focused on the last decades of the twentieth century, when multinational corporations incorporated elements of nationalism in their advertising (e.g. James, 1983), and have looked only tangentially at commercial forms of nationalism coming from governments and official institutions (e.g. L. White, 2004, 2008). Although these works have made an important contribution, they have overlooked the long history of this phenomenon, its relationships with broader issues of Australian nationalism, and its implications beyond promotion.

This thesis attempts to bring a new perspective to this field of analysis, situating commercial nationalism in a historical perspective and analysing its repercussions in the construction of the nation. First, the thesis links the historical development of commercial nationalism to the successive phases of Australian nationalism and the changing facets of Australian national identity. Secondly, it implements a cultural perspective to analyse the repercussions of commercial nationalism in three crucial aspects of constructing the nation: nation-making, national symbols and national identities. The key argument of the thesis is that commercial nationalism has been crucial for the historical construction of Australianness in the marketplace and the media. Developing this argument, the thesis aims to show how the integration between nationalism and consumer culture, has facilitated synergies between public institutions and commercial organisations in nation-making processes, has created commodified versions of national symbols, and has mediated the construction of national identities and processes of citizen participation through consumption practices.

The thesis develops this argument through a twofold strategy. First, it identifies three specific moments in the history of Australian nationalism, in which commercial nationalism has played a significant role in the construction of Australianness. The first moment is situated during the first half of the twentieth century, when British-Australian nationalism started a nation-building project aimed at making Australia a new nation within the British Empire. A second moment is located in the second half of the century, when the "cultural makeover" initiated by the "New Nationalism" of the 1960s led some decades later to the reinvention of Australian national identity. Finally, a third, and emergent form of commercial nationalism is situated in current times, when Australia is trying to construct a distinctive identity in the globalised world, and is redefining Australianness following the principles of "neo-localism".

The second and main strategy to substantiate this argument is to analyse the role of commercial nationalism in the advancement of these different nationalist agendas using case studies that connect

nationalism and consumer culture. The chapter corresponding to the first moment in the history of commercial nationalism looks at the "buy Australian-made" campaigns run during the first decades after Federation. Drawing on a case study of a touring campaign called the "Great White Exhibition Train", the chapter shows how the notion of "practical patriotism" was used by entrepreneurs, politicians and Prime Ministers to depict shopping practices as acts of Australian patriotism and loyalty to the British Empire. The second historical period of commercial nationalism is analysed through a chapter focused on the process by which Vegemite came to be considered, in official and popular culture, as a symbol of Australia in the last decades of the twentieth century. Moreover, it proposes the notion of "bread spread nationalism" to show that Vegemite is not the only bread spread linked to Australian national identity. Other spreads made of yeast, such as Marmite and Ozemite, have materialised tensions and discontinuities in the historical construction of Australianness.

The third part of the thesis looks at emergent forms of commercial nationalism revolving around the commodification of "the local". It includes two chapters that analyse how Australianness is sold in the form of foods and holiday experiences to domestic and international consumers. The first chapter of this part of the thesis uses the notion of "supermarket patriotism" to describe how the supermarket chains, Woolworths and Coles, have integrated nationalism in their corporate cultures. It explains how in the two campaigns "Australia's Fresh Food People" and "Helping Australia Grow", these supermarkets have adopted a series of social causes aimed at helping local communities as part of their corporate strategies. These strategies attribute patriotic agency to particular commodities and transform their stores into sites where citizens can engage with local communities through their shopping decisions. The second chapter presents a case study of "There's nothing like Australia", a nation-branding campaign developed through a "crowd-sourcing" initiative that invited local citizens to share pictures of their vacations in Australia via social media networks, claiming to empower them in the construction of a more democratic and authentic image of their country. The chapter questions these claims, and proposes the notion of "social media populism" to explain how citizens have been involved in the production of promotional materials under the guise of empowerment, democracy and authenticity.

The approach to commercial nationalism that I present in this thesis combines my background in design, aesthetics and material culture with experience acquired through the study of media and communications. As will be explained later, the research methodology follows the principles of qualitative case study research (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2011; Yin, 2009). In particular, the research is based on multiple-case studies, and was developed using insights from cultural history, material culture studies, ethnographic fieldwork and visual studies. These perspectives were selected according to the particularities of each case and its sources of information. Each of the four case studies is based on primary research conducted during the time of the candidature and make extensive use of empirical materials. Overall, the research applies a diversity of approaches and perspectives to the phenomenon of commercial nationalism over the last century, based on the qualitative analysis of a multiplicity of archive materials, commodities, packaging, advertising, supermarket stores, digital platforms, and user-generated content.

This thesis contributes to the understanding of the relationships between nationalism and consumer culture. It situates specific manifestations of commercial nationalism in a historical perspective that focuses on the evolution of Australian nationalism and offers a critical reading of its implications for

the construction of Australianness through concrete and in depth case studies drawn from everyday life. Since I am dealing with commercial processes, some readers might expect to find in this thesis a condemnatory critique of commercial nationalism. My approach to the matter is a critical one, especially in relation to contemporary manifestations of commercial nationalism through corporate advertising and nation-branding. Nevertheless, it is important to clarify that my main interest is not to make judgements on the commercialisation of the nation, but to clarify some points in the historical development of this process and to explain a series of shifts generated by commercial nationalism in the construction of the nation. I am particularly interested in showing how the idea of the nation and the experience of "nation-ness" are constructed in the everyday life of consumer culture. In particular, I aim to explain how some important dimensions of Australia and Australianness have been created through buy local campaigns, bread spreads, supermarkets and pictures posted on social media networks.

Commercial Nationalism

This section develops the concept of commercial nationalism. The section is divided into three parts. The first part reviews literature looking at commercial nationalism in Australia, including works that have made explicit use of the term, as well as others that have analysed similar phenomena. I will explain that despite the contributions made by these works the commercial construction of Australianness has remained under examined. The second part explains some of the gaps that exist in fields of nationalism and consumer culture when it comes to the study of the commercial construction of nations. I will show how studies on nationalism have frequently overlooked the role of commerce in the construction of national identities, and how issues related to the historical development of commercial nationalism requires more attention in consumer culture studies. The third part tries to overcome these gaps by situating commercial nationalism in a historical perspective in relation to the historical evolution of consumer culture.

Commercial nationalism in Australia

Since the notion of commercial nationalism has been used to describe aspects of Australian nationalism for long time, the way in which the phenomenon has been understood deserves some attention. This section revises the meaning and identifies the phenomena that have been associated with the term in Australia[2]. In doing this, it reviews some of the sources that have developed the notion of commercial nationalism, as well as other works that, in one way or another, have approached relations between Australian nationalism and consumer culture without necessarily using the same term. The thesis draws on these definitions and advances them by proposing a particular definition of the term, according to the questions that guided the research and the findings obtained throughout the process.

One of the first publications where manifestations of commercial nationalism become highly visible is *Symbols of Australia* (Cozzolino & Rutherford, 1980). This book presented the results of research conducted by advertising practitioners Mimmo Cozzolino and Fysh Rutherford on the history of

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[2] Other works in which the notion of commercial nationalism has been used in relation to other countries, for instance, the work of Zala Volčič, will be revised later.

Australian trademarks. Although it is more a collection of logo symbols than a critical analysis of marketing, the many examples that illustrate *Symbols of Australia* make evident that the origins of commercial nationalism can be traced back to origins of the nation. In particular, it shows that since the early twentieth century, the trademarks of many products have integrated symbols such as the coat of arms, the flag or the map in their visual repertoires. At the same time, the book suggests that, over time, some of these trademarks became symbols able to represent the nation.
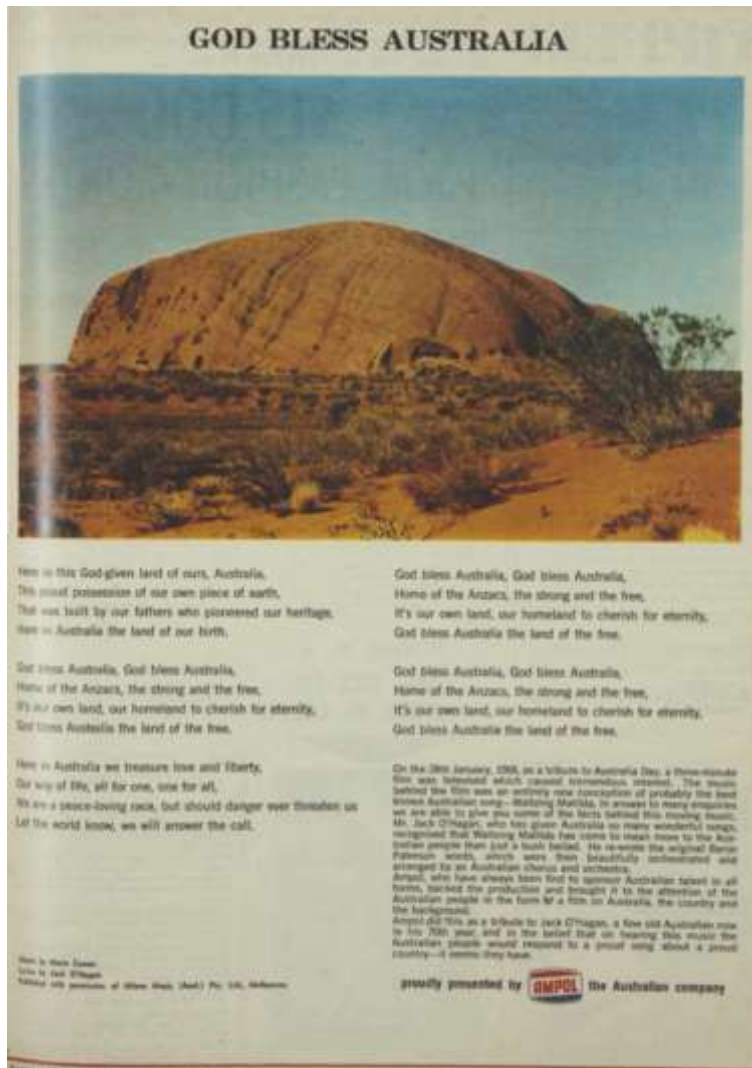
Figure 0.7 Ampol's advertising campaign, "God Bless Australia" (Ampol, 1968).

In scholarly contexts, the term commercial nationalism has been used since the 1980s to define forms of corporate advertising based on the use of nationalist motifs. The concept was coined in the early 1980s by Paul James (1983), who used it to describe the pervasiveness of nationalist topics in the advertising of national and multinational corporations operating in Australia during the 1970s and early 1980s. Although James focuses on cases of that time, he mentions examples from the 1920s and links the phenomenon to the 1960s, when the enthusiasm of the New Nationalism started to pervade the advertising of some Australian companies. Some of the examples presented by James to illustrate the concept include Ampol and its advertising campaign "God Bless Australia" (Figure 0.7), Holden's well-known jingle "football, meat pies, kangaroos and Holden cars", and the government advertising campaign "Advance Australia". Although James noticed the adoption of social marketing by political parties and the Federal Government to "sell ideas" about patriotism, he did not consider this as a

manifestation of commercial nationalism and defined it, instead as "cultural management". After James coined the term, it has been used to analyse aspects of national culture, in particular, the commercialisation of national events and the iconicity of commercial products.

One of the scholars who have taken the notion of commercial nationalism further than proposed by James is Leanne White. One of her first studies analysed the celebrations of Australia's Bicentenary in 1988 (L. White, 2004). There, she defined commercial nationalism as "the adoption of national signifiers [in corporate advertising] in order to generate profits" (L. White, 2004, p. 28). White recognised that commercial and official nationalism were directly related and her analysis included the advertising campaigns created by the Australian Bicentennial Authority. It is important to notice that White was not the only scholar who noticed the imbrication of nationalism and consumer culture that took place during the Bicentenary. Her analysis coincides with studies conducted in 1988, which – though not using same term – made evident the emergence of commercial forms of nationalism to shape a new version of Australian national identity (e.g. Spearritt, 1988).

Another national event that has been studied from the perspective of commercial nationalism is the 2000 Sydney Olympics. Immediately after the Games finished, John Sinclair drew on James's distinction between commercial and state-sponsored nationalism to analyse the commercialisation of the Olympics by corporate interests, and in particular, to show how the Olympic Torch was an element able "to symbolise nationhood and national belonging in an 'official' manner", and served as an "attractive vehicle for sponsorship by certain private interests who were seeking to associate themselves with the nation and its triumphs" (Sinclair, 2001, p. 74). The integration of consumer culture and nationalism during the Games was also analysed by different scholars in a special issue of *Media International Australia* (Turner, 2000). Articles published in this issue made evident the increasing role of the media in building and moulding topics related to national identity (e.g. Sinclair, 2000). Some years later, Leanne White also looked at the Olympics by analysing the commercial images used in the media to represent Australia during the competition. This work makes an important contribution to the study of commercial nationalism in Australia, in the sense that although White keeps the distinction between official and commercial nationalism, some of the examples she uses make evident an intersection between both spheres in the context of commercial media and consumer culture.

White has also looked at manifestations of commercial nationalism in corporate advertising and the tourism industry. One of those works has been focused on the advertising strategies of Foster's Lager, and, in particular, the way in which nationalist topics and images were used in the advertising campaign *I believe*. Analysing these campaigns and other advertisements of this brand, White traces the transition of Foster's from a national to global brand characterised by a distinctive Australian identity (L. White, 2009a). Another study by White analysed the commercial products created around the poem *The Man from Snowy River,* and in more general terms around the myth of the bush. She shows how this character from Australia's national mythology has been appropriated by the cultural industries to sell Australia to the world, and in particular to tourists (L. White, 2009b). Although these works present interesting manifestations of commercial nationalism in Australia, their analysis has been disconnected from some of the issues and debates that have surrounded Australian national identity. In this sense, White has been more interested in providing "lessons for marketers and educators (…) in the effective use of commercial nationalism" (L. White, 2009a, p. 177).

As already noted, other scholars have analysed relationships between nationalism and consumer culture without making reference to James's work and without any reference to the notion of commercial nationalism. Some of these relationships have been analysed as part of wider studies of popular culture, advertising and branding. Graeme Turner's studies on popular culture have made evident a strong relationship between commerce and definitions of Australian national identity (Fiske, Hodge, & Turner, 1987; Turner, 1994). Turner's analysis of nationalism and popular culture during the 1980s and early 1990s is of great significance for this thesis. To some extent, I have tried to take further some of Turner's argument about the involvement of commercial personalities and organisations in definitions of Australian national identity, and about the transformation of Australia into a brand name (1994, p. 156).

The work of Robert Crawford (2008) on the history of Australian advertising sheds light on the historical relationships between marketing and nationalism. Although Crawford does not approach these relationships directly, they emerge in his work on advertising during World War I and World War II (2002, 2008). He shows a twofold process by which, on the one hand, commercial companies made use of patriotic advertising to link their brand names to the nation and portray consumption as a patriotic act, and on the other, the Federal Government adopted marketing techniques to advance its war efforts. Crawford also shows how the Australian advertising industry has worked as a platform for the development of specific aspects of Australianness, including the consolidation and popularisation of characters such as the "ocker" (Crawford, 2007) and imaginaries of the Australian way of life through tourism promotion (Crawford, 2010). Crawford's work is also useful for understanding the appearance and endurance of consumer culture in Australia, in particular during the first half of the twentieth century (Crawford, 2006; Crawford, Smart, & Humphery, 2010).

Other Australian scholars have also analysed relationships between nationalism and consumer culture in branding. For instance, John Sinclair has recently explored the relationship between brands and national identity (Sinclair, 2008, 2011). Sinclair's work is particularly useful for understanding the historical process by which specific Australian brands such as Vegemite, Speedo and Arnott's have come to be considered symbols of national belonging. Another scholar who has studied these relationships is Susie Khamis. Khamis pays particular attention to connections between corporate branding and Australian national identity (Khamis, 2003, 2004, 2007), as well as the efforts made by the Federal Government to sell Australia using nation-branding techniques (Khamis, 2012).

These works have made important contributions to understanding commercial nationalism. However, as Jackie Dickenson has pointed out, the relationships between advertising and Australian national identity is a topic that is still relatively overlooked by scholars (Dickenson, 2012). One of the objectives of this thesis is to fill this gap by situating commercial nationalism in a historical perspective structured by the evolution of Australian nationalism. The term commercial nationalism was coined in the 1980s to define a specific phenomenon of corporate, and to some extent, government advertising, and studies using the term have largely focused on manifestations occurred during the last two decades of the twentieth century. However, a closer look at the available evidence reveals that relationships between nationalism and consumer culture have a long history. Cozzolino and Rutherford's work, for example, shows that the history of commercial nationalism can be traced back to the origins of Australia as a nation. Crawford's studies on advertising demonstrate that nationalistic motifs persisted throughout the first half of the century in corporate and government advertising. And studies on

branding by Sinclair and Khamis demonstrate the significant role of consumer culture in contemporary definitions of Australianness.

Defining commercial nationalism

This thesis proposes to understand commercial nationalism as a historical phenomenon characterised by the intersection of nationalism and consumer culture, and more exactly by the incorporation of commercial ideologies, technologies and infrastructures in the cultural practices involved in the construction of the nation; that is, the nation-making process, the creation of national symbols and the formation of national identities. This definition is a response to some problems in the study of relationships between consumer culture and national identity, specifically, a lack of interest in commercial processes as part of nationalist projects and a questionable newness attributed to some examples of this phenomenon.

The disdain for commercialised forms of nationalism and their historical development can be noticed in fields of nationalism and consumer culture. Most of the seminal works on the origins of the nation have overlooked the role of commerce in that process, and those who have showed them, such as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1983), have not fully addressed this issue. Furthermore, in the emergent field of "everyday nationhood" – though scholars are conscious of the significance of consumer culture in the reproduction of nations – much more needs to be examined and said on this topic. Moreover, in the field of consumer culture, works looking at manifestations of commercial nationalism have been largely unable to situate these manifestations in the historical evolution of nations and nationalism. Most of these works have presented the phenomenon, again and again, as a recent and "revolutionary" discovery, the case of "nation-branding" being the most recent of these manifestations. The following paragraphs explain these problems.

Although seminal works on nationalism and national identity have related the origins of the nation to processes of industrialization and modernisation (Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; A. D. Smith, 1991), they have rarely recognised the important role of markets and consumption in this process. For instance, these works have been criticised for overlooking popular culture and everyday life as important dimensions of nationalism, and for explaining the nation as the result of a top-down process (Edensor, 2002, pp. 1-12). When explaining nation-making processes, they have been focused on elite institutions such as the state, the intelligentsia and public education systems, and have not taken commercial organisations into account in their studies. Approaches to the material dimension of the nation, have been reduced to official symbols (e.g. the map, the flag), and extraordinary artefacts (e.g. the museum). Explanations of the construction of national identities revolve around participation in invented traditions (e.g. public monuments, official parades, national days) (Hobsbawm, 1983b). Although these works do draw links between nationalism and capitalism, they have generally ignored the role of commercial organisations, commodities and consumption in the construction of nations.

Yet, the historical rise of nations has generally been attached to economic projects and commercial enterprises. If we look to the history of modern nations it becomes clear that some nationalist revolutions, including the American Revolution, the war for Colombian independence and the Eureka Stockade have been motivated by commercial reasons. Most of these revolutions have been unleashed by imperial impositions and have been inspired by the idea of having national markets. This

articulation of commercial and nationalist principles in the origin of nations is suggestive of the long history of commercial forms of nationalism. For instance, authors such as T.H Breen (Breen, 2004) and Dana Frank (D. Frank, 1999) have shown the crucial role that merchants, marketplaces, commodities and patriotic consumerism played in the constitution and popularisation of the ideals advanced by the Boston Tea Party. Furthermore, the events that unchained Colombian independence in 1810 took place in a shop and revolved around a luxurious commodity, namely, a vessel known as the "Florero de Llorente" (Lleras, 2010).

Benedict Anderson (1983) is recognised as one of the authors relating the origins of the nation to everyday life, linking the concept of "imagined communities" to the technological systems of "print capitalism". For Anderson, it was the mass commodities of print capitalism that enabled the constitution of a horizontal time and space, an indispensable substrate for the collective imagination of nations. In particular, his analysis establishes a direct relation between the consumption of novels and daily newspapers and the constitution of national communities. However, he is criticised for placing too much emphasis on literacy and print media, and for omitting the role of other forms of media in the process (Edensor, 2002, pp. 6-7). Apart from this, he overlooks the role of other commodities, popular markets and mundane forms of consumption in imagining the nation.

The so-called "school of everyday nationhood" (A. D. Smith, 2008b) is an emergent field focused on the study of nationalism in everyday life, where links between nationalism and consumer culture have been noted. This approach to nationalism has been inspired particularly by Michael Billig's work *Banal Nationalism* (1995), and has been further developed by Tim Edensor (2002, 2004, 2006), Jon Fox and Cynthia Miller-Idriss (2008a, 2008b), as well as by other scholars interested in the reproduction of contemporary nations in everyday life (e.g. Caldwell, 2002; C. Palmer, 1998). In *Banal Nationalism*, Billig demonstrates that beyond the official nationalism of the state, contemporary nations and national identities are the result of mundane practices (e.g. watching television news) and symbols (e.g. the un-waved flag in public buildings) inscribed in everyday life. His work has opened a new scope of possibilities for understanding contemporary nationalisms. Although commerce is not a central topic in this field, these works have recognised the role of commodities, from cars to biscuits, in making the nation tangible in everyday life, as well as the importance of consumption practices for expressing a sense of belonging to the nation. Despite the contribution that this field has made in shedding light on the reproduction of contemporary nations and national identities, it has been criticised for being ahistorical and for having a scope that is limited to the "here and now" of the nation (see: A. D. Smith, 2008a).

The lack of a historical approach to intersections between commerce and nationalism is also manifest in the field of consumer culture. Some recent works have approached manifestations of commercial nationalism from the perspective of branding. However, most of them have not dealt with the history of these manifestations and have presented them as almost entirely new. The supposed newness attributed to commercial forms of nationalism seems to reflect an endemic problem in the field. As will be explained later, Don Slater (1997) argues that since the sixteenth-century, consumer culture has been intermittently rediscovered as something new and revolutionary. The same problem can be seen in the study of commercial nationalism, where intersections between nationalism and consumer culture seem to have been discovered only recently. I argue, however, that there is something misleading in some accounts of the historical development of the intersections between nationalism

and consumer culture. In particular, the supposed newness of some advertising techniques based on the use of patriotism and nationalist motifs for selling commodities, and of branding strategies aimed at selling the nation to foreign consumers.

Figure 0.8 Foster's Lager advertisement, 1937.
A clear example of the early use of nationalist motifs in corporate advertising.

First of all, as mentioned earlier, there is evidence suggesting that "Australia" was widely used as a commercial motif in Federation times (Cozzolino & Rutherford, 1980) and nationalist motifs became common in corporate advertising some years later (Figure 0.8). Marketing scholars looking at consumer culture may have become conscious of the effects of "made in" labels on shoppers in the 1960s (Schooler, 1965) and "discovered" in the 1980s that they could engender patriotic feelings (Han, 1988). But promoters of buy local campaigns in Australia and various countries such as the US (D. Frank, 1999), China (Gerth, 2011) and Ireland (Sarah Foster, 1997) were using similar techniques well before this time, not just as part of commercial processes but as innovative forms of political consumerism. Furthermore, some commercial strategies presented as new inventions through names such as "patriotic marketing" and "nation-branding", have a long history.

Figure 0.9 Advertisements for the Australian National Travel Association in the 1920s.
These advertisements aimed at promoting Australia as a tourist destination can be considered as a historic register of what today is known as nation-branding.

Marketing media applauded the appearance of something they called "patriotic marketing" when stores in the US started to sell presents to send to the troops during the Gulf War (Gray, 1990). But as will be shown in Chapter One, since the beginning of World War I, some Australian stores had implemented the same strategy, advertising (see Figure 1.2) their goods as "presents for our troops" (Present for our troops, 1914). Moreover, although the idea of using marketing techniques to publicize nations was considered one of the best ideas of 2005 by *The Economist* (Aronczyk, 2007), Australian advertisers have been conscious of these techniques since the first decades of the twentieth century. For example, by the late 1920s, the Australian National Travel Association was already implementing

marketing for selling Australia to the world using strategies that resemble many characteristics of current nation-branding campaigns (Figure 0.9).

It is perhaps in relation to the last point mentioned above, nation-branding, that the ahistorical character of approaches to commercial nationalism is most visible. Despite the increasing number of articles and volumes dedicated to the practice of nation-branding consultants and the rise of country-brands (e.g. Aronczyk, 2008, 2013; Kaneva, 2011b; Kaneva, 2011c), none of these works have linked this phenomenon to previous forms of national promotion. However, the use of commercial technologies by governments can be traced back to the first International Exhibitions. As Jonathan Rose points out, the International Exhibition held in 1851, in London, had a commercial objective: it was "an effort to increase trade prospects" between "the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and the United Province of Canada" and European countries (J. Rose, 2000, p. 46). In this, and subsequent Exhibitions, there is a clear commodification of the nation. For instance, as Don Slater notices, "by the time of the Paris exhibition of 1889 the objects on display were beginning to carry price tags (Slater, 1997 quoting (R. Williams, 1982)). This simple example suggests that any critique of recent manifestations of commercial nationalism should take into account and recognise their long and complex history. With this in mind, the next section reviews literature that is useful for shedding light on the historical development of intersections between nationalism and consumer culture.

The commercial character of nations

This section looks at the historical development of commercial nationalism. The main objective of this review is to demonstrate the long history of commercial forms of nationalism and to map out its historical development. Demonstrating the long history of nationalism does not mean that I want to suggest that nothing has changed in the last century. On the contrary, I will argue that despite its long history, commercial nationalism has become more extensive and intensive in the last decades, especially under the political, cultural and economic conditions of neoliberalism.

Consumer culture is a culture of consumption. Culture, in its anthropological sense, can be understood as a network of meanings that take the form of knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, laws, customs, and so on, that structures the ways of life of a social group (Geertz, 1973; Tylor, 1958). Consumer culture, from this perspective, can be understood as a type of culture in which those networks of meaning take the form of commercial devices and in which the ways of life of society are structured around consumption in the market. The literature on the origins of consumer culture has shown that it is the result of the transition from traditional to modern societies and the subsequent rise of capitalism. Although this transition, and the constitution and consolidation of cultures of consumption, have varied across geographies and depend on social, political and economic conditions, consumer culture is the cultural model representative of today's western societies (Ritzer & Slater, 2001; Slater, 1997).

There are a series of features that characterise consumer culture, and in particular, the institutions, materiality and social practices that reproduce it. Don Slater explains that in consumer culture the institutions that regulate society have assumed a commercial character and operate through the market. This has resulted in the commercialisation of everyday life and its mediation by "economically motivated agents and systems, and the inequities of market-based distribution of wealth" (1997, p. 4).

Consequently, culture has taken the form of commodities whose qualities and characteristics are determined through commercial technologies of marketing, and are constantly changing according to fashion. The consumption of these commodities becomes crucial for cultural reproduction, for sustaining, evolving, defending, contesting, imagining or rejecting specific cultural meanings. In this context, as a result of the commercialisation of everyday life and the commodification of culture, individuals are formed and instructed as consumers (rather than as workers, citizens or devotees (Ritzer & Slater, 2001)), who should construct their social identities and enact their citizenship through commodity consumption in the marketplace (Bauman, 2005).

Despite the newness attributed sometimes to consumer culture, literature on the matter has revealed the long history of this cultural model. As mentioned before, Don Slater contends that there is a lack of historical perspective in most studies of the cultures of consumption, which has resulted in a constant rediscovery of the phenomenon every few decades. Consumer culture, he explains, "has been redesigned, repackaged and relaunched as a new academic or political product every generation since the sixteenth century"; in this process, he continues, neoliberalism constitutes its latest relaunch (1997, p. 1). Literature explaining the origins of consumer culture has followed two main approaches. The first one has emphasised production and explains consumer culture as the result of developments in the production of goods achieved through the Industrial Revolution. The second emphasises consumption, explaining consumer culture as a consequence of a consumer revolution generated by the increasing number of goods available to more social classes, the constitution of a fashion system, and the development of infrastructures and technologies of consumption (e.g. shops and marketing). Slater, however, proposes to articulate both approaches and understand consumer culture as the result of developments in production and consumption; more exactly, as the outcome of a "commercial revolution". He argues that commerce (the articulation of production and consumption) provided the images and concepts by which consumption was recognised, revalued and repositioned at the centre of modern culture (1997, p. 4). Although the conditions for this commercial revolution go back to the sixteenth century and its "birth" can be located in the late eighteenth century (McKendrick, Brewer, & Plumb, 1982), it is in the period from 1880 and 1930 that what we know today as consumer culture was born (R. W. Fox & Lears, 1983; Slater, 1997).

There is evidence suggesting the appearance of commercialised forms of nationalism during the "birth" of consumer culture in the eighteenth century that demonstrate the long history of the phenomenon. As mentioned above, authors such as T.H. Breen (2004) and Dana Frank (1999) have associated the social and political movement that led to the American Revolution in the third quarter of the eighteenth century with transformations in the Anglo-American marketplace. Breen, in particular, argues that it was the shared experience that colonists had as consumers in an "empire of goods" that provided them with cultural resources needed to identify themselves as members of an American national community (Breen, 2004). Other authors, such as Sarah Foster (1997) and Padhraig Higgins (2007) have shown something similar in the case of Ireland, associating the political and economic revolution that led to the independence of the country during the 1780s and 1790s with the rise of nationalist forms of consumption. For instance, Foster argues that embryonic "buy Irish" campaigns of the period (some of them inspired by the American example), sought to nationalise the emergent consumer culture, politicising "the choosing of goods; the colouring and decoration of clothing, glass and furniture. Although these campaigns did not have a dramatic economic or political

effect, they did help to "feed into a new Irish identity" and defined a new position of Ireland within the British Empire (Sarah Foster, 1997, pp. 44, 46-47).

The cases of the US and Ireland prove the long history of intersections between consumer culture and nationalism. But since a complete and general history of commercial nationalism is beyond the scope of this thesis, the approach taken here to narrows down the analytical framework to the period of time in which this research is focused on: the twentieth century and the new millennium. In doing so, the next paragraphs analyse these intersections at different moments in the history of consumer culture.

Historical approaches to the history of consumer culture agree that the 1920s was the first decade in which a generalised ideology of consumerism was promoted and proclaimed among western societies (Slater, 1997). This commercial revolution was facilitated by mass production systems on the one hand, and by commercial techniques of marketing and advertising on the other. Interestingly, the objective of these technologies was not only to sell commodities, but also to transform the public into consumers (Ewen, 1976). As Celia Lury (2011) explains, the Industrial Revolution was accompanied by another revolution in the realm of consumption. In order to avoid stagnation and guarantee that industrial goods were sold, it was necessary to infuse them with cultural values that would make them attractive to consumers. For instance, the production techniques implemented by Ford in the manufacturing of the Model T, which gave birth to the notion of Fordism, were "combined with persuasion to spend and included policies to stimulate demand through a combination of low prices, high wages, advertising and the lifting of regulation to make consumer credit more easily available" (2011, p. 85).

National culture was one of the ingredients used to create value around commodities. Commodities were differentiated by establishing relationships between them and the nation, their consumption and national identity. In her book *No Logo*, Naomi Klein (1999) explains how during the early 1920s "legendary adman Bruce Barton" used patriotic motifs in General Motors' advertising to transform its cars into a metaphor of the American family (1999, p. 23). Charles McGovern (2006) explains that some years later, during the Great Depression, Barton intensified this strategy in the radio campaign "The Parade of the States", a program that "fused nationalism, patriotic pride, and American history to sell automobile travel" across different states of the country. The weekly program, McGovern asserts, transformed General Motors products into "integral elements of American history and nationality" (2006, p. 227). At the same time that corporations incorporated nationalism in their advertisements, official organisations and governments began to use commercial technologies to advance their national projects, and in particular to increase demand for local products and overcome economic crises. Dana Frank relates how during the first years of the Great Depression a "Buy American" movement spread across the public and political parties, concluding with the signature of the "Buy American Act of 1933" by President Herbert Hoover (D. Frank, 1999).

Another commercial revolution took place during the 1950s and 1960s. This time it was characterised, especially in the US, by economic affluence and promises of prosperity, and by the consolidation of new forms of consumerism facilitated by an increase in leisure time that could be dedicated to consumption. In this period there was an intensification of marketing methods used by corporations to increase consumption of their products linking them to new ideals of modern wealth (Shapiro,

2004). Economic affluence and mass advertising gave shape to a new consumer culture that was manifested in urban and social developments, such as the suburban middle class, and in commercial objects (e.g. automobiles) and environments (e.g. supermarkets, shopping malls). As in the 1920s, marketing and advertising played an important role in the constitution of this culture of consumption. However, while in the 1920s advertisements offered mass-goods to an undifferentiated market, in the post-war period new promotional techniques invented "personalities" for commercial products in order to target specific consumer segments. Adam Arvidsson (2006) explains that by the 1960s, these developments led to the creation of the so-called "lifestyle advertising". In this new commercial context, products such as Marlboro and Coca-Cola emerged not merely as cigarettes or soft drinks, but as gates to social worlds and symbols of belonging to specific communities of consumers (2006, pp. 61-62). This commercial revolution started to displace work as a defining feature of society. With more leisure time for consumption rituals, these "lifestyle commodities" came to occupy a place in the "affluence society", constructing social identities through consumption choices (Bauman, 2005).

National identity is one component of the "lifestyles" that advertising has attached to particular products and patterns of consumption. Advertising has done this not just in a representational way – as in the case of pasta advertising representing the idea of "*Italianicity*" (Barthes, 1977) – but by prescribing the consumption of commodities as part of specific national ways of life. The mediation of nationhood through consumer practices is well exemplified by the experience of immigrants. Robert Foster (1999) explains the role of commercial technologies in the transformation of newcomers into national citizens. He uses the work of historian Andrew Heinze to explain how, in the early twentieth century, the experience of becoming American was mediated by consumer goods for Eastern European Jews. For these immigrants, Foster explains, "drinking Borden's condensed milk, cooking with Crisco vegetable shortening, bathing with Ivory soap were the most easily accessible elements of the process of nationalising themselves". Foster points out that a similar process occurred in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s, when the Federal Government produced promotional posters explaining to post-World War II immigrants the virtues of the Australian way of life. As illustrated by a recent exhibition of these posters, *Selling a Dream* (see: MacDonald, 1995), newcomers were instructed that "becoming Australian meant having a bounteous Christmas Day barbecue on the shores on Sydney Harbor, complete with two 'Eskys'" (R. J. Foster, 1999, p. 267).

A new commercial revolution, engendered by the economic and political reforms brought by neoliberalism, took place in the last decades of the twentieth century. David Harvey (2005) has explained that during the 1980s and 1990s governments from different continents (Europe, America, and Asia) implemented a series of economic and political reforms. These reforms were aimed at liberating markets from government control and letting them operate as independent entities regulated by the principles of supply and demand. Government withdrawal from markets followed mechanisms of deregulation and privatization and was based on the "responsibilisation" of individuals as independent market actors. Although many of these reforms were introduced to the public as processes of democratisation, authors such as Harvey (2005) and Thomas Frank (2000a) have shown that instead, neoliberalism facilitated the configuration of new economic elites and allowed them to control societies through the market, bringing about negative consequences for democracy. Here, however, my interest is not to emphasise this critique, but to use it as a platform to analyse the implications that the "free-market" has had for the commercial construction of nations.

Despite the long history of consumer culture, the changes brought by neoliberalism over the last decades have brought deep changes to the cultures of consumption. The removal of barriers to international trade and the suspension of incentives to national industries have enabled corporations to operate over multiple nations and forced national industries to expand their business to international markets. The cross-cultural flows facilitated by these reforms have fuelled the consolidation of a global consumer culture (Appadurai, 1990). Furthermore, the privatization of state assets has given control of public services to private companies, and the corporatisation of state agencies. These measures moved the provision of public services to the market and transformed services such as education, health, communications, and pensions into commodities, and citizens into consumers (T. Frank, 2000a).

The consolidation of a global consumer culture based on a free-market operating beyond the state did not mean the disappearance of the nation. As Harvey explains, the "neoliberal state" needs nationalism to survive in the new political and economic conditions, particularly for advancing its agendas in the market (Harvey, 2005, p. 85). In doing this, the state adopts a series of commercial technologies adapted by marketing gurus not just to sell products, but to mould the contours of societies and the perception of places (Kotler, 1972; Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993; Kotler & Zaltman, 1971). As a result, techniques such as "social marketing", "country-of-origin" and "place marketing" are integrated as new tools for governance. These technologies are utilised to sell ideas, policies, exports and tourist destinations. Nationalism is not only important for the state, since the rise of neoliberal nationalism also has become important for multinational corporations (James, 1983). In order to succeed in a global consumer culture, many companies have started to use nationalistic statements to equate their names with the nation, and implemented patriotic claims in their corporate discourse to show themselves as committed to national development. For instance, Robert Foster (2008) has shown how, as part of this process, Coca-Cola became entangled with national identities in Papua New Guinea, where drinking the soft drink is directly associated with being a Papua New Guinean.

Although it has a long history, commercial nationalism has become more prominent in the last two decades with the consolidation of neoliberalism. This new phase of commercial nationalism is characterised by the increasing incorporation of elements of consumer culture – such as corporate thinking, design, branding, marketing techniques, market research, and so on – in the cultural practices related to nation-making, national symbols, and national identities. The most visible manifestations of this process are related to the adoption of marketing as part of the machineries of governments, on the one hand, and the involvement of corporations in definitions of national identity on the other. It is in this context where the studies developed by Zala Volčič of commercialised forms of nationalism in television and nation-branding campaigns in the Balkans are of great significance.

The most significant point of Volčič's analysis is the way in which she and Mark Andrejevic have defined the phenomenon. While previous works have associated commercial nationalism with the use of nationalism in corporate advertising, Volčič and Andrejevic have expanded this scope by linking it to the use of marketing by governments. In particular, they have defined commercial nationalism as the result of a double logic: "on the one hand", they explain, "commercial entities sell nationalism as a means of winning ratings and profits, while on the other […] the state embraces some of the strategies of marketers" and "markets itself as a brand" (Volčič & Andrejevic, 2011, pp. 613-614). This double

move is important because it takes the study of commercial nationalism beyond the corporate realm and brings the apparatus of the state into the discussion of nationalism and consumer culture.

Volčič has explored the two sides of this logic by investigating Balkan television and analysing nation-branding efforts of different countries in the region. In one of the first works where Volčič explored the rise of commercial nationalism in Balkan television (Volčič, 2009), she defined the phenomenon as a "twofold process whereby politics is transposed into the realm of entertainment and entertainment comes to function politically". This overlapping, she argues, represents a shift in the forms in which nationalism is professed in the region; namely, a transition from the state propaganda of Soviet times to new models based on a combination of nationalist feelings and market imperatives. Alongside other authors, Volčič has also analysed the development of commercial forms of nationalism in reality television shows in the former Yugoslavia (Volčič & Andrejevic, 2010), as well as the adoption of hybrid models, based on nationalist motifs and commercial agendas, by Slovenian public broadcasters (Volčič & Zajc, 2013).

Volčič also has studied how governments in the region have adopted marketing techniques in order to create a distinctive brand identity. For instance, Volčič (2008) analyses the government websites of the "new" nation-states that emerged after the collapse of Yugoslavia. She explains how governments in these countries use commercial discourses to create a "brand image" for the nation, aiming to transform their geographies, histories and populations into commodities to be sold to investors and tourists. More recently, Volčič (2012), alongside Andrejevic (Volčič & Andrejevic, 2011), has used the notion of commercial nationalism to explore the nation-branding agendas of Slovenia, and in particular the campaign, "I feel Slovenia". Apart from explaining the background and development of this campaign, these studies have analysed the strategies used in nation-branding to mobilize national populations, inviting them to "live the brand", adopting the new identities crafted by branding consultants, and promoting the national brand nationally and internationally. The perspective developed by Volčič expands the analytical field of intersections between nationalism and consumer culture and enables the understanding of current phenomena revolving around nation and corporate branding as concrete manifestations of commercial nationalism.

As mentioned earlier, one of the recent manifestations of intersections between nationalism and consumer culture that has attracted scholarly attention is nation-branding, namely, the explicit incorporation of branding techniques by the state and other official institutions. As Nadia Kaneva (2011b) asserts in her review of the nation-branding literature, this phenomenon is characterised by the adoption of marketing principles to advance the economic, political and cultural agendas of governments. In the last decade, as Melissa Aronczyk (2013) asserts, nation-states from all around the world have transformed national identity into a global business, adopting nation-branding not only to attract tourists and investors, but also to manage their domestic and international relations. A growing body of scholarship has shown that nation-branding is becoming an important device for the production and reproduction of national identities in a diverse list of countries that includes post-Soviet nations (Kaneva, 2011c), Australia (Khamis, 2012), New Zealand (C. Bell, 2005/6) and Colombia (Sanín, 2010), just to name a few. The transformation of the nation-state into a brand has redefined the construction of the nation as a matter of design (Jansen, 2008), and this has generated a new symbolic repertoire of "the nation" comprised of logos, jingles, celebrities and, more recently, of user-generated content, as the fourth chapter will show. In addition, the populations of countries around

the world have been encouraged to "live the brand" by behaving as responsible "brand ambassadors" (Aronczyk, 2008).

Simultaneously with the transformation of the nation-state into a brand, another characteristic of the current phase of commercial nationalism is the transformation of corporations into cultural institutions able to provide resources for the construction of national identities. In the last decade, a number of authors have analysed the rise of branding and the work of brands as providers of resources for individual and collective identification (Arvidsson, 2006; Lury, 2004; Moor, 2007). In many cases, the identities offered by brands are disconnected from national contexts. In *No Logo*, for example, Naomi Klein argues that transnational brands such as Diesel are creating identities in which the sense of "us" implied in nationality is being replaced by what Klein calls a "third nationality" in which global and local cultures are unified through shopping habits and consumption choices (Klein, 1999, pp. 110-111). However, it is also true that many brands have drawn on national cultures to link themselves to the nation in order to work as referents for the construction of national identities. In Australia, as the work of John Sinclair (2008) on branding has shown, different brands have become symbols of national belonging, with their consumption an important part of what it means to be Australian, even if their trademarks are now the property of foreign companies.

The consumer culture that has been emerging in the context of neoliberalism has affected not only the construction of national identities, but is also transforming processes of citizen participation. In *One Market under God*, Thomas Frank explains how the rise of neoliberalism rendered the market as a democratic system able to express the popular will of "the people" through mechanisms of supply and demand. Although consumption has had a political character since the early days of consumer culture (Breen, 2004), the central role of the market in neoliberal times has increased the political dimension of consumerism. Firstly, neoliberalism has moved the advancement of social causes to the marketplace, creating an emergent "causumer culture" in which social problems from poverty to aids can be supposedly solved through shopping decisions (Richey & Ponte, 2011; Sarna-Wojcicki, 2008). Secondly, neoliberalism has moulded new forms of participation focused on advancing these causes through diverse forms of "unselfish" (Peattie, 2012) or ethical consumerism, in which consumers are empowered as citizens who can vote with their dollar (Gabriel & Lang, 2005, 2006). These new dimensions of consumer culture have received considerable attention from scholars (e.g. Binkley & Littler, 2011; Lewis & Potter, 2011; Littler, 2009) and dominate current discussions on the matter (e.g. *Journal of Consumer Culture*). Since a complete revision of this literature is beyond the scope of this thesis, I focus on the implications that these new forms of consumerism have for exercising citizenship.

The notion of consumer-citizenship is useful to understand civic forms of citizen participation through consumption. The notion of consumer-citizenship has been associated with the construction of national identities through consumption practices. But since the rise of neoliberalism, consumer-citizenship has acquired a new meaning. For instance, Sarah Banet-Weiser and Charlotte Lapsansky (2008) have recently used the term to describe a condition specific to neoliberalism, in which not only the construction of identities, but "all forms of political, social, and civic participation" are mediated through consumerism (2008, p. 1249). This neoliberal form of consumer-citizenship has prompted new forms of activism mediated through commodity consumption. Roopali Mukherjee and Sarah-Banet Weiser (2012) call these forms of civic action "commodity activism" and explain them as a

paradoxical phenomenon in which philanthropy and social action are attached to merchandising, market incentives and corporate profits (2012). These forms of consumer-citizenship are becoming visible in current manifestations of commercial nationalism. In the case of Australia, as Part Three will show, the principles of consumer-citizenship are being integrated in the corporate campaigns of supermarkets and nation-branding campaigns of the government, where the involvement of citizens in the advancements of national causes is mediated not only through commodity consumption, but also through the generation of content in social media networks.

From this perspective, it could be argued that this new phase of commercial nationalism is not only about the use of national cultures for commercial purposes, but about a transformation in the historical construction of nations. Melissa Aronczyk and Devon Powers (2010) argue that the current expansion of branding to many areas of social life and the adoption of marketing by a range of organisations is not only about the "marketization and commodification of everyday life", but even more it is both "symptom and cause of a series of shifts in how social relations, subject positions, and political programs are organised governed, and articulated" (Aronczyk & Powers, 2010, p. 3). Commercial nationalism represents a shift in the actors involved and the processes related to nation-making, in the things used to make the nation tangible and enable its imagination in everyday life, and in the social dynamics by which people experience the nation and construct their identity as national subjects.

The chapters of this thesis show how this shift has taken place in the historical construction of Australia. They demonstrate that commercial nationalism is a complex phenomenon, in which categories that have traditionally been considered as opposed to each other: government-corporation, official-popular, citizenship-consumerism, are progressively integrated. As commercial nationalism is placed in historical perspective, it becomes clear that these intersections have evolved to a point where it is sometimes difficult to differentiate the elements that are being combined. At the same time, I analyse the commercial dimensions of Australian nationalism since the foundation of the Commonwealth of Australia, and in particular since the constitution of a consumer culture in the country around the 1920s (Crawford et al., 2010). Furthermore, the chapters follow the development and evolution of commercial nationalism throughout the twentieth century, paying attention to the adoption of nationalism in the agendas of corporations and taking seriously the incorporation of marketing as part of governmental mechanisms. Since commercial nationalism has become more intensive and extensive with the consolidation of neoliberal culture, there is an emphasis on the contemporary manifestations of this phenomenon, with two of the four chapters looking at concrete forms of commercial nationalism in the supermarket and on the World Wide Web. It is precisely in these places that the shifts generated by commercial nationalism in the construction of the nation become more visible and paradoxical, requiring us to be critical about them.

Studying Commercial Nationalism

As mentioned earlier, this thesis approaches commercial nationalism as a historical phenomenon related to the construction of the nation in the market. It traces the incorporation of commercial ideologies and technologies in the construction of nations: in the nation-making process, in the creation of national symbols, and the construction of national identities. I have also explained that the thesis aims to show that commercialised forms of nationalism have played a crucial role in the

construction of Australianness since Australia was declared as a new nation, by facilitating synergies between public institutions and commercial organisations in nation-making processes, creating commodified versions of national symbols, and mediating the construction of national identities through consumption practices. This section explains the theoretical framework used to operationalize this approach to commercial nationalism, identifying a series of questions used to guide the research process, and methodological strategies implemented to study the historical development of commercial nationalism in Australia.

Theoretical Framework: the nation as a cultural artefact, nationalism as a cultural practice

It is clear that the nation is, in part, an "imagined community" (Anderson, 2006), a social construction that rests in the minds of those convinced that it exists (Seton-Watson, 1965). However, this does not mean the nation is an immaterial entity or an ethereal thing; it is a concrete cultural artefact. Approaching the nation in this way treats nationalism as a set of cultural practices revolving around the production and regulation of the nation, the creation of symbols to represent it, and the use or consumption of those representations to construct national identities. Using this perspective, I understand commercial nationalism as the manifestation of these practices in the marketplace and the media, with their perpetuation relying on the resources available in consumer culture.

This study brings theories on nationalism into dialogue with models for "doing cultural studies". In particular, my framework articulates three dimensions of nationalism—nation-making, national symbols, and national identities with the "the circuit of culture". This circuit is a model developed by Paul du Gay, Stuart Hall and other authors in a series of books called *Culture, Media and Identity*, and is proposed as a tool for studying cultural artefacts (Du Gay, 1997; Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay, & Negus, 1997; Hall, 1997b; Mackay, 1997b; Thompson, 1997b; Woodward, 1997b). In what follows, I explain first, the relationship of nation-making, national symbols and national identities with national culture, and then how these three dimensions of the construction of the nation can be articulated with "the circuit of culture".

From a cultural perspective, nation-making can be understood as the construction of a national culture. This understanding of the term draws on the work of Robert Foster (1995) who differentiates nation-making from nation-building. The latter refers to the construction of nation-states and bureaucratic institutions as part of the institutionalisation and legitimation of the nation. The former is associated with the production of national cultures, more exactly with the attempts of different actors – elites and non-elites – to produce a series of devices able to turn space into national territory, time into national history and people into national subjects. National cultures, explains John Fox (1990), are not rigid or stable structures, but malleable and mobile social constructions. He asserts that national cultures are the product of "nationalist ideologies", of particular preconceptions about "the nation" based on ethnicity, civic values or religious convictions. As these ideologies change, what is considered "national" changes, and consequently the nation is made and re-made.

National symbols are the devices that make the nation tangible. In Stuart Hall's words, they are the systems of cultural representation that construct the *idea* of the nation or that represent national culture (1992, p. 292). It is important to restate two points in relation to representations of national culture. The first is that these systems of representation are constituted not only by official symbols of

the state, but by things considered quotidian and mundane such as tourist guides, opinion polls and souvenir shops. The second is the fact that these symbols are not things that reflect or exemplify the true essence of a "real" Australia hidden somewhere and waiting to be discovered (R. White, 1981). On the contrary, these symbols "invent" a true essence for the nation and mediate national culture through things. National symbols, in other words, are the material culture that enables the imagination of the nation and the kind of things used by nation-makers to convince people that the nation exists.

Finally, national identities can be understood as the type of social identities that are constructed using or consuming national culture. As theorists of nationalism have explained, national identities are based on a differentiation between "us" and "them" and their construction – the process of becoming part of "us" – can take place when participating in the cultural rituals of invented traditions, institutions of power, and in the everyday practices of banal nationalism. Stuart Hall reminds us that "national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation" (Hall, 1992, p. 292). This means that, as with the idea of "the nation", national identities are not stable categories but changing social constructions that mutate according to the "nationalist ideologies" and the material cultures that give shape to the nation. Taking this perspective into account, it is better to understand national identities, as Hall suggests, as a process of "identification" with the elements that represent national culture (Hall, 1996, p. 2). This identification is usually expressed assuming the "way of life" that is prescribed by national culture, and participating in a series of practices required to become or be considered a "national subject".

In order to approach the commercial construction of Australianness from a cultural perspective, this study proposes to articulate nation-making, national symbols and national identities with "the circuit of culture". The scholars who developed this circuit argue that we should look at five major cultural processes or "moments" when studying the "story" of any cultural artefact: production, regulation, representation, consumption and identity (Figure 0.10). The moment of production makes reference to the organisational culture behind the production of the artefact, which is known as the "cultures of production"; and also to the technical processes involved in making it, which is known as the "production of culture" (Du Gay, 1997). The regulation of an artefact alludes to the processes involved in the organisation and control of its meanings, and to the use of the artefact to govern social life through rules, norms and conventions (Du Gay, 1997; Thompson, 1997a). The moment of representation involves the use of discourses to make the meanings of an artefact tangible for others, as well as the forms that these discourses take in order to be disseminated (Du Gay et al., 1997; Hall, 1997a). Consumption can be considered as the moment when an artefact is articulated into everyday life and put in practice by people (Mackay, 1997a). This process is not seen as a passive activity, but as a "creative work" by which the artefact is appropriated and its cultural meanings reproduced (Miller, 1997). Finally, the moment of identity makes reference to the identities that are constructed around a cultural artefact either by its producers when they represent their "ideal" consumers or by "real" consumers when they appropriate the artefact in everyday life (Du Gay et al., 1997; Woodward, 1997a).
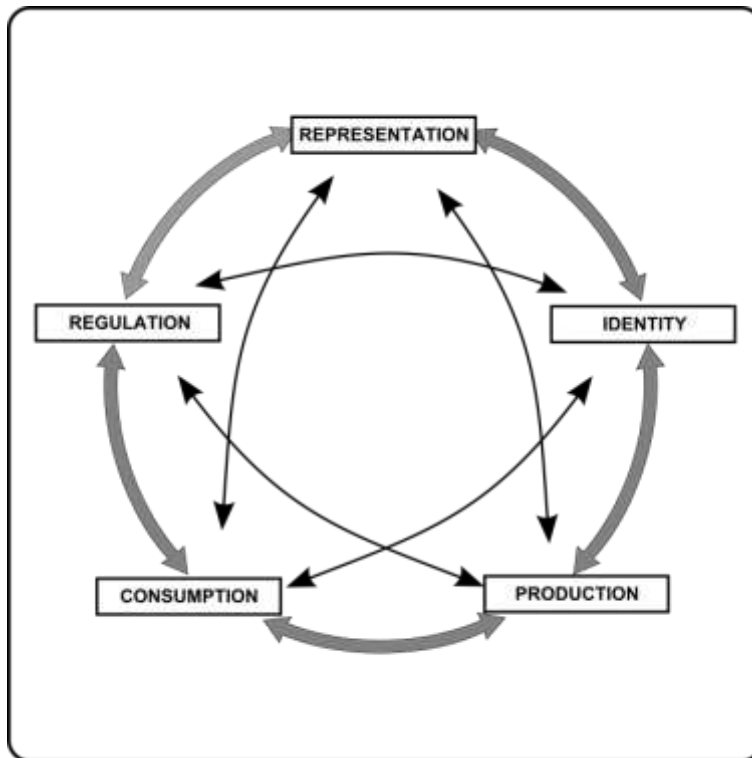
Figure 0.10 "The circuit of culture". This circuit was proposed in the book series *Culture, Media and Identity*.

In studying the construction of the nation from a cultural perspective, I propose to articulate the three processes involved in the construction of nations with the five moments of the circuit of culture (Figure 0.11). In doing so, I associate nation-making with the production and regulation of national culture; the creation of national symbols with the representation of the nation; and the construction of national identities with processes of consumption and identification around national culture. The development of this framework is useful for clarifying what should be looked at while researching the commercial construction of Australianness. In particular, to define the manifestations of commercial nationalism in the history of Australia, and identifying how consumer culture and nationalism have intersected in the construction of Australianness.

In terms of nation-making, it is necessary to identify how commercial ideologies and guidelines have been implemented in the production and regulation of national culture. This means paying attention to the "cultures of production" behind the nation-making process, identifying how official institutions such as government agencies have adopted "corporate cultures" to advance their nationalist projects, and how corporations have adopted "nationalist ideologies" and become involved in definitions of national culture. The analysis of these cultures of production also entails appreciation of how government and corporations work together in the production and regulation of the nation through "synergies" (Negus, 1997) facilitated by partnerships that blur differences between public and private enterprises. Analysing the implications of commercial nationalism for nation-making also entails paying attention to the use of commercial technologies in the processes involved in the "production of culture" and to identify new forms of marketing and promotion based on the use of nationalism for commercial purposes.

In terms of national symbols, it is important to recognise how the implementation of commercial technologies as part of nation-making affects the representation of the nation. In particular, it is

important to detect how commercial technologies such as design, advertising and branding – what Lofgren (2003) calls technologies of imagineering – are used to make the nation tangible in everyday life. There is a "double process" here, by which these commercial technologies operate, commodifying national symbols on the one hand, and institutionalising commodities as symbols of the nation on the other. There are other symbols that should be considered for analysing the representation of national culture. Since theories of nationalism have explained that the most important elements to define the nation are its territory, its past and its community (A. D. Smith, 1991), my analysis also pays attention to the imaginaries of national geography, history and society that are created through design, advertising and branding.
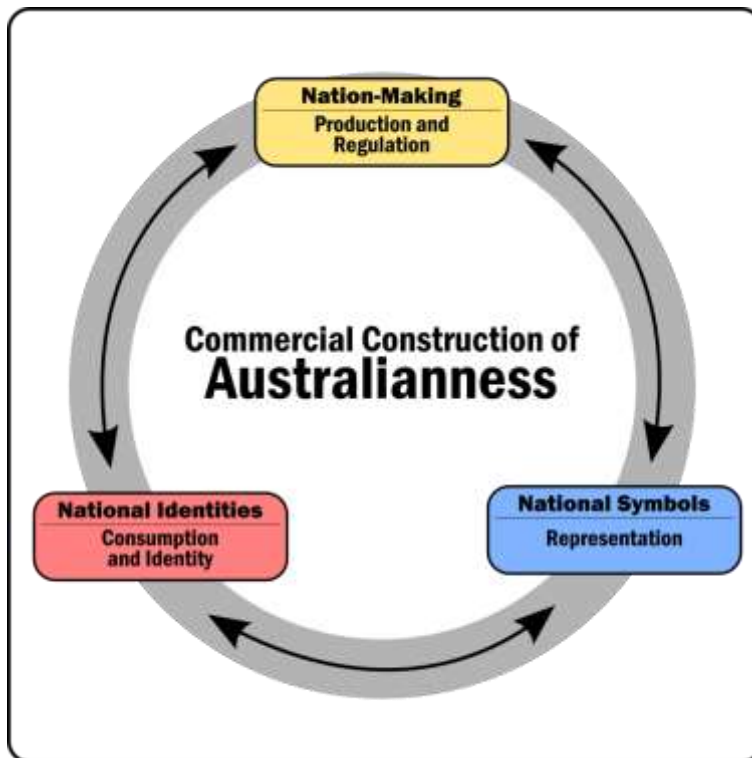
Figure 0.11 Model proposed for studying the commercial construction of Australianness from a cultural perspective.

In terms of national identities, I examine how the processes of national identification through consumption of national culture have been moved to the marketplace and the media, where they are mediated through consumerism. I identify the process by which citizens are transformed into consumers, as well as the shopping practices, preferences and choices that have been associated with becoming a national subject, and more exactly with being Australian. Apart from these shopping practices, commercial nationalism opens platforms for citizen participation in the complex set of environments, artefacts and messages of the global marketplaces, in the realm of what Banet-Weiser (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008) calls "brand culture". She argues that "brand culture" has permeated consumer habits including all forms of political, civic and social interaction, generating an ambience where participation is taking the form of brand loyalty and affiliation. In this sense, it is important to identify how citizens are being called not only to buy specific "national" commodities to reaffirm their national identity, but also the ways in which their involvement in national causes and definitions of nationhood are mediated through consumption practices, including "creative consumption" in the media.

Methodological framework: contexts, cases and units of analysis for studying commercial nationalism

The methodological framework used in this study is based on case study research (Flyvbjerg, 2001, 2011; Yin, 2009). This methodology is based on the premise that a rigorous study of a concrete manifestation of a phenomenon can lead to a general understanding of it, allowing the development of theories and propositions. This means that case study research contributes to the production of general theoretical knowledge through the study of particular cases. In this research this methodology is used to produce general knowledge about the historical development of the commercial construction of Australianness, studying particular manifestations of commercial nationalism in Australia's history.

Case study research is defined as intensive study that focuses on concrete cases through the analysis of one or more individual units. The main characteristic of this methodology is that it stresses the relation of the cases to their context, rather than considering the cases as isolated or independent entities. This definition suggests that there are three main elements that should be identified when doing case study research: the "context" in which the case is situated, the "case" itself and the "units of analysis" from which the case will be approached (Figure 0.12). The context of a case study is the spatial and temporal background of the case. Attention to context reminds us that case studies are not independent entities and that social, political, economic or other circumstances affect and mould them. A case study makes reference to an empirical phenomenon occurring in a context, and although the relationship between context and case is reciprocal, the case should be concrete and easily identifiable. Finally, the units of analysis are specific entities through which the case is approached. These units can be individuals, organisations, artefacts, events or any other entity that can be empirically investigated.
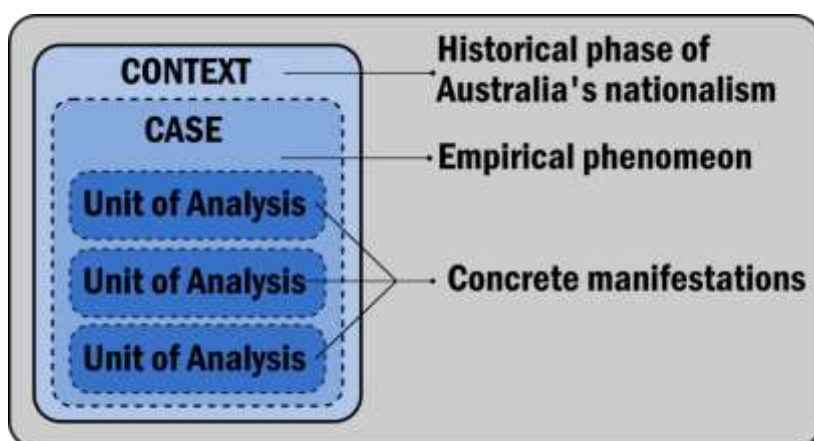
Figure 0.12 Definitions of contexts, cases and units of analysis according to the research questions of the thesis.

The methodological framework for this thesis has two objectives. Since one of the research questions revolves around the role of commercial nationalism in the historical construction of Australianness, the first aim is to identify historical "contexts" for the analysis of commercial nationalism in relation to milestones or significant events in the evolution of Australian nationalism. The second objective of this framework is to define specific "cases" and "units of analysis" that allow me to implement the

theoretical framework that I have developed, studying the implications of commercial nationalism in each "context".

In identifying major moments in the history of Australian nationalism, I draw on the work of scholars looking at different aspects of Australian national identity. This exploration includes iconic works of Richard White (1981) and Graeme Turner (1994) and recent studies conducted by James Curran and Stuart Ward (Curran, 2002, 2006; Curran & Ward, 2010; Ward, 2001) and Russell McGregor (2006). It also includes scholarship interested in issues revolving around the construction of identities in a globalised world such as Manuel Castells (2010), James Shortridge (1996) and Steven Schnell (Schnell, 2007, 2011, 2013). On the basis of this literature, I define three historical contexts to study the manifestations of commercial nationalism throughout the history of Australia.

The first context corresponds to the first half of the twentieth century, when "Britishness was the dominant cultural myth of Australia" (Meaney, 2001 quoted by Curran 2002), with this connection to Britain shaping a British-Australian nationalism (McGregor, 2006). The second context corresponds to the second half of the century, a period when Australian national identity was detached from Britain, and the country went through its biggest cultural makeover (Curran & Ward, 2010). This reinvention was based on the cultural diversity brought by post-War immigrants and advanced in the corporate advertising of corporations elevated as cultural institutions (Turner, 1994). The third and final context corresponds to a form of nationalism that has emerged since the 1990s when Australia – as with many other countries – started to redefine its national identity on the basis of "the local" (Castells, 1997). This phenomenon came to be known in the field of cultural geography as "neo-localism" and is characterised by the quest for local attachment in reaction to negative effects of globalisation (Schnell, 2013). These contexts structure the three parts of this thesis, and correspond to three moments in the history of commercial nationalism in Australia. The characteristics of these historical periods are explained in detail at the beginning of each part of the thesis.

For each of these contexts, I selected specific "cases" and "units of analysis" that would allow me to study the manifestations of commercial nationalism during each period (Figure 0.13). At the beginning, this was done through an empirical process that took me to the archives of the State Library of Victoria, the State Library of New South Wales and the Rare Book Collections of universities and cultural organisations, where I explored collections of newspapers, magazines and ephemera searching for concrete manifestations of commercial nationalism during the twentieth century. Selecting these cases also took me to sites of empirical investigation – to supermarkets, the internet and television – where I searched for contemporary manifestations of the phenomenon.

Four case studies have been chosen. The case chosen for analysing the commercial dimension of the British-Australian nationalism is the "buy Australian-made" campaigns of the early twentieth century, and the notion of "practical patriotism" that was used in many of these campaigns to convince Australians that their shopping decisions had repercussions not only for their country, but for the welfare of the empire. Buy Australian-made campaigns played an important role in the advancement of economic and nationalist agendas during the first years after Federation. After studying some of these campaigns, I chose "The Great White Exhibition Train", an under examined buy Australian-made campaign that ran in New South Wales during the 1920s.

THE COMMERCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF AUSTRALIANNESS

BRITISH-AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM

Buy Australian-Made campaigns

COMING! THE GREAT WHITE TRAIN
WONDERFUL DISPLAY

The Great White Exhibition Train

AUSTRALIA'S CULTURAL MAKEOVER

Bread Spread and nationalism

Marmite   Vegemite   OzEmite

NEO - LOCALISM

Patriotic campaigns of supermarkets

Woolworths
Australia's fresh food people

HELPING AUSTRALIA GROW

Woolworths   Coles

Crowdsoursing nation-branding campaigns

There's Nothing Like Australia

Figure 0.13 Case studies and framework proposed for studying the commercial construction of Australianness from a historical perspective.

Following the guidelines defined in the theoretical framework for studying commercial nationalism, this case study examines the role of the buy Australian-made campaign in the nation-making process, in the creation of national symbols, and the definition of national identities. Taking into account the temporal situation of this case and the nature of the materials available for studying it — mainly newspapers and ephemera materials produced as part of the campaign — a cultural history of the Great White Exhibition Train was completed. My aim was to understand not only the commercial character of this initiative, but how this and other buy Australian-made campaigns reflect the economic, social and political conditions of their times.

For the next case, corresponding to the second half of the century, I use yeast extract bread spreads to show the role of brands such as Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite in the construction of Australian national identity, something that I call "bread spread nationalism". In particular, these three spreads are shown to reflect the process by which Australia became detached from Britain after World War II, how it reinvented its identity from the 1960s to the 1990s, and how the role of multinational corporations in shaping that identity has been challenged in the last decade.

In this case study, I analyse the symbolic character of these spreads, and how they have been used to produce and regulate specific meanings about Australianness and definitions of what it means to be Australian. This case study draws on guidelines of material culture studies, and in particular, on the metaphorical idea that things, including brands, have a social life that can be studied biographically (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986; Sinclair, 2008), following them as they move from one state to another. To map out the cultural biography of these spreads, I use ephemera and archival materials from different libraries and universities, as well as corporate documents, trademarks and samples of products. The biography of these spreads is focused on specific moments during their social life that reflect the transitions experienced as part of the reinvention of Australian national identity in the second half of the twentieth century.

The third and final period corresponds to contemporary times and is associated with the notion of "neo-localism" (Schnell, 2013; Shortridge, 1996). This period demands significant attention and considerable development for specific reasons. Firstly, as explained earlier, the thesis demonstrates that commercial nationalism has a long history. But its intensive and extensive character in the present day makes the phenomenon complex and tricky to explain. Secondly, the ways in which "neo-localism" is shown are sometimes paradoxical and even contradictory, particularly when manifest online and through digital media. For these reasons, this part of the thesis presents two case studies.

Commercial forms of neo-localism are manifest in two forms. The first involves the protection of "the local" from foreign and corporate influences and its transformation into commodities for domestic consumption. The second involves the use of the local as an economic asset and its transformation into commodities and experiences that are sold to foreign audiences. These dynamics are evident in the patriotic campaigns of Australian supermarkets, and in particular of Woolworths and Coles; as well as in the nation-branding campaigns used to promote Australia, especially in terms of tourism.

I extend these ideas in two ways. First, I present the notion of "supermarket patriotism" to explain how in the campaigns "Australia's Fresh Food People" and "Helping Australia Grow", Woolworths and Coles assume a series of local causes related to national development as part of their corporate responsibility. Second, I propose the term "social media populism" to examine how the involvement of citizens as co-creators or "crowdsourcers" of the nation-branding campaign, "There's nothing like Australia". This campaign was presented by official organisations and media outlets as a form of citizen empowerment and democratisation targeted at creating a more "authentic" image of Australia.

In the case study on "supermarket patriotism", I study how Woolworths and Coles assume the role of national institutions and become involved in nation-making. I also analyse how they transform their stores into sites for citizen participation in national development, and identify some of the national imaginaries that supermarkets create through new forms of food promotion based on the commercial

exploitation of "the local". This is achieved through fieldwork in different supermarkets in Victoria and analysis of different types of materials, including corporate documents, media statements, news coverage, in-house magazines, weekly catalogues, food labels, packaging and geo-locative digital applications.

In the case of "social media populism", I examine the campaign "There's nothing like Australia". This was used by Tourism Australia to produce and regulate a commercial image of the country in which local citizens, rather than professional advertisers, were involved in the co-creation of its promotional materials, sharing pictures of their vacations in Australia through social media networks. As part of this case study, I analyse the crowdsourcing strategy implemented by Tourism Australia to appropriate the "creative" work of citizens, transforming their holiday pictures into promotional materials used to sell Australia as a holiday experience. This involves the use of methods from visual studies to look at the imaginaries of national geography, history and society created by Tourism Australia via the more than 30,000 photographs sent by Australians during the campaign. I draw upon corporate reports of Tourism Australia, promotional materials from this and previous campaigns, media releases and news coverage of the "There's nothing like Australia" campaign, and a sample of 350 holiday pictures taken by Australian citizens.

The thesis concludes by summarising its contents and discussing the historical implications of commercial nationalism in nation-making, national symbols, and national identities. It argues that the most visible implications of this phenomenon have to do with the historical integration of elements of nationalism and consumer culture and with a series of shifts in the actors, things and platforms involved in the construction of Australianness.

PART ONE

Part One looks at commercial nationalism in Australia during the first half of the twentieth century, a period when Australian nationalism was defined and characterised by a strong connection with Britain. Although nationalist feelings had started to surge since the nineteenth century, the history of Australian nationalism starts officially in 1901, when the six British Colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland and Tasmania became federated to create the Commonwealth of Australia. The objective of the nationalist project behind Federation was not to make of Australia a country completely independent or absolutely different from Britain. Rather, it was based on the conviction that Australia should be a new nation within the Empire.

This nationalist project shaped a distinctive form of nationalism that combined influences from and allegiances to Australia and Britain. Neville Meaney (2001) argues that during this period "Britishness was the dominant cultural myth of Australia", and that in oaths of loyalty in public schools, in history curricula, in national days and public occasions, Australians thought of themselves as British people (2001, pp. 79-80). A similar point is made by James Curran and Stuart Ward (2010) when they explain that the notion of Britishness was not "the exclusive preserve of the inhabitants of Great Britain". Instead it was a "popular feeling" spread across "a dispersed yet remarkably cohesive imperial community" (2010, p. 29). Drawing on the work of Meaney and Curran and Ward, Russell McGregor (2006) asserts that Britishness provided Australia "an ethnic core into which were infused civic/territorial elements to produce a nationalism that was distinctively Australian while simultaneously and fervently British" (2006, p. 494). This combination produced a British-Australian nationalism, a specific form of nationalism in which the enthusiasm of making Australia a new nation was combined with a loyalty to Britain and the Empire.

The combination of British imperialism and Australian nationalism was present in almost every aspect of the new nation. Stuart Ward (2001) explains that this twofold framework prescribed "assumptions about Anglo-Australian community of identity" and influenced "virtually every sphere" of Australian civic culture. After Federation, for example, Australia had its own constitution, but as a constitutional monarchy, the Queen (represented by the General Governor), continued as the head of state. Furthermore, the emblems chosen to represent Australia were for many years the same as Britain. For instance, although Australia got its own flag as part of Federation, the Union Jack was used until the mid-1950s in official ceremonies, public buildings and schools to represent the nation (Kwan, 2006). In terms of population, most Australians had British ancestry. Measures such as the White Australia Policy and immigration campaigns, saw British immigrants represent more than fifty percent of the population up to the 1950s (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001). In terms of economy, both countries offered trade preferences to the other, and their common interests were reflected in high levels of Australian exports – especially raw materials – being sold to Britain, as well as preferential tariffs applied to British imports, most of them manufactured products (Ward, 2001).

The characteristics of British-Australian nationalism have been analysed extensively by scholars. Yet, the commercial dimension of this composite nationalism and the way it evolved, emerged and was consolidated during the first half of the century has remained overlooked. As I have mentioned in the

Introduction, the newness that scholars and commentators attribute to commercial forms of nationalism is somewhat misleading. While it is true that relationships between consumer culture and nationalism have increased in recent decades, this does not mean that commercial nationalism did not exist in the early twentieth century.

I argue that commercial nationalism played an important role in the advancement of the British-Australian agenda. There is evidence that since the early days of the Commonwealth, Federal Governments implemented marketing and advertising techniques to advance their projects. Some examples of these early forms of commercial nationalism during the first half of the century are the adoption of advertising techniques for "selling" the country as a destination to potential immigrants from Britain (Young, 2007), the creation of the Australian National Travel Association to promote tourism in overseas markets in the 1920s (Tourist Trade, 1929), and the formalization of government advertising agencies such as the Commonwealth Department of Information and the Commonwealth Advertising Division during World War II (Crawford, 2002). Commercial companies also used nationalism to create added value for their products. Advertisements of iconic products of the time such as Bovril and Marmite (see Chapter Two) emphasised their British origins and manufacture. Furthermore, as Robert Crawford (2008) explains, many forms of patriotic advertising were developed in the first half of the twentieth century, especially during wars. Reflecting the principles of British-Australian nationalism, the commercial nationalism of this period makes evident a fervent loyalty to Britain, and simultaneously, a commitment to Australia and its development as a British nation. Overall, during peacetime and war, the marketplace offered commercial resources by which Australians could imagine themselves as British subjects.

The chapter that constitutes this part of the thesis analyses a manifestation of this early forms of commercial nationalism through a case study of the "buy Australian-made" campaigns developed in the decades after Federation. As discussed in the Introduction, since the constitution of modern nations has always being linked to capitalism and processes of industrialization, the constitution of a "home market" receptive to locally manufactured commodities has been crucial for the construction of the nation. In order to shape this market, governments and other organisations have developed educational and promotional campaigns aimed at attributing national properties to commodities and at inculcating nationalist preferences in consumers. The following chapter shows how the notion of "practical patriotism" was used by independent organisations and governments to consolidate this home market, and to convince citizens that their shopping decisions made an impact in the development of Australia as a nation within the British Empire.

1. PRACTICAL PATRIOTISM[3]

On 26 October 1929, *The Sydney Morning Herald* published an article reporting the "spectacular decline" that had been experienced on the Wall Street stock market during the previous days. The article, titled "New York Panic", informed readers that on 24 October "400,000,000 dollar worth of paper profits were wiped out in less than three hours trading", and with the crisis reaching markets in Chicago, Philadelphia and San Francisco (New York Panic, 1929). In early December, *The Argus* published an article explaining how the "Depression" was affecting the motor-car and clothing industry. The report presented a testimonial of Mr Henry Ford where the entrepreneur argued that the causes of the crisis had been a decline in general businesses. The decline had been reflected in a heavy cancellation of orders for "motor cars" and consequently The Ford Motor Company had been forced "to close many plants and to dismiss thousands of men" (Depression in U.S.A, 1929). The article suggested that the reactivation of business, especially in the sector of "semi-luxury" items, would be the first movement towards economic recovery.

By early December, it was evident that the financial crisis would have negative effects on the Australian economy. When Prime Minister James Scullin gave the Christmas message for that year, he addressed the problem and encouraged citizens to collaborate in solving the crisis (Mr. Scullin's Advice, 1929). Interestingly, Scullin did not call on Australians to reduce their expenses by saving money or making sacrifices on Christmas luxuries. Curiously, what Scullin demanded from Australians was to exercise their "practical patriotism". What the Prime Minister was asking from citizens using this term was to "buy Australian" and more exactly "to purchase Australian-made Christmas gifts" instead of imported ones. "We are suffering at present from an adverse trade balance", he explained, "that is to say our imports exceed our exports". Changing this balance was seen as the solution for unemployment and a declining economy. His message rendered practical patriotism as a commitment to Australia's development, which meant that shopping patriotically was the best way in which citizens could participate in rescuing Australia from the crisis.

The notion of practical patriotism is useful for understanding the role of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australian identity in the early twentieth century, shedding light on the role that Australian citizens have played as consumers in the commercial construction of the nation. For example, following Scullin invocation of practical patriotism of Australians, academics from the University of Melbourne started to report a rapid recovery (Copland, 1934). This chapter explores the years previous to Scullin's Christmas message and enquires into the origins and development of the notion of practical patriotism and the practices associated to it. In particular, it presents the results of a case study of the "Great White Exhibition Train", one of the "buy Australian-made" campaigns that sought to inculcate the principles of practical patriotism in Australians. Based on this case study, the chapter argues that practical patriotism and the campaigns that promoted it played an important role

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[3] An earlier version of this chapter was presented in the 24th Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism (ASEN): Nationalism and Belonging, held in the London School of Economics in April 2014. I thank to participants and attendants to the panel "Belonging and the Marketplace" for their insightful comments and recommendations.

in the commercial construction of the nation during the years after Federation and in the context of British Australian nationalism.

Buy local campaigns

The use of nationalist motifs to persuade citizens to shop patriotically is often mistakenly considered as something exclusive of neoliberal times. In 2001, the world shuddered when in the wake of 9/11 the president of the US, George Bush, did not call Americans to sacrifice by going to the battlefield, but urged them to go to the marketplace and do some shopping. Traditional distinctions between being a citizen and being a consumer appeared to dissolve, as if the duties and rights of citizens were best exercised in the marketplace as consumers. However, as the example of Scullin makes clear, Bush was not the first head of state directing the population to the checkout. Indeed, the call to shop in the name of the nation seems to be a common strategy implemented by presidents and prime ministers to enlist citizens in nationalist projects. A long standing and common strategy for doing this, has been "buy local" campaigns, advertising strategies that encourage citizens to buy goods manufactured in their country as a form of participation in national development.

Buy local campaigns are not just advertising strategies aimed at increasing profits, but important devices in the construction of the nation. As explained earlier, there is evidence of the significant role that buy local campaigns had in the constitution of nations and national identities. Foster (1997) and Higgins (2007) have explored embryonic "Buy Irish" campaigns during the 1780s and 1790s in Ireland, showing how patriotism and consumerism were conflated and how choosing some local goods (dresses for women, alcohol for men) acquired political connotations in relation to trade restrictions imposed by Britain. These authors argue that although these campaigns did not have a dramatic economic impact, they were useful for shaping a new Irish identity and a patriotic market towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the case of the US, Frank (1999) has made a comprehensive review of "Buy American" campaigns from the late eighteenth century until the late 1990s. Assessing the importance of these campaigns in the formation of the country, Frank argues that the Boston Tea Party – the political protest that led Americans to the war of independence – was in part a buy local campaign that, as in Ireland, rejected British imposition of products in favour of a domestic economy and built the basis for an American identity. Buy local campaigns are not exclusive to the "West". They have also played a significant role in the advancement of Asian national identities. Gerth's (2003) comprehensive study on consumer nationalism in China during the early twentieth century explains how, in response to Japan's abuses against China, "the national product movement" created distinctions between "national" and "foreign" products and made the consumption of Chinese goods central to Chinese citizenship.

Buy local campaigns were also important in the nation-building of Australia. After Federation, as this chapter will explain, organisations of manufacturers and traders, encouraged citizens of the new nation to contribute to its development by buying Australian-made goods. After World War I, buy Australian campaigns became pervasive and the term practical patriotism came to define and inspire manifestations of loyalty and a sense of belonging expressed through the consumption of local goods. These commercial forms of nationalism were decisive after 1901, not only for the constitution of local industries and a home market, but also for inculcating the principles of the British-Australian nationhood and nationalist attitudes towards shopping decisions. This means that "buy Australian"

campaigns were important for the construction of the nation not only from an economic perspective but also for the constitution of a national culture, defining a series of commercial symbols and consumer practices prescribing what it meant to be Australian in the early twentieth century.

Buy local campaigns are evidence of the long history of commercial nationalism and the significant role that consumer culture has played for the advancement of nationalist agendas. Despite the importance of buy local campaigns in Australia and other countries, their role in the construction of nations has remained overlooked. Most of the studies that have approached them have analysed them from the perspective of economic nationalism, paying more attention to the tariffs and policies aimed at protecting industries and regulating markets, than to their influence in shaping notions of national identity and citizen participation. Moreover, few studies have looked at buy local campaigns in Australia. Two of these studies have looked at the early twentieth century, but their authors were more interested in reviewing the campaigns than in critically assessing them (Foskett, 2014; Newland, 1994). Studies looking at more recent campaigns have done so from a marketing perspective (e.g. Cameron, 1998; Fischer & Byron, 1997), focusing on the analysis of the effects of country-of-origin labels (e.g. the Australian-Made logo) on the shopping decisions of consumers. As Gerth asserts in *China Made,* "[d]espite the emergence of such movements throughout the globe, historians have neither devoted much attention to them nor suggested that they are key aspects of nation-making" (Gerth, 2003, p. 18).

This chapter aims to shed light on the role of buy local campaigns in the construction of Australia, exploring the campaigns that instilled the principles of practical patriotism in Australian citizens during the first decades after Federation. It focuses specifically on the "Great White Exhibition Train", a touring campaign created by the "Australian-Made Preference League" that travelled across ninety towns in New South Wales in the mid-1920s. Following the guidelines set out in the Introduction for studying commercial nationalism, the chapter analyses the role of this campaign in the commercial construction of Australianness, and more exactly, in the nation-making process, definitions of national identity and the creation of national imaginaries. The chapter argues that this campaign, as many others of its time, was crucial for advancing the economic, cultural and political agendas associated with the British-Australian nationalism. It shows how the "White Train" was utilised by commercial and government elites to advance their nationalist agendas in the marketplace, enlisting citizens as consumers. It also shows how advancing these projects the White Train defined a series of commercial symbols and consumption-related practices associated with being Australian. Finally, it shows how this campaign made the nation tangible in the everyday life of consumers in the form of commodities and advertisements.

The chapter is based on the analysis of primary sources and empirical materials collected as part of research carried out in libraries, archives and other institutions. There were two main sources of information. One was the digital collection of newspapers of the National Library of Australia. Using the archives of the *Sydney Morning Herald* (and occasionally other Sydney newspapers), I examined the events surrounding the constitution of the Australian-Made Preference League and the preparation of the White Train. Reading the regional newspapers from rural New South Wales, I then tracked the Train along its journey looking at the educational and promotional strategies it used in each town. Another source was the materials found in collections of "rare books", manuscripts and ephemera of Monash University, Deakin University, the State Library of Victoria, the State Library of

New South Wales and the Royal Historical Society of Victoria. In these places, looking at the original materials used by the Australian-Made Preference League and the White Train (AMPL, 1924a, 1924b, 1925, 1926), I imagined the Australia that this commercial enterprise attempted to build.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first section analyses some of the meanings and practices associated with the notion of "practical patriotism" in buy local campaigns during the first decades of the twentieth century, in particular, meanings and practices associated with the development of Australia as a British nation. The next three sections present the results of the case study of the White Train. These sections demonstrate, firstly, that the enterprise of the White Train was utilised by local manufacturers and the government to inculcate in Australian citizens principles of nationhood and citizen participation based on consumption; secondly, that as part of this process the White Train deployed a series of educational strategies aimed at transforming citizens into patriotic consumers; and thirdly, that the promotional images developed as part of the campaign embedded the nation in the everyday life of Australians through commodities and advertisements.

Nation-Building and Practical Patriotism

As part of the nation-building project following the inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, the establishment of secondary industries was a priority. Factories were seen as places able to offer jobs to Australians and attract more Britons to preserve the whiteness of the country. Factories were also considered places that would provide commodities that would modernise the life of Australians and, in case of conflict, provide arms and soldiers to provide national security. But for the factories to be viable, it was necessary to create a "home market" receptive to locally made goods and to teach citizens a sense of belonging that would inspire them to shop for the nation. This was not an easy task in a society whose individuals identified more as subjects of the British Empire than as Australians. In order to build this market, it was necessary to inculcate in these British subjects a sense of patriotism towards Australia able to shape their behaviour as consumers and make them prefer Australian-made products, without contradicting their loyalties to the British Empire. This was the task of different promotional and educational campaigns deployed during the period, encouraging citizens to buy Australian in order to be good British subjects.

Since Federation, buying Australian-made goods was seen as a demonstration of being Australian. In a letter to the editors of *The Colac Herald* in 1905, an angry reader stated that those who "wear imported clothes, smoke imported cigars, drink imported liquors" and so on, were "little Australians who have nothing Australian about them except the money in their pockets and the food they have eaten" (Madein Australia, 1905). After the war, when a consumer culture was already established (Crawford, 2006; Crawford et al., 2010), the relationships between buying Australian-made products and patriotism were reinforced. Buying Australian became a "lesson" that all Australians should learn and that was taught by associations of manufacturers and other organisations during "buy Australian" (Made in Australia Week, 1925) or "Made in Australia" weeks (Made in Australia, 1929) or "All-Australian" exhibitions held around the country (All Australian Exhibition, 1925, 1930).

Figure 1.1 Advertising for "Made in Australia Week" (Made in Australia, 1929).

The term used to link the consumption of Australian-made goods to nation-building was "practical patriotism". In newspapers, advertising and even in political speeches, the idea of practical patriotism was used to explain the repercussions that shopping decisions would have in the development of Australia. Although the notion was not exclusive to buy Australian campaigns and was commonly used in the war effort, it was appropriated by advocates of Australian-made and widely used to situate the preference for local goods as practices through which citizens could contribute to making Australia a stronger country. Far from being the name or motto of a particular organisation, practical patriotism was an expression of a sense of belonging to Australia and a self-commitment to the Empire. From this perspective, practical patriotism also defined an emerging form of commercial nationalism that came to be popular in Australia after Federation. In this context, the consumption practices of Australians were seen as political actions with consequences for national development, and the "home market" was regarded as platform for citizen participation in nation-building.

Figure 1.2 Advertisement for Newman's watches using the notion of practical patriotism (Present for our troops, 1914).
A clear example of the early uses of patriotism as part of marketing strategies during wartimes.

Before the notion of practical patriotism was appropriated by local manufacturers to encourage citizens to buy Australian, the term was often used in reference to the economic contributions made by Australian civilians to the war efforts undertaken by the British Empire At the time of Federation, for example, the concept was used in the context of the Anglo-Boer War to describe manifestations of loyalty towards the Empire expressed in economic contributions to "Patriotic funds" (Coburg Council, 1900), and also to describe the loyalty demonstrated by Australians who went to fight with British soldiers to South Africa (The Federal Contingent, 1901). Later, during World War I, the notion became to be associated almost exclusively to economic contributions made by civilians to support the war effort. The *Sunday Times* alluded to the practical patriotism of Australians when it organised fundraisings for the needs of the Empire (Your Help Wanted, 1914). It was also used by the Commonwealth Treasury to promote the purchase of war bonds (Buy Bonds, 1918) and by the store Newman's in Melbourne (Figure 1.2) to offer discounts for those shoppers willing to buy presents for the troops (Present for our troops, 1914).

Figure 1.3 Advertisement for Dunlop Tyres using the notion of practical patriotism (Dunlop, 1916).

But alongside the war effort, the notion of practical patriotism referenced the contributions that buying Australian products would bring to national development. Shortly after Federation, practical patriotism was being applied to publicize "Excelsior Flour" (Excelsior, 1906) or "Invincible Motors" (Invincible, 1910) and to inspire consumers to smoke tobaccos "Perfection" and drink "Irvine's Sparkling Wine" (Special Advertisement, 1907). In the following years, the association between practical patriotism and buying Australia was reinforced and used to publicize all kinds of Australian-made products. By the mid-1910s, without any reference to the war, it was part of the advertising script of locally made products such as "Newman's Sauce" (Newman's, 1916) or "Beale Pianos" (Beale, 1916). During the war, Dunlop Tyres (Figure 1.3) used a map of the country with the inscription "Australia First" and called on "Motorists" to help themselves and Australia, instead of "the Foreigner", by purchasing Australian-Made tyres (Dunlop, 1916). At about the same time, local manufacturers placed a full page advertisement with the heading "Advance Australia" and a female personification of the nation carrying the flag to link all kind of products – from "Foy & Gibson" Woollen Goods to "Beale & Company" pianos – to the defence of Australia (Advance Australia!, 1917). After the war, associations between practical patriotism and buying Australia became so strong that, as already mentioned, it was the term used by Prime Minister Scullin in his 1929's Christmas message,

where he encouraged Australians to buy Australian-made presents to help the country to overcome the world crisis (Mr. Scullin's Advice, 1929).

Practical patriotism produced a distinctive form of publicity based not on the intrinsic properties of goods or their social status, but on their supposed nationality and agency. Through this form of advertising, consumers were told how "Australian-made" goods generated employment in their production and how Australians buying these goods were contributing to national progress. These advertisements created a grammar of Australianness that combined symbols of British-Australian nationalism with industrial features and commercial devices. Within this grammar, elements such as the Union Jack or the national flag were used to construct a nationality for commodities, and simultaneously, business firms and commodities came to be considered symbols of national development.

It is important to point out that this sense of practical patriotism was not opposed to the British Empire, or associated with a distinction between Australia and Britain. The meaning that these campaigns attributed to buy Australian was clearly influenced by the paradoxical loyalties of British-Australian nationalism. From this perspective, the notion of practical patriotism relates to what Stuart Ward calls "British race patriotism – the idea that all British peoples, despite their particular regional problems and perspectives, ultimately comprised a single and indissoluble community through ties of blood, language, history and culture" (Ward, 2001, p. 92). Overall, the discourse of practical patriotism rendered the act of buying Australian-made goods as an expression of patriotism for Australia and, at the same time, an act of loyalty to the empire.

Figure 1.4 Advertisement using the notion of practical patriotism for promoting pens made in Dominion of Canada (Buy British-Made, 1917).

For instance, British and Imperial goods were not rejected, unlike in the case of commercial nationalism in post-colonial countries. While buy local campaigns in Ireland, United States and China were developed in response to or against imperial powers of Britain and Japan, in Australia patriotism for the nation and loyalty to Empire coexisted. Indeed, the notion of practical patriotism was not limited to buying Australian goods. It was also applied during the same period to the promotion of products manufactured in the British Empire that were imported to Australia. In 1917, an

advertisement of Griffith's Star Store (Figure 1.4) invoked practical patriotism for publicising the arrival of a new shipment of fountain pens "made in Dominion of Canada" to Geelong (Buy British-Made, 1917). More than a decade after, an advertisement for the "Empire Shopping Week" (Figure 1.5) in Sydney persuasively stated: "empire-buying is practical patriotism that imposes no sacrifice – for British Goods are the best. Let Empire Shopping Week inspire the resolution that Your purchase will more than ever rebound to the good of Australia and the Empire" (Buy Empire Goods, 1928).

Figure 1.5 Advertisements for "Empire goods" (Buy Empire Goods, 1928), (Buy British, 1929).

Overall, the notion of practical patriotism was widely used to attribute political power to the act of buying Australian-made products and to render the marketplace as a site for citizen participation in national development and, in more general terms, the advancement of the British Empire. As explained earlier, the concept of practical patriotism sheds light on the forms of commercial nationalism that emerged in Australia during the first decades of the twentieth century and in the context of British-Australian nationalism. In order to better understand these forms of commercial nationalism, the following sections analyse how this concept was adopted and used in buy Australian-made campaigns in the 1920s, a period when the agendas of the British-Australian nationalism started to be advanced in the country's emergent consumer culture.

1.1 Advance Australia!

One of the organisations that adopted the notion of practical patriotism and implemented it for the promotion of Australian-made goods was the "Australian-Made Preference League". The League was created in 1924 in New South Wales (NSW) by a group of entrepreneurs and politicians, with the objective of persuading Australians to prefer goods manufactured in the country over imports, thereby contributing to the development of secondary industries. In order to achieve its objective, the League assumed a nationalist agenda that was based on the double loyalties of British-Australian nationalism, and was aimed at the constitution of a home market in which Australian-made products were preferred by Australian citizens. As part of the strategies implemented by the League to constitute this home market, it created the Great White Exhibition Train, a touring campaign that travelled across ninety towns in NSW during 1926 and 1927. The League and the White Train make a good case for understanding the commercial dimension of British-Australian nationalism, and how the idea of making Australia a nation within the British-Empire was developed.

This section looks at the "cultures of production" and the "production of culture" (Du Gay et al., 1997) behind the White Train. It analyses the ideologies of the Australian-Made Preference League, as well as the preparation and development of the campaign. The section will show how the ideology of the League was characterised by the combination of British-Australian nationalism and other dimensions of consumer culture, and how this hybrid character was reflected in its board of members, its discourse, and the visual elements used to represent the organisation. It also shows how the constitution of a home market was a priority for making Australia an industrial nation, and how the White Train worked to achieve this objective. Based on these findings, I argue in this section that the White Train facilitated synergies between entrepreneurs, politicians and governments and worked as a platform for the integration of private and public interests in nation-making. The Australian-Made Preference League and the Great White Exhibition Train make a good case for understanding the role that commercial nationalism played in the construction of Australianness during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Australian-Made Preference League

> "The "Australian-Made" Preference League has been endeavouring to plant the seed
> of national pride in the everyday activities of Australians in the varied field of industry
> and commerce" (Bagnall, 1928)

A hybrid elite

On 11 July 1924, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that on the previous morning at "Lewis Berger and Sons Ltd." – a paint and varnish factory located at Rhodes, NSW – entrepreneurs and prestigious citizens had celebrated the official inauguration of the "Australian-made Preference League" (Preference Movement, 1924). The newspaper's report makes evident a combination of elements of British-Australian nationalism and principles of consumer culture in different forms. The place where the ceremony took place, for example, was "festooned with Australian flags" and a "large sign containing the motto of the league, 'Australian-Made – makes Australia'". Moreover, the founding president of the League, Mr Frederick R. Burley, established in his speech a clear connection between patriotic consumerism and national development. In his view, Australia was "the weakest part" in the

British Empire and it was necessary to work for its development, and the best thing citizens could do was support Australian industries by giving preference to "Australian-Made" products. At the conclusion of the event, there was a toast for "Advance Australia" and for the Australian-made Preference League. This combination of nationalism and consumer culture was the main core of the League's ideology and it permeated its agenda for national development.

The intersection between nationalism and consumer culture can be noticed in the symbols chosen by the Australian-Made Preference League to represent their organisation. As I will show throughout the chapter, the League embraced the symbols of British-Australian nationalism as their own. The Union Jack, the "Red Ensign" of Australia (a red version of the Australian flag that was recommended for civic purposes) and the coats of arms of Australia and NSW were frequently displayed during its public demonstrations. The League also created an emblem and other promotional materials combining the map of Australia with commercial slogans such as "Always ask for Australian-Made" (Figure 1.6). This combination created an immediate link between nation and consumption, and between patriotism and buying Australian-made goods.

Figure 1.6 Visual symbols of the Australian-Made Preference League.

The combination of nationalism and consumer culture is also evident in the integration of public and private interests in the internal structure of the League – in particular, in a board that included recognised personalities from Australian business and politics. Many members of the League were entrepreneurs directly involved in local industries. Its president and founder, as mentioned, was Mr Frederick R. Burley, a successful businessperson in the corset industry. Frederick and his brother Arthur were the owners of "Berlei" ("Unique Corsets Ltd." from 1912 to 1920), a corset and brassiere company located in a seven storey building in Sydney known as "Berlei House" and with branches across Australian capital cities (Hyslop, 1993). Members also included public servants; the most prominent was the NSW Governor Sir Dudley Rawson Stratford de Chair, a former Admiral in the British Navy, who was Patron of the League upon its creation. Other Officers of the League with a political profile were Mr William Randall, second President of the League and former member of the Parliament for St. George (Mr. Bagnall, 1928), and also Stirling Taylor, director of the Commonwealth Bureau of Commerce and Industry.

The League recruited personalities with jobs and profiles that were fundamental to the advancement of its objectives. Some figures were politicians involved in education such as Peter Board, who had

been Director of Education from 1904 to 1920 (Wyndham, 1979), and Wallace Nelson (Roe, 1986), journalist, politician, frequent contributor to recognised newspapers, and – as I will explain later – official "Lecturer" on the Great White Train. Furthermore, the League counted on the support of influential personalities from the railway sector who made possible the creation of the White Train, the most being Mr W. Ainsworth, who was Director of Locomotive Enginemen, and J. Fraser, the railway commissioner of NSW. The League's activities were supported by personalities from the media such as William G. Conley, general manager of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, a newspaper committed to publicising the activities of the League and its members. All these personalities from business and political sectors had collective reasons for and particular interests in the consolidation of local industries and a home market. The fact that all of them worked together in a buy Australian campaign demonstrates the synergies between public and private spheres facilitated by commercial nationalism.
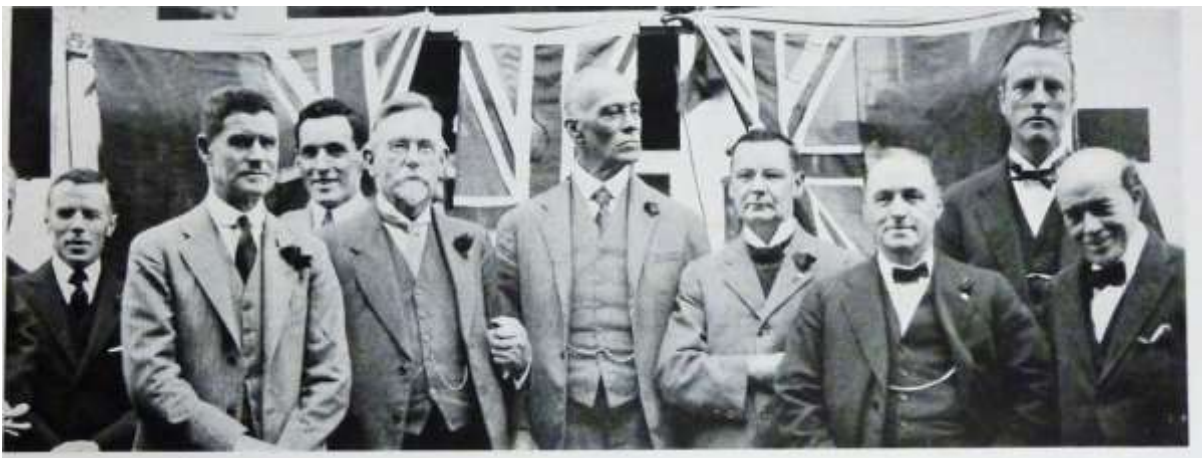
Figure 1.7 Officers of the Australian-Made Preference League celebrating the departure of the White Train. From left to right: Mr. J. A. Young, Hon. T. R. Bavin, Mr. Fred. R. Burley, Mr. Peter Board, Mr. James, Mr. E. E. Salmon, Mr. W. Aisnworth, Mr. W. R. Bagnall, Mr. Wallace Nelson (AMPL, 1926, p. 49).

These synergies made the activities of the League and the Great White Exhibition Train more visible and effective than other "buy Australian" campaigns of the time. Firstly, the participation of successful entrepreneurs, guaranteed the involvement of many recognised trademarks, such as "Berlei", "Bonds" or "Akubra", in the Exhibition. These personalities took the League and its ideals into the upper echelons of Australian society and helped to guarantee private funds for its promotion. Secondly, the direct participation of the NSW Governor and other politicians gave to the League visibility in government circles and secured approval from the Prime Minister's office and economic support from the NSW government. Moreover, the participation of influential figures such as politicians, media entrepreneurs and educators gave to the League the influence needed to promote its cause of buying Australia through government, industry and the media and served to attract widespread coverage of the Great White Train during its journey.

Although the Australian-Made Preference League claimed that its objective was to promote the development of secondary industries, it was far from a democratic or altruistic organisation interested in the welfare of the general population of Australian workers. Rather, the League could be considered a "hybrid elite" that worked for the commercial and political interests of its members. The League claimed to have national aims and profiled itself as a national movement interested in the improvement of national industries, but most of its operations were concentrated around the

commercial interests of specific companies owned by its members or that shared their interests. These unofficial partnerships attracted criticism from rural chambers of manufacturers in NSW, which accused the "White Train" of exhibiting companies and products that were "not truly representative of Australian Manufacturing Industries and were not entitled to a subsidy from the state" (Lismore, 1926).

In order to legitimize its national character, the League repeatedly claimed to know "no creed and no party", and professed interest in national development beyond political affiliations. However, although the League counted on the approval of some fractions of the Labour movement (e.g. the "Eight-Hour Committee"), many of its "Officers" were active Liberal politicians and expressed fears about the threat of communism in the form of unions and strikes. The League's members celebrated the discipline and obedience of Australian workers, but considered workers unions and strikes as unpatriotic. The League's Patron, Sir Dudley Rawson Stratford de Chair, also had strong relationships with members of the Nationalist Party and expressed strong opposition to Labor policies during his time in Office (Cunneen, 1981).

Building the nation in the marketplace

As with other commercial enterprises and buy Australian campaigns of the first years after Federation, the Australian-Made Preference League adopted the notion of practical patriotism to define its objectives. For instance, according to one of its documents the League was based on the "sane principle of practical patriotism" – "not the patriotism that hates or detracts other countries, "but the patriotism that works for the good of its own". The League considered that if all Australians "exercised a little practical patriotism in [their] daily purchases and gave a definite preference to 'Australian-Made' goods, the inevitable result would be augmented industry and general prosperity" (AMPL, 1926, p. 17). Based on this conviction, the League constantly warned of the negative consequences for the new nation of buying imported goods and espoused the benefits that buying Australian would bring to national development.

The League concerted public effort to instil the principles of practical patriotism in Australians. In one of the souvenirs published on the occasion of the "White Train" tour, the objective of the League was described as aimed "to produce in the minds of the Australian people a fixed desire and determination to support Australian industries by giving a definite preference to Australia's products and manufactures". The consumer, not the citizen, was in the view of the League "the great Atlas who bears on his broad shoulders the industries of the world". For that reason they put the responsibility of "our industries, not on the tariff wall, the splendid equipment in factories and workshops or the expertise and efficiency of workmen" (AMPL, 1926, p. 22), but on the willingness of consumers to select Australian articles over imported ones. Summing up, for the League the role that Australians played as consumers in national development was apparently more important than their citizenship. In other words, and alluding to the notion of consumer-citizenship, it was through consumerism, and more exactly buying Australian, that citizens could better express and exercise their commitment to their nation.
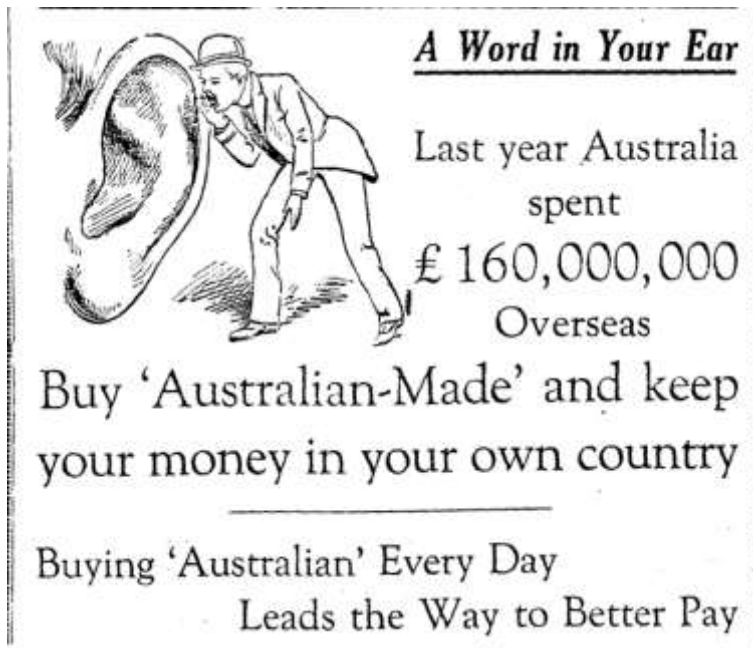
Figure 1.8 Advertising for the Australian-Made Preference League. The amount of money going overseas as a consequence of buying imports, and the benefit that the same money could have for Australia, were part of the narratives used for explaining the political dimension of shopping (AMPL, 1924b, p. 17).

The most obvious objective behind the formation of nationalistic consumers was the industrialization of the country. The installation, development and consolidation of industries was seen by the League as the first step towards making Australia the strongest nation of the British Empire. Although the League was said to be supportive of primary industries and recognised that they were "necessary to the permanent industrial progress of Australia" (AMPL, 1926, p. 17), the League was conspicuously interested in the advancement of secondary industries. In an interview given by Fred Burley when he was President of the League, he "deplored the short-sightedness of those who wished to keep Australia a land of primary industries" and explained that "though primary industries were the foundation of prosperity (…) the secondary industries were the superstructure of nationhood and national wealth" (Australia First, 1924c). The League believed that "for many years Australia [had been] concentrated on the primary industries", and that it was the moment to promote the development of manufacturing (AMPL, 1926, p. 17). "The League does not aim at establishing factories in the place of farms" –they explained – "but establishing factories in addition to farms, and it seeks to do this, not by legislation, not by compulsion, but by the free agency of free men and women" (AMPL, 1926, p. 18).

The idea of industrialization was based on the principle of decentralization and the conviction that factories and workshops should move beyond urban areas and extend across country towns. Taking America and Europe's models for development as an inspiration, Wallace Nelson, official lecturer of the Train, argued that decentralization was a strategy "by which … cities would gain some of the spaciousness of the country and the country a larger measure of the conveniences and refinement of the cities" (AMPL, 1926, p. 45). Wallace explained that during the White Train journey across NSW country districts, members of the League had found that many towns were "peculiarly suited for the establishment of factories" (AMPL, 1926, p. 47). It seems that while the League recognised the importance of primary industries and agricultural work, these activities were not sufficient for building up the country. The idea of industrialization through decentralization was a strategy aimed at

achieving the transition from pastoral to industrial models of development and the conversion of rural and regional Australians into modern consumers.
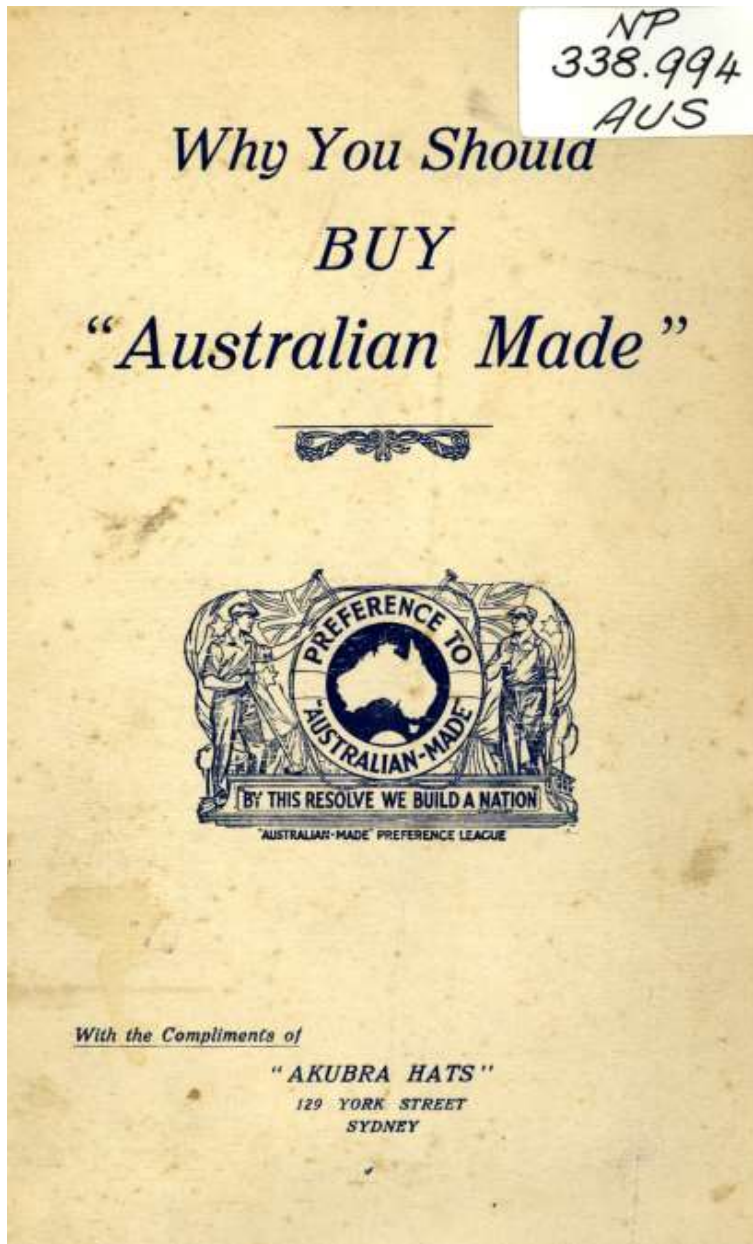
Figure 1.9 Cover of a publications of the Australian-Made Preference League (AMPL, 1925).

Industrialising Australia and decentralising its industries was also seen as a necessary path to increase the white population and to guarantee national security. Although the League recognised that Australia needed immigrants, its members perceived immigration programs to urban areas as an "abnormality" that led to overcrowding in the cities. Wallace Nelson stated that immigrants should not be taken to "the land", but to "factories and workshops", where they could be enlisted to work in national development. The League believed that Australia was underdeveloped and underpopulated, which made the country vulnerable to enemies and invasion. In their view, the industrialization of country towns would create the infrastructure needed to overcome underdevelopment, creating jobs, attracting more Britons to the country and establishing the platform needed to defend the country from foreign threats.

The motor of industrialization and the only place where the League's utopia of a modern Australia could be advanced was the home market. Although the League encouraged local companies to export Australian-made goods to other countries, it was not confident about the potential of international markets for Australian development: "The ships of commerce are not likely to be swept from the seas, but in all human probability international commerce will play a smaller part in the life of nations" (AMPL, 1926, p. 19). They were suspicious of world markets – and convinced that nations of the world would become more self-contained in the future. These ideas were based on fears of Australian dependence on foreign supplies, a fear that had emerged during World War I when Australia saw its supply of provisions from other countries, and especially from the British Empire, limited. Aiming to achieve "self-dependence", entrepreneurs were encouraged to develop products to replace imports. In their own words, "self-dependence (…) increases national safety (…) sustains life and ensures adequate defence in event of attack", and in this form Australia will be guaranteed a measure of safety and peace (AMPL, 1926, p. 19). Shopping for Australian-made products was seen as a political activity and the home market a site of citizen participation in nation-making.

Australia First

The political position of the Australian-Made Preference League, as well as the characteristics of the national project that it wanted to advance, deserves special attention. Their patriotism for Australia and the loyalty to Empire is a particular feature of buy Australian campaigns when compared with other buy local movements. In many countries the movement of consumer nationalism was set against imperial powers. The Boston Tea Party, for example, saw the taxes imposed by Britain and the importation of tea as a threat to the British American colonies. Progressively, as the destruction of the tea in Boston helped to led to the American Revolution, Britain started to be seen as the enemy and American nationalism emerged against the Empire (D. Frank, 1999). Similarly, in China the "National Product Movement" positioned Japan and Japanese products as enemies of China and its progress. Those who consumed Japanese imports were seen as traitors that must be punished for helping the oppressors (Gerth, 2003). In Australia, the situation was different and following the precepts of the British-Australian nationalism, buying Australian was a contribution to national development and an expression of loyalty to the Empire.

This allegiance to the Empire was partly the cause for a "cultural cringe" according to which everything, including people and things coming from the "Old Country" were better than those made in Australia. Although the term "cultural cringe" was not in use at the time of the League, the discourse through which its members tried to vindicate Australian-made products makes evident a disdain for local manufactures. In his writing and verbal speeches, Nelson Wallace criticised the fact that "leading men like Mr. Deakin, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Bruce" had always proclaimed "the wisdom of the people of the Empire giving preference to Imperial productions". When the companies participating in the White Train Exhibition wanted to emphasise the quality of their products, they compared them with British productions saying, for example, that they were "equal to the best work done in the Old Country" (AMPL, 1926, p. 37). This mindset presented challenges for the League, and in fact, its members asserted that the "evil which [was] crippling Australian industries [was] the unreasoning prejudice of Australians against their own goods" (Australian Made, 1924).

The League sought to overcome the "cultural cringe" against "Australian-made" products by situating the principles of practical patriotism within the logics of British-Australian nationalism. In doing so, their discourse situated Australia not as something against or different to the Empire, but a country of the "British Nation" in need of development. Their members positioned a preference for Australian-made as a crucial way that the Australian people could contribute to the strength of the Empire. In this respect, Wallace stated that although the gospel of "Empire preference" was "a worthy one", "to some Australians here and there, it appeared to overlook an important fact, namely, that while it is good for us to work for the welfare of the Empire, perhaps the best way to do that effectively is to work for the welfare of a special part of it which happens to be under our control" (AMPL, 1926, p. 15). In this way Wallace – with his talents as politician, journalist, poet and orator – tried to convince people that the best way to contribute to the Empire was by giving preference to "Australian-made" when shopping.

Although the League articulated its allegiance to the British Empire, these views did not always prevent its members from defending Australian-made over "Imperial productions". During the inauguration of the League, its president Burley recognised that "in the past [the members of the League] had given preference to British-goods because they had a love for their Empire and loyalty to Great Britain", then explained that their preference had changed in favour of Australian-made because of their love for Australia and their sense of self-preservation (Preference Movement, 1924). In this respect Wallace was emphatic saying: "Preference for the Empire is all right, but what is wrong with preference for Australia first?" (AMPL, 1926, p. 15).

Of all the slogans used by the League, the most frequent was "Australia First". Since the inauguration of the League, articles in newspapers used the slogan to announce the creation of the movement (Australia First, 1924c) and the White Train (Australia First, 1924a) and to explain its objectives (Advance Australia First, 1928). One of these articles recognised that in the early days of Australian settlement, "Whatever was manufactured [in Australia] was a makeshift, the product of primitive appliances and possibly immature skill" and that for this reason local goods were seen as an option only when imported articles were unavailable. Afterwards, the article explained that "now Australian enterprise can supply most of the things which have hitherto been imported" and it was possible give preference to Australian-made over imports from the Old Country (Australia First, 1924b).

The context in which the League situated the motto of "Australia First" suggests that relationships between British and Australian components of British-Australian nationalism were not always balanced. In political terms the significance of British elements, such as the Monarchy and its figures, surpassed any political institution of Australia. Yet in terms of commerce – at least for the League – the Australian industries and the home market prevailed over British ones. Seen from the perspective of material culture, this imbalance suggests that goods made in Australia were invested with qualities that, unlike the qualities of the Australian people, were substantially different from the goods made in Britain and other sites of the Empire. Put in other words, while Australians, including native ones, where considered British subjects and were supposed to have the same nationality as Britons, Australian-made goods were different from British ones and had – more than people did – an Australian nationality.

The Great White Exhibition Train

The Great White Exhibition Train was the most ambitious project of the Australian-Made Preference League and the most prominent buy Australian campaign of its day. Although it was not the first train travelling around the Australian states in order to educate and promote national causes, the Train was said to be the most significant enterprise of its time. As both an enterprise and as mechanical device, the White Train objectified very well the principles and objectives of practical patriotism. The announcement, preparation and development of the White Train facilitated synergies between diverse influential actors of Australian political and industrial spheres, and these collaborations transformed the touring campaign into a platform for the integration of public and private interests in nation-making.

Figure 1.10 Advertisement announcing the Great White Exhibition Train.

It was initially planned the White Train would make a single tour over twelve months across NSW. Those plans changed and the project was divided in two journeys. The first tour ran from November 1925 to May of 1926, and the second from August to November of the same year. Both tours were reported in detail and publicised in *The Sydney Morning Herald* and local newspapers of the towns visited. These reports show the confidence that the Federal and State governments had in the project, as well as the curiosity and expectation the Train created. Advertisements published in newspapers

and promotional materials make evident the hope of country's elites in the educational and promotional objectives of this enterprise: to create a home market receptive to the productions of local industry across the whole nation.

The preparation of the first tour of the White Train involved various steps. It included the conception and refinement of the project, the lobbying of Federal and State governments in search of approval and funding, the construction of a train adapted to promotional purposes, and the development and implementation of publicity campaigns in the towns that would be visited. The first announcement of the project was made in November of 1924, when *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that "early next year an exhibition train, displaying exhibits of Australian industries, will commence a twelve months tour of the State" (Touring Train, 1924). Although the "exhibition train" was supposed to start in the first months of 1925, the preparation of the Train took one year. Some months after the first announcement, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the idea was rapidly approved by the Governor, Sir Dudley de Chair (Advertising Train, 1924), by the Premier of NSW, George Fuller (Premier Commends Scheme, 1924), and by the Prime Minister, Stanley Bruce (Exhibition Train, 1924). However, the high cost of the project, changes in the NSW government, and a lack of railway infrastructure in some towns delayed the exhibition and reduced the goals set at the beginning of the campaign. After the new Premier of NSW, Jack Lang, approved funding for 5,000 pounds (Government Grants £5000, 1925), the League announced that the Train would leave Sydney on 11 November for six months, and that if the scheme was successful a second tour would be undertaken (Country Press, 1925).
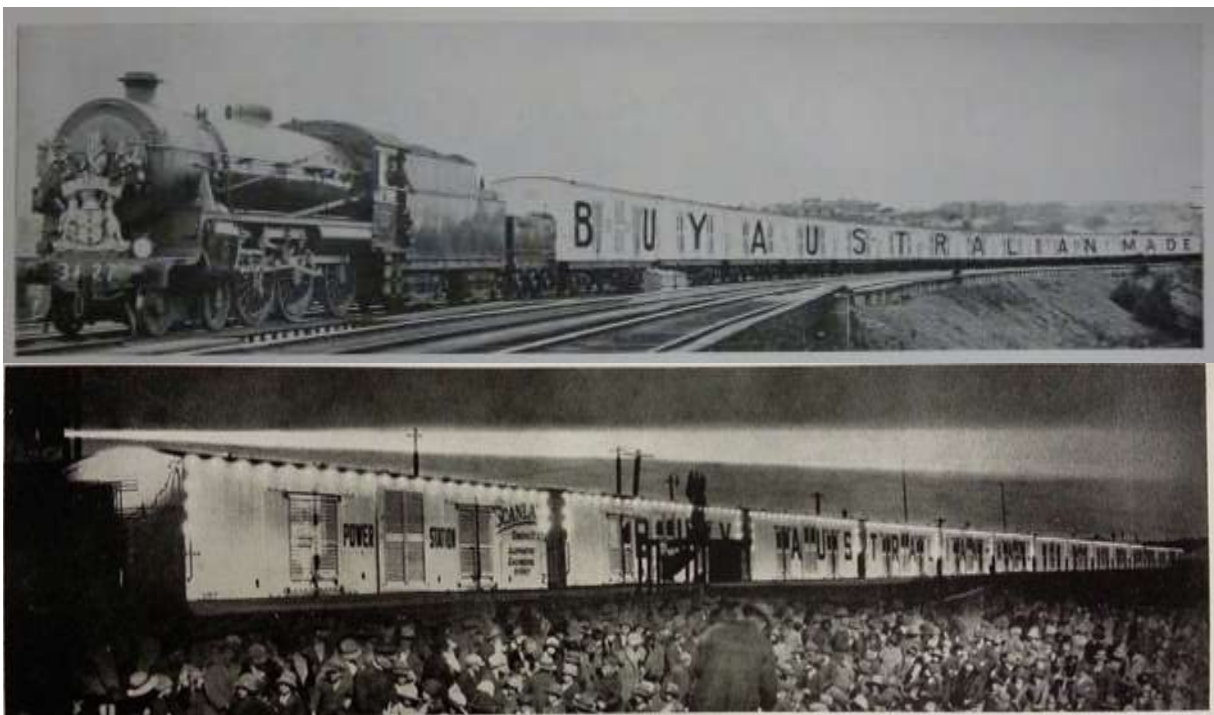
Figure 1.11 The Great White Train photographed at day and night (AMPL, 1926, pp. 43,53).

The construction and preparation of the White Train became an important enterprise that involved different companies and railway authorities. According to the League, what was most impressive

about the "Great White Exhibition Train" and made it the more "colossal" train of its days was its equipment and scale:

> It comprises twenty vehicles, including a dining car and kitchen car, a brake-van, two sleepers of the Pullman type, and 15 exhibition coaches. It exceeds a thousand feet in length, and is perhaps the longest train ever seen in Australia. It carries its own electrical equipment, its own petrol engines and dynamos, its own batteries for lighting purposes and to supply power to working models, and, to crown all, its own broadcasting set, made at the Sydney works of Amalgamated Wireless, and used for broadcasting daily the principles of the League (AMPL, 1926, p. 40).

Figure 1.12 The Great White Train at the town of Griffith on March 1926 (Newland, 1994).
The picture shows the mast of the travelling wireless broadcasting station ready to commence transmission to the local population.

Additional technical devices and attractions were installed to spread the League's gospel of Australian-made. One of the devices that received attention was a wireless station installed by Amalgamated Wireless Australia (AWA). The station worked through a mast installed on the top of the Train, which was itself an attraction (Figure 1.12). The wireless mast was used during the afternoons and evenings to transform one of the carriages into a radio station, from which Nelson Wallace told the story of the Great White Train and lectured about the importance of buying Australian. The train incorporated a carriage that had been used as a mobile restaurant by the Prince of Wales during a recent visit to Australia, which was adapted as a dining car when the League held banquets with "leading store-keepers and residents" in each town (Figure 1.13). At night, the main attraction of the Train was its electrical equipment; it "was beautifully illuminated" and "search lights" irradiated the districts. The Train had also equipment for the projection of moving images, and each night inhabitants of country

towns "were entertained with moving pictures, showing the process employed in the various industries" (AMPL, 1926, pp. 40, 116-118) .

Figure 1.13 The "dining car" and the "manager's office" of the White Train (AMPL, 1926).

On November 11, the Great White Train set out from Darling Island in Sydney. On the day of its departure, *The Sydney Morning Herald* presented a summary of the Train and a special report of the event. Reports reviewed the twelve months of preparation, the cost of the project and technical details of its equipment. "[On] one side of the train" – said the newspaper – in large red block letters, especially conspicuous against the white background, are the words "Buy Australian-Made" (Mobile Show, 1925). The report showed pictures of the Train, its aerial antenna and an exhibition carriage (Exhibition Train, 1925b). The next day, the newspaper published photographs of "the Governor and Lady the Chair" pictured "on the engine of the Great White Train" (Exhibition Train, 1925a), decorated with British flags, a badge of "Advance Australia" and the coat of arms of NSW bearing the Lion and the Kangaroo (Figure 1.14).

Figure 1.14 Their Excellences Sir Dudley and Lady de Chair on the engine of the White Train.
This photograph was published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* the day after the White Train's departure (Exhibition Train, 1925a) and reproduced in the Souvenir of the League and the Train (AMPL, 1926, p. 42)

In May 1926 the Train returned to Sydney after visiting about sixty towns[4] and started to tour the city suburbs. Just a few weeks after the first tour had finished, *The Sydney Morning Herald* informed that the Australian-Made Preference League had received "advice from the Premier (Jack Lang), intimating that he [had] agreed to provide further subsidy of 2500 to enable the 'Great White' Train to undertake its next tour" (Great White Train, 1926). The initial proposal was to travel across the North Coast, the South Coast and the Cooma-Bombala line for six months, but the ensuing tour was shortened to only three months. On 24 August 1926, the Great White Exhibition Train departed again from Darling Island for its second journey. Newspapers reported that 300 spectators attended the "official send-off", and that the event had been marked by speeches from League's members about the importance of buying Australian-Made, and the recitation of verses that Mr Nelson Wallace had written (Figures 1.15 and 1.16). The ceremony closed with the attendants singing "Advance Australia Fair" as the Train "moved slowly out of the yard on its northward mission" (Scenes at Darling Island, 1926; Scenes at Departure, 1926).

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[4] According to the Official Souvenir of the White Train the following towns were visited in the first tour: Gosford, Newcastle, West Maitland, Cessnock, Singleton, Muswellbrook, Scone, Murrurundi, Quirindi, Werris Creek, Tamworth, Armidale, Binnaway, Merrygoen, Dunedoo, Gulgong, Mudgee, Rylstone, Lithgow, Bathurst, Blayney, Lyndhurst, Cowra, Orange, Wellington, Dubbo, Narromine, Peak Hill, Parkes, Forbes, Stockinbingal, Temora, Ariah Park, Ardlethan, Barellan, Griffith, Leeton, Yanco, Narrandera, Ganmain, Coolamon, Junee, Wagga, Henry, Culcairn, Albury, Walla Walla, Brocklesby, Corowa, The Rock, Cootamundra, Wallendbeen, Young, Harden, Yass, Gunning, Goulburn, Moss Vale, Bowral, Mittagong, Liverpool and Granville.

Figure 1.15 Officers of the Australian-Made Preference League during the departure of the White Train. These photographs show the Officers of the Australian-Made Preference League giving speeches about the objects of the League and the objectives of the White Train the day of its departure (AMPL, 1926, p. 47).

The journeys made by the Train had two main objectives in relation to practical patriotism. One was educational and another promotional. The League emphasised the pedagogical dimension of the train saying that it was an "object lesson", aimed at teaching "residents in provincial areas of the importance of the secondary industries" (Travelling Exhibition, 1925), and educating them "to appreciate the national significance of at all times giving preference to Australian-Made goods and products whenever making a purchase" (AMPL, 1926, p. 29). The second key objective of Train involved the promotion of secondary industries, especially the firms and companies participating in the exhibition. In the towns visited, members of the League distributed advertising materials with patriotic messages among shopkeepers, as well as souvenirs containing promotional materials for the League and advertisements for the companies participating in the exhibition. These educational and promotional strategies are discussed in the following two sections.

Figure 1.16 The White Train departing from Darling Island for its second tour (Scenes at Darling Island, 1926).

Figure 1.17 Article in the Sunday Times reporting the progress of the White Train ten days after its departure (Advance Australia, 1925).

On November 11, one year after the Train left Sydney for the first tour, and after visiting another forty towns of NSW[5], the Great White Train came back to Sydney, where it stayed for a week promoting its cause among urban citizens. The city of Sydney gave a civic welcome to the Train and its officers headed by the city's Lord Mayor (Alderman Stokes). The official reception, as well as the week that followed, was used by the Australian-Made Preference League to transmit their nationalist principles

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[5] The following were visited during the second tour: Newcastle, East Maitland, Dungog, Gloucester, Wingham, Taree, Kendall, Kempsey, Macksville, Coffs Harbour, Glenreagh, South Grafton, Grafton, Rappville, Casino, Kyogle, Lismore, Byron Bay, Mullumbimby, Murwillumbah, Thirroul, Wollongong, Nowra, Tarago, Michelago, Cooma, Nimmitabel, Bombala, Canberra, Queanbeyan, Bungendore and Hornsby.

to Sydney's citizens, for which they made a "motor tour [around] the city shops exhibiting Australian-made goods"(Civic Receptions, 1926).

The nationalist agenda of the Australian-Made Preference League and the strategies it implemented shed light on the commercial construction of Australianness, and in particular the integration of elements of British-Australian nationalism and consumer culture in the nation-making process. This integration, evident in the ideology, board of members, and promotional discourses of the League suggests a connection between the nationalist project underpinning the creation of the Commonwealth of Australia and the development of Australian industries. Furthermore, the integration of public and private interests in the creation of a buy Australian-made campaign aimed at persuading Australian to shop patriotically suggests that an important part of constructing the nation involved constructing of a home market for its industries. The commercial interests behind the nation-making process confirm that nationalism and capitalism are strongly linked.

1.2 Buy Australian!

> "A MAN CAN SERVE HIS COUNTRY IN MANY WAYS. He can serve it by singing songs about it; or by making speeches about it. Some people seem to think that there is no other way. He can serve it by dying for it. He can also serve it by living for it. But in the long run he can render it no greater service than by assisting it to earn its own living BY BUYING ITS GOODS AND BACKING ITS ENTERPRISES". (AMPL, 1926, p. 106)

In order to constitute a home market receptive to Australian-made goods, it was necessary to inculcate in Australians the principles of practical patriotism, convincing them of the importance that their shopping decisions would have on the progress of their country. In order to transmit these principles, the Australian-Made Preference League implemented a series of educational strategies as part of the Great White Exhibition Train. These strategies included the development of "literature", which included songs, poems and lists of instructions for being a "good Australian". They also comprised various events ranging from formal banquets, guided visits to the exhibitions of the Train, and essay competitions about the virtues of buying Australian-made goods. Despite the varied character of these devices and activities, all of them transmitted the message of practical patriotism to Australians, encouraging them to demonstrate their sense of belonging to the nation and loyalty to the Empire in the home market.

This section looks at the educational strategies deployed in conjunction with the White Train. It analyses the pedagogic devices developed by the League to transmit its message to Australians. It will show how these educational strategies produced a series of definitions of what it meant to be Australian that were based on specific roles that citizens of country towns should perform in the market according to their social class, gender and age. It will be argued that the White Train portrayed the home market as the site where inhabitants of country towns could become Australians, and as a place where they could construct their national identities through the consumption of commodities. In terms of commercial nationalism these findings are important in understanding the long history of intersections between citizenship and consumerism, as well as the role of shopping practices for generating a sense of nationhood in the everyday life of consumer society.

Being a good Australian

The League understood Australian nationhood not as a passive quality or a contemplative act, but as a specific form of behaviour. It was not about pledging allegiance to the national flag, singing anthems or paying homage to monuments. Although flags and national songs were part of the White Train symbols, the sense of nationhood that it transmitted was a practical one: being Australian was about assuming a role in the advancement of Australian secondary industries as a patriotic consumer who buys Australian-made commodities. This form of nationhood was explained by the Director of the League at the opening of the "Australian-Made Shopping Week" in Sydney: "When a citizen asked for an article of local manufacture, in any shop, he was displaying true patriotism" (Civic Receptions, 1926). But although the main principle behind the gospel of practical patriotism – namely, giving preference to Australian-made goods – was the same for everyone, the pedagogic strategies for inculcating it were complexly arranged and captured by a variety of citizen practices were not the same for all. Explaining this educational component of the White Train Wallace explained:

> Wherever the train goes it circulates literature written for the express purpose of driving home the gospel of "Australian-Made". At every country town visited the leading citizens are entertained at a dinner on the Train, and speeches are made telling the wisdom of the policy of the League. These speeches are largely reported in the local papers, and the subject becomes the universal topic of conversation. Every afternoon and evening the official lecturer broadcasts by wireless the gospel of "Australian-Made". Nor is propaganda confined to adults. The school children are specially invited to visit the Train, and each town prizes are offered for the best essay on the Exhibition. (AMPL, 1926, p. 51)

It is evident in this passage that educational strategies varied according to social class and age, and there were also other differences according to gender. Therefore, what it meant to be Australian was different depending on these variables. For the "good people of the country", there were all kinds of narrative resources aimed at explaining the collective benefits of buying Australian and the modern virtues of Australian-made commodities. For men of the upper class, or "distinguished citizens" as the League's Officers used to call them, practical patriotism involved the support of secondary industries and being Australian was about being a patriotic producer. In comparison, the instruction given to children was more sophisticated, including inculcation of civic principles of British-Australian nationalism, patriotic attitudes towards the home market and explanation of their future role as consumers.

The arrival of the train at each town was marked by civic acts that were used by the League to educate the general public and transmit its message to the elites of each town. Some of these acts were organised by delegates of each municipality and took place in the streets of each town, while others were directly organised by the League and held in the Train. Although the arrival of the Train was not part of the Train's official agenda, publicity and news media coverage transformed the entrance of the Train at each town into public receptions saturated by expressions of patriotism. In Urunga, for example, it was reported that the Train was welcomed at the station, which had been especially decorated. The welcome was made by a crowd of hundreds of people, including a group of 200 children, who sang "Advance Australia" and "Awake, Australia" (Tour of the North, 1926). In Blayney, the visit of the White Train lasted six days and its arrival coincided with important local events such as the "the switching on of electric light" and the "unveiling of soldiers' war memorial" (Back to Blayney,

1926). These and other civic events gave the Train an official character that transformed it, in terms of the League, into an "ambassador of nationhood" (AMPL, 1926, p. 1).

Figure 1.18 Civic Reception of the White Train at Goulburn (AMPL, 1926, p. 115)

There were two main official acts as part of the visit. The morning after the arrival, the Great White Train was welcomed with a "civic reception" "attended by the representative citizens of the town". According to the official souvenir of the League and the Train, some of these receptions attracted large crowds (Figure 1.18). They were used by the League's Officers travelling in the Train to spread its pedagogic message, taking advantage of "the opportunity of explaining the objectives of the League and the mission of the Train" since the first moment of the entrance (AMPL, 1926, p. 114). The night of the arrival was the moment when the members of the League spread its message among the elites of each municipality. The League entertained them with "a banquet in the dining car" of the Train, which had capacity for thirty people. In some towns, however, the dinner was moved to Town Halls in order to serve more people (Figure 1.19). The group was generally composed by "representative public men and citizens", including the Mayor and other leading authorities. In Muswellbrook, for example, the official luncheon in the dining car "was attended by the Mayor and aldermen, representatives of the Shire Council, business houses, local collieries and miners organisations" (Official Luncheon, 1925). In these events, says the Souvenir, the "opportunity was taken (...) to spread the League's propaganda" about the support that local industries needed to "lay the foundations of national greatness and security".

Figure 1.19 Banquet offered by the Australian-Made Preference League in Granville (AMPL, 1926)

The organisation of these events and the message transmitted in them suggests that "representative men and citizens" of each town were formed not only as consumers but as patriotic producers. The identities that the League created for these distinguished citizens were different from those created for common Australians. The first difference has to do with social class and gender. These "notable" Australians were not defined as "men and women" – as in other cases – but as "representative men", and in fact, pictures of the banquets offered by the League show that attendants were all males. Although the League claimed to be a "non-class" organisation (A Non-Class Movement, 1926), the description of these events makes clear that females and "common" men were excluded from them. Another difference had to do with the role of these representative men in national development. While the contribution asked from rural Australians in the building of the country was to consume patriotically, "representative citizens" were asked to support the building of secondary industries in their towns.

The educational strategies that the League unfolded at each town to inculcate the principles of Australian nationhood in the "good people of the country" were spread by the League's self-declared "propaganda": pedagogic devices of traditional education based on repetition and memorization with a clear message about the benefits of buying Australian goods. The main pieces of this "propaganda" were the souvenirs distributed by the League during the exhibition, which included a series of narratives explaining the values of practical patriotism and how they should be exercised in the home market. Reflecting the "cultures of production" of the League, these narratives were a combination of nationalist messages in the form of pledges, a list of points, and songs with consumerist messages instructing people to prefer Australian-Made goods. Although the Souvenir included a pledge and two songs[6], the most emphatic of these narratives was, without doubt, the "Ten Points for GOOD

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[6] The "League Pledge" was an expression of self confidence in Australia's development: "I believe Australia can become self-reliant and prosperous through the development of primary and secondary industries", and, at the same time, a self-promise to work for the progress of the country buying Australian: "to assist that end, I pledge myself to give preference at all times to Australian-Made" (AMPL, 1926, p. 22). There were also two songs. One was "The Song of Australia" (AMPL, 1926, p. 108), which celebrated the new nation, the bravery and freedom of its people, and its bright future. Another was "The Song of the Train" (AMPL, 1926, p. 120), a chant explaining the "good people of the country" what the White Train was, warning about the risks that buying imported goods "from old lands or from new" could bring, and encouraging them to buy Australian goods to contribute to "build Australia trade" and employ Australians .

Australians" (AMPL, 1926, p. 106). The "Ten Points" were a collection of statements summarising all the policies of the League and outlined the role that Australian citizens should assume for their advancement:

(1) NEVER FORGET THAT IN ENCOURAGING AUSTRALIAN INDUSTRY YOU ARE HELPING YOURSELF, for you are helping to increase prosperity, and prosperity, like sunshine, radiates everywhere.

(2) WHEN you purchase from abroad you send as much wealth out of the country as you bring into it. But when you purchase at home both the goods and the purchase-money remain in the country.

(3) IN these days, when a war means piracy on the high seas, no country is secure which depends for subsistence on overseas trade. ONLY THE SELF SUPPORTING COUNTRIES ARE SAFE.

(4) THE MAN WHO IS ASHAMED TO WEAR AUSTRALIAN BOOTS, OR AN AUSTRALIAN HAT, OR AN AUSTRALIAN SUIT OF CLOTHES MADE OF AUSTRALIAN CLOTH, IS REALLY ASHAMED OF AUSTRALIA. And the country which cannot supply its own needs, with its own labour, with all the raw material at hand, is a country for which one has reason to blush.

(5) In supporting Australian industry the Australian is only doing for his country what other people all over the world are doing for theirs. He is not doing a wrong: HE IS MERELY PERFORMING A DUTY, and exercising a right.

(6) NO country can reach the highest degree of development and utilise all its talents if its industrial activities are confined to a few primary industries. COMPLETE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT VARIETY OF EMPLOYMENT, and variety of employment implies that a nation is striving as far as possible to supply its own needs with its own labour.

(7) A MAN CAN SERVE HIS COUNTRY IN MANY WAYS. He can serve it by singing songs about it; or by making speeches about it. Some people seem to think that there is no other way. He can serve it by dying for it. He can also serve it by living for it. But in the long run he can render it no greater service than by assisting it to earn its own living——BY BUYING ITS GOODS AND BACKING ITS ENTERPRISES.

(8) AUSTRALIA COULD EASILY BECOME A SELF-SUPPORTING COUNTRY. It has the raw material. It has the labour. It chiefly wants the demand—and that every man and woman of us can help to provide.

(9) THE manufacturer in Australia has a special claim to support. He is to a great extent a pioneer. He is a man of courage. He has faith in his country and his people, and EVERY AUSTRALIAN SHOULD TRY TO PROVE TO HIM THAT HIS FAITH IS JUSTIFIED.

(10) EVERY Australian ought to remember that Australia, like every other country, depends for its support and protection on its own people. Nobody will care for Australia if Australians do not care for it. NOBODY WILL SAVE IT UNLESS AUSTRALIANS SAVE IT. AND EVERY AUSTRALIAN WHO IS NOT HELPING TO SAVE IT IS HELPING TO DAMN IT.
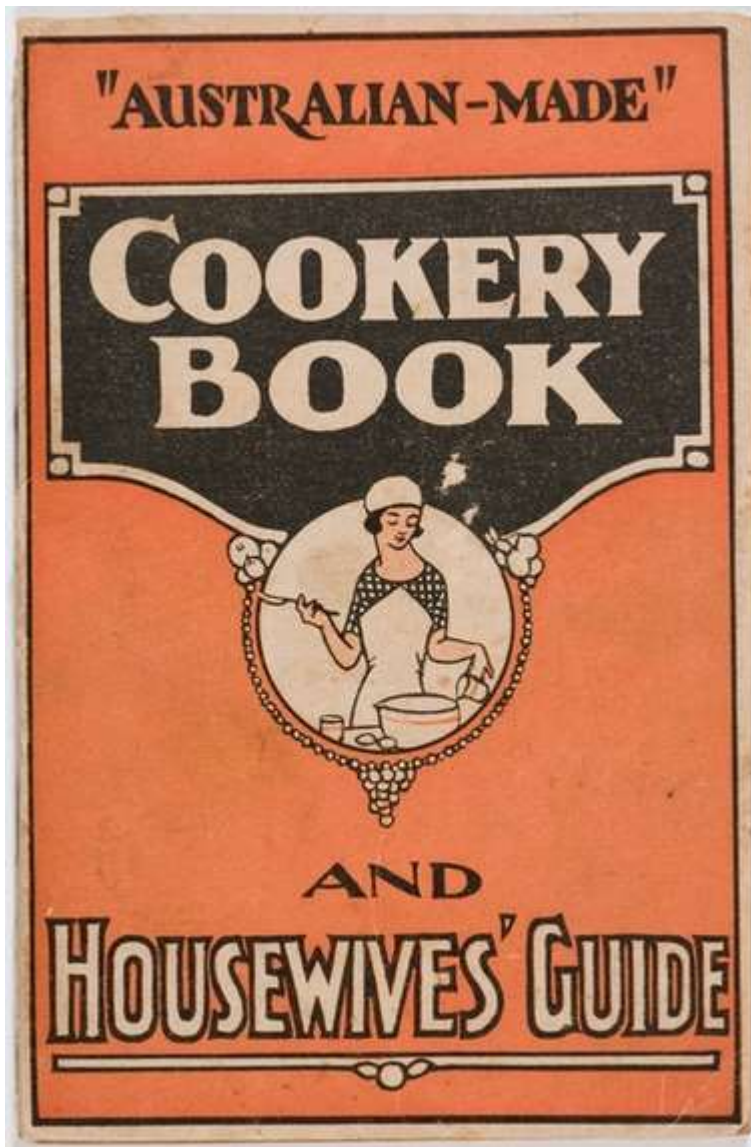
Figure 1.20 Cookery Book distributed by the Australian-Made Preference League to Australian housewives (AMPL, 1924a).

While the "literature" of the League explained the general principles of practical patriotism, the exhibition installed in the Train was the site where inhabitants of country towns were indoctrinated into the rituals of modern consumption. By the 1920s, shopping was increasingly becoming part of the everyday life in Sydney and major Australian cities (Crawford et al., 2010), and the objective of the exhibition was to inculcate this way of life in "the good people of the country". As in the cities, where consumption practices were differentiated according to gender, the exhibitions of the Train had different messages for men and women. In the exhibition carriages of the Australian Bank of Commerce or the Commonwealth Bank of Australia, men were informed of the benefits of financial services, while women were taught about the convenience of canned fruits and preserved foods in the exhibitions of the Water Conservation & Irrigation Company and the Nestlé's Anglo-Swiss Condensed Milk Company. People of the country were also trained in modern fashion styles. Men were persuaded to wear Akubra hats, smoke Champion and drink Tooth's, while women were told to wear Berlei corsets and use Palmolive soap to keep a "schoolgirl complexion".

Berlei Ltda.

Amalgamated Wireless Australia

Clifford Love and Company

Lewis Berger and Sons

Water Conservation & Irrigation Company

Bond, Geo. A. and Company

Broken Hill Pty.

Wills, W. D. and H.O

Figure 1.21 Exhibition carriages of the White Train

As part of its agenda, the White Train deployed many strategies to educate children in the principles of practical patriotism. At the end of the campaign, it was calculated that that more than 100,000 children of NSW had "received the League's message" (AMPL, 1926, p. 121). The message given to children insisted on the importance of secondary industries and the home market for national development, and explained that being a patriotic Australian meant buying Australian-made in the future. When the White Train visited Parramatta, for example, Wallace Nelson commenced his address to the children of the Merrylands Public School with the expression: "Ladies and gentlemen", to which children responded with laughs as if he was joking. "No; I didna' make a mistake", he replied, "you are the ladies and gentlemen of the future and it is because we recognise your importance that the League is taking so much pains to get in touch with the children" (No Mistake, 1926). Indeed, the strategies to train children in the principles of commercial nationhood were complex including lectures given by Nelson, guided visits to the exhibition, and competitions.

Figure 1.22 Children from Granville School assembled to hear the story of the White Train (AMPL, 1926, p. 121).

As part of the preparation preceding the tours of the White Train, the League and the Education Department of NSW arranged visits to the schools of each town and guided tours of the exhibition exclusively for children. The visits were the charge of Nelson Wallace, who gave lectures aimed at instilling a sense of national belonging in children, hoping to turn them into patriotic shoppers when they grew up. The lectures included speeches, jokes and poems, with topics revolving around British-Australian nationalism and commerce. Commenting on one of the lectures imparted by Nelson to children in Parramatta, a local newspaper said that a "distinctive feature of Mr Nelson's addresses [was] his remarkable faculty for putting his thoughts into poetry, and the not less remarkable dramatic power with which he present[ed] them" (No Mistake, 1926). There are no verbatim recordings of his lectures, but according to newspaper reports Nelson told children the story of the League and the White Train and the importance of keeping Australia a white country. Wallace also used "funny bits" to celebrate their "native land and (…) its great future" and explained to children why they should love their country and what they could best do for its future (Addresses to Children, 1926). The effect of Wallace's lectures was immediate, and at the end "boys and girls [were] more convinced than ever that in being Australians they are the luckiest kiddies in all the world, and they promise the lecturer to loyally do their 'bit' by standing solidly for Australian-made" (Addressing the schools, 1925).

GREAT WHITE TRAIN AT LISMORE

PROGRAMME FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Lectures will be given by Mr. Nelson, of the Great White Train, to-day (Tuesday) as follows:—

South Lismore Public School, South Lismore Convent School, 10.50 a.m., at South Lismore Public School.

Lismore High School, 11.30 a.m.

Marist Bros.' and Convent, 12 noon.

Lismore Rural School, 2.15 p.m.

Programme for school children visiting the train on Thursday:—

Outlying schools, 2.30 p.m. sharp.

High School (100 scholars), 2.30 p.m. sharp.

South Lismore, 2.30 p.m. sharp.

Marist Bros.' and Convent, 2.45 p.m. sharp.

Rural School, 3 p.m. sharp.

All school children to be accompanied by teachers or responsible persons.

Figure 1.23 Programme of Lectures given by Wallace at Lismore (Programme for School Children, 1926).

Apart from the lectures, there were also visits to the exhibition carriages and activities especially organised for children. These visits had also been planned in advance by the League and the Education Department and their objective was to impress the "kiddies" with the products of Australian industries. Accompanied by their teachers and in mid-size groups, children from all schools in each town were supposed to visit the Train. "As the League [was] offering a series of handsome prizes for an essay on the visit to the "Great White" train, and the reasons why "Australian-made" should be bought" – said a review published in the *Sunday Times* – "the small folk are all eyes and ears to see and hear all they can so that they may be the lucky prize winners" (Addressing the schools, 1925). The essay competitions organised around the White Train's exhibition were constantly reported in newspapers. The essays asked by the League for its competitions were between 300 and 700 words and based on questions related to "why should Australians buy Australian-made" (Competition for Children, 1925). In this way, the League guaranteed that children visiting the Train paid close attention to the commercial exhibition, understood their role in the commercial construction of Australia, and understood principles of their commercial nationhood.

"The Chronicle" Great White Train COMPETITIONS

The Proprietors of "The Chronicle" intend holding TWO COMPETITIONS to coincide with the visit to Corowa of the "Great White Train." which is to arrive on 16th APRIL next.

These Competitions are open for Children of 15 years and under, residing within a 40-mile radius of Corowa.

A Silver Medal and a Cash Prize are to be awarded to the successful competitor in each case.

Limerick Competition

In this Competition you are to add a further line to the following incomplete Limerick:

The Great White Train is coming,
Excitement will prevail;
Australian Goods for Aussies,

The competitor submitting the most appropriate conclusion will receive the prize. There is no limit to the number of efforts each competitor may make.

Essay Competition

The entrant is required to write an Essay of not more than 450 words upon the following subject:

"Why We Should Buy Australian-made Goods."

General Conditions

Both Competitions close on Saturday, April 3, 1926.

Entries must be addressed to —

GREAT WHITE TRAIN COMPETITION
P.O. BOX 22, COROWA.

LIMERICK COMPETITION

The Great White Train is coming,
Excitement will prevail;
Australian Goods for Aussies,

NAME
ADDRESS

ESSAY COMPETITION

NAME
ADDRESS

Figure 1.24 Announcement of the Essay Competition organised by The Corowa Chronicle.

In some towns, local authorities organised the competitions in advance and publicised them in anticipation of the arrival of the White Train. In Corowa, the local newspaper (*The Corowa Chronicle*) started to organise and publicize competitions one month in advance of the visit of the Train in mid-April of 1926 (Figure 1.24). One of them was a "Limerick competition", in which participants should "add a further line to the following incomplete Limerick: The Great White Train is coming, Excitement will prevail; Australian goods for Aussies, _____". Another was an "Essay Competition" in which entrants should write no more than 450 words addressing the question: "Why we should buy Australian-made goods". Both competitions offered a "silver medal and a cash prize" and were open for children "residing within a 40-mile radius of Corowa" (Great White Train Competitions, 1926).

At the end of April, after the White Train had concluded its visit, the newspaper announced the winners and published the results. The limerick competition was won by Miss Mable Ford "who submitted the following effort: The Great White Train is coming, Excitement will prevail; Australian goods for Aussies, For they shall never fail". The other was given to Miss Kathleen O'Halloran, who wrote an essay that demonstrates a clear understanding of the League message. Miss O'Halloran, of thirteen years, condemned the "merchandise imported into Australia from foreign countries", established a direct relation between consumption of Australian products and increases in population, and compared the bravery of being willing to die for the country with buying "unselfishly" Australian-made. O'Halloran also hoped to be alive and "see the day when the Australian continent shall be dotted over with factories and mills supplying the best of material and food for our people". She blamed the preference for imports, the fashion changes in the old world, and the low numbers of population for the underdevelopment of the "home market". And concluded calling Australians to "paid the honour to their own industries, buying the goods produced in their own land" (The Chronicle Competitions, 1926).

Figure 1.25 School children queuing to see displays at Wauchope and at Granville (State Library NSW, n.d).

The pedagogic strategies implemented by the Australian-Made Preference League shed light on the commercial construction of Australianness and the role of the market in the construction of national identities. The fact that the identities created by the League for inhabitants of rural areas were based on their function in consumer culture, suggests that the nation was seen as a marketplace and its citizens as consumers. Becoming a national subject meant participating in a series of commercial dynamics around the home market. The commercial character of this nationhood confirms the long history of commercial nationalism, and suggests that in Australia categories of citizenship and consumerism have been interwoven.
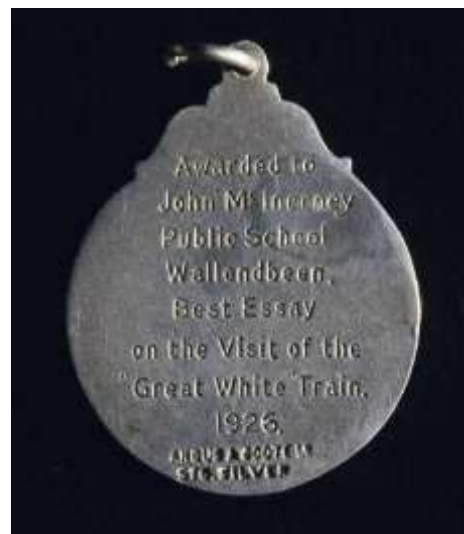
Figure 1.26 Medallion given to John McInerney for his essay about the visit of the Great White Exhibition Train to Wallendbeen (Powerhouse Museum, n.d).

1.3 Selling Australianness

In addition to educational purposes, the Australian-Made Preference League had promotional objectives. It was particularly interested in indoctrinating Australian businesses in the cultural economy of practical patriotism, teaching them how to use nationalism for commercial purposes. The League created promotional materials based on patriotism and taught shopkeepers of country towns how to use them as part of their publicity. Many of the companies that participated in the Great White Exhibition Train also adopted the principles of practical patriotism in their advertisements. All these forms of patriotic promotion created verbal and visual narratives about Australia in which factories and commodities were used to represent the industrial progress of the nation. These commercial narratives contrast with others in which Australia was represented as a pastoral country, and offer an interesting insight into how Australia was imagined as an industrial nation.

This section looks at the strategies developed to transform the cultures of practical patriotism into an economic asset for the promotion of Australian-made commodities and the advancement of secondary industries in the country. It analyses the promotional materials and discourses developed by the League, and how they were implemented by storekeepers of towns visited by the Train and adopted by the companies participating in the Exhibition. It shows how these forms of promotion created a grammar of Australianness based on commercial images, shopping practices and the consumption of particular commodities.

Patriotic publicity

The Australian-Made Preference League developed its own publicity materials to promote the "gospel" of Australian-made. Although the term "patriotic marketing" was coined in 1990 (Gray, 1990), these materials offer a good and much earlier example of patriotism being used for commercial purposes. The main characteristic of some of these materials (Figure 1.27) is that they described employment, better wages and national prosperity as something that could be achieved through buying commodities: "The road to prosperity. Buy Australian-Made Always", "Multiply Employment, Buy Australian-Made", "Australian-Made Means Better Trade and Leads the Way to Better Pay, Then Buy Australian-Made Every Day". The League encouraged storekeepers of country towns and Sydney to integrate these materials in the windows of their stores and explained how they could be used to attract consumers. The League recommended storekeepers combine these materials with distinctive elements of Australia such as miniatures of the map and, ironically, given the treatment of indigenous Australians, with the boomerang. All this to put "a note of patriotism that struck a respondent chord in the hearts of the country people of New South Wales" (AMPL, 1926, p. 88).

Figure 1.27 Promotional materials produced by the Australian-Made Preference League.
These materials were distributed among shopkeepers of country towns to be used during the "Australian-Made Shopping Weeks" held in conjunction with the visit of the Train (AMPL, 1926).

Putting its patriotic publicity into practice, the League organised commercial processions and an "Australian-Made Shopping Week" in every town visited. These were occasions when the nation was made tangible by combining commercial symbols and commodities with traditional symbols of British-Australian nationalism. The Shopping Weeks were launched with official "Processions", commercial parades that used "motor cars" to display the companies participating in the exhibition through the principles streets of towns. The pictures of these events (Figure 1.28) show crowds gathered along the streets to watch motorised carriages exhibiting the logos, slogans and advertising materials of Australian industry. All these commercial materials were combined with Australian flags, generating an interesting twofold effect had not been seen before in rural Australia: on the one hand, the logos of commercial companies started to work as symbols of nationhood and national progress. On the other hand, the flag and the map became logos, something that could be added to commercial names and products to nationalise them in order to increase their consumer appeal.

Figure 1.28 Australian-Made Preference Week Procession in Goulburn (AMPL, 1926, p. 114).

The "Shopping Weeks" were part of the strategies deployed to attract consumers to local products, but a principle objective was to teach storekeepers the virtues of patriotic advertising. The main incentive used by the League to involve storekeepers in the "Shopping Weeks" was a "Window-Dressing Competition" organised by the League and publicised by local newspapers. In these contests, storekeepers were encouraged to incorporate in their windows the promotional materials supplied by the League and to develop new ones based on the creative display of Australian-made products. The town of Corowa offers a good example of this competition (Figure 1.29). Simultaneous with the "essay competition" mentioned earlier, *The Corowa Chronicle* announced the "Window-Dressing Competition" a month before the arrival of the Train. The prize offered by the League was a "Handsome Silver and Oak Shield" that would be given to the "best dressed window featuring Australian-Made" during the shopping week of the town (White Train is Coming, 1926). The winner of the shield was "Mr. R. M. Welch", whose window portrayed "the 'Great White' Train moving through mountain tunnels, over sandy plains, past sylvan woods, rich pastures and cultivated land, carrying its message to the backblocks and displaying a few articles of Australian manufacture" (Window Displays, 1926).

The Great
White Train
IS
COMING!

VISITS
COROWA
ON
APRIL 16 to 19, 1926

A Grand Exhibition of
Australian-made Goods

WATCH FOR THE
BIG SPECIAL ISSUE
OF
"THE CHRONICLE"

STOREKEEPERS!

Are you entering for the
Window Dressing Competition
for which the Shield repro-
duced below is dedicated?

Handsome Silver and Oak Shield, awarded
by the "Australian-made Preference League"
for the Best Dressed Window featuring Aus-
tralian-made in Corowa's "Preference to
Australian-made Shopping Week."

No Goods are sold from "The Great White Train,"
all orders being placed through local traders.

Winner of the Window Dressing Competition at Armidale

Winner of the Window Dressing Competition at Albury

Photograph of a "typical" window dressed for the Australian Made
Shopping Week.

Figure 1.29 Announcement of the Window Dressing Competition in Corowa and shopping windows decorated
with materials produced by the League (White Train is Coming, 1926).

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Commenting on the "Window Dressing Competitions", the League celebrated the "whole-hearted manner in which the function was taken up by the country shopkeepers" and applauded the use of displays of "Australian-Made" with the "League's coloured slogans, miniature maps of Australia, and the typically Australian boomerangs" (AMPL, 1926, p. 107). The pictures of the winning windows (Figure 1.29) demonstrate that many storekeepers throughout NSW were receptive to the League's publicity and integrated their promotional materials in their displays. Australian-made goods such as clothing, furniture or pianos were combined with flags and maps of Australia, with the Coats of Arms, badges of Advance Australia and the patriotic slogans of the League. In most of them, the twofold effect of "patriotic marketing" can be noticed: official symbols working as advertising material and Australian-made goods as symbols of the nation.

Figure 1.30 Window decorated using promotional materials making allusion to patriotism (Coffs Harbour Library, n.d).

Imagining Australia

As shown in a previous section, the souvenirs published by the League were an important element for the advancement of its purposes, not only in terms of education but also for promotion. These propagandistic publications (Figure 1.31) were part of the "Literature" used by the League to indoctrinate Australians into their ideology, and they were also the place where the companies participating in the exhibition publicised their goods and services. Not all the companies transformed their advertising to incorporate commercial narratives of practical patriotism, but many did so, and their announcements are a good example of how patriotism was used to depict shopping practices, commercial symbols and commodities as a tangible manifestation of the nation. These advertisements are also useful for understanding how Australia was imagined by the companies participating in the Exhibition and the League as an industrial nation.

Figure 1.31 Cover of the Official Souvenir of the Australian-Made Preference League and the Great White Exhibition Train.

The advertisements included in the "Souvenir" (AMPL, 1926) highlight a positive attitude towards trade, commerce and consumption, activities that were seen by the League and exhibiting companies as crucial for the building of Australia. Attitudes celebrating commerce and consumption were especially evident in the advertisement of the banks and financial institutions participating in the exhibition. For instance, the advertisement of the Commonwealth Bank of Australia published in the souvenir (Figure 1.32) explained "The cycle of civilisation" in three steps: production, manufacture and commerce. Although the advertisement recognised that production and manufacturing were important, it emphasised the role of commerce in national development saying: "There is the pride of nation building in commerce – the transport of merchandise between people and places – romance, too, and power" (AMPL, 1926, p. 7). The importance of banks for national development was reinforced by describing them as important institutions, publishing their "aggregate assets" and showing pictures of their "head office". The Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, for example, presented a picture of its head office in George Street and described it as an "Australian-Made institution (…) assisting in the development of Australia" (AMPL, 1926, p. 48). The verbal and visual discourse of these advertisements portrayed the banks as places were national progress was manifest through commercial transactions.
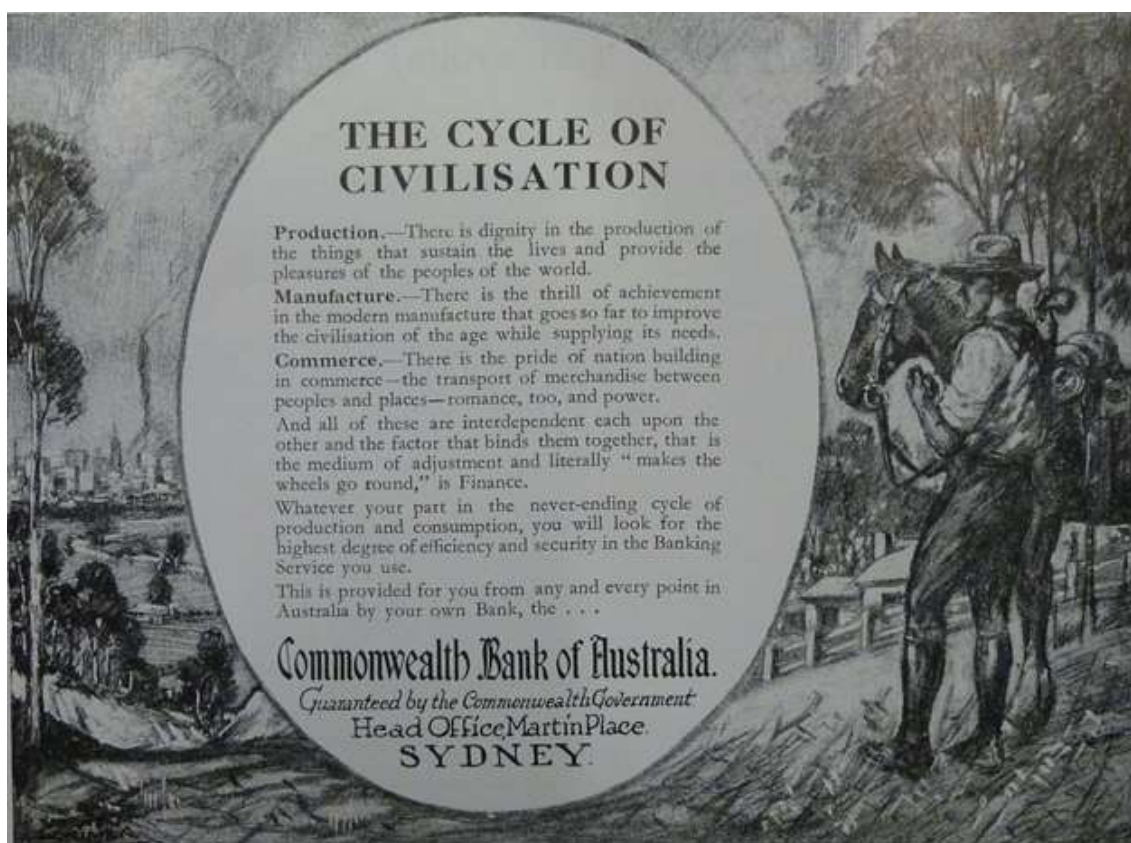
Figure 1.32 Advertising for the Commonwealth Bank (AMPL, 1926, p. 7).

Many other companies clearly adopted the promotion of practical patriotism in their advertisements and for their own benefit, insisting to consumers that buying Australian goods was part of their contribution to national progress. Most of them adopted the motto "Australian-Made" and applied it to their advertisements encouraging consumers to demand local products. "Remember!" –warned the varnish company of William Docker- "When buying anything, ask and demand that it be 'Australian-made' – make this resolution your contribution to the building of a nation" (AMPL, 1926, p. 60). The use of patriotic slogans was also adopted by the exhibiting companies. The Electricity Meter Manufacturing Company Limited, EMMCO, created its own slogan: "Buy Emmco Radio Products", saying that it possessed "a far deeper meaning than the mere words imply" because it embraced "the broad ideal which should be the objective of every Australian citizen": "buy Australian-made" (AMPL, 1926, p. 142). Other companies directly associated their products with national development and practical patriots. "In conclusion" –said the tool manufacturer W.A. Plumb- "we would advise you to be loyal to yourselves, loyal to the future generations of Australians and loyal to this wonderful, great, and glorious land of Australia, by insisting first, last and all the time on Australian-made goods" (AMPL, 1926, p. 10).

Figure 1.33 Advertisement for Berlei portraying the "Berlei House" (AMPL, 1926, p. 85).

Another characteristic of the advertising discourse in the souvenir is that many companies manufacturing commodities portrayed themselves as national institutions, or as organisations with a clear nationalist agenda committed to nation building. This institutionalisation of industries and manufacturing companies was achieved portraying their brands, their operations and products as decisive for national development. The strategies of institutionalisation were many and varied according to the nature of companies' business and products. A common strategy used by manufacturing companies was to suggest their importance by showing the prominence of their buildings. Berlei was emphatic in this respect, with one of its advertisements showing the famous "Berlei House" in Sydney with the official flag of Australia (the blue one, instead of the red one) waving at the top (Figure 1.33). Other companies literally described themselves as institutions. The double page advertisement for Tooth's (Figure 1.34) said: "something more than a brewery! Tooth's is a national institution!" (AMPL, 1926, pp. 90-91).
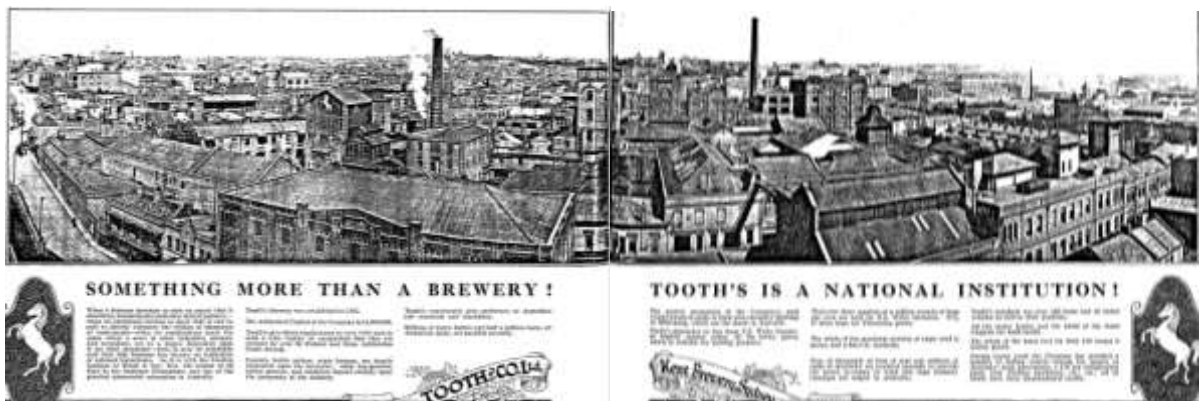
Figure 1.34 Advertising for Tooth's Brewery.

Another characteristic of the advertisements published by manufacturing companies is how they attribute different qualities to commodities. Many companies attributed a nationality to their goods describing them as "Australian products" (Figure 1.35). Some companies described their products as "Australian footwear", as in the case of McMurtrie & Company (AMPL, 1926, p. 80). Jutex carpets clarified that their products were not only Australian, but "made to suit Australian conditions" and that they were "carpeting the way to Australia's prosperity" (AMPL, 1926, p. 74).

Figure 1.35 Advertisements for McMurtrie & Company and for Jutex.

Indeed, some of these products identified as "Australian" in the souvenir became icons of the country in the future decades. One brand was "Akubra Hats" (AMPL, 1926, p. 2), which were publicised as "the only standardised felt hats in Australia" (Figure 1.37). Another manufacturer was Amalgamated Wireless Australasia (AWA) (AMPL, 1926, p. 58) whose wireless radio transistors came to be a national icon some decades later. Though Bonds had not yet launched its iconic "Chesty Bonds", the company owned by the American-born Geo. A. Bond was profiling its underwear as widely popular throughout Australia (AMPL, 1926, pp. 80-81). Despite the apparent orthodoxy of the League's cause in their promotion of Australian-made, there were some companies whose participation in the White Train and their labelling as Australian would seem contradictory (Figure 1.36). One of them was Palmolive (AMPL, 1926, p. 98), an American company that omitted to mention its soap was made in Australia and preferred to associate it with the Egyptian figure of Cleopatra. Another was Chevrolet, which although recognising that a percentage of its cars were made outside of Australia described them as "Australia's Preference" and encouraged consumers to "demand Australian-Made" (AMPL, 1926, p. 147).

Figure 1.36 Advertising for Palmolive and Chevrolet.

Figure 1.37 Advertisement for Akubra hats.

Other manufacturing companies decided to emphasise their production processes rather than the products they were trying to sell. These companies were evidently more concerned with showing themselves as big industries providing employment to Australians than in describing technical or functional properties of their products. Pioneer Heels Ltd, makers of wooden heels for lady shoes, highlighted the processes involved in their production, explaining that manufacturing a heel comprised twenty-two operations and showing pictures of the factories where these processes took place (AMPL, 1926, p. 24). Similarly, Amalgamated Textiles (Figure 1.38) did not show any fabric or finished product that could prove the quality of their goods, preferring to explain the impressive scale of their factory by portraying a "section of one of the Company's Spinning Plants" (AMPL, 1926, pp. 34-35). These strategies suggest that some companies were more interested in showing themselves as motors of employment than as providers of consumer commodities.

Figure 1.38 Advertisement for Amalgamated Textiles Limited.

As mentioned above, many companies exhibiting in the White Train and advertising in the "Souvenir" were working in the development of construction inputs, tools and machinery, but not in traditional consumer items. These companies' advertisements aligned themselves with the League's objectives, linking their operations and inputs to industrialization, national security and, occasionally, to beautification (Figure 1.39).
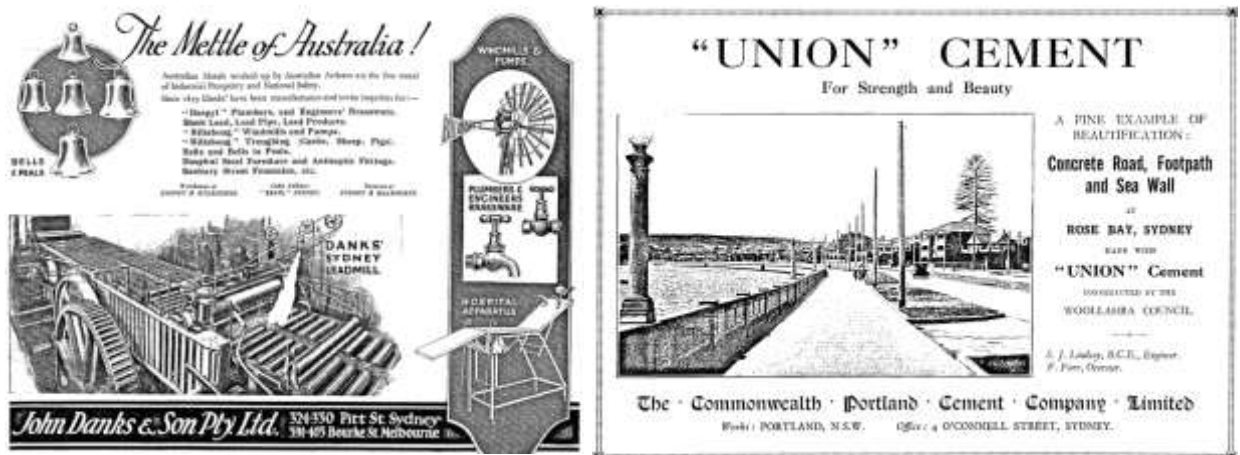
Figure 1.39 Advertisements for John Danks & Son and Union Cement.

John Danks & Son Pty. Ltd. was a company that produced metals and metal casting products such as bells, windmills, pumps, plumbers and hospital apparatuses in Sydney and Melbourne. Danks was labelled in the souvenir as "The Mettle of Australia" and its description reinforced this position: "Australian Metals worked up by Australian Artisans are the fine metal of Industrial Prosperity and National Safety" (AMPL, 1926, p. 4). The case of John Danks is far from exceptional. Most of the companies did the same. Mangrovite Belting Ltd., a company producing belts for industrial machinery

and other leather products, associated the company owner Mr. Charles Ludowici with "Sydney's Heroes of Industry" and considered that "the history of 'Mangrovite' Company [was] one of interest to all Australians" (AMPL, 1926, p. 150). "Union Cement" showed in its advertisement a picture of a paved footpath in Rose Bay in Sydney "made with Union cement" and claimed that its product was a "fine example of Australia's beautification" (AMPL, 1926, p. 14).

The images used to publicize the companies and products of this industrial sector are also associated with nation building. Many companies involved in production of machinery and construction inputs focused their advertisements on visual images of their infrastructure. Generally, these advertisements show the interior installations of factories, industrial machinery and workers. Armstrong Holland was one of the companies producing machinery and its advertisements showed a "patent hot mixing plant", a "pile driving winch" and "the famous 'champion' mixer with patent loader and hoist". While the meaning and function of these machines was probably unknown for many people visiting the Train, the message of the company underlined their role in national progress: "build Australia with Australian machinery" (AMPL, 1926, p. 50). Hadfields Limited, a company producing steel for Australian and New Zealand manufacturers, had a double page advertisement in the Souvenir, in which three pictures were shown: a worker operating a "cutting teeth", a "powerful lathe" and a "large drill", all of them taken in the interiors of the Sydney factory (AMPL, 1926, pp. 8-9). These advertisements showing machines and the production of materials were sought to associate these companies with the nation building project as providing the tools for the construction of Australia.

View of the Steel Works, Newcastle, from the air.
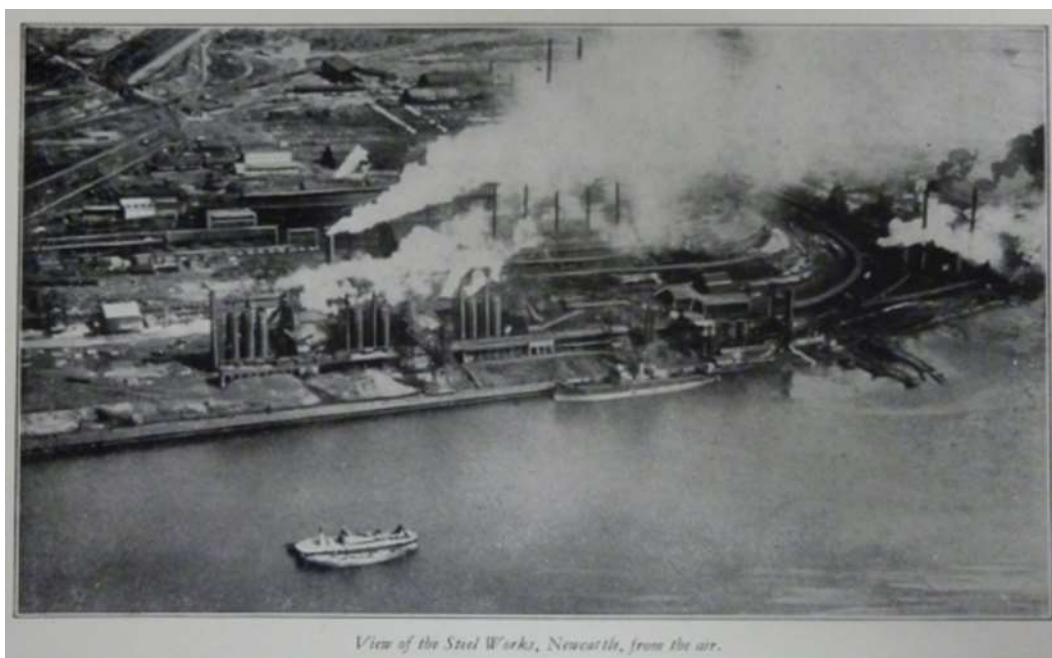
Figure 1.40 Advertisement for the Broken Hill Proprietary Company.

There is one more remarkable characteristic of the advertisements that call attention to the nation-making process – the images used in the Souvenir to represent Australia. As I will argue in Chapter Four, landscapes have played an important role in nation-making and they were particularly important in providing the visual resources to imagine the nation (Hayrynen, 2000). While most of the landscapes portraying Australia in the early twentieth century were devoted to geographical features,

rural scenes, agricultural work or towns, the landscapes presented in the souvenir have strong industrial connotations. They do not present geographical features, peasants or animals but factories.

Figure 1.41 Industrial landscapes published in the Souvenir of the Australian-Made Preference League.

The advertising for the Broken Hill Proprietary Company, for example (Figure 1.40), showed a panoramic image of Newcastle, where one of its factories was located. Although the image shows the sea and a big portion of land, emphasis was placed on the smoky chimneys that emerged from its installations (AMPL, 1926, p. 77). The *Hoskins Iron & Steel Company* did something similar. The landscape featured in its advertisement (Figure 1.41) is focused on its production plant in Lithgow (AMPL, 1926, pp. 133, 135). Even when landscapes relate to primary industries such as the production of wool, the images used to have little to do with picturesque or romantic scenes of rural life. Instead, the image shows a massive number of merino sheep in a vast area of land (Figure 1.42), as if the land had been transformed into a machine producing inputs for the production of *commodities (AMPL, 1926, p. 103).*
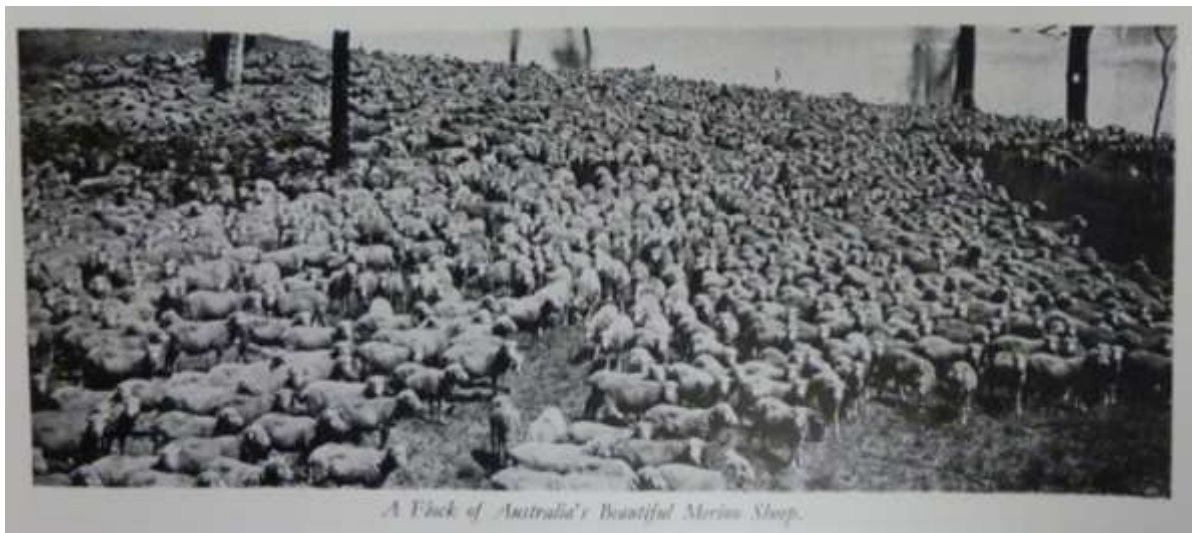
Figure 1.42 Flock of merino sheep.

The prominent role that commercial buildings, industrial landscapes, factories and machinery played as symbols of national progress, suggests that commercial organisations have been regarded as national institutions since Federation. Furthermore, the way in which devices such as patriotic slogans,

shopping windows, business firms or commodities came to be considered symbols of the nation, signals the important role that commercial devices have had for inventing and imagining Australia. The commercial character of the nationalist symbology that emerged after the inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia shows that one of the places where the new nation became tangible was in the marketplace, and that commodities were among the devices that enabled its imagination.

From industry to farming
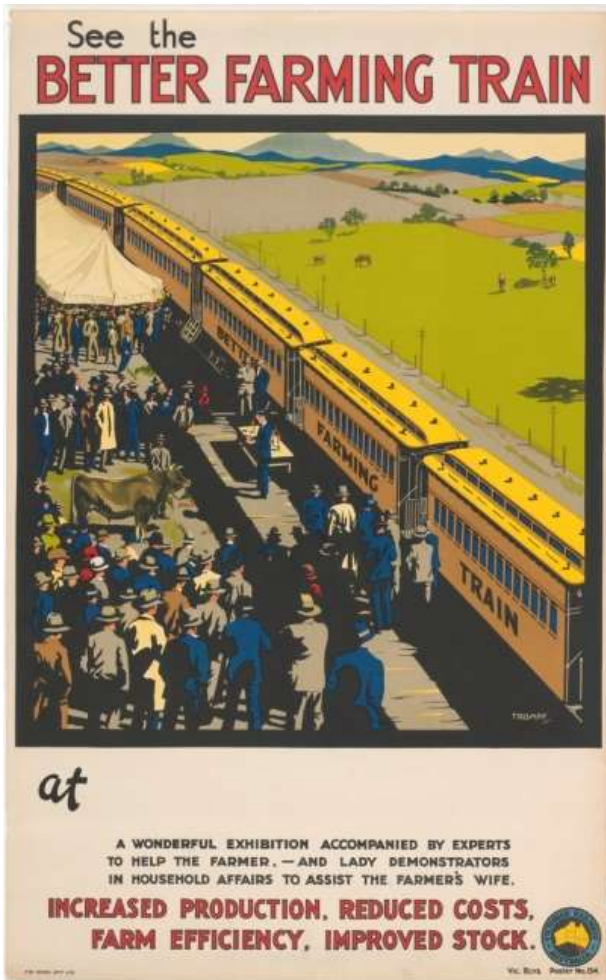
Figure 1.43 Poster promoting Victoria's "Better Farming Train" (Trompf, ca. 1924 - ca. 1934)

Figure 1.44 Engine of the "Better Farming Train" (Department of Agriculture, ca. 1924-1925a)

Figure 1.45 Interior of the "Better Farming Train" (Department of Agriculture, ca. 1924-1925b)

Although the League's Officers recognised in the Souvenir that the "White Train" was not the first exhibition using locomotives to tour from cities across towns, they claimed that the Train was very different to previous efforts. Simultaneous with the White Train, there were campaigns in other states that used trains to travel around country towns. In Queensland the "domestic science car" travelled to remote areas teaching "cookery and household arts" (Better Farming Train, 1924; Domestic Science and Manual Training, 1928; Domestic Science Railway Cars, 1923). In Victoria, the "Better Farming Train" (Figure 1.43) taught innovative agricultural practices to farmers (Arrangements Complete, 1924; Better Farming Trains, 1924; Interesting Innovation, 1924). Nevertheless, for the Officers of the League, and particularly for Wallace, the "Great White Train" differed "from anything of the kind ever attempted in that it [was] on a far more colossal scale" (AMPL, 1926, p. 40). The League officers and

its supporters may have regarded these other trains as minor enterprises compared to the effort and noble cause of the League,

Ironically, however, "The Big Fella" – as Jack Lang was nicknamed – had different plans for the Great White Train. On January of 1927, Lang – acting as Premier of NSW – stated that in view of the success achieved by the White Train "he intended, when the train had been re-equipped, to convert it into a "Better Farming Train" for the promotion of primary industries across the state (Premier's Suggestion, 1926). In subsequent declarations to the media, Lang said that "The Better Farming Train [would] be the Labor Government's first effort to assist a section of (…) producers who have been overlooked and neglected in the past" (White Train to be converted, 1926). At the dinner where Lang made his announcement was the ex-Prime Minister Billy Hughes, who declared that "the development of secondary industry was the second phase in the evolution of Australia" (Premier's Suggestion, 1926). In January of 1927 the transformation of the Great White Train into a Better Farming Train was officially announced (Helping the Farmer, 1927).

MEMBERS OF THE PARTY WHICH INSPECTED THE TRAIN AT DARLING ISLAND YESTERDAY AFTERNOON.

Figure 1.46 Picture published in *The Sydney Morning Herald* making reference to the "Better Farming Train" of New south Wales (The Better Farming Train, 1927).

Concluding comments

This chapter used the notion of practical patriotism to analyse manifestations of commercial nationalism in the first half of the twentieth century. In doing so, it has shown how the Great White Exhibition Train worked as a commercial device for advancing not only economic, but also political and cultural agendas of British-Australian nationalism in the consumer culture that emerged in Australia in this period. The analysis of this campaign has revealed important dimensions of the commercial construction of Australianness in the years after the inauguration of the Commonwealth. In terms of nation-making, the chapter has shown how the White Train functioned as a platform that facilitated synergies between Australian entrepreneurs, politicians of different parties, State and Federal Governments, and private and public interests. These synergies reveal that an important dimension of nation-making after Federation revolved around the creation of a nationalist consumer culture, which involved the constitution and consolidation of a home market of patriotic consumers who were receptive to the goods manufactured in the recently inaugurated nation.

In terms of national identity, the chapter has shown how the Australian-Made Preference League, connected the idea of being Australian with the performance of a series of roles in the home market. The analysis of the educational and pedagogic strategies deployed during the tours of the White Train demonstrates that they varied according to social class, gender and age. While notable citizens were encouraged to be patriotic producers, supporting the installation of secondary industries in their towns, men and women were instructed to be consumers, preferring goods made in Australia over imports from other countries. Children were instructed of their future responsibilities in the home market and introduced to the doctrine of patriotic consumerism. These strategies rendered the market as a site where citizens could construct their identities as Australians and make their contribution to national development within the frame of British-Australian nationalism.

The chapter has also shown some of the effects that the White Train had in the creation of national imaginaries. One of the most interesting manifestations of these early forms of commercial nationalism has to do with the symbolic repertoire created by the League in order to present the organisation and their campaign. National symbols were used as promotional devices and helped to transform commercial imageries into symbols of Australian progress. Other national imaginaries were created through the patriotic publicity developed by the League and adopted by the companies participating in the exhibition. These promotional materials, their images and verbal messages, made the new nation tangible in the market and worked as resources by which citizens could be imagined themselves as British-Australians. Other materials depicted and represented commercial companies as national institutions. The case study of the White Train reveals the commercial dimension of British-Australian nationalism and proves, in this way, the long history of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness.

PART TWO

The next part of the thesis looks at commercial nationalism in Australia during the second half of the twentieth century, a period when Australian nationalism was detached from its British influences and Australian national identity started a "cultural makeover" and a search for new symbols. Although it is impossible to define an exact moment when this makeover started, James Curran and Stuart Ward (2010) locate its origins around the mid-1960s and associate its beginning with a series of shifts in the social, economic and political relationships between Australia and Britain. As a result of these shifts, the sense of Britishness that had been at the centre of Australia's national myth since the inauguration of the Commonwealth was removed and the symbols that represented the British-Australian connection lost their meaning and significance.

The detachment of Australia from Britain made it necessary to start a new nationalist project able to construct a new sense of Australianness. One of the most symbolic moments of this revamped nationalist project took place in 1968, when Donald Horne, writing about the political style of John Gorton in *The Bulletin*, coined the term "the new nationalism" (Curran & Ward, 2010, p. 5). In the early 1980s, Horne (1981) explained that, as he had conceived it, "the new nationalism was simply an attempt to redefine Australia by stripping away the old imperial chauvinism and reducing Australia to a more modest definition" (p. 61). It was, he said, not about chauvinist nationalism but about a question of national identity. Horne recognised that while "the new nationalism emerged during the rule of John Gorton and it died at the end of the rule of Gough Whitlam", many of the ideas associated with it had become "more widely and deeply (if more mutely) spread under Malcolm Fraser" (p. 61). Recapitulating the results achieved through this process, he argued that the answers for Australian national identity were found in the rise of a new suburban middle class; in the mining boom and Australian "luck"; in the disintegration of the British connection and the recognition of issues related to Indigenous communities, women and immigrants as part of Australian identity; and in the awakening of a distinctively Australian culture in the fields of arts and in advertising.

For Curran and Ward, the "new nationalism" made evident an "identity crisis", in the sense that "Australian identity" was making reference to a nationality that was lacking the requirements of nationalism (p. 17). Finding solutions to this crisis implied a revision of nation-making devices, national symbols and definitions of national identities. It was then, when the nation initiated "the most vigorous cultural-make over in Australia's history":

> It was most clearly in evidence in the visual realm of icons and imagery, where the design on coins, banknotes, passports, and the national flag became subject to scrutiny. Other key symbols such as the national anthem ('God Save the Queen') had become embarrassingly redundant by the early 1970s, inaugurating a quest for something 'distinctively' (that oft-used adverb) Australian. Equally, the rites and rituals of national holidays and anniversaries became caught up in the drive for national renewal. The question of what, when and how to celebrate Australia's past achievements became an unprecedented source of public controversy and political hand-wringing, as community leaders strove to find the appropriate language and rhetoric to invoke the incoming nation. (2010, p. 5)

Progressively, and as a result of this makeover, multiculturalism came to be the notion around which a new sense of Australianness started to be constructed. James Curran explains that since the 1970s, during the Whitlam Government, "Australia shed the idea of being a homogeneous British nation … [and] … began to identify positively with the country's ethnic diversity (2002, p. 475). A series of political events contributed to the positioning of multiculturalism at the centre of Australian identity. According to Elsa Koleth (2010), some of those events were the progressive removal of the White Australia policy, the enactment of the Racial Discrimination Act in 1975, and the introduction of immigration policies supporting multiculturalism such as the National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia in 1986. These political events had social repercussions in the configuration of Australian population. Census results show a considerable reduction in the percentage of British immigrants, from 66.7 per cent in 1947 to 27.4 per cent in 1996. At the same time, these figures make evident that the number of people coming from countries all around the world to Australia increased steadily in the same period. Australia had become a multicultural society (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001).

A considerable challenge of this cultural makeover was to find symbols able to unite and generate a sense of belonging in a society characterised by its diversity. For instance, James Curran has shown how successive governments developed discourses and policies aiming to reconcile "ethnic diversity" with "national unity". Multiculturalism, he explains, "offered a new myth of Australian distinctiveness, by virtue of its stark contrast to British racial homogeneity, but it still struggled to offer a new myth of national cohesion" (2002, p. 480). During the period, there were some changes in the symbolic repertoire of the nation such as the discontinuation of the British honours system and the implementation of the Order of Australia, and the replacement of the national anthem God Save the Queen with Advance Australia Fair.

I argue that commercial nationalism played a crucial role in the advancement of this cultural makeover, and more exactly in the constitution of a series of commercial symbols and consumption practices sitting at the centre of what it meant to be Australian. It was in consumer culture where Australians found a response to the "identity crisis" generated by the detachment from Britain, and it was in the market that they found new mythologies for the reinvention of Australianness. Different scholarly works and opinion pieces published during the 1980s point to the significance of advertising and other promotional strategies in constructing a new grammar of national identity (e.g. Alomes, 1988; Horne, 1981; James, 1983; Mansfield, 1984; Ray, 1981; R. White, 1981). In one of these pieces, John Ray celebrated "The new Australian nationalism" saying that the "signs of the [new] Australian national pride are all about us". Examples he named included "the government-backed 'Advance Australia' campaign on T.V" and "the patriotic themes used in commercial advertising" (Ray, 1981, p. 60). As Paul James (1983) argued in the article in which he coined the term "commercial nationalism", Australia was being redefined in the corporate advertising of multinational corporations and in the patriotic advertising campaigns of the government. As a result of this process, as I will argue in the next chapter, Australians embraced the consumption of specific commodities as national traditions and some of them, such as Vegemite, were celebrated as national symbols.

In the 1990s, however, a series of changes in the political and cultural climate of Australia started to challenge this new identity and its symbols. Some of these changes were expressed in a reversal of multiculturalism and in fears about the economic and cultural effects of globalisation. The turn away

from multiculturalism was most visible in Australian politics. In the federal election of 1996, Australians chose John Howard, "a vocal critic of multiculturalism" as their Prime Minister (Koleth, 2010). During his time in power, Howard expressed a nationalist nostalgia for Anglo-Saxon symbols that have defined Australian identity during the first half of the century (e.g. British heritage, World War I, Robert Menzies) (Curran, 2006; Howard, 2006). His government abolished key agencies for the promotion of multiculturalism, restricted benefits for migrants, reduced funding for ethnic organisations (Koleth, 2010), and introduced a citizenship test for measuring the aptitudes of new comers to fit into the "mainstream". In the same elections, Pauline Hanson (the later leader of the One Nation minor party opposed to multiculturalism and Aboriginal reconciliation) was voted in as member of the Parliament. Although Hanson's popularity decreased in the following years, some scholars and commentators argue that her ideals were rapidly "appropriated by ruling interests" and later used by Howard to promote his populist policies (Kapferer & Morris, 2006).

But beyond this reversal from multiculturalism, it is the fear of economic and cultural effects of globalisation and the ways in which it was expressed in the marketplace that is of interest in this part of the thesis. It is in the advancement of new nationalist agendas against global influence in Australia where commercial nationalism has played a crucial role. Fears of globalisation were expressed through an increasing concern with the role multinational corporations were playing in Australian culture and the economy, especially as a growing number of Australian iconic brands fell into foreign ownership. As Susie Khamis (2004) explains, at the end of the 1990s, the fact that many famous Australian icons such as Vegemite, Arnott's Biscuits, XXXX Beer, Mortein, Four 'n' Twenty Pies, Peters Ice-cream, Rosella Soup and many others, were owned by overseas companies and managed by people domiciled overseas started to be considered objectionable. From a general perspective, the commercial objection to foreign influences in the Australian culture and economy involves a transition from country-of-origin to country-of-ownership as the main indicator for considering products as "Australian". This shift is manifested in a wide range of commodities that claim national iconicity on the basis of local ownership and are promoted as substitutes for commercial products that are foreign owned despite being made in Australia..

The chapter that constitutes the second part of the thesis analyses some of the nationalist dynamics of Australia's cultural makeover from the perspective of commercial nationalism. As I have explained, consumer culture was crucial for the advancement of the agendas of the new nationalism, and more exactly, for leaving behind the referents of British-Australian nationalism by finding symbols and practices able to represent a new identity. I also explain how political and cultural changes, revolving around fears of globalisation, started to challenge this new identity and its symbols. The chapter uses the notion of "bread spread nationalism" to analyse the dynamics of Australian nationalism during the second half of the twentieth century, analysing three bread spreads made of yeast: Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite. These commodities have materialised changing versions of Australian national identity in the second half of the twentieth century and their consumption helps in understanding how Australians are positioned as national subjects in this period.

2. BREAD SPREAD NATIONALISM[7]

Figure 2.1 Bread spread supermarket shelf.

Vegemite is the brand of a yeast extract spread produced by Kraft Foods and is considered a national symbol in Australia. For instance, Vegemite is recognised as a national icon in the website of the Minister of Foreign Affairs (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, n.d.). The spread is frequently mentioned in Australian diplomatic relationships and was a topic of conversation between Julia Gillard and Barack Obama when the former Prime Minister visited the President at the White House in 2011, an exchange labelled in the media as "Vegemite Diplomacy" (Coorey, 2011). Its iconicity has been the topic of academic works in various fields, including creative writing (Brien, 2010), gastronomy (Rozin & Siegal, 2003), and cultural studies (R. White, 1994). The archives of libraries and cultural organisations contain old and new, samples of Vegemite jars that are preserved and analysed with scientific rigour (Powerhouse Museum, n.d.). When the National Museum of Australia opened its doors in 2001 a jar of Vegemite was displayed in the gallery *Nation: Symbols of Australia*. The symbolism of the brand is not limited to official settings. Many generations of Australian children have grown up eating Vegemite sandwiches in childcare centres and schools, as well as reading about its "magic properties" in pictures books such as *Magic Possum* (M. Fox & Vivas, 2004). According to Kraft, a Vegemite jar can

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[7] Excerpts of this chapter were presented in the 4th Conference of the Popular Culture Association of Australia and New Zealand (PopCAANZ) held in Tasmania in June, 2014; and in the Annual Lecture of New Historians organised by the Royal Historical Society of Victoria and the Professional Historians Association of Victoria in July, 2014. I thank the attendee of these two events for their comments and recommendations.

be found in "80 per cent of households across the nation" (Vegemite, n.d.). Vegemite is, therefore, a marker of national identity and its consumption signals what it means to be Australian.

While Vegemite is considered a national icon today, the bread spread has not been always popular. During the first half of the twentieth century, Marmite, a spread made in Britain and imported to Australia by the Sanitarium Health Food Company, was Australia's preferred spread and even in the late 1970s Marmite sandwiches were considered an "Australian institution" (Matheson, 1979). The popularity enjoyed by Marmite during this period has to do with its British origins and the fact that much of Australian population had come from Britain or had British ancestry. After World War II, however, the population of the country started to change as Australia was gradually detached from its British connections. Consequently, the popularity of and preference for Marmite faded, and Vegemite was embraced as the new national spread.

However, continuity of Vegemite should not be taken for granted. Since the 1990s, Australians have identified an irony of this product; namely, the fact that Vegemite is a foreign owned national symbol. In response to this situation, different Australian entrepreneurs have created new brands of yeast extract bread spreads to challenge Vegemite's iconicity and gain market share. Of these new brands, the most popular is perhaps Ozemite, a spread that was announced in 2001 but took a decade to hit the shelves of supermarkets. Since 2012, Dick Smith, the owner of the company that produces it, has used claims of local ownership in its advertising to seek national iconicity for Ozemite, as well as labelling Vegemite and Kraft as clear threats to Australian economy, culture and national identity.

Supermarket shelves have become a battlefield where different bread spreads fight each other not only for market share, but for a place among the symbols of Australian national identity. Marmite, "Australia's original yeast extract", still claims to be an iconic product in Australian supermarkets and "digging in" a Marmite's jar is still considered part of the "true Aussie spirit" (Sanitarium, 2013), at least by Sanitarium. Vegemite, still produced in Melbourne and now owned by Mondelēz, has recently celebrated its 90th anniversary and is still the most prominent spread on supermarket shelves and in Australia's symbolic repertoire. Ozemite, produced since 2012 but facing legal conflicts over the name of its trademark (Whitbourn, 2013; Wright, 2014), has focused its promotion on accruing an iconic status.

"Bread spread nationalism" is the term I use to describe the capacity of Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite to represent different facets and moments in the history of Australian national identity. This chapter explores this phenomenon from the perspective of commercial nationalism, analysing the role that these spreads have played in the commercial construction of Australia. The chapter presents the results of a case study that mapped out the cultural biography of Marmite, Vegemite, and Ozemite, searching for links between these brands and different versions of Australian national identity. Based on the results of this case study, the chapter argues that these three bread spreads have played a notable role in establishing definitions of Australianness since the post-War period and have been influential in the search for national symbols.

Bread Spreads and National Symbols

"Australia is a land of symbols", say Richard White and Melissa Harper in the introductory chapter of *Symbols of Australia* (Harper & White, 2010b). This book presents some of the objects that for almost ten years made part of the gallery, *Nation: Symbols of Australia,* in the National Museum of Australia. "Perhaps because they were relative latecomers to nation making", White and Harper go on, "Australians have been particularly enthusiastic in their symbol-making" (Harper & White, 2010a, p. 1). This enthusiasm, as the gallery and the book make evident, not only applies to flags, maps and animals, but also to commercial products such as Vegemite (R. White, 2010). The commercial character of some Australian symbols is useful in understanding a twofold mechanism in the commercial construction of nations. In particular, it shows how trademarks are used by people to represent national identities, and how the promotion of some brands draws on nationalist motifs to present themselves as icons of the nation.

I suggest that the "enthusiasm" that Australians have demonstrated as symbol-makers relates to its history as a postcolonial nation. In particular, this eagerness reflects the problematic character of symbols inherited from and conferred by Britain, particularly, in the second half of the twentieth century. In some cases, the things chosen as national symbols such as the Tricolour in France, The Stars and Stripes in The US or the National Tricolour in Colombia are the objectification of historical revolutions launched by nationalist movements. It is as result of these historical processes that common things are singularised and transformed into national symbols in which the nation, as an imagined community, becomes externalised and made tangible to be remembered in the rituals of invented traditions and the banality of everyday life. But since the declaration of Australia as a nation, was achieved not by a revolution but political agreement, the history of Australian official symbols is distinct. The national flag, for example, was chosen through a design competition and its composition gives a prominent position to its British heritage (Kwan, 2006). However, in the second half of the century, as part of the so-called "cultural makeover" (Curran & Ward, 2010), these symbols came into question.

This "cultural makeover", as well as the political, social and economic changes that accompanied it, unleashed a search for things able to capture new identities, and it was as part of this process that specific commodities became national symbols. As I have explained earlier about this period, successive governments adopted marketing strategies to advance their nationalist projects by selling ideas of patriotism to the population; and simultaneously, multinational corporations were elevated as cultural institutions when their commodities and advertisements provided new myths of Australianness. In this context, the symbolic status of Vegemite is not just the result of an enthusiasm for creating symbols, but a response to the identity crisis generated by the political, cultural and demographic changes occurred in the country since the 1960s. In other words, the rise of Vegemite as a symbol of Australia is a materialisation of the nationalist "revolution" that Australia went through as part of its cultural makeover.

Although the symbolic character of Vegemite has been recognised by museums and scholars, the origins of this status and its relations to broader issues surrounding Australian nationalism remain unexplained. In museums, the history of the spread has been wrapped in corporate mystique that celebrates, repeatedly, the same facts and focuses on the same periods of time. In scholarly works, it

is not clear how, when and where the brand rose as a national symbol and the paradoxes and contestations surrounding Vegemite are generally ignored and obscured by a sanguine nationalist enthusiasm. Scholarly works have also overlooked the role of other bread spreads in the construction of Australianness. For example, although Marmite was Australia's preferred spread during the first half of the century and was considered to be an "Australian institution" until the 1970s, it has been largely ignored by scholars in the study of Australian culture.

In methodological terms, the chapter pursues the idea that things, like people, have a social life that can be studied as a "cultural biography"; an approach that John Sinclair has implemented in the biographical study of Australian iconic brands (Sinclair, 2008). Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoff (1986) suggest that the cultural biography of an artefact must focus on the transitions of that object from one state to another, from being common to being singular. Following this logic, the chapter traces the routes that made possible the movement of these spreads from commodities to being part of what it has meant to be Australian. These cultural biographies resulted from a case study in which I "followed" Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite throughout libraries, cultural institutions and supermarkets, implementing methods from material culture studies. The cultural biographies of Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite are based on empirical materials and primary sources. These materials included trademarks of each brand; samples of jars of different periods; cook books published by Sanitarium, the Kraft Walker Cheese Company and Kraft; advertisements and promotional materials; corporate documents and news articles. Some of these materials were collected as part of archival research carried out at the State Library of Victoria, specifically, in the collections of Australian newspapers, magazines and ephemera. Others were collected during fieldwork research conducted at Woolworths and Coles (as part of the chapter on "Supermarket Patriotism") and form part of my own collection of paraphernalia and ephemera related to bread spread nationalism.

These bread spreads were approached not only as food, but as the objectification of a series of cultural dynamics that have defined the characteristics and evolution of Australian nationalism. Defining the notion of objectification, Daniel Miller explains that "[e]verything that we create, has by virtue of that act the potential, both to appear, and to become, alien to us" (Miller, 2005, p. 8). From this perspective, objectification makes reference to the process by which those things that humans create, including nations, become tangible and are materialised. Although the theory of objectification is more complex (see: Miller, 1987), here, the concept is used to explain that in the construction of these biographies I approached Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite not just as products, but as the materialisation of different historical moments in Australian national culture, as things that appeared as the nation was invented and reinvented.

The chapter is organised in four sections. The first draws on the notion of "displacement" (Cook & Crang, 1996) to explain the concept of bread spread nationalism. In doing so, it argues that the links between different brands of bread spread and Australianness are a result of colonial and postcolonial connections and disconnections between Britain, Australia, and also New Zealand. The next three sections map out the cultural biographies of Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite, showing how each spread has materialised different moments in the history of Australian nationalism. The first section uses the cultural biography of Marmite to explain how the double loyalties of British-Australian nationalism were manifested in the consumption of this bread spread. The second maps out the

cultural biography of Vegemite since its questionable origins as copycat of Marmite, until its showcase as a national symbol in the inauguration of the National Museum of Australia. In its journey from the supermarket to the museum this spread objectified many of the political and cultural changes happening in Australia. The final part of the chapter, uses the cultural biography of Ozemite to explain how, in the last decades, the iconicity of Vegemite has been challenged by new brands of spread that demand national iconicity on the basis of local ownership that is opposed to multinational corporate power.

Displacements and Bread Spread Nationalism

Although the role of bread spreads in the commercial construction of Australianness might seem unique, the symbolic power of these products is not exclusive to Australia. Two bread spreads made of yeast, with a shared history and the same name, enjoy a similar status in Britain and New Zealand. Marmite-Unilever and Marmite-Sanitarium are considered to be national institutions in Britain and New Zealand respectively. British Marmite began to be produced in 1902 by Marmite Food Extract Company (Science, 1992). Owned since 2000 by the multinational Unilever and with a history of more than 100 years, the spread is considered an important part of what it means to be British (Hoge, 2002). Ties between Marmite and Britishness have been institutionalised and legitimised through museum exhibitions, Royal visits to Marmite factories, and more recently, with a limited edition of the product launched to celebrate the Diamond Queen Jubilee (Unilever, 2012). For this special edition (Figure 2.2.), Unilever replaced the yellow lid with a red one, and traditional elements of the label were changed to make it look more British. The name Marmite was replaced for "Ma'amite" and the traditional label was changed for a new one with the Union Jack. The product was described as "100% British Extract", and the traditional illustration of a French casserole (called "petit marmite") was replaced by a crown.

Figure 2.2 Marmite's commemorative jar for the Diamond Queen Jubilee .

In New Zealand, a similar process occurred with the version of Marmite produced by Sanitarium. Derived directly from British Marmite and produced in Christchurch since the mid-1940s, Marmite is regarded as a Kiwi icon. It is considered a national food (Gilbertson, 2008) and an important element of "Kiwiana", the term used to describe New Zealand's cultural heritage (Florek & Insch, 2008, p. 295).

Furthermore, Marmite is one of the brands recognised by New Zealanders "as impacting on their sense of belonging to a national community, and to having a sense of nationally shared understanding of the memories and stories that are important" for them (Bulmera & Buchanan-Oliver, 2010). During 2012, after an earthquake partly destroyed Marmite's factory in Christchurch, the national relevance of Marmite increased. After Sanitarium announced that damage to the factory would produce shortages of the spread (Figure 2.3), New Zealand and international media reported a national crisis labelled "marmageddon" (Marmageddon, 2012). Even Prime Minister John Key expressed fears when the jar he kept at his office was almost finished (Jones, 2012). At the end of 2013, Marmite came back to supermarkets shelves of New Zealand.

Figure 2.3 Shortages of Marmite in Australian supermarkets during the "marmageddon"[8].

Although these bread spreads are promoted as national foods by the companies that produce them, none can be considered as "indigenous" or "native" to any specific country. Analysing the role of food in the construction of national identities, Tim Edensor (2002) warns about the taken-for-granted "placedness" of foods. Drawing on the work of cultural geographers Ian Cook and Mike Crang, Edensor refutes essentialisms defining particular cuisines as indigenous to any country (2002, p. 115). Cook and Crang (1996) question the "placed" character of foods and understand the associations between food and places implied in notions of "local" or "ethnic" food as the result of "dis-placements" and "geographical knowledges". While Chapter Three of this thesis draws on the concept of "geographical knowledges" to analyse the promotional narratives of "supermarket patriotism", here I will use the notion of "displacement" to explain the links between bread spreads made of yeast and specific nations.

In general terms, the notion of displacement defines a series of connections and disconnections that expand the boundaries of particular places across cultural, economic and political networks that extend beyond their immediate physicality (Cook & Crang, 1996, p. 138). It is through these networks that foods are taken from one context to another, and it is through their journeys that some of their meanings are detached while others are created. This process explains, for example, how the invented

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8 Image source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/pie4dan/7368167170/in/photolist-ce6Mp1-bBdeE9-e4B44n-cR73s1-bv8NME-cRcwqy-cRcpyC-cR6umd-cR8pYJ-cR5Lds-cR7t7j-bWkDs5-e1jdfw-e1dxrT-cKZGQw-e3gPA3-bKUmtk/

tradition of the English "cuppa" was "produced through, and continue to depend upon, networks of imperial connections" (1996, pp. 139-140). These networks have repositioned tea as English by detaching it from its Oriental past. Similarly, Susie Khamis has shown how through similar connections, tea came from Britain to Australia and became a national tradition (Khamis, 2006), as well as how instant coffee came from the US during and after World War II to compete with it (Khamis, 2009).

Other scholars confirm that associations between food and nation are the result of displacements that, at specific moments of history connect and disconnect different places. Michelle Metro-Roland (2013), for example, points out that goulash (or gulyasleves) is considered a Hungarian national dish, despite "the ingredients that constitute a good gulyasleves have their origins outside of the Hungarian state" (2013, p. 1). She explains the introduction of these ingredients can be traced to the early 1700s when paprika was introduced from the Balkans (2013, p. 6), suggesting that the rise of goulash as a national dish has been a deeply cultural process. Yael Raviv (2003) shows something similar in relation to the falafel and its (ironic) status as an Israeli national icon. She explains that the "assimilation" of falafel into Israeli society and national culture was not the result of a "long, slow, natural process", but a deliberate attempt to establish and institutionalise symbols of national unity and differences between Israel and other countries.

The notion of displacement is also useful for understanding the national character attributed to bread spreads. It suggests that yeast extract spreads are considered national foods not because their trademarks or their main ingredient, yeast, are endemic to a particular country; rather, their supposed nationality is the result of connections and disconnections between places. In particular, the notion of displacement serves to highlight that the placement of bread spreads as national foods in Britain, Australia and New Zealand is a result of colonial and post-colonial relationships among these countries. In the case of Australia, as this chapter will show, yeast extract spreads were first introduced as a British product, and for a long time they sustained postcolonial attachments between Australia and Britain. Afterwards, when these postcolonial attachments were broken, bread spreads were redefined as Australian and used as symbols for the construction of new traditions and new national identities. Nowadays, other spreads have contested the foreign character of the yeast extract – not in terms of its origins, but its corporate ownership – and new products are claiming to have an authentic attachment to the country and its culture.

2.1 Marmite and British-Australian nationalism

During the first half of the century, the biography of Marmite presents a series of "movements" that objectifies changes surrounding the idea of Australianness during this period. In the early 1910s, Marmite was introduced to Australia through the routes that connected its culture and economy to Britain. Although Vegemite was created in the 1920s and introduced to the marketplace in direct competition to Marmite, the spread did not achieve visibility among consumers. Rather, until the 1950s Marmite was Australia's preferred yeast extract spread and Marmite sandwiches were recalled as an "Australian institution" even in the 1970s. Although one of Marmite's attributes was its British "nationality", this changed after World War II, when Marmite started to be produced in Australia. Subsequently, there were changes in the biography of the product and its promotion started to present the spread as representative of Australia and its culture.

This section looks at some of the moments that marked Marmite's biography during this period, paying special attention to the stages that constituted its transformation from British to Australian. I will argue that although Marmite was never considered a national icon, the biography of the spread objectifies some of the shifts occurring in Australian nationalism in the first fifty years of the country. These shifts reflect changes in the cultural resources used to define Australianness, and in particular, a movement away from British-Australian nationalism towards "Australian" identities.

As many other stories surrounding the idea of Australianness, the cultural story of bread spread nationalism begins with a "displacement" from Britain to Australia, and the importation of Marmite from England into Australia. The English version of Marmite is said to have been the first commercial yeast extract that existed after the German scientist Liebig discovered, in the late nineteenth century, "that brewer's yeast cells could be concentrated, bottled and eaten"(Unilever, n.d). The spread was created in 1902 by the Marmite Food Extract Company at Burton-on-Trent, a town considered an historic centre of the British brewing industry, from which yeast extract – the main ingredient of Marmite – is a sub-product. Some years after it was invented, Marmite began to be imported to Australia through commercial networks that connected both countries. The introduction of the product into the market was accompanied by advertisements aimed at teaching people what this new commodity was and how to use it. Generally, Marmite was defined not as a spread but as an "equivalent of best beef extracts" that had multiple uses (Figure 2.4), including the preparation of "soups, stews [and] stock", and could be mixed with "boiled rice, tapioca, jellies, puddings, custards, and one hundred other appetising dishes" (Marmite, 1911). For instance, its use as a spread for sandwiches only appeared in 1915 after it started to be imported by Sanitarium (Marmite, 1915a).

Figure 2.4 Advertisement promoting Marmite as an equivalent to beef extract (Marmite, 1911).

The first step in the transformation of Marmite occurred soon after its arrival in the country. In Australia, Marmite found a market without any significant competitor, which made the importation of the spread an attractive enterprise for local companies. The only product comparable to Marmite was meat extract, but since the raw material of Marmite was residue from the brewing industry, it was

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cheaper and attracted the attention of consumers. Perhaps it was the promising character of the spread that motivated the Sanitarium Health Food Company, in the late 1910s, to become the "sole agent of Marmite for Australia and New Zealand" and to acquire the trademark of Marmite in the region in 1920 (Australasian Conference Association Limited, 1920). Sanitarium was founded in the late 1890s in Melbourne and has been owned by the Seventh Day Adventist Church since this time. In the 1920s, the company was already producing different foods that were succeeding in the market. It was also running a chain of stores under the name of "The Vegetarian Café" (Figure 2.5), where citizens were introduced "to a better way of living" through the consumption of its vegetarian products (Sanitarium, n.d.), including Marmite sandwiches (Marmite, 1919).
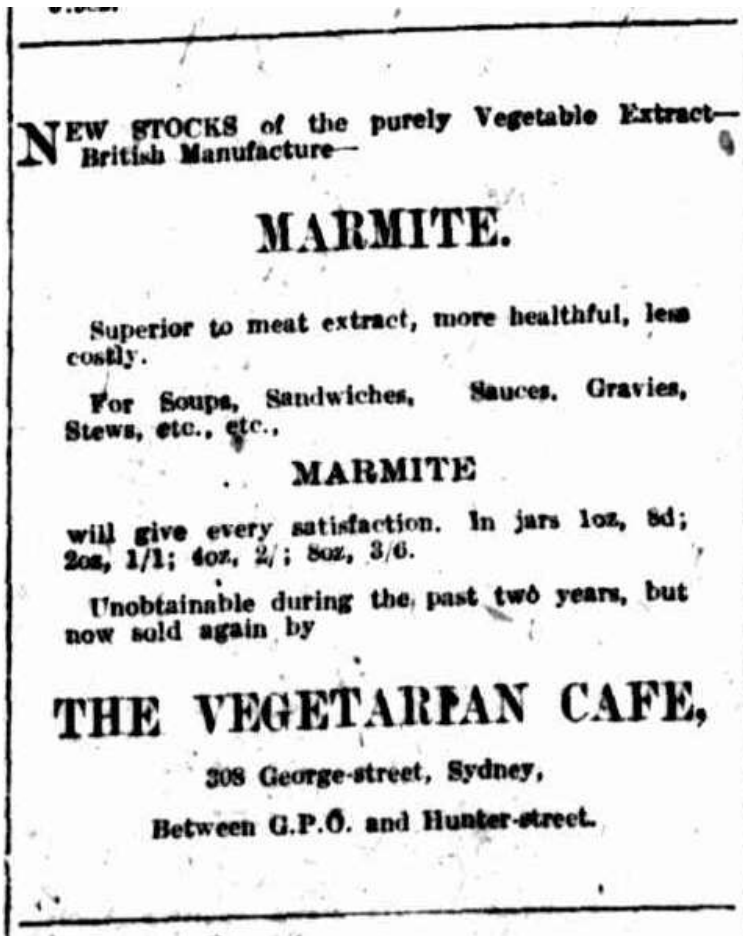
Figure 2.5 Advertisement for Marmite explaining its British origin and its properties (Marmite, 1919).

Some years later, Marmite made another shift that would give it a hybrid identity. Since its introduction to Australia, Marmite had been imported using the same commercial presentation it had in Britain and was available to consumers in "earthenware pots" of four, eight and sixteen ounces. In 1924, however, the strategy for importing the spread changed and Sanitarium started to import Marmite in bulk and repackage it in Melbourne. Although advertisements emphasised the British origin and manufacture of the product, the Sanitarium Health Food Company argued that Marmite provided "a great deal of employment in Australia, for all packaging materials – jars, caps, labels, cartons, papers, containers, cases, &c. – and all advertising materials [were] made in Australia" (Religious Trading Body, 1937). The change in the procedures relating to the importation and commercialisation of Marmite not only adjusted Sanitarium's enterprise to the double loyalties of the

British-Australian nationalism explained in the previous chapter, but also awarded a British-Australian identity to the spread.

Marmite started to be repackaged using jars and labels that resembled the original design, making the changes almost imperceptible. But some years later, the Marmite Extract Food Company decided to change the design of the jar and the label used to commercialise the product in Britain, giving the product a completely different appearance (Figure 2.6). In this way, although the contents of the jar were the same in Britain and Australia, Marmite acquired a different identity in each country. Through this complex network of trademarks, production, importation, packaging and commercialisation, Sanitarium gave to Marmite a hybrid character that matched the "biographical" characteristics of the product with the population buying it.

Figure 2.6 Changes in the commercial presentation of Marmite in Britain[9] and Australia during the 1920s[10].

In the first decades after its introduction in Australia, Marmite was publicised as an efficient solution for social anxieties related to health, the domestic economy and culture. The promotion of Marmite was made through a complex network, in which not only advertisers were involved, but also health workers and even scientists. "Campaigns", said an announcement about Sanitarium, "are planned for a year in advance and comprise the following media – press advertising, trade papers, health journals, radio, sample distribution, hoardings, wall signs, special offers and coupons, &c." (Religious Trading Body, 1937). These campaigns emphasised three characteristics of the product: the nutritional contents, its economical properties and its cultural background.

As in Britain, advertising of Marmite in Australia drew on social concerns related to health and nutrition. However, the fact that Marmite was made of brewed yeast, was for many years hidden from consumers, who were told instead that it contained pure vegetables, what made Marmite comparable to meat extract. In 1915, a series of advertisements (Figure 2.7) mentioned that authors of an article

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[9] Image source: http://www.laurenceborel.com/2013/01/21/a-trip-down-memory-lane-the-museum-of-brands-packaging-and-advertising/photo-5-3/

[10] Image courtesy of Mimmo Cozzolino.

published in the medical journal *The Lancet* had proved that Marmite "possess[ed] the same nutrient value as well-prepared meat extract" (Marmite, 1915b). In the mid-1920s, after the miraculous and curative properties of yeast were discovered (Miracle of Yeast, 1926; Yeast. Its curative value, 1924), the description of the product changed and the real ingredient revealed to the public. The nutritional value of yeast expanded Marmite's market share beyond domestic consumers to clinics and, as will be explained later, to military institutions.

Figure 2.7 Advertisement for Marmite (Marmite, 1915a).
This advertisement mentions studies published in the medical journal the Lancet confirming the nutritional properties of the "vegetable extract".

Another social anxiety of this period concerned the domestic economy and affordability of products. As mentioned earlier, Marmite's properties were compared to those of meat. But advertisements emphasised that it was cheaper than any extract made of beef. In addition, the spread had multiple uses, and claimed to be able to replace many other ingredients and even complete foods. Consumers were advised to "buy large jars" and encouraged to buy not just two ounces, but a jar of four ounces as they would "get double the quantity for half extra cost". As it is "concentrated food", said advertisements (Figure 2.8), it should not be spread "like ordinary paste" because "too much spoils

the flavour" (Marmite, 1925), a phrase that ironically would became the slogan of the product for many years.

Figure 2.8 Advertisement for Marmite (Marmite, 1925).

In cultural terms, since it was introduced up until the end of World War II, Marmite was never presented as something Australian or representative of the Australian way of life. On the contrary, the product drew on foreign myths and was frequently associated with Britain and European culture. As mentioned earlier, during the 1910s Sanitarium emphasised the English origin of the essence, explaining that it was manufactured in England and that they were the sole agents of the product in Australia and New Zealand. As Richard White (1994) has noted of the 1920s, Sanitarium increased its

advertising after Vegemite was launched to directly compete with Marmite. Interestingly, while Vegemite was presented as an Australian-made product, Marmite began to be associated with French cuisine, making allusion perhaps to the origin of its name, a French casserole. Around 1920, Sanitarium published a book titled "Marmite Recipes" in which a "French chef" made recommendations about how to cook with the product (Sanitarium Health Food Company, c.1920). During the decade, this association was reinforced through a series of advertisements revealing "French Cook's secrets" about stews and soups, accompanied by French referents such as picnics (Marmite, 1926) and expressions such as *Voila!* In one advertisement, for example, the product was endorsed by an anonymous female, who after having used Marmite in her kitchen claimed: "Now I am a French Cook" (Marmite, 1924), as if the use of Marmite had made her French (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9 Advertisements for Marmite based on French motifs.

Despite its foreign background and the fact that, since the 1920s, Vegemite was offered as a local substitute, Marmite remained Australians' preferred yeast extract spread in the late 1930s. A public announcement made by Sanitarium to defend Marmite from a "duty increase" proposed by the Tariff Board, and published in *The Argus* in 1937, confirms that "the Australian public prefer[ed] Marmite above all other vegetable extracts on the market" despite being "sold at considerably higher prices (Religious Trading Body, 1937). Richard White associates the disinterest in Vegemite and preference for Marmite with a "cultural cringe" that "dictated that any product from the old country must be superior to those from the colonies" (1994, p. 16).

This "cultural cringe", as was shown in the previous chapter, was characteristic of the British-Australian nationalism of that period. As explained earlier, during the first half of the century, Australians were constructing a new nation, but one still attached to its British origins. Taking this into account, it is arguable that Marmite was one of the products that helped Australians, including large numbers of immigrants from Britain, to imagine themselves as British subjects. Marmite was a cultural resource that worked as a gateway for imagining Australia as a nation constituted at the intersection of Britain and Australia.

Figure 2.10 Advertisements for Marmite based on medical publications about the product (Marmite, 1938a), (Marmite, 1938b).

The situation changed in the next decade. During the 1930s, the competition between Marmite and Vegemite focused on nutritional properties of both products and their vitamin content (Figure 2.10). As mentioned earlier, health properties were always at the centre of promotion, and Sanitarium made extensive use of these qualities in the promotion of the product through advertisements giving explanations and warnings about health risks caused by deficient alimentation, and presenting Marmite as healthy and nutritional for consumers. Advertisements emphasised how it worked on the body, and the benefits they have for "workers" and for "growing girls and boys". Advertisements alluded to scientific publications (Marmite, 1934), medical reports (Marmite, 1938a) and articles

published in the Medical Journal of Australia (Marmite, 1938b), where the nutritional properties of Marmite had been verified. All these properties had been also verified in Britain, with Marmite included in the rations of British troops.

Figure 2.11 Advertisement announcing the return of Marmite to the market after the end of World War II (Marmite, 1949).

It was during the War that the biography of Marmite experienced its most important shift. During World War II, importations of Marmite entering Australia were reduced, which made it almost impossible to find the product in Australian stores. It subsequently disappeared from Sanitarium's publicity. After the war, however, Marmite made a triumphant return to the Australian market. In 1945, an illustrated advertisement published in *The Australian's Women Weekly* (Figure 2.11) explained that since Marmite was a rich source of Vitamins B, it had "meant a lot to the men on the fighting fronts", which "meant a shortage in the home front". The advertisement also announced that increased supplies of the world famous vegetable extract would be available now soon, since Marmite was "now made in Australia" (Marmite, 1945). Sanitarium was now packaging and manufacturing the spread in a factory opened in 1944 in Cooranbong, NSW (Sanitarium, n.d) repositioning it as an Australian product.

The promotion of Marmite now focused on the Australian character of the product. Advertisements announced that it was "now back in regular supply" and added that "because it [was] newly improved

it [was] even richer… tastier… and better!" The description of the product also changed. Instead of focusing on the British origins of the spread, Marmite was described as "made in Australia by the Sanitarium Health Food Company" (Marmite, 1949). The word "Australia" was now included on the label. These associations with Australia and its way of life were reinforced in the following years. For example, in 1957, in an advertisement published in *The Australian's Women Weekly* (Figure 2.12), Sanitarium used, as it has did 30 years earlier, a women to endorse "Marmite's goodness". This time, however, the woman was not a "French Cook", but "another Australian mother" (Marmite, 1957).

Figure 2.12 Advertising for Marmite presenting the product as part of the Australian way of life (Marmite, 1957).

Although the production of Marmite in Australia introduced the spread back to the market, the changes occurring at that moment in the political and cultural conditions of Australia would seal its fate as one of Australia's less preferred bread spreads. By this time, Vegemite was becoming the preferred choice of new generations of Australians. As Susie Khamis (2009) explains, after World War II, Australia's sources of influence and inspiration were changing, London was being replaced by Washington as a global political centre and The US started to replace England as a cultural reference point. These changes, as Khamis argues, also affected patterns of eating and drinking. Tea, for example, started to be replaced by coffee, Marmite started to be replaced by Vegemite.

2.2 "Happy Little Vegemites" and the cultural makeover

During the second half of the century, Vegemite became a symbol of Australia, a phenomenon that objectified many of the changes occurring in the construction of Australianness during this period. Although for many years it was unpopular, the promotional strategies developed by Kraft Foods in the post war period popularised the spread during the 1950s, and by the 1960s it had been transformed into an "invented tradition" (Hobsbawm, 1983a), something representative of what it means to be Australian. Progressively, in contexts of "popular" and "official" culture, Vegemite started to be considered as a symbol of the country, as something able to represent Australia and its national culture. This transition involved a twofold process. On the one hand, Kraft incorporated nationalist motifs and statements in its advertising. On the other hand, Australian citizens and national institutions adopted the spread to represent a national identity.

This section maps out the "biography" of Vegemite since the moment it was "invented" as copycat of a British product until it was showcased as a national symbol in the inauguration of the National Museum of Australia. It will be shown that the rise of Vegemite as a national symbol is the result of a series of changes occurring in Australian nationalism from the 1960s to the end of the twentieth century. I will argue that the elevation of the spread as a national symbol objectifies many of the social, economic and cultural processes at the core of Australia's most vigorous cultural makeover (Curran & Ward, 2010). In particular, the symbolic status achieved by Vegemite materialises forms of commercial nationalism characterised by the involvement of corporations in the production of national culture, the use of commodities to represent the nation, and the construction of national identities through everyday consumption practices.

Like any other national symbol, accounts of the history of Vegemite possess a patriotic aura. Kraft has surrounded the spread with corporate mystique that de-emphasises the origins and development of the brand. As in the case of other iconic brands now owned by multinational companies, the history that Kraft has created for Vegemite emphasises its origins as an Australian company, but hides the fact of its foreign ownership and ignores challenges and contestations to its iconic status. While Kraft recognises that the history of the spread spans 90 years, the only reference made to the Fred Walker Company is that it "would later become Kraft Foods Company" (Kraft Foods Limited, n.d.). The narrative used by national institutions, such as the National Museum of Australia, is also based on information provided by Kraft and tends to repeat the same facts and stories created by the company. In general terms, the discourse used by national institutions, libraries, museums and other organisations to present Vegemite as a national symbol, is almost entirely uncritical in reproducing its take-for-granted iconic status.

One myth in the biography of Vegemite has to do with its origins, and the narratives that associate the creation of the spread with processes of invention and innovation. While it is true that Vegemite is the result of Australian resourcefulness and ingenuity, it is important to also recognise that it was the result of a business model involved in the appropriation of British products and its reproduction under local conditions. This model was widely used in the years after Federation. In response to the shortages of imports caused by the Great War, Australian companies decided to create local substitutes for British imports. Following this business model, the Fred Walker Company decided to create a local substitute for Bovril (Bovril, 1915), a popular meat extract imported from Britain that

disappeared from Australian stores after importation of the product was suspended (Figure 2.13). Taking advantage of this situation, in 1918, the Company launched Bonox (Bonox, 1920), a product that according to Robert White, received a good response from the public (R. White, 1994, 2010).

Figure 2.13 Advertisements for Bovril (Bovril, 1915) and Bonox (Bonox, 1920).

In 1922, apparently motivate by the success of Bonox, the Company decided to hire the chemist Cyril Callister to create a local version of Marmite, which was already popular among Australian consumers thanks to Sanitarium's promotion. The "invention" of Vegemite has since been transformed into a myth designed to generate an aura of nationalist inventiveness around the product. This mythical narrative has made of Callister an iconic figure in the beginning of Australian industry, something that has been recently reinforced by a biography written by his grandchildren, *The man who invented Vegemite*. Once Marmite's formula had been revealed, the Fred Walker Company opened a competition for naming its new product. As mentioned earlier, the fact that Marmite was made of brewed yeast was hidden from consumers. Callister and the Company also decided to omit this fact, saying that the new spread was, as Marmite, made of vegetables. For instance, the entry selected to name the product, Vegemite, was a clear combination of the words "vegetable" and "Marmite". Seen from this perspective, the supposed invention of Vegemite can be better understood as a process of displacement, resulting from the cultural and commercial connections that Britain maintained during the first half of the century to its former colonies.

In September 1923, the Fred Walker Company registered the name Vegemite in the trademark office of Melbourne, and started to compete with the Sanitarium Health Food Company in the market for "vegetable extracts". The new product not only mimicked Marmite's name and formula. Its advertising implemented the same promotional strategies. As explained in the previous section, Marmite's advertising drew on social anxieties of the time such as health and affordability and presented the

extract as an almost magical solution for these problems. Advertisements for Vegemite employed a similar strategy (Figure 2.14). Some of them warned about the risk that a lack of vitamins represented for health and promised to cure dietary deficiencies explaining its contents of vitamins and the benefits that the "vegetable paste" would bring to children and adults in terms of nutrition. Vegemite was also described as an affordable product, following the script of its British competitor. Advertisements alluded to its multiple uses as spread for sandwiches, and as flavouring essence for "soups, stews and gravies" and promised to make "other foods of more value" (Vegemite, 1924a).

Figure 2.14 First advertisement for Vegemite published in Victoria's newspapers (Vegemite, 1924a), (Vegemite, 1924b)

Like Marmite, the Fred Walker Company used medical certifications and advice from doctors as part of Vegemite's promotion, giving a scientific tone to its advertising. In 1925 in a series of advertisements published in *The Argus* (Figure 2.15), the Fred Walker Company used scientific evidence from the British Medical Research Council to explain the risks that modern methods of cooking represented for human nutrition:

> Our rude forefathers living on food taken out of the ground or off the ground and eaten with little cooking and less preparation, enjoyed a condition of rude health until recently beyond the reach of most modern people. Their methods retained the vitamins present in all natural food, our methods destroy them (Vegemite, 1925b)

After this warning, the announcement presented a "glorious fact". Vegemite, "The world's wonder food", contained "the vitamins which restore health and strength", and "It should be included in the daily food of children and adults of all ages" (Vegemite, 1925b). Nonetheless, Marmite continued dominating in the market for many decades.

Another myth in the biography of the spread is related to its Australianness. Vegemite label says "Proudly Made in Australia since 1923", but the identity of the spread has always been a contradiction. It is the result of "an Australian take on a British product" (as the National Museum of Australia defines it), and the brand has been owned for most of its history by American companies. In 1926, Fred Walker cooperated with James Kraft with the aim of implementing technical and chemical methods used by Kraft to produce cheese in the US. In the same year, newspapers announced the "entry into Australian business of an important American concern, the Kraft Cheese Company" (American Cheese Company, 1926). As a result of this association, the Fred Walker Company became the Kraft Walker Cheese Company, and the labels on Vegemite's jar incorporated the change almost immediately. In 1935, when Walker passed away, Kraft became owner of the trademark (Callister, 2012; Kraft Foods Limited, 2012b), though it kept the company's name until the 1950s when it

changed its name to Kraft, including a "K" framed in a hexagon on Vegemite's label. Throughout the years, Kraft has been owned by different corporations and in 2013 the trademark of Vegemite became the property of the multinational company Mondelēz.

Figure 2.16 Visual representations of Vegemite's jar.
From left to right: Vegemite jar in the 1920s (Fred Walker Company), 1940s (Kraft Walker Cheese Company), and 1950s (Kraft).

Elisha Renne argues that Vegemite is a good example to understand "an ambivalence about Australian identity in relation to Britain and America" (Renne, 1993). In particular, Vegemite's paradoxical identity reflects an important characteristic in the construction of Australian national identity, characterised on the one hand by a direct influence from Britain, and on the other, a constant admiration for America.

The partnership between James Kraft and Fred Walker, and the legal constitution of the Kraft Walker Cheese Company, brought about changes in the strategies used to promote Vegemite. The article that announced the arrival of Kraft to Australia makes evident that the success achieved by the company was related to its promotional strategies.

> The Kraft Company in America claims that by reason largely of its extensive organisation and advertising, it has aided materially in increasing the yearly consumption of cheese in the US from about 2¾lb. a head of population to about 4lb. a head within the last few years. That means an increase of about 150,000,000lb. a year in the consumption of   cheese in the United States. (American Cheese Company, 1926)

White asserts that Vegemite was transformed into a mass commodity through American-style campaigns developed in the 1930s, after Fred Walker had passed away and the trademark had become entirely owned by Kraft (R. White, 2010, p. 136). Considerable changes in advertising and more persuasive strategies can be noticed since the first moment of partnership between Walker and Kraft.

Figure 2.17 Jar of Parwill[11] and advertisements for the product dating from 1926 (Parwill, 1926).

One of these strategies constitutes another myth in Vegemite's biography – a temporary change of its name to Parwill. Although there is a widespread belief that this change of name took place in 1928 (Kraft Foods Limited, 2012a; R. White, 1994, 2010), there is evidence (Figure 2.18) proving that it occurred at least two years before that (Parwill, 1926, 1927). This means that this strategy was implemented in 1926, the same year that Fred Walker and Kraft Cheese were merged into the Kraft Walker Cheese Company. The name Parwill was the result of a marketing strategy aimed at competing with Marmite through slogans such as: "If Ma might, then Pa will" or "Ma might, but better still. Parwill" (See also: Callister, 2012, p. 75). Vegemite did not disappear from the market when Parwill was introduced. Apparently, Vegemite and Parwill were sold simultaneously in different states of Australia. Vegemite was sold as a product of the Fred Walker Company, and Parwill's label said it was produced by Cereal Foods. Parwill was not able to attract consumers and in the early 1930s advertisements for the spread disappeared.

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[11] Image courtesy of Mimmo Cozzolino.

Figure 2.18 Advertisements announcing Vegemite's competition for a Jowett (Vegemite, 1926a),(Vegemite, 1926b).

The strategies that gave visibility to Vegemite were based on advertising campaigns that offered prizes to consumers. Free samples were very common (Vegemite, 1925a), but there is evidence to suggest that what gave visibility to Vegemite were competitions offering prizes such as cars and cash (Figure 2.18). In 1926, just a few months after the constitution of the Kraft Walker Cheese Company (but still using the name of the Fred Walker Company in its label), Vegemite announced that as "many of the public of New South Wales (…) are unaware of the (…) outstanding features of 'Vegemite'" its manufacturers have decided to "present a latest model British 'Jowett' car absolutely free" (Vegemite, 1926a). In January of the next year, the managers of the Fred Walker Company in Sydney and director of Goldberg – the advertising agency in charge of the campaign – presented the car to the winner of the competition. Over the next decade Kraft made extensive use of similar strategies (Figure 2.19) by offering to consumers Pontiac cars for completing a limerick (Vegemite, 1937a) and substantial cash prices for giving titles to visual images including the word Vegemite (Vegemite, 1938). These strategies gave visibility to the spread, but Vegemite did not surpass the popularity of its main competitor. As explained above, by the late 1930s, Marmite was the most popular yeast extract spread in Australia, despite the fact that it was more expensive than Vegemite.

Figure 2.19 Advertising announcing a competition for four Pontiacs.
In this competition participants were asked to complete a limerick related to the product: "To improve soups and stews out of sight, Good cooks always use Vegemite. On bread is delicious, So very nutritious _____" (Vegemite, 1937b)

Few of the promotional strategies used by the Fred Walker Company or by Kraft to promote Vegemite were based on the Australian origins of the brand or the local manufacture of the product. There is evidence suggesting that Fred Walker cooperated with promoters of Australian-made products in Victoria and that his company participated in "All-Australian" exhibitions organised to publicize locally manufactured products (Australian-Made Preference Week, 1925). References to Australia were scarce in Vegemite's advertising and when made, they were not intended to raise patriotic feelings in the shopping habits of consumers. After Walker died in 1935, these references almost disappeared and references to Australia were presented as part of other "quick facts about Vegemite" that explained that "Vegemite [was] made in Australia by the Kraft Walker Cheese & Co." (Vegemite, 1938). This compares to the strong claims of other brands such as Arnott's that promoted its biscuit as not only "Made in Australia…" but also "… financed by Australians, and produced by highly trained Australian workers" (Arnott's, 1930).

The associations of Vegemite with Australia started to appear during World War II. In the late 1930s, the British Medical Association found that Vegemite was a source of vitamins. Immediately after the beginning of the War the Australian Army Catering Corps included the spread in military rations for the Australian army (Brien, 2010, p. 7; R. White, 2010, pp. 136-137). During the War many companies gave a patriotic tone to their advertising, explaining how they were supporting the troops. Kraft

almost immediately took advantage of the inclusion of Vegemite in the rations of soldiers to create a patriotic aura around the product. The advertisements for the spread started to explain the benefits that Vegemite represented for soldiers and warned civilians about possible shortages of the product. A series of advertisements published in newspapers and magazines around the country showed different characters such as "Wally", "Betty", "Mrs Wilson" and "Dad" giving their Vegemite to the troops (Figure 2.20), explaining that "if you and your family use less Vegemite you are actually helping the war effort" (Vegemite, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, 1943d). These and many other advertisements published during the War started to link Vegemite to Australia in a way that was not evident in previous campaigns.

Figure 2.20 Advertisements for Vegemite during World War II (Vegemite, 1943a, 1943b, 1943c, 1943d).

After the War, these associations between Vegemite and Australia were used to create a patriotic meaning around the product. Although the war had finished, shortages of Vegemite continued for some months and Kraft created new advertisements to explain the reason of this scarcity to consumers. A series of advertisements showed anguished characters asking how long they would have to wait for the spread to become available (Figure 2.21). The announcements, explained that the product was being sent to military hospitals and was still helping soldiers in operation camps to fight the "unseen enemy": "skin and dietary deficiencies". Australian scholars such as Donna Brien and Richard White argue that after the war, when the soldiers fed with Vegemite returned, they represented a significant commercial opportunity for Kraft and a big market for Vegemite (Brien, 2010; R. White, 1994).

Figure 2.21 Advertisements for Vegemite after World War II (Vegemite, 1945a, 1945b).

The post-World War II period saw Australia becoming a new nation. As Susie Khamis (2009) explains, after World War II, political influences and cultural inspirations moved from Britain to America. Additionally, the ethnic configuration of the country's population started to change. During the 1950s, immigration restrictions were softened and the country opened its doors to immigrants from many countries. In the 1954 Census, the number of British immigrants represented, for the first time since Federation, less than 50 per cent (48.7 per cent) of arrivals. A considerable increase of people coming from other countries was registered. During the fifty years after Federation, the Australian-born citizens grow steadily (7,700,064 in 1954), which meant an increase in Australian children (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2001). For all these newborns and newcomers, Britain was not a dominant source of ethnic influence or cultural inspiration, and very soon practices related to what it meant to be Australian started to be redefined.

Figure 2.22 Advertising for Vegemite starred by Australian children (Vegemite, 1948).

Consistent with social, political and cultural changes of the post-war period Vegemite was sold using new advertising techniques developed in America. In her study of the American food industry in the 1950s, Laura Shapiro (2004) has shown the important role that the food industry and advertising played in the reinvention of food habits, especially in the introduction of convenience food products into the everyday diet of American families. In Australia, Jillian Adams (2013) argues that during the same period "Australian companies adopted sophisticated American marketing methods to promote new American manufactured foods to Australian housewives". In the US and Australia, Kraft made extensive use of these new advertising techniques through the agency J. Walter Thompson. And although Sanitarium also adopted some of them, it did not do so with the same intensity of Kraft. A newspaper article published in the 1980s, explained that "the religious basis of the company" and its "critical views against modern capitalism", were a restraining factor in Sanitarium's promotion (Sawer, 1987).

It was one of these new advertising campaigns of the post-war period that inscribed Vegemite in the biography of new generations of Australians. Since the mid-1940s a series of advertisements started to present "real" Australian children who were said to be enthusiastic consumers of Vegemite since they were babies or since they had arrived in the country. The pictures of these boys and girls were accompanied by the advice of Matron Connelly (a popular character created to publicize Vegemite) and of mothers who confirmed the benefits that Vegemite had for children.

> Peter was one year old on October 25. He is the cherry little son of Mr. and Mrs. Duckworth of Kneed St, Nth. Fitzroy, Vic. Mrs. Duckworth says, Peter started on Vegemite at the age of 6 months when the Infant Welfare Centre recommended it. He's had it every day since and has never tired of it (Vegemite, 1948).

The strategy continued during the 1950s through advertisements (Figure 2.23) that highlighted the skills of these children: "Baby Veteran", "Archer at 5", "Boy Driver" (Vegemite, 1953b, 1953c, 1954). In these advertisements Vegemite was not only talking about Australia, but was embodying the nation through the pictures, names and addresses of these kids.

Figure 2.23 First advertisements mentioning the concept of "happy Vegemite" (Vegemite, 1953a, 1953b, 1953c).

In the early 1950s, these advertisements started to describe the children not only as "Archer at five" or identifying them as "Rex Racklyeft", but as "Happy Little Vegemite": "Rex has the makings of a champion, says his father, Club Official. Tons of energy – helps keep him healthy and active. He's another happy little 'Vege-mite'!" Happy Little Vegemite was the title of a jingle created by J. Walter Thompson for Kraft and introduced in 1954 to advertise the product on Australian radio. In 1956, the song was transformed into an audio-visual commercial that featured a band of eight "Happy Little Vegemites" marching to its tones. Aired for the rest of the decade, this commercial reinforced the associations that Fred Walker and Kraft were constructing between Vegemite and Australian childhood. For instance, Robert White argues that during this period "products with claims to promote health and vitality had an advantage in the Australian market" and that Vegemite's claims "connected it to the same long-standing ideas about healthiness of the Australian and aspirations for the evolutionary fitness of the nation" (R. White, 2010, p. 137).

In the 1960s, new advertising campaigns furthered the "Happy Little Vegemites" campaign, and started to transform the spread into an Australian tradition. The advertisements (Figure 2.24) featured the stars of the first advertisements published in the 1940s and 1950s, who were now teenagers: "In 1945 Dianne Scealy was a "happy little Veg-e-mite" and now Dianne is a glamorous model…" (Vegemite, 1961b); "In 1949 Maurice Lee was a "happy little veg-e-mite and now Maurice is a husky teenager…" (Vegemite, 1961c); "In 1952 Daryl Brown was a "happy little veg-e-mite" and now Daryl is a sturdy Rover Scout…" (Vegemite, 1961a). All the captions explained that each teenager was "…still a Vegemite fan", illustrated with pictures that showed them having breakfast with their families. "Happy Little Vegemites" represented the commencement of a new nation, and through these forms of publicity, Vegemite was inscribed in the future of Australia and its population. Some years later, when Australia started a desperate search for symbols, it is arguable that the figure of the Happy Little Vegemites would offer a depoliticised and ahistorical resource for national identification.

Figure 2.24 Advertising from the campaign Happy Little Vegemite (Vegemite, 1961c).

The "Happy Little Vegemites" promotional campaigns saw the brand became an invented tradition. Hobsbawm defines an "invented tradition" as a "set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm, 1983a, p. 1). It was precisely the constant repetition of these advertisements over almost three decades that linked Vegemite, the past and new generations of Australians. Vegemite also symbolised

social cohesion and membership in a community, and beliefs, values and behaviours that presented the consumption of Vegemite as something distinctively Australian. When people ate Vegemite or recalled the jingle, they were placed with a national community of "Happy Little Vegemites".

The process described above facilitated the transformation of Vegemite, into a national symbol. This process started in the 1960s and was associated with a series of changes in Australian nationalism As explained earlier, James Curran and Stuart Ward argue that from the mid-1960s "Australians were confronted with the task of remaking their nation in the wake of [the British] empire" (2010, p. 5). Finding solutions to this crisis implied a revision of the things used to represent the nation and a renovation of the symbolic repertoire of Australianness. As part of this refurbishment, commodities such as Vegemite were adopted as national symbols and foreign corporations such as Kraft came to play the role of cultural institutions.

Figure 2.25 Advertisement for Vegemite T-shirts (Vegemite, 1981).

Two decades later, when Australia celebrated its Bicentenary, the results of this cultural makeover were recognised by different scholars. Steven Alomes (1988) explained the changes of Australian nationalism as a transition from jingoism to "jingleism" and named this new facet of Australia's nationalism as "T-shirt nationalism". Vegemite offers a clear picture of this phenomenon. In the 1980s, the television advertisement of the Happy Little Vegemites that had featured three decades earlier was recycled in a new coloured version. The jingle was said to be more popular than the national anthem, and was adopted by many Australians as one of their national songs. In the same decade, as

part of an advertising campaign called *I'm a Vegemite Kid*, Vegemite T-shirts were also distributed (Figure 2.25). "Kraft the maker of Vegemite Yeast Extract as Aussie as the Kangaroo now offers you these terrific Australian made quality T-shirts (…) ideal as a gift to love ones overseas (…) [and available in] (…) a full range of sizes, for kiddies to adults" (Vegemite, 1981).

The significance of Vegemite in the new Australian identity went beyond jingles and T-shirts. Vegemite started to feature in the testimonials of Australians living or travelling overseas, who reported homesickness when unable able to find Vegemite, as well as happiness after having found stores selling the spread. In the 1970s and 1980s, *The Australia Women's Weekly* published articles and letters that recommended Australians travelling abroad take their own supply, especially when going to America. In 1976, Donna Dowdle (1976), an Australian living in the US, wrote to the magazine: "I'm enjoying my life here, but missing Australia, except for The Weekly and the CARE packages Mum sends, full of Vegemite, canned passionfruit and Foster Clark's custard powder". And apparently in 1977, when Australian queen of the 1970s pop, Helen Reddy, came back to the country "after a long absence", she explained her return by saying "I ran out of Vegemite" (Dunlevy, 1981).

The consolidation of Australia's tourism industry was also important in transforming Vegemite into a symbol of the country. According to Kraft (Kraft Foods Limited, 1992), during the 1980s it was necessary to adapt the product for "special purpose packaging for the hospitality industry". This involved the development of the "single serve portion" and "travel pack", which converted Vegemite into a souvenir taken by foreign travellers when returning to their countries. Thanks to tourists, travellers and Kraft's promotion, the popularity of Vegemite extended beyond Australia. An article published in *The New York Times* in 1987, titled "Food fetish from Australia" (Kristof, 1987), presented testimonies of Australian officials confessing that they "always [took] a jar of Vegemite and dry biscuits when traveling", as well as statements from representatives from the Australian consulate at New York saying that they received "half a dozen calls a week from people wanting to know where they can buy Vegemite". Although the article appeared to be part of Kraft's efforts to promote the spread in the US, the author explained that a "peculiar thing about Vegemite (…) is that most Americans appear[ed] to hate it".

Vegemite was celebrated and projected to the world through Australian popular culture. In 1983 the song "Down Under", by the Australian band "Men at Work", introduced the Vegemite sandwich to Americans, Canadians and British, reaching the first position in music charts of these countries. According to music critics, the song tells the story of a group of Australians finding themselves estranged by foreign cultures and celebrating their own identity (Songfacts, n.d). One of the stops in the song's journey is Brussels, where someone offers them a Vegemite sandwich after noticing their Australian accent: "Buying bread from a man in Brussels, he was six foot four and full of muscles. I said do you speak my language? He just smiled and gave me a Vegemite sandwich". The same year, when Alan Bond's *Australia II* won the "America's Cup", the song became an unofficial national anthem, that was later played during the 2000 Sydney Olympics every time Australians received gold medals.

As part of Australia's symbolic reinvention, it was necessary to construct new narratives to explain different dimensions of Australianness, including visual icons, national cuisine and popular culture. Vegemite was given a prominent position in some of the publications that constructed those narratives. One publication was the first edition of *Symbols of Australia* (Cozzolino & Rutherford,

1980). This book presented the visual evolution of Vegemite, including different versions of the jar and advertisements. In 1982, Michael Symons published the first edition of *One Continuous Picnic*, the first book telling the history of the Australian cuisine and food industry. Symons dedicated some pages to the history of Vegemite, and although he gave to the spread a status of national food, he also questioned its American ownership (Symons, 1982, pp. 132-134). In the late 1980s, John Fiske, Bob Hodge and Graeme Turner established a landmark publication in Australian cultural studies, *Myths of Oz* (Fiske et al., 1987). In it they considered Vegemite as "a typical feature of the Australian accent" (1987, pp. 174-175).

The Australian Bicentenary played a role in Vegemite's official recognition as symbol of Australian culture and identity. Preparations for the Bicentennial celebration of 1988 worked as a platform for the development of different projects aimed at constructing a new identity for the country. One project developed by the Federal Government was an "Inquiry into Folklife in Australia", which included a report with recommendations about how the Government and the Australian community could get involved in the protection of Australia's intangible heritage. In this project, Vegemite was given recognition as part of Australia's immaterial heritage and folklife. *The Canberra Times* reported that the Committee in charge of the Inquiry travelled "throughout Australia, holding extensive discussions with private individuals, community organisations, and academic, commercial and government bodies, and received 245 written submissions" (Lynch, 1988). In 1987, the final report of the Inquiry recommended that some aspects of folklife such as songs, traditional skills, Aboriginal traditions, and commercial products should be elevated in status and protected as part of the national heritage. Point 168 of the Inquiry, "commercial products as folklife", said:

> Over the years a number of commercial products have so impacted upon the Australian consciousness, developing their own mythology and lore, that it would be churlish to deny them status as part of Australia's folklife. These include products such as Vegemite and Goanna Oil, and a spectrum of lollies—Minties, Jaffas, Choo Choo Bars. Each has its own place in the Australian ethos, and is widely cherished. The owners of these brand names hold in trust an important dimension of Australia's heritage. (Committee of Inquiry into Folklife in Australia, 1987, p. 110)

Another project that gave official recognition to Vegemite was the Australian Bicentennial Exhibition, a touring exhibition that travelled the country over 12 months showcasing Australian history and culture. In 1987, the Australian Bicentennial Authority hired the NSW Branch of the Museums Associations of Australia (MAA) to act as conservation consultants for the Australian Bicentennial Exhibition (A.B.E) (Towns, 1989). The MAA recommended organising the Exhibition according to six themes, and giving to the objects a potential "museum status" in order to preserve their physical integrity. Vegemite was included in the Exhibition and showcased as part of the pavilion, *An Australian Identity*. A report published in *The Canberra Times* in 1988 presented the testimony of Kate Auton, a 17 years old girl who travelled during a year with the Exhibition. For this "bicentennial gipsy" the "Identities" theme was her favourite: "It really does show the Australian identity", "in music and film and bits and pieces of everything, Minties and Vegemite, Aboriginal culture, Kelly gang armour, and Dawn Fraser's Olympic Medals" (Warry, 1988, p. 6).

Figure 2.26 Vegemite Jar from the 1930s (Powerhouse Museum, n,d).

In 1991, Sydney's Powerhouse Museum ran an exhibition about Vegemite's history based on jars from different periods of time that were collected, with the help of Kraft, from people all around the country (Figure 2.26). The exhibition celebrated the origins of Vegemite as part of Australian inventiveness and situated the spread as representative of Australia and its culture. The exhibition also recognised the cultural value of Vegemite jars as collectable items. This movement in the brand's biography from the supermarket to the museum transformed the Vegemite jar into an object of collectors' value with antique qualities. Kraft took advantage of this new value attributed to the jar. When Vegemite celebrated its 70th anniversary in 1992, a commemorative edition of the jar resembling the original design was released (Figure 2.27). Previous designs of the jar have had second functions as glasses or containers, but this was the first time that a jar was meant to be collected for its own sake. And since this time, limited editions of the jar have celebrated other anniversaries and national commemorations.

Figure 2.27 Original Vegemite jar and commemorative edition for its 70th anniversary.

In 2001, when Australia celebrated the Centenary of Federation, the National Museum of Australia was inaugurated. It opened its doors with five galleries presenting rare and unique objects that illustrate the complex origins of the Australian continent and nation. One of these galleries was *Nation: Symbols of Australia*, where the Museum showcased from 2001 to 2010, different cultural artefacts considered national symbols: the Kangaroo, the Wattle, the Flag, Uluru, the Boomerang, the Sydney Harbour Bridge, the Billy, the Holden, the Southern Cross and Vegemite. The idea of a national museum its objectives, possible contents and nationalist narratives were a topic of constant debate. These issues and the discussions generated by the first exhibitions are beyond the scope of this thesis, but the fact that this national institution had included the brand of a bread spread (and a car produced by General Motors), reflects the complex character of Australian national identity and the material culture associated with it. The script used by the Museum to introduce Vegemite as a national symbol was problematic. Far from being critical about the commercial character and foreign ownership of the spread, it celebrated the brand using an ahistorical and depoliticised discourse.

There is one more register that is important to understand when considering the transformation of Vegemite into a national symbol, particularly, in terms of how the biographies of Australians and the spread became interwoven. In the 1980s, as part of the narratives aimed at constructing a new grammar of Australian national identity, different publishers developed Australian editions of dictionaries (Laugesen, 2014). In 1987, the first edition of *The Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary* included an entry for Vegemite and defined it as a: Trademark, a yeast extract used as spread, flavouring for stews, etc. ("Vegemite," 1987). In 1997, when the third edition was published, the dictionary kept a similar meaning, but included another based on colloquial uses of the word: An

Australian (child) – (*happy little vegemites*) ("Vegemite," 1997). In the latter definition the nation has been materialised in the spread, with Vegemite also humanised as Australian.

But not everybody was happy being a "little Vegemite". In the 1990s, an increasing concern for the expansion of multinational corporations in the Australian economy and their influence in national culture started to emerge. In the news media, critics denounced the foreign ownership of Vegemite and began to use the spread to illustrate the negative consequences of foreign intrusion. Meanwhile, some Australians entrepreneurs saw in this debate a commercial opportunity for creating new brands of bread spreads.

2.3 Ozemite and the bread spread revolt

Since the late 1990s, new brands of bread spreads such as Ozemite have challenged the iconicity of Vegemite in the marketplace, a phenomenon that objectifies many cultural, political and economic concerns about the influence of multinational corporations in Australia. For many decades, the fact that Vegemite was owned by an American company had not been a significant problem. Since the 1990s, however, concerns about the takeover of Australian iconic brands by foreign corporations started to increase in the media and public opinion (Khamis, 2004). In response, local entrepreneurs developed new commercial initiatives encouraging consumers to replace products made by these companies with similar ones made by Australian owned companies. As part of these initiatives, some companies created their own brands of yeast extract spread and promoted them on the basis of their local ownership.

This section looks at the biography of one these spreads, Ozemite, paying special attention to the ways in which it has been used as political tool to contest the expansion of global corporations into Australia's culture and economy. The section will show how, unlike Marmite and Vegemite, the promotion of this spread has almost ignored nutritional qualities and focuses on claims of local ownership and nationalist nostalgia. I will argue that Ozemite's biography materialises some of the changes that have been occurring in Australian nationalism in the last two decades, focusing on fears of corporate intrusion and a rejection of foreign investment. However, new bread spreads are not the only challenge faced by Vegemite, and as this section will show. Its fate as a national symbol will be determined by the social, cultural and political transformations that Australia faces in the new millennium.

The origins of Ozemite go back to the late-1990s when Dick Smith, an Australian entrepreneur who "made a fortune importing cheaper Asian-made electronics equipment" (Hawthorne, 2012), launched Dick Smith Foods. This brand aimed to sell foods made by Australian owned companies, and fight the takeover of iconic Australian brands by foreign corporations (Marsh, 2001). Smith's idea was similar to the one that Fred Walker had in the early decades of the twentieth century when he decided to create Bonox and Vegemite in order to compete with British imports. Most of the products announced by Dick Smith Foods were substitutes for iconic brands that had been overtaken by foreign companies. One of these products was "Ozemite", an Australian-owned substitute for Vegemite. "Like many Australians", said Smith recently (D. Smith, 2012c, p. 22), "I was amazed to find that Vegemite was American owned (…) I decided it was time we had our own Aussie yeast spread so I came up with the name, OzEmite and announced the proposal on national television" (See also: Shawn, 2001). In 1999,

Smith calculated that the yeast spreads market share had a foreign participation rate of 98 per cent and expected to launch his own product as a response to the situation, hoping that Australians would prefer it for being "truly" Australian (Dick Smith Foods, 2000).

Far from representing an isolated case, Smith's nationalist concerns and commercial initiatives were part of a new manifestation of commercial nationalism. Since the early 1990s, new "buy Australian" campaigns such as "Ausbuy" had started to inculcate in Australians new forms of "practical patriotism" that encouraged citizens to buy products that were Australian-made, and made by Australian-owned companies (e.g. Lecky, 1991). The creation of "Ausbuy" brought the issue of foreign ownership to news and public attention. A decade after the creation of "Ausbuy", different companies were promoting their products using claims of local ownership. As part of this process, *The Financial Times* reported, that "Australians [would] be asked to buy Ozemite solely because it is locally produced and owned, whereas Vegemite, while made in Australia, is owned by Kraft (…)" (Marsh, 2001).

At the time, however, Smith was not the only business owner planning to develop local substitutes for Vegemite. Other Australian companies were working on their locally-owned spreads and Kraft, conscious of the situation, made legal movements to guarantee its market hegemony. A company called "Three Threes" from New South Wales and Roger J. Ramsey from South Australia were developing their own yeast extract spreads at the same time. Smith's announcements unleashed a battle for the trademarks Ozemite and Aussiemite, in which Dick Smith and Roger J. Ramsey fought each other. Meanwhile, Kraft registered trademarks with names that could resemble associations between Australia and product names ending "mite", including Ozemite, in order to protect Vegemite. This move was labelled a "dirty trick" designed to block the Australian entrepreneur (Dick Smith Foods, 2012)[12]. The outcomes by the mid-2000s were that Kraft continued producing Vegemite, Three Threes launched MightyMite and Roger J. Ramsey started producing Aussiemite. Dick Smith Foods, despite being the owner of Ozemite, only produced prototypes of the product, and his company focused on other type of foods, whose sales increased his fortune (Chan, 2012).

Throughout the 2000s, Dick Smith Foods' economic success decreased and the popularity of the products almost vanished. Yet the debate about the intrusion of foreign companies in Australian culture and economy increased. Organisations such as Ausbuy have expressed concerns about the increase of Chinese products in the local market and organised campaigns to stop the Federal Government approval of deals that sold Australia's land and companies to foreign investors (Ausbuy, 2012). Journalists have pointed out that it is difficult to find Australian products on the shelves of Australian supermarkets (Fyfe & Millar, 2012). These concerns were also expressed by the Australian population. In 2008, a survey of the Institute for International Policy examined the perceptions of Australian citizens towards foreign investment. The results revealed that 90 per cent of Australians believed that the Government should guarantee control of local companies. Approximately 61 per cent of this number not only believed this, but "strongly agreed" about the need to control the expansion of foreign interests (The Lowy Institute, 2008, p. 6). In this context, Smith's enterprise was reinvigorated and the bread spread revolt reinitiated.

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[12] See also: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fol2vsEsZSA

The resurgence of Ozemite, labelled by the media as a "War on Vegemite" (A Current Affair, 2012; Love, 2012), occurred in early 2012, when Dick Smith announced that after 13 years of development Ozemite was going to hit the supermarket shelves (Hawthorne, 2012). In July of that year, Smith launched his "new" spread in major Australian supermarkets Woolworths and Coles. He appeared on the television program, *A current Affair,* encouraging Australians to buy it as expression of support for local farmers and factories, and as a way to keep profits in Australia (A Current Affair, 2012). A month later, Smith distributed thousands of copies of *Forbidden Ideas,* a magazine advertising his company, through Fairfax Media's newspapers. The magazine was designed to promote Dick Smith Foods products and create awareness, according to Smith, about "the quality of [the] food we eat, [the] ownership of our farmlands … [and] the widening gap between rich and poor". On the first page of the publication, an advertisement for Ozemite mocked Kraft's "Happy Little Vegemites" slogan, inviting Australians to "become happy Aussie Mites" (Figure 2.28). It used the mantra of buy "Australian made and owned" and encouraged people to spend 30 cents more on the product "to support Australia" (D. Smith, 2012b, p. 1).

Figure 2.28 Advertisement for Ozemite mocking the slogan of Happy Little Vegemite.

The release of Ozemite revived the legal battle between Dick Smith and Roger J. Ramsey of a decade earlier. Ramsey had been producing Aussiemite for 12 years and commercialising it through independent supermarkets. Immediately after Ozemite was announced, he released a media statement explaining that Aussiemite was not a Dick Smith Foods product (AussieMite, 2012a). A

month before Ozemite was put on the supermarket shelves Roger Ramsey had launched an improved version of Aussiemite. The revamped version of the spread emphasised the patriotic properties of the product, describing it as "an Aussie icon spread 100% Australia owned" (AussieMite, 2012b). Both companies have since engaged in a legal battle in which Ramsey alleges that consumers are confused by the similarity in the names of the products. Two years after this battled restarted, Intellectual Property Australia (IP Australia), the entity that regulates trademarks in the country, ruled that Ozemite should be removed from the shelves (Wright, 2014). Smith has refused to change the name of his product and has said that if he is forced to do so, he will rename it Dickymite (Dick Smith Foods, 2014).

Dick Smith Foods has developed complex marketing strategies not only to publicize Ozemite, and to diminish the nationalist properties of Vegemite. Despite similarities between the two spreads, the properties attributed to Ozemite make it a different product. To begin with, Smith says that his company donates all its profits to charity. He argues that when people buy its products they are not only supporting local companies, keeping jobs in Australia and so on, but also helping Australians in need. Whereas when people buy Vegemite, Smith says, they are sending money to foreign corporations. Replicating many of the myths around the "invention" of Vegemite, Smith presents Ozemite as the result of Australian innovation. He explains that thanks to "some brilliant Australian food technologies" (D. Smith, 2012c) his company "found the way to use purpose-grown yeast based on corn", which ensures that "unlike Vegemite, OZEMITE is not made from spent brewers yeast that has been through a brewery eight times" (Dick Smith Foods, 2013). Smith also blames Kraft for changing the original taste of Vegemite and adding an American flavour on it. He argues that his company recovered the original recipe, and that Ozemite is "closer to the original taste of Vegemite that [he] remember[s] as a boy in the 1950s" (D. Smith, 2012c). Ozemite appears to have a flashback effect on selected consumers who have reviewed the product: "I agree OzEmite is more like we used to have when I was younger, in the 50's" or "My husband was amazed that it tastes like vegemite (sic) used to when he was a kid!" (Dick Smith Foods, 2013).

More recently, Smith's strategies to combat Vegemite and fight corporate encroachment in Australia have resembled what Roopali Mukherjee and Sarah Banet-Weiser term as "commodity activism" (2012). In general terms, Mukherjee and Banet-Weiser define this form of activism as one in which political agency is attributed to commodities and civic action is funnelled and exercised through consumerism. The campaign launched by Dick Smith Foods on the occasion of Australia Day 2013 exemplifies this concept. In an advertisement that was banned on Australian television because of sexual innuendo (Levy, 2012; Starke & Dengate, 2012), Smith appeared in a scenario saturated by Dick Smith Foods products and nationalist paraphernalia, encouraging Australians to boycott particular food commodities for being foreign owned and "not true-blue", and to replace them with his own products (Figure 2.29). "Australia's bestselling sauce, peanut butter and spread are no longer Aussie owned and ship profits overseas", explained Smith in the advertisement before presenting his products: "chow down on my Ozenuts!, shake my Ozesauce!, spread my Ozemite!" (D. Smith, 2012a).

Figure 2.29 Screenshots from Dick Smith Foods Australia Day 2013 commercial

Local bread spreads will continue to contest the symbolic character of Vegemite in the years to come, and demographic, political, cultural and social changes will define its fate as Australian icon. Some media reports (Hildebrand, 2009; Pannet, 2012) have explained that Vegemite is losing appeal among migrants and new generations of Australians, and that Kraft is having problems in launching new but unsuccessful products based on the spread (e.g. iSnack 2.0, Cheesybite. My First Vegemite. Reduced Salt Vegemite). One report, published in the Asian edition of *The Wall Street Journal* (Pannet, 2012) presents the testimonial of a woman who works as volunteer cafeteria manager in a public school in Sydney. She explains that kids in the school's cafeteria avoid Vegemite sandwiches and prefer, instead of the spread, other foods such as "'Want-Want' rice crackers, Singapore noodles and honey-soy chicken". Though it is difficult to imagine, it is not impossible that one of these delicacies will be able to represent future versions of Australianness in the twentieth-first century.

Concluding comments

Drawing on the notion of bread spread nationalism, this chapter analysed changes occurring in Australian nationalism during the second half of the twentieth century. The cultural biographies of Marmite, Vegemite and Ozemite materialise some of the changes associated with Australia's cultural makeover and the tensions that this makeover generated: the detachment of Australian national identity from British influences in the post-war period, the construction of a new national identity, and

the rise of commercial movements against the expansion of foreign influences in Australia's economy and culture. The cultural biography of Marmite, especially the preference enjoyed by the spread before World War II and its decline in the post-War period, is a clear manifestation of changes unfolding in the cultural backgrounds and forms of national identification of Australians. Furthermore, the cultural biography of Vegemite, particularly the transformation of this bread spread into a national symbol, connects with changes in national identities experienced in the second half of the century, and demonstrates the important role that commodities played in the "enthusiastic" search for symbols generated by these changes. Finally, the cultural biography of Ozemite reveals the way in which the spread has been used to contest the expansion of multinational corporations in Australia.

The notion of bread spread nationalism is useful in showing some of the intersections between nationalism and consumer culture during the second half of the century, and the implications that these intersections have had in nation-making, national imaginaries and national identities. In terms of nation-making, the notion of bread spread nationalism has made visible a phenomenon identified in the previous chapter involving the role of commercial enterprises in the construction of Australian identity. This chapter, in particular, showed how in the last decades of the century, corporations were acknowledged by official institutions and scholars, and how as part of this process Kraft was identified as the owner of an important dimension of Australian national heritage. However, this ownership has not been uncontested, as shown by Dick Smith Foods commercial activism.

It is in the fields of national imaginaries where the intersections between consumer culture and Australian nationalism became particularly visible. The previous chapter showed that during the first decades of the twentieth century, the names and emblems of commercial organisations became symbols of Australia's industrial progress, and national symbols of Britain and Australia started to be used as promotional devices. This chapter has shown how this phenomenon continued during the second half of the century, when commodities such as Vegemite started to be used as cultural resources to construct and contest new national identities, and, at the same time, the marketing of these commodities integrated nationalist imageries and statements

Overall, the phenomenon of bread spread nationalism reveals the important role of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness in the second half of the twentieth century.

PART THREE

The third part of the thesis looks at commercial nationalism today, when Australia, like many other countries, is redefining its identity on the basis of "the local" in a global context. Since the early 1990s, scholars analysing the cultural and economic dynamics of globalization have argued that, in response to the expansion of a "global culture" all around the world, many nations have started a quest for distinctive identities and practices that differentiate them from a seemingly inevitable process of homogenization (Featherstone, 1990). In particular, scholars have shown that global flows associated with the cross-cultural expansion of ideas, technologies, finances, people and media are not entirely assimilated by their host cultures, but are contested in their cultural influx. Globalization has been associated with processes of "glocalisation", indigenisation, "creolisation" and so on (Appadurai, 1990; Howes, 1996; Robertson, 1995). In many places, just when the end of the nation-state had been announced, these responses to globalization and its supposed homogenising forces have shaped new nationalist projects.

The objective of many of these new nationalist projects has been to reinvent the nation, its symbols and the identities of its subjects using cultural resources associated with the "local". In *The Power of Identity* (the second volume of *The information Age*), Manuel Castells (1997) explains how, in the 1990s, globalization was transforming "the material foundations of life, space and time, through the constitution of a space of flows and of timeless time" and shaping a "new world". But that was not the whole story, he argued. Simultaneous with the constitution of this new global world there was a surge in expressions of collective identity that challenged globalization "on behalf of cultural singularity and people's control over their lives and environment" (1997, pp. 1-2). More than a decade later, in the preface to the second edition of this book, Castells (2010) summarised the phenomenon as follows:

> When one dimensional globalization was imposed from the central nodes to the entire system by enforcing the logic of financial markets and multinational networks of production and trade, people around the world resisted and counteracted, finding their forms of resistance in the materials of their cultural specificity, hanging onto their god, their family, their locality, their ethnicity, and their nation (Castells, 2010, p. xxxv).

He reports that the proportion of "cosmopolitans" who feel themselves as "citizens of the world" has remained at 13 per cent in the last decade, and "the more the world becomes global, the more people feel local" (2010, p. xxxiii). These new senses of locality, Castells argues, are based on a "whole array of reactive movements that build trenches of resistance on behalf of "fundamental categories of millennial existence" (e.g. the nation and the local) that are seen as "threatened under the combined, contradictory assault of techno-economic forces and transformative social movements" (2010, p. 2).

The processes and feelings signalled by Castells are at the core of new forms of nationalism that have emerged in recent decades in places such as the Americas, Europe and Australia. As he explains, "the age of globalization is also the age of nationalist resurgence" expressed through various attempts to reconstruct the basis of nationality (2010, p. 30). This part of the thesis examines particular forms of nationalism that are characterised by this return to "the local". Since the mid-1990s, North American cultural geographers have used the notion of "neo-localism" to define a phenomenon that is similar to

that explained by Castells. Initially, the term neo-localism was coined by James Shortridge (1996) to define what he saw as an increasing interest of individuals and groups in reviving, nurturing and creating local attachments and identities. More recently, this return to "the local" has been interpreted as a counter response to the "potentially homogenising effects of globalization, corporatization and connectivity" (Schnell, 2013, p. 56) with the reconstruction of personal and collective identities using local geography, history and society as resources.

The idea of neo-localism was used to describe forms of attachment to and identification with specific places, but "over the past decade", says Steven Schnell, "it has become something much more expansive and ambitious [and] increasingly, people are forming national and international networks of neolocals". Schnell explains, for example, how neo-local movements in the US (e.g. FoodRoutes and The Business Alliance for Local Living Economies) "are taking an innovative approach – albeit a paradoxical one: they are trying to create a national local moment". The identities and attachments constructed by neo-localism are not only linked to particular places or specific locales, but are based on "broader ideas of localness and place distinctiveness" (2013, p. 71). It is from this perspective that neo-localism can be considered a new component of nationalism, not opposed to globalization but engendered by it, and aimed at re-making nations and reconstructing a sense of nationhood within global flows.

In Europe, social anthropologists have used the term "neo-nationalism" to describe a similar phenomenon. Andre Gingrich (2006) has associated these reactive forms of nationalism alongside processes of globalization with manifestations of "aggressive postcolonial and post-Cold War readjustment". According to Gingrich, neo-nationalism has many variants and has been manifested through extremist groups such as neo-Nazis, through forms of ethno-nationalism, regionalism and secessionism, as well as through populist forms of liberalism and constitutional democracies (Gingrich & Banks, 2006). Despite all these variants, a common element of new forms of nationalism in Europe is their focus on "the local". Jaro Stacul (2006) argues that although the rhetoric of these neo-nationalisms has some nationalist overtones, all of them make evident a commitment to locality, for which they are better understood as "neo-localism".

In Australia, forms of nationalism revolving around neo-localism have manifested in different ways, most of them related to Australia's condition as a postcolonial country in a globalised world. Attacks on multiculturalism are a clear manifestation of this attempt to reconstruct national identities on the basis of "the local". For instance, Bruce Kapferer and Barry Morris (2006) have defined the phenomenon of "Hansonism" and the populist discourse of its leader as a clear instance of Australian neo-nationalism. It would be naïve, however, to limit the phenomenon of neo-localism to Pauline Hanson or Dick Smith without recognising other attempts to reconstruct the symbols of Australian national identity: the referendum for an Australian Republic in 1999, the debate over the national flag and the revival of Anzac Day since the mid-1990s. From this perspective, neo-localism in Australia is a continuation of the cultural makeover initiated in the second half of the twentieth century.

Neo-localism has a commercial dimension. In many cases the return to "the local" is expressed through processes of commodification and through the use of "local" commodities as symbols of new identities. Some of the most striking manifestations of neo-localism revolve around commercial enterprises and new forms of local consumerism such as microbreweries, wineries, community

supported agriculture (e.g. farmers' markets), buy local campaigns (e.g. eat local), and local tourism (Flack, 1997; Schnell, 2007, 2011, 2013; Schnell & Reeese, 2003). Steven Schnell argues that these local commodities – the "microbrewed beer, the locally grown tomato, and the small bookshop" – have become the equivalent of the flag or the national anthem for this new localism. They are symbols of this new local identity, enabling people to imagine themselves as members of a local imagined community (2013, p. 64). A similar trend towards the commercial reconstruction of national identities using "the local" as a resource has been described by Michaela DeSoucey (2010) through the concept of "gastronationalism". DeSoucey uses this concept to define the ways in which the marketing and consumption of local food has been used to reconstruct national identities in the European Union, in response to processes of cultural homogenization generated by political projects aimed at creating a pan-European sense of collective identity. In particular, she shows how the *foie gras* has been transformed in France into a commercial symbol of the local (local tradition and patrimony), which is used to demarcate, maintain and defend national identities in a global world and an open market.

Schnell demonstrates that the commercial symbols of neo-localism (e.g. the microbrewed beer or the *foie gras*) are flexible. He explains that these symbols are "vague, and they contain a wealth of ideals, contradictions and contestations". In general terms, the local has come to represent "the opposite of everything that the global is seen to be: personal instead of faceless, fair instead of exploititive (sic), democratic instead of plutocratic, unique instead of homogeneous" (2013, p. 64). In the context of consumer culture, the meanings of the local are associated with transparency in economic interactions (e.g. explanations of where and how goods are produced), non-corporate forms of commerce (e.g. locally or family owned businesses), the uniqueness of products and services (e.g. finding the distinctive essence of places), the environmental responsibility of commercial enterprises (e.g. protecting places and reducing pollution), empowerment of local citizens (e.g. giving them an active role in the commercial construction of place), and community building through consumption (e.g. economic transactions seen as interactions between friends and neighbours) (Schnell, 2013, pp. 66-71). Overall, these commercial manifestations of neo-localism attempt to reconstruct places and communities, including nations and national communities, using commodified narratives of "the local".

The chapters that constitute this part of the thesis analyse these new forms of commercial nationalism revolving around the commercialisation of "the local". The first chapter, "supermarket patriotism", examines the adoption of nationalism as part of the corporate cultures of Woolworths and Coles and shows how, as part of this process, supermarkets have reorganised their sourcing policies, corporate responsibilities, in-store experience and promotion around different dimensions of "the local". As part of this local turn, they have started to present their supply chains as transparent organisations, their stores as community places, and their food commodities as devices to re-imagine Australia. The second chapter, "social media populism", analyses the adoption of social media technologies and crowdsourcing strategies in Australian national branding campaigns, and shows how these technologies and strategies involved local citizens in tourism promotion, under the guise of democracy, empowerment and authenticity. In particular, it shows how tourism promotion has started to use the knowledge of Australian citizens, specifically pictures and testimonials of their own vacations, to create a tourist-friendly image of Australia that is "sold" to tourists as a more authentic and unique holiday experience.

3. SUPERMARKET PATRIOTISM

Figure 3.1 Patriotic imagery at Australian supermarkets.

I am here. After driving around the parking lot for a while, I find a spot and head into the supermarket. I came to enjoy the pleasures of self-service. However, for many shoppers coming to Australia's "big two" supermarkets, Woolworths and Coles, has become a patriotic experience, especially during the past two years. My journey starts in an open section encompassing fresh produce, meats, dairy, bakery and delicatessen items. The first thing I find are not shelves of products, but something that resembles a traditional market, in which I can deal directly with the store manager, the butcher, the baker or the "deli guy". A series of displays with pictures, prices, peoples, maps and symbols explain where they come from and even the names of people involved in food production and distribution. Interestingly, the stories of these foods are not about faraway places or exotic people, but about Aussie farms and "true-blue" farmers. The whole section resembles a national celebration, as the food, geographies and people of the nation spread out before me.

Various displays inform me about my possible shopping choices, stressing the Australianness of many foods. When I look at the fruits and vegetables, I am told not about their nutritional properties, but their national qualities. I am told, for example, that 96 per cent of the "fruits and vegs" are Australian grown. A wide range of labels, plastic bags and stickers explain in detail the states, regions, localities and farms where the apples, pears, oranges, capsicums and lettuces that I have put into my basket were grown. A closer look at some items reveals small stickers that describe them as "Aussie Avocado", "Eureka Lemon", "Aussie Granny Smith", "Australian Valencia" and so on.

I move on to the meat section. Thanks to certified labels and nationalist paraphernalia I find that the beef, chicken, pork and lamb are "100% Aussie". I then discover that prawns, lobsters, mussels and fish come from Aussie waters. At the deli section I find that the hams are sourced from Australia, as well as cheese and olives. The dairy section is no exception. The $1 litre homebrand milk is 100 per cent Australian, as the $1 loaf of homebrand bread and all the flour used in the supermarket's bakery.

I move through the supermarket's shelves. I expect the boxes, jars and cans to reveal an immense variety of countries and cultures, languages and aesthetics, exotic foods and experiences. Instead, many packages claim to be, in one way or another, "Australian", and many display national symbols such as the flag, the map, the Southern Cross, and the kangaroo. Other products have incorporated the "shopping Aussie lingo" in their names and descriptions: Aussie-everything, whatever-mite, Australian-all, whoever-mate. After finishing this "national parade" the reusable bags sitting next to

the self-checkout are said to help Australian children and the environment. I keep the receipt; it includes fuel discounts to be used in the supermarket's service stations, and as I leave I pick up a copy of the supermarket's magazine and a weekly catalogue in order to plan my next visit.

Browsing the pages of the magazine at home, I find a similar narrative about Aussie foods and products. Watching television later, I hear the supermarket song. On the screen, chef celebrities, supermarket employees, farmers and aged rock stars emphasise that supermarkets are not just "big businesses", but responsible institutions committed to the nation, buying at their stores is not just about shopping, but about contributing to national development, and their food is 100 per cent local.

This chapter looks at these forms of commercial nationalism in which corporations adopt nationalist agendas, advancing them in the marketplace by nationalising commodities and enlisting citizens as consumers. It aims to examine the involvement of corporations in the commercial construction of the nation, analysing how Australia's two main supermarkets, Woolworths and Coles, have adopted nationalism, not only as a theme for their advertising, but as part of their corporate cultures. As a result of this nationalist turn, supermarkets have started to present themselves as institutions committed to the nation, their stores as places for citizen participation in the national community and their food as devices for imagining Australia. I refer to this process as "supermarket patriotism". Based on a case study of the corporate campaigns "Helping Australia Grow" and "Australia's Fresh Food People", the chapter questions the principles of supermarket patriotism, and shows how the adoption of nationalism by supermarkets is a branding strategy to create markets around patriotic forms of consumption that transforms food commodities into devices for imagining the nation.

Patriotism in the supermarket

The experience of shopping at Woolworths and Coles has not always emphasised Australia or patriotism. Like other supermarket chains around the world shopping at Woolworths or Coles was mainly about value-for-money and the customer having a choice of foods from diverse range of countries. However, this changed around 2012, when in response to criticism raised against their corporate practices and the damaging effects of the so-called "supermarket wars" on local food producers Woolworths and Coles launched the campaigns "Australia's Fresh Food People" (AFFP) and "Helping Australia Grow" (HAG) in an effort to clean their brand images. The clear nationalist tone of these campaigns saw both supermarkets express a patriotic commitment to Australia. They promised to behave as responsible corporations by contributing to national development, helping "Aussie" families to save, and supporting local farmers by selling only Australian food. As part of this process, and reflecting some of the characteristics of neo-localism, both supermarkets made their supply chains, corporate policies and social programs more transparent, and redefined their stores as community places where citizens can connect with farmers and fellows Australians through local food commodities.

The explicit adoption of nationalism by supermarkets seems to be a relatively new phenomenon. In Australia, as it was explained in the Introduction, the use of nationalism in food and beverage advertising has a long history (Khamis, 2004; Prideaux, 2009; Redden, 1999; Sinclair, 2008; L. White, 2009a), involving the commodification of the nation and the use of nationalist motifs as product differentiation. Supermarket patriotism, however, is not only about nationalist advertising, but about a

distinctive and evolving form of "commercial nationalism". In AFFP and HAG, Woolworths and Coles adopt nationalism as a corporate ideology, which means that nationalism is reflected not only in their advertising and public relations, but also in their sourcing policies, way of doing business, social responsibilities and relationships with customers. In this way, supermarkets become actors involved in the production of national culture, in the mobilization of citizens towards particular interests and in the creation of visual materials about Australia, its people, its land and its culture.

Discussions about Woolworths and Coles have taken place mostly in the news media, where the debate has been centred on the role they play in the national economy, and scholarly approaches are comparatively rare (with some exemptions: Keith, 2011; Redden, 1999; Richards, Lawrence, Loong, & Burch, 2012). I argue that the adoption of nationalism as a corporate ideology by Woolworths and Coles, and the deployment of patriotic campaigns in their stores, deserve serious attention because these practices situate them as prominent actors in the construction of Australianness. This argument extends a point made by Graeme Turner in *Making it National* (1994). In this book he explains that in the Australia of the 1980s, businesses were elevated to cultural institutions able to talk in the name of "the national interest" and deeply involved" in "defining or representing the nation". Two decades later, Woolworths and Coles offer a recent and powerful example of this situation. These chains do not just talk about the national interest, but claim to be committed to the advancement of Australia.

In order to analyse this form of commercial nationalism, this chapter looks at how supermarkets use "local imagery, local landscapes, and local stories to position themselves as intrinsically rooted in place" (Schnell, 2013, p. 57). In particular, it examines the narratives and visual discourses used by Woolworths and Coles to present themselves as national institutions, their stores as places for citizen participation, and their food commodities as "Aussie". Based on an analysis of the corporate discourses and promotional materials deployed by Woolworths and Coles in the media and their stores, the chapter questions whether the patriotic claims of supermarkets are just "true-blue washing", marketing strategies stressing an interest in Australia's development, that are actually increasing their profits.

Drawing on critical approaches to Corporate Social Responsibility (Fleming & Jones, 2013), on the notion of consumer-citizenship (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008; Özkan & Foster, 2005) and the concept of "geographical knowledges" (Cook & Crang, 1996), this chapter argues that supermarket patriotism is a complex corporate strategy aimed at protecting the reputation of Woolworths and Coles against the negative effects of their corporate practices for Australia, and creating and controlling markets built upon nationalist forms of consumerism. While it is true that some of the programs implemented by supermarkets as part of their patriotic campaigns might be beneficial, the biggest winners are Woolworths and Coles themselves, which have discovered that nationalism is good for business.

The case study is based on three dimensions of supermarket patriotism: the corporate and branding strategies used by supermarkets to reinvent themselves as national institutions, the consumption rituals implemented in order to present their stores as sites for citizen participation and the promotional strategies implemented to re-enchant generic foods by presenting them as part of Australian culture. These strategies were identified through participant observation in supermarket stores at Melbourne over twelve months and analysis of supermarkets' media platforms. A

considerable part of this fieldwork was undertaken by regular visits to Woolworths and Coles. During these visits I completed a photographic register of commercial products and promotional devices. This technique followed the principles of visual methodologies applied to the study of material culture (G. Rose, 2007; Wagner, 2011) and aimed to produce evidence about the phenomenon of supermarket patriotism. I also collected promotional materials such as weekly catalogues and monthly publications (*Coles Magazine* and *Fresh Magazine* in the case of Woolworths) distributed by supermarkets since the launch of AFFP (June 2012) and HAG (October 2012), as well as other materials sporadically distributed to customers. Another important part of this fieldwork took place in the "mediaspheres" of Woolworths and Coles. I analysed the websites of the campaigns AFFP (www.australiasfreshfoodpeople.com.au) and HAG (www.coles.com.au/helping-australia-grow), as well as the supermarkets' Facebook accounts (www.facebook.com/woolworths and www.facebook.com/coles). This fieldwork was complemented by media coverage, corporate documents and government reports related to the role of Woolworths and Coles in Australian culture and the economy.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first looks at the background of supermarket patriotism, analysing some of the disapproval expressed against Woolworths and Coles since the beginning of the "supermarket wars" and the campaigns that both supermarkets launched in response to those critiques. The following three sections present the results of the case study of the corporate campaigns AFFP and HAG. The first of these sections analyses a series of policies and strategies deployed by Woolworths and Coles as part of these campaigns to present themselves as national institutions committed to help Australian communities. The second looks at manifestations of supermarket patriotism in the in-store experience of Woolworths and Coles, showing how different national causes have been commodified in the form of products, souvenirs and fundraisings. These practices position the stores as places where consumers can exercise their social duties and become good citizens. The final section explores the promotional strategies implemented by Woolworths and Coles as part of their patriotic campaigns and analyses some of the national imaginaries created by these supermarket narratives

The rise of supermarket patriotism

In his gastronomic history of Australia, Michael Symons (2007) explains that Coles and Woolworths were founded in the early twentieth century as variety stores inspired by American and British models of retailing. The first "Coles Variety Store" was opened in Melbourne in 1914, and the first "Woolworths Stupendous Bargain Basement" was opened in Sydney ten years later. Around 1960, after competing with each other in the variety sector, both companies entered the food business and started to function as supermarkets. Gradually, they grew their participation in the food business and market share taking over several grocery stores and unifying them under the principles of self-service (though they worked through different types of stores and using different brand names). Symons suggests that the popularisation of Coles and Woolworths was facilitated by the spread of television and the diffusion of advertising, and that their rise as important players in Australia's grocery market was achieved through corporate practices based on price competition and market expansion (2007, pp. 210-211).

Progressively, Coles and Woolworths became the dominant Australian supermarket operators reaching almost absolute control of the market during the 2000s. In the 1970s, Australia's grocery market was considered an oligopoly in which, according to Symons, Coles and Woolworths controlled 17.3 per cent and 20 per cent respectively, sharing the market with local stores at each state (2007, pp. 211-212). In the following decades the situation changed dramatically and in the early 2000s, Woolworths and Coles were known as the "big two", a clear sign that the supermarket oligopoly had been transformed into a duopoly. By 2008, figures suggest that both supermarkets controlled around 70 per cent of the national market (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012, pp. 34-35). By 2013, the report "Global Powers of Retailing" positioned Woolworths and Coles among the 20 biggest retailers in the world (Carey, 2013; Deloitte, 2013; Kollmorgen, 2013).

Figure 3.2 Corporate and national flags at Coles headquarters in Melbourne

The strategies that Coles and Woolworths have implemented in order to captivate consumers and build their emporiums have been labelled in the Australian news media as a "supermarket war". Although the term has been in use since the early 2000s, the war between the "big two" acquired new vigour in 2007 when Wesfarmers purchased the almost broke Coles Group. Wesfarmers initiated a "five year transformation journey to improve business performance and the customer experience" at supermarkets (Wesfarmers, 2008, p. 16). Almost simultaneously, Woolworths announced a similar strategy aimed at rebranding its image and improving the ambience of the shopping experience at its stores (Ferre, 2008; Lee, 2009; D. Palmer, 2009; Woolworths, 2008, p. 11). Apart from labelling competition as a "war", similar metaphors have been used in the Australian media to highlight the transformation of the retail market into an extremely competitive arena, in which both supermarket chains implement multiple market strategies.

The supermarket war has been fought on different fronts. The most evident manifestation of this conflict has been in price competition over food, which is presented to customers through suggestive campaigns such as "Down, Down. Prices are down" in the case of Coles and "Price Knockdown and staying down" for Woolworths. Another visible outcome of this competition revolves around the supposed freshness of fruits of vegetables. Both supermarkets compete through slogans, "Fresh Food

People" in the case of Woolworths and "There's no freshness like Coles", and also in the presentation of food at their stores (See: Keith, 2011). While price discounts and fresh food are considered beneficial to consumers, these corporate strategies have triggered overt criticism from the retail and food industry, mainstream and independent media, diverse political sectors, and consumer advocacy organisations. Critics state that the price discounts in supermarkets have been achieved by implementing controversial strategies that presented a long-term risk to local food industries and the national economy. Some of the most vocal critics identify the expansion of homebrand labels on supermarkets shelfs and categories of products, a surge in imported foods, and dubious contracts and agreements with local suppliers.

In Australia, homebrands have gained market share in the last years by offering prices around 40 per cent (in the case of Woolworths) and 60 per cent (in the case of Coles) lower than other brands (Nenycz-Thiel, 2011). As Sarah Keith explains, "the rise of private label groceries produced by Coles and Woolworths presents another case for concern for smaller producers and local food networks" (2011, p. 51). This concern is not exclusive to Australia. In countries such as the US and the United Kingdom, Wal-Mart and Tesco have gained market "clout" with "Asian-sourced materials" (Seth & Randall, 2011, p. 29) and "own labels" (2011, p. 183), and many "national brands" or "brand names" have been deleted from the shelves and put out of business. In March 2011, the independent online news outlet Crikey published a series of reports about homebrands in Australian supermarkets called "Stacking the shelves" (Cowie, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c). The reports questioned the supposed benefits of homebrand labels. Presenting figures from Nielsen and other organisations, it was calculated that there had been an increase of 40 per cent of consumers preferring to buy homebrand instead of branded products. Other studies argued that the increasing presence of homebrand products in supermarkets and consumers' preference for these cheap items was reducing the space of other brands and removing products from the shelves (Fyfe & Millar, 2012).

Reflecting what seems to be a global trend in large supermarkets (Burt, 2000), the homebrands of Coles and Woolworth's have started to offer, not only cheaper and unadvertised products at lower prices, but also began to offer many other categories of commodities including "premium" products. In this way, Coles and Woolworths have developed new homebrands and are competing with "national brands" not only in price but also in perceived quality and brand image. Coles, for example, apart from its Coles Brand, has other labels such as "Organic", "Finest", "Green Choice" and "Simply Less". Woolworths' "Home Brand" has been complemented with "Fresh", "Macro" and "Select". Many homebrand products resemble the appearance of iconic brands; a practice that the Australian Food and Grocery Council and Choice believe is aimed at confusing shoppers (Dalley, 2012a; Dalley & Sheftalovich, 2012; Paish, 2011).

Another highly criticised corporate practice is linked to the use of homebrands as a façade for selling foods imported into Australia from low-wage countries. In May 2012, *The Age* published the results of research conducted by the newspaper and the Australian National University, revealing the origin of homebrand products in Australian supermarkets. The report, titled *Cheap food comes at a price*, revealed that one out of four grocery items sold in Australia was a homebrand product and that Coles and Woolworths were "relying on cheap labour in countries such as South Africa and Thailand" to manufacture them (Fyfe & Millar, 2012). Supermarkets defended themselves by saying that they had to use imports for a range of reasons, including droughts and floods that affected local crops, as well

as the strong Australian dollar. This strategy was hidden from consumers by using misleading labels that presented foods as made in Australia despite being packaged in the country but imported from other places, although operating within current legislations. These dubious strategies were addressed by the Senate Inquiry into Australia's Food Processing Sector. In its final report the Inquiry recommended that the current legislation regarding country-of-origin labels be modified in order to make the rules stricter and provide consumers with more information about the origin of the foods they buy (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012. Ch. 4).

Other critics questioned the contracts and agreements made by Woolworths and Coles with their suppliers in order to reduce the prices of foods. Coles and Woolworths were blamed for "misusing" their "market power" by imposing unfair condition on farmers, growers, suppliers and other actors involved in their supply chain, thereby damaging the food industry and the working conditions of Australian farmers. This issue was another of the topics covered by the Senate Inquiry into "Australia Food Processing" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012). The inquiry called for "victims" of supermarket power to testify about supermarket abuses in public hearings, but the process was characterised by a climate of fear among suppliers, which may have prevented them from making denounce. Something similar was reported by *The Age* in their report about the origin of homebrand products. When the newspaper tried to speak with people in the food industry "most declined to speak publicly, fearing reprisal from the big two supermarkets" (Fyfe & Millar, 2012). In response to this possible intimidation the Australian Competition and Consumer Commission (ACCC) offered protection to whistle-blowers who were willing to denounce abuses of power by Woolworths and Coles (Battersby, 2012). Ultimately, accusations against the supermarkets could not be proven, and the only response to the issue was a recommendation that suggested supermarkets "voluntarily compile and establish benchmarks within their corporate social responsibility documents to measure the level of satisfaction of their suppliers in dealing with supermarkets" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012, p. 62).

Figure 3.3 Website of Australia's Fresh Food People.

By mid-2012, continuing criticism of the surge of homebrands, the increasing importation of foods and the pressure that supermarkets were putting on the sustainability of Australian farms and farmers were threatening the brand image of Coles and Woolworths. In response to these criticisms, in the second half of 2012, both supermarkets adopted patriotism as part of their corporate policies ,

presenting themselves, their homebrands and their models for doing businesses as beneficial for Australia. In June, Woolworths rebranded its image, changing their 25 years old slogan "The Fresh Food People" for "Australia's Fresh Food People" (Figure 3.3). In October, Coles launched "Helping Australia Grow", a campaign in which the supermarket assumed responsibility for helping Australia (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4 Banner from the micro-website Helping Australia Grow.

Promising savings and low prices, the campaigns used a nationalist tone to explain how each supermarket had a patriotic commitment to the nation. "Woolworths is proud to be Aussie through and through", says AFFP's homepage, "It's why 96% of our fresh fruit & veg comes from our very own backyard. Food grown by true blue farmers right across the country" (Woolworths, 2012d). Similarly, Coles stated that as a "big business" it has a "big responsibility" and it "is helping Australia grow through [a] commitment to providing fresh Australian food supporting local growers and farmers" (Coles, 2012f). Beyond that, in television commercials, printed publications, social media networks and store advertising, Woolworths and Coles started to explain how they source their fruits, vegetables and meats from Aussie farmers, use Australian ingredients in their homebrand products, give jobs to Australians, make donations to charities, help local communities and so on. Both chains emphasised that by shopping at their stores, shoppers can contribute to different national causes. Overall, Coles and Woolworths present themselves, not as the commercially competitive supermarkets they are, but as patriotic organisations committed to Australian development.

The campaigns AFFP and HAG, as well as the phenomenon of supermarket patriotism, are manifestation of new forms of commercial nationalism revolving around a return to the local. The campaigns revolve around many of the ideas that scholars associate with neo-localism, such as transparency in supply chains, uniqueness of products, community building and so on (Schnell, 2007, 2013). Neo-localism is evident in a series of commitments and causes that supermarkets have assumed and adopted as part of their corporate cultures. This comeback to the local is also evident in the attitude of consumers. In market research and opinion polls, Australians have expressed not only a preference for locally manufactured products and locally grown foods but also a concern for the working conditions of local farmers (Australian Made, 2012a, 2012b; Roy Morgan, 2010, 2013).

The commercial rediscovery of the local is also visible in the narratives used in food promotion. Two decades ago, the value of food commodities was emphasised by their exotic origins, the extensive journeys they made before arriving on the supermarket shelves, and the unusual rituals involved in

their preparation and consumption (Cook & Crang, 1996). Today, however, the value of food is determined by local origin, proximity to the supermarket, and the familiarity of consumption. In its attempt to present foods as local, supermarket patriotism creates "food with a farmer's face" (Schnell, 2007), reconnecting consumers to the places and people involved in the production of what they eat. Nevertheless, this return to the local is deceptive. It might be true that the food sold at the supermarkets is locally grown by "true-blue" farmers and some of the profits are invested in the country. Many of the foods, however, are not sourced from Australia and most of the farmers who grow them work for multinational companies.

3.1 A big responsibility! The supermarket as a national institution

Through the campaigns AFFP and HAG, Woolworths and Coles are reinventing their organisations, and developing different corporate and promotional initiatives to present themselves publicly as national institutions. One of the main criticisms raised against Woolworths and Coles was the irresponsibility of their behaviour and the effects their corporate practices were having on Australia's food industry and economy. Their response to these criticisms, are patriotic campaigns where they claim to be committed to the nation. As mentioned earlier, an important characteristic of supermarket patriotism is the adoption of nationalism as part of supermarkets' corporate cultures, which means that nationalism is one of the principles according to which their operations are organised. As a result of this nationalist turn, Woolworths and Coles have adopted a patriotic tone in their public relations, introduced nationalist principles in their sourcing policies and assumed different national causes (e.g. health, education, hunger, poverty and so on) as part of their corporate responsibility efforts.

This section looks at the corporate discourse implemented by Woolworths and Coles in order to present themselves as national institutions. It analyses the public relations and promotional strategies used to present the campaigns AFFP and HAG as national projects, and also the corporate social responsibility programs that both supermarkets have developed as part of their supposed commitment to Australia. It shows that in order to reinvent themselves as national institutions Woolworths and Coles developed a commercial narrative based on the local. They have committed themselves to making their operations more transparent by revealing their supply chains and putting real people in front of the company. They also redirected their sourcing policies towards local suppliers and focused their social programs on local communities. It will be argued here, however, that the supposed reinvention of Woolworths and Coles as national institutions is primarily a branding campaign aimed at protecting their reputation from criticisms about their misuse of market power and at creating markets around nationalist forms of consumerism.

Since the beginning of the AFFP and HAG campaigns, Woolworths and Coles started to redefine themselves and the nature of their operations, explaining to the public that they were responsible organisations committed to Australia. During the supermarket wars, Woolworths and Coles were accused of damaging national industry with their importation of products, hurting local farmers with dubious contracts, and putting small businesses out of operation through the expansion of their homebrand labels. When AFFP and HAG were launched, both supermarkets approached these criticisms as a problem of consumer misinformation, and released media statements suggesting that their campaigns aimed clarifying this situation, and show how responsible they were. Quoting market research, the media statements explained that customers believed that a big percentage of fruits,

vegetables and meats sold in supermarkets were imported. Woolworths' Managing Director approached this criticism as a misunderstanding, and accepted that "as Australia's largest supermarket" Woolworths had "the responsibility (…) to better explain to customers where their food comes from". The statement explained that 96 per cent of fresh produce and 100 per cent of meats were Australian grown. The Managing Director added that "while the change of wording from "The Fresh Food People" to "Australia's Fresh Food People" was "subtle" it was also "significant". The change aimed to emphasise their commitment to Australia, the employment of more than 110,000 "Aussies", and their support to farmers and producers. Woolworths contributed "about $600 billion into the economy every year", and offered "great quality and great value food" to customers (Woolworths, 2012i).

Coles also released a media statement upon launching HAG that resembled many of the points made by Woolworths. The statement introduced the campaign using a new slogan: "We know we are a big business. We know we've got a big responsibility", and explained that the objective of the new initiative was to "show customers that [Coles] really is 'Helping Australia Grow'". The Group Merchandise Director added that Coles was "passionate about supporting Australian growers" and that the problem was "that many customers don't believe it". Just as Woolworths did, Coles clarified that 96 per cent of their "fruit and veg" was "grow right here at home" and that "buying Australia produce generates billions of dollars for the rural economy". With a patriotic tone, the media statement concluded by saying, "Helping Australia Grow is important to us and our customers and through this campaign we can celebrate the fact that Australian farmers produce the best fruit and vegetables in the world" (Coles, 2012g).

Figure 3.5 Advertising for Coles' milk discounts.
Since 2011, when Coles' home brand milk was reduced to $1 per litre, the discounts have been defended using a populist tone that makes reference to the amount of money that has been supposedly saved by Australian families.

The corporate discourse of the "big two" acquired a tone that profiled them as institutions committed not to shareholders but local people. Woolworths and Coles started to talk as if they represented Australians, especially Australian families, and as if their reflected the popular will. Their turn to local sourcing was justified with market research showing that consumers wanted more Australian products and the main motivation for consumers was to support Australian farmers. Discounts in milk and fuel,

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heavily criticised in the news media, were defended as forming part of their obligation to the Australian community.

Coles, for example, argued in July 2012 that Australian families were saving an average of $450 per year thanks to the "Down, Down" price discounts (Coles, 2012a) and that the "Weekly fruit and veg Super Specials" were going to save "Australian families $365 million per year" (Coles, 2012c). Coles has since updated these numbers (Figure 3.5), calculating that it has helped Australians to save "over $100 million since 2011", when the supermarket reduced the price of its home brand milk to $1 the litre – "just another way Coles is helping Australia grow" (Coles, 2013b). Similarly, Woolworths has adopted the catchphrase "Helping Aussie families save every day" to promote and defend its new discounts scheme "More savings every day" (Figure 3.6). According to a media statement published by the supermarket, this scheme helped "Aussie families" to save "more than $80 million" during its three first months (Woolworths, 2013c).

Figure 3.6 Advertisement for Woolworth's discounts scheme.

As part of their reinvention as national institutions, Woolworths and Coles have tried to create a non-corporate image for their companies, using "real" employees and suppliers to represent the supermarkets. The way they have done this is paradoxical. While the CEOs of both supermarkets are presented as ordinary employees, some members of the staff have been transformed in celebrities. During the "milk wars", for example, Coles' CEO, Ian McLeod, spoke to journalists and photographers about the discounts wearing a checkout uniform in the milk section of Coles Tooronga (Penberthy, 2011). Woolworths' "General Manager", Pat McEntee, appeared at the Senate Inquiry into the dairy industry wearing, just as any other employee, a store uniform. Although both supermarkets have started to rely on their employees for their promotion, Woolworths is more emphatic in transforming some of its "people" into "supermarket celebrities". The stars of Woolworths' advertisement "Welcome to Australia's Fresh Food People" were "real people" involved in the different stages of the supermarket's supply chain, including the farmer (Figure 3.7), the fruit picker, the truck driver and other store personnel. The advertisement focused on the Australian production of the food and suggested that relationships between Woolworths and their suppliers were strong and productive.
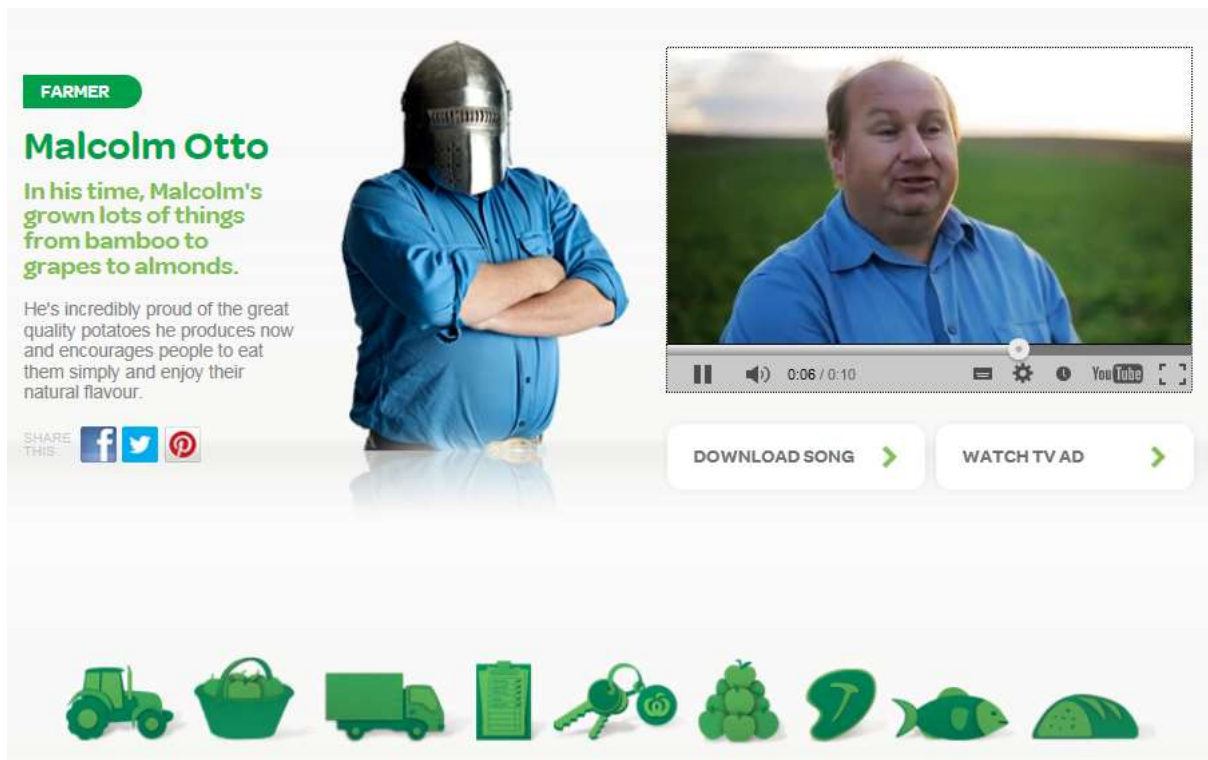
Figure 3.7 Website Australia' Fresh Food People presenting farmer Malcom Otto.

Supermarket patriotism also intersects with the corporate policies underpinning the supermarkets' business models. Woolworths and Coles have developed sourcing policies tinted by nationalism in which they profess allegiance to Australian suppliers (Figure 3.8). These policies are constantly publicised by the supermarkets through slogans such as Coles' "Australia First" (Coles, 2011a) and Woolworths' "Sustainable Sourcing Strategy". These initiatives are supposedly aimed at referencing and offering privileged trading terms to local suppliers, provided that they are able to meet strict quality requirements, in conjunction with programs aimed at finding local substitutes for imported products. These commitments have obliged supermarkets to initiate the "Local Food Sourcing Strategy" (Woolworths, 2013b) and the "Australian Road Show" (Coles, 2012d), programs aimed at finding local suppliers and substitutes for imports. As a result of these policies, supermarkets have removed selected imported products from their shelves and replaced them with local ones. Coles, for example, stopped stocking "Mainland Cheese" because it was from New Zealand, and replaced it with Cheese Bega, a national brand (Coles, 2011b).

These policies are, however, deceptive when analysing the products available in-store. Analysing a sample of products from the supermarket's homebrand labels in mid-2012, the consumer advocacy group Choice found that most of them were foreign, and defined the supermarkets' sourcing policies as pure rhetoric (Choice, 2012). According to the study "just 55 per cent of Coles' products and 38 per cent of Woolworths' products were locally made or grown, compared with 92 per cent of market leader groceries" (Dalley, 2012b). Nevertheless, local first policies have become a flagship element of AFFP and HAG. Yet many of the suppliers benefited from them are far from being true-blue farmers or small local companies. Key suppliers include giants of Australia's agroindustry such as SPC Ardmona (a subsidiary of Coca-Cola Amatil) in the case of Woolworths' canned fruits (Woolworths, 2013e), and

Simplot Australia (a subsidiary of the multinational Simplot) in the case of Coles frozen vegetables (Coles, 2012b).
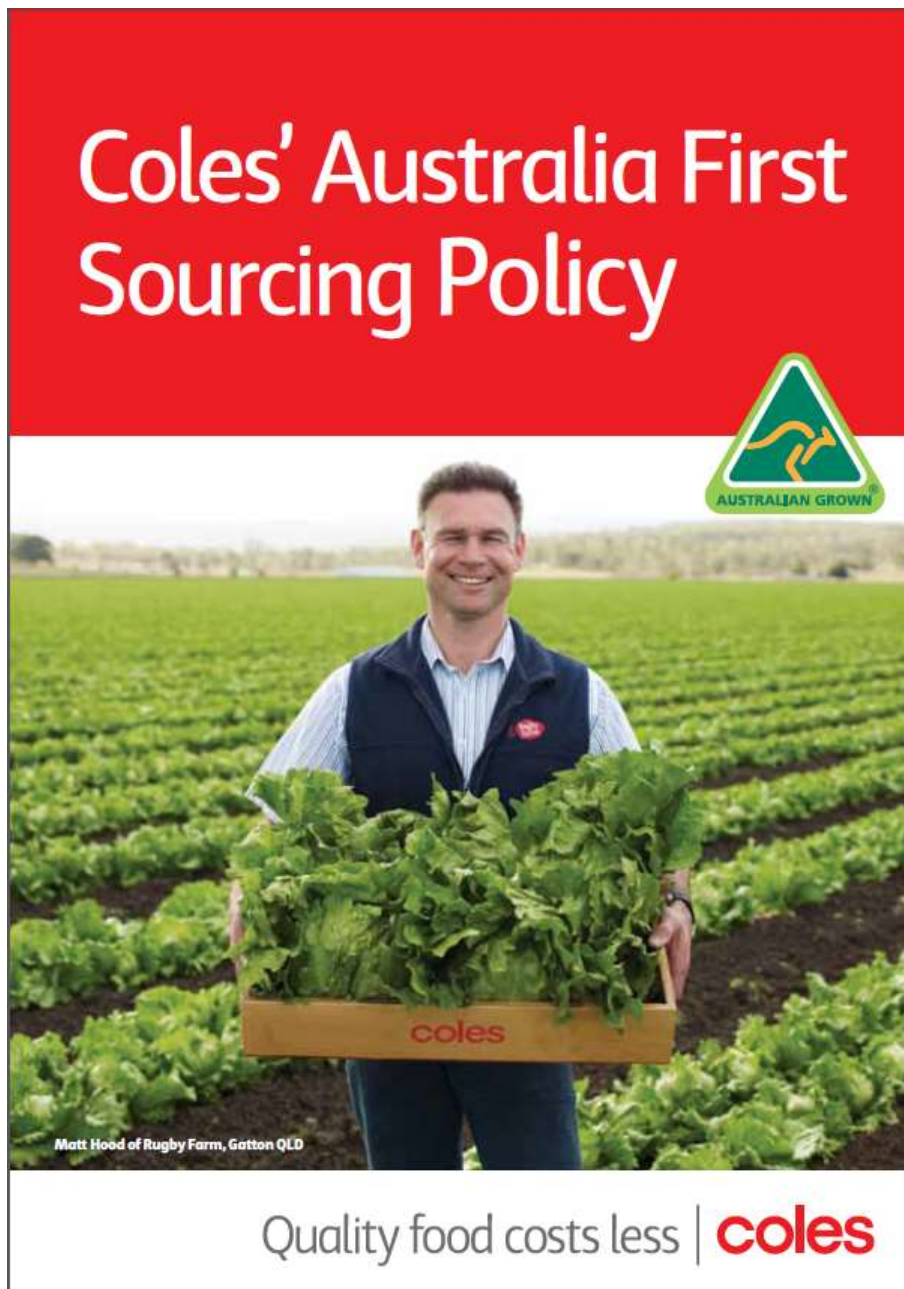
Figure 3.8 Cover page of Coles's sourcing policy "Australia First". Sourcing policies labelled with nationalist names are representative of supermarket patriotism. This is the front cover of a document in which Coles explains its "Australia First", a sourcing policy giving preference to local suppliers.

Woolworths and Coles have also retuned their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programs with nationalist tones. Both supermarkets were running different CSR initiatives before 2012, but with the rise of supermarket patriotism those programs were reinterpreted as contributing to national development, and supporting specific Australian communities. This dimension of supermarket patriotism reflects what some optimistic management scholars call "Political CSR", a practice in which private companies assume a public role, and "business firms" get engaged in "activities that have traditionally been regarded as actual governmental activities" such as health, education, social security, protection of human rights, social ills, protection of the environment and self-regulation (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011). Supermarket patriotism presents an interesting variation of this

phenomenon. While many of the political commitments and social responsibilities adopted by corporations are detached from national matters and placed within a global context, the commitments and responsibilities of Australian supermarkets have a distinctively local tone. In Britain, for example the global supermarket chain Tesco has put "the community at the heart of what [they] do" (Seth & Randall, 2011, p. 35), without emphasising that it is a British community. Tesco's social responsibilities have a global perspective: to create "new opportunities for millions of young people around the world"; "reduce food waste globally"; and "help to tackle the global obesity crisis improving the health of colleagues and customers" (Tesco, 2013, p. 5). By contrast, Woolworths and Coles constantly stress the local character of the communities they help.

Figure 3.9 Woolworths's corporate responsibility programs

On the AFFP website, Woolworths presents a whole section dedicated to explaining how it is helping Australian communities through different programs (Figure 3.9). One of these programs, "Young Australians", is aimed at providing "Aussie kids" with educational resources through the campaign "Earn & Learn", contributing to a "better understanding of good nutrition" through the initiative Fresh Food Kids, and guaranteeing the health of Australian children through the fundraising "Hospital Appeal". Other programs are aimed at improving the "future of rural Australia" by investing in "farming innovation, productivity and long term sustainability" through the campaign "Fresh food Future", and supporting the "next generation of farmers" by giving them access to education through the scheme "Agricultural Business Scholarships". There are also programs to help "Australians in need" through partnership projects such as "Fresh Food Rescue", where food surplus are transformed into "meals for the needy" (Woolworths, 2012f).

Figure 3.10 Main entrance of Coles Tooronga on Australia Day 2013 announcing the partnership with Red Kite.

Similarly, Coles has also coloured their community programs with a patriotic tone. The supermarket has developed partnerships with different charities as part of its "National Charity Support". The most prominent of these is perhaps "Red Kite", an initiative to support Australian children with cancer launched on Australia Day 2013 and presented as part of their patriotic commitment with Australia (Figure 3.10). As part of the "National Charity Support", Coles developed the program "Second Bite" (Figures 3.11 and 3.12), with the objective of assisting "the estimated 1.2 million Australians who don't have access to a safe, regular, and affordable food supply". Another dimension of the "political" role of the supermarket has been labelled "Local Community Initiatives". As part of these, Coles is supporting "Aboriginal Kids", giving them used shoes donated by customers under the program "Boots for Kids", and local schools by giving them sport equipment through "Sports for Schools". Interestingly, Coles has also included a patriotic tone in its programs for ethical sourcing and sustainability, presenting animal welfare initiatives (e.g. free range pork, free cage eggs) and environmental programs (e.g. recycling plastic bags) as patriotic obligations of the company.

Figure 3.11 Advertising with statistics about number of meals donated by Coles.

Woolworths and Coles continue to reinvent themselves as national institutions. The latest strategy has been the construction of visual stories where they use statistics to measure the results of their nationalist agendas. The claims made are not modest. In its "Grocery Facts" (Woolworths, 2013a), Woolworths describes its 111,304 employees, the 2 million meals donated to the hungry, the $62.3 million raised for charities, and the $6.3 billion paid to employees. This section also claims that Woolworths sells high percentages of "Aussie" fruits, vegetables and meats. Coles is even more emphatic on its website and has created a "Timeline" (Coles, 2013f) that answers the question "How is Coles helping Australia grow?" The story begins in 1982, when it started to support Guide Dogs Australia, and continues to 2015, when it will sell only "Responsibly Sourced Seafood". In the years between, Coles identifies policies involving the donation of money and food, ethical sourcing, educational programs, Australian-made products, and the generation of employment.

Figure 3.12 Poster promoting the program Second Bite at one of Coles' stores.

Although supermarket patriotism has a positive impact for some actors in the product supply chain and some consumers, the altruistic intentions of Coles and Woolworths towards local communities should not be taken at face value. Scholars are showing how CSR and other forms of social marketing are part of branding strategies aimed at creating stories of corporations as "heroes" (Boje, Khan, & Dawood, 2009, pp. 9-10). These stories create and control new markets through "responsible" modes of consumption (Fleming & Jones, 2013, p. 12) and seek to mould the behaviour of populations (Moor, 2011). These arguments encapsulate the promotional efforts of the "big two" supermarket chains. Firstly, they promise to save the nation from the expansion of foreign companies into Australian economy and culture, from the invasion of imported products in Australia's market, from unemployment, poverty and so on. Ironically, these "troubles" had in many cases been generated by their corporate policies. Although Woolworths and Coles have promised to be responsible retailers, accusations about their "aggressive" negotiations with suppliers are still common in the Australian news media (e.g.Mitchell, 2014).

Secondly, while it might be true that Woolworths and Coles have implemented local sourcing policies, these initiatives are primarily a response to market research that indicate customers prefer local products, making it easier for Woolworths and Coles to organise and control a market built around patriotism and nationalist consumption. These patriotic campaigns have also proven good for business. Despite criticism of Coles and Woolworths' practices, the annual corporate reports of both supermarkets show increases in profits. Both chains have maintained their positions among the world's top 20 Global Powers of Retailing (Deloitte, 2014, p. 12).

3.2 Shopping is voting. The supermarket as a place for citizen participation

As part of the campaigns AFFP and HAG, Woolworths and Coles started to present their stores as platforms for citizen participation, where citizens are able to contribute to the achievement of different national causes. As explained earlier, one of the concerns expressed by the public during the supermarket wars was the negative effects that price discounts were having on local farmers and suppliers, as well as on specific Australian communities. In response to these concerns, Woolworths and Coles transformed a visit to the supermarket into a patriotic experience, attempting to invest the act of shopping at their stores with political meaning. Some of the national causes that both supermarkets adopted as part of their corporate responsibility were introduced to the stores and citizens given the opportunity to participate in their development. In this way, customers can donate to charities, help Australians in need, and preserve the environment while shopping.

This section looks at the patriotic experience that Woolworths and Coles offer at their stores as part of the campaigns AFFP and HAG. It analyses a series of national causes that have been commodified in different forms (e.g. products, souvenirs, donation tins), as well as a series of consumption practices that reposition consumers as citizens who can "vote with their dollar". Stores are presented as places where citizens can support their local communities: funding corporate programs, buying ethical goods, making donations, shopping for charitable souvenirs, and so on; and can also get involved with their fellows Australians by participating in barbeques, raffles and other community activities. This transformation of the stores into places for fostering a sense of community is symptomatic of a neo-local rhetoric that promotes commercial enterprises as places where connections between people and business are recovered, and where people can re-establish contact with the people involved in the production of the food they buy (Schnell, 2013, p. 69). Based on this analysis, the section argues that the transformation of supermarket stores into sites for citizen participation in local communities is representative of forms of consumer-citizenship and commodity activism in which civic action is equated to shopping (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008; Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012), and being a good citizen is transformed into something that can be achieved by making the "right" shopping decisions.

Intersections between citizenship and consumerism have been at the centre of discussions related to nationalism and consumer culture. In this case, these intersections can be illustrated through the notion of consumer-citizenship (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008), a condition in which an individual's roles as citizen (e.g. social identities, civic participation, sense of belonging) are exercised through consumerism. Supermarket patriotism engenders a form of consumer-citizenship in which shopping and other consumption-related practices are seen as a form of citizen participation in a variety of national causes. Engaging in these causes allows consumers to imagine themselves not only as members of an Australian imagined community, but as responsible citizens contributing to national development. This form of consumer-citizenship also becomes visible in AFFP and HAG through forms of commodity activism (Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012), when Woolworths and Coles encourage consumers to express their sense of national belonging by shopping at their stores and supporting "Aussie" farmers, national charities and communities in their own suburbs. The figure of citizen-consumer shaped by supermarket patriotism also connects with notions of ethical consumerism

(Gabriel & Lang, 2005, 2006) where consumers are empowered as citizens who can vote with their dollar.

As Chapter One has shown, since the early days of Federation, Australian consumers have been trained through marketing campaigns to buy locally produced goods. This market literacy has shaped a nationalist attitude in Australian consumers who, according to opinion polls (Fyfe & Millar, 2012) and market research (Australian Made, 2012a, 2012b; Roy Morgan, 2010, 2013), prefer national goods over foreign ones and are even willing to pay more for local products. Furthermore, a study conducted by business researchers about the ethical and responsible attitudes of Australian consumers towards grocery shopping, found that a major factor affecting those attitudes was patriotism, which was expressed through product and brand choice (J. Williams, Memery, Megicks, & Morrison, 2010). These findings suggest that Australians are convinced their shopping decisions have an impact on national development and align themselves with the figure of the citizen-consumer who votes with their dollar.

Figure 3.13 Screenshots from the television advertisement Helping Australia Grow.

This form of consumer-citizenship was manifested during the "supermarket wars" when consumers expressed concerns about the negative effects that price discounts had on local farmers and suppliers. Woolworths and Coles addressed these critics when they launched their campaigns, equating shopping at their stores with an expression of patriotism. Up until that moment buying at the "big two" was presented as the perfect opportunity for taking advantage of price discounts, but with few external consequences. This situation changed when AFFP and HAG were presented to the public. Woolworths managing director, Tjeerd Jegen, said that they wanted "shoppers to know that when they buy their fresh food with us they can feel proud that they are supporting a great Australian company as well as Australian farmers and suppliers" (Woolworths, 2012i). Coles was more didactic in this sense and a television advertisement for HAG showed brand ambassador Curtis Stone explaining: "So when you're shopping at Coles, guess what? You're helping Australia Grow" (Figure 3.13). In this way, the campaigns announced that shopping at Woolworths and Coles was not a selfish act of consumerism and bargain hunting, but a matter of ethics and responsibility. The tone of these statements is more than promotional. They instruct and educate consumers on how to be good citizens and are a good example of how marketing is used to mould the behaviour of populations (Moor, 2011).

In order to engage shoppers in their role as good citizens, the stores started to be presented as places where consumers could exercise their civic impulse by supporting national causes through shopping decisions and other consumer-related practices. One the most important causes advanced at supermarket stores revolves around demonstrations of support to "Aussie" farmers, by buying the food they have grown. Different strategies are deployed in order to involve shoppers in this initiative. At the main entrances of both supermarkets full-scale cardboard images of brand ambassadors

welcome shoppers at the store and remind them what shopping is about. At Coles, chef celebrity Curtis Stone reminds shoppers that Coles is helping Australian farmers, and at Woolworths a cardboard butcher repeats the "100% Aussie" mantra. Although both supermarkets insist on their commitment to Australian farmers in their promotional and corporate discourse, Coles' stores are especially emphatic in this point and constantly remind shoppers about it. Since the beginning of HAG, stores at each Australian state have displayed messages of support to local growers (e.g. "Supporting VIC Growers" at Victoria). More recently, other displays have brought Australian farmers from their farms to the supermarket to speak directly to shoppers (Figure 3.14). Contrary to what cultural geographers would expect, the testimonials of farmers have nothing to do with the industrial exploitation to which they are subjected or the difficulties of rural life (Cook, 2006). Rather, in these displays, Australian farmers explain how proud they are to work for the supermarket: "Robert Thompson, proudly growing apples in VIC for Coles since 1994", says one of them. "Chris Fairless, proudly growing pears in VIC for Coles for over 9 years", says another. These displays with pictures and testimonials of local farmers are part of the rhetoric used to present supermarkets as places that remediate the connections between local consumers and producers that global commodity chains have broken.

Figure 3.14 In-store advertising for Helping Australia Grow featuring a a Victorian farmer.

Other national causes are advanced at the supermarket stores and consumers are encouraged through different types of commercial technologies to help specific communities and groups, such as people with cancer, Aboriginal children, the Returned and Services League, local schools, guide dogs, and so on. The participation of consumers in these community initiatives is always mediated, in one way or another, through consumer-related practices. In some cases shoppers are instructed to buy particular foods and products in order to support charities. Some of the food commodities that

mediate citizen participation are precisely those at the centre of debates raised by the supermarket wars.

Figure 3.15 Coles bread promoting the program Redkite.

The most notorious example here is Coles' $1 loaf bread, a product that has been blamed for harming local brands of bread and small bakeries. On Australia Day 2013, however, Coles' criticised home-brand bread was reinvented as a patriotic device, when Coles announced that it would donate 5¢ cents of every loaf sold to Red Kite. Since then, the bags in which this bread is packaged have included information about the Red Kite campaign and the amounts of money collected every year from customers (Figure 3.15). Other products that mediate citizen participation in national causes often have souvenir characteristics. Examples of this include badges sold at the check-outs in both supermarkets during April aimed at raising funds for the Anzac Appeal, the yellow flowers sold at Coles in order to collect funds for Daffodil Day, and the Christmas cards that customers of both supermarkets can personalize with drawings and their name and then paste on the store's windows (Figure 3.17).

Figure 3.16 Daffodils flowers, the "money spinner", Guide Dogs donation point and recycle bins. These are some of the devices through which consumer-citizenship is exercised in supermarkets

Customers are also encouraged to participate in fundraising to finance the CSR programs of supermarkets. Woolworths asks consumers to support its "Fresh Food Kids Hospital Appeal" by "dropping some loose change into [their] collection tins at the checkout", or by putting their coins in "the Money Spinner" installed at different stores. Coles invites customers to donate their Flybuys points to support their "National Charity Support" program. In other campaigns such as Woolworths' "Earn & Learn" and "Sports for Schools" supermarkets have created their own currency and shoppers are given vouchers that represent "points" at the check-out in accordance with how much money they have spent. Participating schools can exchange points and vouchers for educational and recreational equipment; these forms of currency equate amounts of money spent to levels of support. To this end, shoppers are cherished for their good behaviour. Coles publishes on in-store community boards the amount of money raised in their campaigns and Woolworths publishes messages saying: 'Thank you! When you support our initiatives…, you're putting your hard-earned dollar where it's needed the most in our community' (Woolworths, 2012a, p. 122).

Figure 3.17 Souvenir cards of the program Red Kite personalised by Coles's shoppers.

Stores also work as places where consumers can become active members of their communities. With over 1,500 stores around Australia, Woolworths and Coles can be counted among the institutions with a considerable presence across the entire nation. This is something of which Coles is conscious when it says, "With over 750 stores across Australia, our supermarkets are the heart of many communities" (Coles, 2012f). The geographical expansion of their stores is something that both supermarkets manage strategically in order to create communities of consumers in each state and territory, and in each city and suburb. In order to cultivate this commercial sense of community, both supermarkets support and organise activities aimed at advancing local causes. Common activities include the barbecue fundraiser and community days that Woolworths and Coles help to organise in stores during the weekend. Woolworths, for example, recently launched a new initiative called "Giving Local. It gives each month $1,000 to "good causes" nominated by the community at each local "Woollies" (Woolworths, 2013d). Coles summarizes it involvement with communities in the following terms:

Our team members and customers are involved in many local clubs and groups, from schools to sport clubs. And our Local Community Support program recognises these grass-roots groups and organisations by providing support to help with fundraisers, raffles, community days and other activities. We love getting involved wherever we can (Coles, 2012i).

Figure 3.18 Community board at one of Coles' stores.

Consumer-related practices that mediate citizen participation in national causes are also useful for the construction of communities around the supermarket. One of the main reasons Benedict Anderson defines nations as imagined communities is because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members (…) yet in the minds of each lives the image of their community" (2006, p. 7). Supermarket patriotism attempts to bridge this gap through commercial technologies that bring diverse national causes into the stores. Farmers are reconnected to urbanites, Indigenous to non-indigenous Australians, the rich to the needy; the supermarket brings them all into the same community. Following the principles of neo-localism Woolworths and Coles present their stores as places where "transactions are no longer just economic exchanges, but also interactions between neighbors and friends, based on mutual respect" (Schnell, 2013, p. 69). By making the right shopping choices, dropping their loose change, collecting vouchers and recycling plastic bags, consumers not only support the nation but connect with a sense of belonging to and identification with Australia.

Based on the principle that being a good citizen is about being a patriotic consumer, Woolworths and Coles are supplying sophisticated and multi-layered commercial platforms for citizen participation. This form of consumer-citizenship echoes recent discussion about how contemporary capitalism brings together consumerism and ethics, something that has allowed to the (RED) campaign to sell all kind of red products, from IPhones to Coca-Colas, in order to fight HIV/Aids in Africa (Richey & Ponte, 2011). The same forms of consumer citizenship are used by Starbucks to sell, not only coffee, but a "coffee ethics" by which customers get involved in diverse social causes while drinking their espressos (Zizek, 2010, p. 236). Through supermarket patriotism, commercial nationalism introduces the same

ethic to the construction of the nation. By placing consumerism and citizenship together, shoppers can be sure of contributing to the nation and its local communities as they push the trolley through the aisles.

3.3 Supermarket narratives. The supermarket as a place for imagining Australia

The AFFP and HAG campaigns have introduced a series of distinctive strategies of food promotion aimed at demonstrating the patriotic commitment of Woolworths and Coles to sell local food. As I mentioned earlier, one of the most visible concerns raised during the supermarket war was the increasing number of imported foods on the supermarket shelves and the effects that this is having on local farmers and suppliers. In response, AFFP and HAG deployed a series of promotional narratives that insisted on the Australian character of food commodities sold at Woolworths and Coles. In these narratives, both supermarkets unveiled their supply chains to consumers, revealing the places and peoples involved in food production. These narratives also explain how foods should be consumed in order to be transformed into authentic Australian dishes. These new forms of promotion show consumers how the food they buy is connected by complex networks of production, distribution and consumption to specific places of Australian geography culture, communities of farmers, and celebrations and traditions of Australian culture.

This section looks at the promotional narratives deployed by Woolworths and Coles as part of their patriotic campaigns. Drawing on the notion of "geographical knowledges" (Cook & Crang, 1996), it analyses the visual and textual narratives implemented to link the origins, biographies and settings of food to Australia. These narratives establish links that are representative of the neo-local movement, in as much as they attempt to re-enchant food and show it as unique on the basis of its localness, which compares to a decade ago when food was promoted on the basis of its faraway origins and connections to faraway places (Cook & Crang, 1996; Cook, Crang, & Thorpe, 1998). Based on this analysis the section shows how these promotional narratives create stories not only for food commodities, but also for Australia, its people, geography and culture. In other words, these supermarket narratives are marketing food, as much as they are marketing Australia (Schnell, 2013, p. 57). Although some parts of these narratives might be true – in the sense that foods are effectively grown in Australia – they should be approached critically. These narratives outlining the origins, biographies and settings of food, are arguably just marketing strategies designed to hide important aspects of food production, distribution and consumption, such as the unbalanced relations of power between the supermarkets and the actors involved in their supply chains, and the global networks through which some foods are connected to other countries, other cultures and foreign companies.

Seen from the perspective of material culture, the promotional narratives used by supermarket in order to present food as "Aussie", objectify diverse dimension of Australianness and become devices for imagining Australia. This process of objectification can be understood by exploring the narratives used to promote food and the ways these narratives construct a "nationality" for it, linking it to Australia. As I have explained in Chapter Two, the relationship between food and place has been a topic of interest for cultural geographers who have looked at the material cultures of food since the 1990s (Cook et al., 1998). Within this field, Ian Cook and Philip Crang (1996) have showed that far from being natural facts, links between food and place are the result of "displacements" and "geographical knowledges". Whereas the chapter about "bread spread nationalism" analysed the

displacements that brought yeast extract spreads from Britain to Australia, this chapter focuses on the "geographical knowledges" that link food commodities to Australia.

Geographical knowledges are defined by Cook and Crang as a series of cultural meanings based on places and spaces that are attached to food commodities in order to "re-enchant" and differentiate them "from the devalued functionality and homogeneity of standardised products, tastes and places" (1996, p. 132). These re-enchantments that geographical knowledges attempt to mediate is representative of the rhetoric used in neo-local movements to criticise the global corporatisation of food production, the faceless character of global supply chains, and the exploitative character of agribusinesses (Schnell, 2007, 2013). But supermarket narratives used to re-enchant food are, in most cases, promotional rhetoric. Cook and Crang explain that geographical knowledges are shaped by a "double commodity fetishism: that on the one hand limits consumers' knowledge about the spatially distanced systems of provision through which food commodities come to us; but on the other hand, and at the same time, also put an increased emphasis on geographical knowledge about those widely sourced food commodities" (1996, p. 132).

Geographical knowledges not only construct stories for food, but also for places. The constructed knowledges shape in this process the understanding that consumers have of particular localities and of the world as a whole. In Australia, the promotional narratives used to promote food not only re-make them as Australian and give them a "nationality", but also create images of diverse dimensions of Australianness. Drawing on the notions of "supermarket narratives" (Pollan, 2001) and "geographical knowledges", Charlotte Craw (2008, 2012) has analysed Australian native foods, showing how the narratives used to explain their origins create images of the places that they are said to come from, and through forms of banal and active nationalism, participate in the construction of "wider discourses of Australian identity" (2012, p. 6). Similarly, in this section I argue that the "cultural knowledges" deployed by supermarket patriotism not only "re-enchant foods", but also "re-nationalise" them by linking their origins, biographies and settings to Australia. These foods, in turn, become things for imagining Australia's geography, its community, and culture.

Although "geographical knowledges" can be constructed at different points of the culinary circuits of culture, Cook and Crang focus on three types of knowledges that are constructed to define three dimensions of food: its "origins" – "where foods come from"; its "biographies" – "how they move about the food systems"; and its "settings" – "the contexts in which they can and should be used" (1996, p. 142). In the following three sections, I explore the geographical knowledges that are deployed in the context of supermarket patriotism to link the origins, biographies and settings of food to Australia, as well as the imaginaries of Australianness that are created as part of that process.

Origins

Geographical knowledges telling the "origins" of food are constructed using various commercial technologies based on visual and linguistic markers that indicate where food was produced. The narratives that supermarkets deploy to emphasise the Australian origin of foods is representative of commercial enterprises revolving around the commodification of the local. But these supermarket narratives are far from spontaneous. Indeed, they respond to an increasing interest of consumers in knowing more about "the place and people that produced the products they consume" and are based

on the supposition that if "if you know the producers of your goods and your food... then abuses of labor, of the environment, and of places, are less likely to occur" (Schnell, 2013, pp. 66-67). It is from this perspective that the labels, maps, pictures and landscapes used by supermarkets to link the origins of food to Australia can be considered as part of marketing strategies aimed at creating cultural and economic value around food on the basis of its localness, as well as inoculating the brand image of supermarkets against criticisms of exploitative corporate practices.

Cook and Crang explain that the most common devices used to define the origins of products are labels signalling the place they were "made in". These tags have been used since the 19th century (Papadopoulos, 1993, p. 9) to signal the origin of commercial products in international markets, and have come to be known in the field of marketing as country-of-origin (COO) logos. These logos are said to be highly influential in the way consumers perceive products according to the location of their production and the way in which people from these places are perceived (Al-Sulaiti & Baker, 1998; Baker & Ballington, 2002; Bilkey & Nes, 1982). In Australia, COO labels have been used since the 1980s when the "Australian Made" logo was created. Today, the logo is used to identify more than 10,000 Australian products in local and foreign markets and, according to market research, it is recognised and trusted by 98.8 per cent of Australians (Australian Made, 2012b).

Figure 3.19 Advertisements emphasising the local origin of foods.

Since the rise of supermarket patriotism, labels indicating the origins of food commodities have become pervasive and diverse (Figure 3.19). As explained earlier, one of the major concerns expressed in the news media during the supermarket wars had to do with the importation of foods into Australian supermarkets. In response, as part of their patriotic campaigns, Woolworths and Coles not only adopted the "Australian Made" logo, but also developed their own labels to specify other dimensions related to the origin of foods. This strategy has been useful in effectively promoting homebrand labels, and also re-enchanting generic foods such as meats, fruits and vegetables. As a result of this surge in COO labels, it is common to find products labelled not only as "Australian Made"

(indicating that the manufacturing process took place in Australia), but also as "Product of Australia", "Australia Grown" or "Australian Made and Owned". Furthermore, Coles have developed other labels such as "Proudly VIC", "Proudly NSW", "Proudly SA" and so on, specifying not only the "country-of-origin" but the "state-of-origin" of foods (Figure 3.20). These movements, from country-of-origin to country-of-ownership and "state-of-origin", are a concrete manifestation of neo-localism that demonstrates how foods are valued for their local attributes and proximity to the supermarket shelves.

Figure 3.20 Labels created by Coles to explain the "state-of-origin" of some of its products.

Another strategy for tracing the origins of food has to do with the use of geo-locative media, with the use of maps and other cartographic devices identifying the regions and towns where foods were grown. These strategies were crucial at the beginning of the campaigns when the websites of AFFP and HAG presented maps of Australia to indicate the places where fruits, vegetables and meats are grown. One of the sections of AFFP, "Fresh Food", is dedicated entirely to tracing the origins of food sold at Woolworths. Icons of different foods are linked to an interactive map of Australia that shows the regions of each state where specific foods are produced (Figure 3.21). Coles used a similar technique when it launched the campaign HAG. A variety of maps were deployed across supermarket shelves to explain the Australian origin of its fruits, vegetables and meats. In both cases, these maps worked jointly with other visual devices indicating not only "where", but "when" are foods produced. These calendars explain the periods of the year when fruits, vegetables and seafood are "in season", and in some cases are used to explain when and why particular foods are imported from other countries in order to make them available all the year-round.

Figure 3.21 Woolworths' interactive website for explaining the local origins of food

These geo-locative tools became omnipresent in all forms of promotion related to the campaigns AFFP and HAG. Today, it is common to find in the stores a myriad of maps and other cartographic representations that are used to explain the origins of food to customers (Figure 3.22). At Woolworths and Coles most of the fruits and vegetables are labelled according to their country-of-origin: "Product of Australia", "Product of Mexico", "Product from Argentina" and so on. Usually, when products are from Australia, consumers can find a map pointing out the specific states and regions where they come from. At stores, in publications and across different forms of promotion, these maps are complemented with pictures of landscapes and testimonials of farmers, explaining specific characteristics of the places where foods are grown. These images, with their landscapes, lands, trees, animals and farmers, are supposed to show the everyday life surrounding the production of food. These geo-locative narratives construct romanticised images of agricultural work, rural life and regional Australia that conceal the difficulties faced by Australian farmers and growers since the supermarket wars erupted.

Figure 3.22 Cartographic and photographic devices explaining the local origins of food.

The imagined geographies created by these knowledges that explain the origins of food, present interesting contrasts with other narratives of Australian geography. These geographies, for example, present Australia as a fertile country able to "produce the best fruit and vegetables in the world" (Coles, 2012g)). These visual and textual descriptions contrast with other popular media, in which Australia is associated with the likes of floods and droughts, two weather phenomena that have clearly affected the production of food and living conditions in rural Australia. The geographies of supermarket patriotism also create an idea of the national landscape different from those created by traditional nationalisms. While the bush, the beach or the red centre are usually portrayed as picturesque landscapes for passive contemplation or for taking pictures while on holidays (e.g. R. White, 2005), the landscapes of supermarket patriotism are productive and inhabited by farmers, cows, hens, trees and machines where nation-building occurs.

Figure 3.23 Commercial imagery of Australia's rural life

Biographies

Other supermarket narratives used to re-enchant food relate to food biographies. These biographical narratives are aimed at explaining to consumers the journeys that specific foods have undertaken in their journey to the supermarket (1996, p. 142). While narratives explaining the origin of foods emphasise the links between food and particular places, the narratives telling their biographies connect them to people. Here, again, it is easy to notice a return to the local that is expressed in attempts to humanize food (including vegetables and animals) by constructing a "farmers' face" for it (Schnell, 2007), while also objectifying the life stories of growers and farmers in the foods they produce. As with other geographical knowledges, however, these biographies are based on a double commodity fetishism that emphasises some aspects of those journeys and ignores others. In the context of supermarket patriotism, these narratives create idealised biographies that narrate the social life of Australian foods and the life stories of farmers, and that neglect the realities involved in food production and rural life. These biographies are told through a wide range of materials and are generally aimed at reinventing foods, even foreign ones, as Australian.

The biographies of fruits and vegetables explain different aspects of their journeys to the supermarket. These narratives can include information about their historical origins in faraway places, their botanical classification, their introduction to Australia, details about the environments where they are grown and the people involved in their cultivation, and nationalist statements about their superiority. In the case of Coles, details about the biographies of fruits and vegetables can be found in a section of *Coles Magazine* presenting the foods that are "In season …" each month. "Originally from South America", explains one of the issue of the magazine (Coles, 2012h), "the pineapple is actually 200 'fruitless' (sic) all fused together". Generally, narratives explaining the exotic origins of foods are followed by stories about their arrival to Australia. "The pineapple", the story continues, "first came to Australia in the 1830s, where it now grows mostly along the Queensland coast". A pineapple grower adds: "After basking in the Queensland sunshine for two years, this year's spring pineapples are a good size and taste super sweet". Elsewhere, Coles deliberately celebrates the superiority of Australian pineapples: "The Australian pineapple growers … want to shout out loud with national

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pride: Aussie pineapples are the best!" (Coles, 2013d). In this way, the biography traces the pineapple's journey from its exotic origins in South America to its nationalisation as Australian.

The biographies of Coles' pineapple are a good example of how the double commodity fetishism, outlined out by Cook and Crang as constitutive of geographical knowledges (1996, p. 132), operates in the context of supermarket patriotism. In the case of pineapples, and other fruits and vegetables included in *Coles Magazine*, the narratives telling their stories stress their Australianness: when pineapples came into Australia, where are they currently grown, how superior they are and so on. At the same time, however, these biographies ignore the colonial and postcolonial networks through which pineapples travelled from South America to Australia, as well as the global flows through which many other foods, such as Coles' "Smart Buy" pineapples, are imported into the country (in this case from Thailand). This commodity fetishism also operates at the site of food production; while they emphasize the national pride of pineapple growers, they hide the multinational companies behind pineapple production; in this case the Heinz-owned empire of Golden Circle (see: Sophie Foster, 2013).

In the case of foods whose production is linked to animals, such as dairy products, the biographies focus on the social life of animals. "Meet the contented Tasmanian cows responsible for some of the best yoghurt around", says an infomercial of *Coles Magazine* promoting Coles Yoghurt. "Eating, socialising, milking, it's safe to say the dairy cows of Tasmania's Tamar Valley have a relaxed life" (Coles, 2012e). In the case of meats, biographies are focused on the lives that cows, pigs and chickens had before they were processed, always emphasising the "humane" conditions in which they grew. These types of narratives are especially evident when Coles explains its ethical sourcing initiatives:

> … Coles is proud to say that all our Coles Brand fresh pork is sow stall free. This major animal welfare initiative … will see approximately 34,000 mother pigs no longer kept in small, single-pig stalls for long periods of their lives. All pigs raised by Coles Brand pork suppliers are now free to move about in pens and socialise with other mother pigs (Coles, 2012j).

A similar narrative was offered when Coles stopped selling caged eggs, a movement that was tinted with patriotism, and defined as "just another way Coles is Helping Australia Grow". "The removal of Coles Brand caged eggs", argued the supermarket in *Coles Blog*, "will see 350,000 hens no longer deliver eggs in cramped cages and means our Coles Brand eggs are now all Free Range or Barn Laid (and 100 per cent Australian of course)" (Coles, 2013a). As part of the promotional strategies that accompanied this initiative, brand ambassador Curtis Stone visited the aforementioned hens and had a photo shoot with them (Figure 3.24). The images of Stone and the hens became pervasive in the printed publications and social media used to tell the biography of Cole's eggs.

Figure 3.24 Advertising explaining the biography of Coles' cage free eggs.

Biographies of food are also related to the biographies of people involved in bringing food to the supermarket. In specific sections of printed and digital publications Woolworths and Coles invite shoppers to "meet our growers" or to spend "five minutes with our growers". The narratives of these sections intersect with the personal life of growers and farmers to the social life of food (Figure 3.25). In one of the issues of *Fresh Magazine*, "Barry" the "mango grower", tells that his "three boys grew up eating buckets of fresh mango – they would suck on the seed until there's nothing left! Kids all over the country do the same, they really get into it". "Barry" also explains, "A mango is ready when it's smiling at you", and that mangoes "get from the farm to the supermarket … in as little as four days". He adds that before mangoes start their journey they are "… professionally graded and re-graded by the packers" (Woolworths, 2012b). Since AFFP started in mid-2012, growers of potatoes, strawberries, blueberries, nectarines, grapes and more have been featured in the pages of *Fresh Magazine*, celebrating the superiority of Australian foods. Barry, Ben, Paul, James, Scott, Joe and many other "Aussie growers" have also given tips on how to choose and cook their products. Through these narratives, Australian farmers become cultural intermediaries who explain to shoppers the use and meaning of food commodities.

Figure 3.25 Woolworths' growers and farmers.
Barry, the mango grower, and Depha, the salmon farmer, are two of the characters used by Woolworths to construct a nationality for foods and show their consumption as part of being Australian.

In 2013, Woolworths implemented a new strategy of bringing Aussie growers into the supermarket through food packaging. Since then, a series of fruits and vegetables (first apples, then mandarins and carrots) have included in their packaging the farmer's photograph, the length of time they have worked for Woolworths, the Australian flag and the "Australian Made" logo. The most interesting element, however, is a QR code that shoppers can scan with their smart-phones to find out more information about the farmers who grew the food they are buying (Figure 3.26). After scanning the QR code in carrots, for example, shoppers are connected to Anthony Plum, who "even as a child… knew he wanted to become a vegetable grower" and has been supplying carrots to Woolworths since the mid-1980s. Interestingly, the products that have been included as part of this initiative are branded with Woolworths' premium home brand "Select", and have prices considerably higher than others labelled with their low profile "Home Brand".

Figure 3.26 QR codes on Woolworths' carrots.

In some cases, Woolworths and Coles have created stories for specific foods explaining their entire journey across sites of production, distribution and consumption. The most exceptional of these narratives is perhaps the story of Coles' $1 milk (Figure 3.27). As mentioned earlier, on Australia Day 2011 Coles decided to drop the price of its home brand milk to $1 per litre (Coles' milk teaser, 2011). This move was criticised by the media, politicians and even consumers who feared the effects it would have on the Australian diary industry (Commonwealth of Australia, 2011). In response Coles developed different materials to tell the story of its milk, how the discount was achieved, and the way its milk is "helping Australia grow".

The journey of the milk uses complex infographics and instructive video clips (Coles, 2013c, 2013e, 2013g; Downes, 2013). The story tells the movement of milk from the farms where cows are milked to the factories where it is processed and finally to the supermarket, where shoppers buy it and take it home. Apart from presenting the exact places where milk is processed and commercialised, Coles gives details about the social life of cows that produce it, the life stories of the Aussie farmers and families involved in the production, and the benefits that milk brings to Australians. The story also includes details about the "economic life" of milk, and shoppers are told how Coles decided to assume the costs for the discounts since 2011, about the new contracts that will guarantee low prices of milk, how milk prices are determined and the impacts (always positive, of course) that they have for farmers, processors, suppliers and supermarket shoppers. In this economic biography Coles calculates that "the $1 milk" has helped Australians to save "over $100 million since 2011. It's just another way Coles is helping Australia grow" (Coles, 2013c).
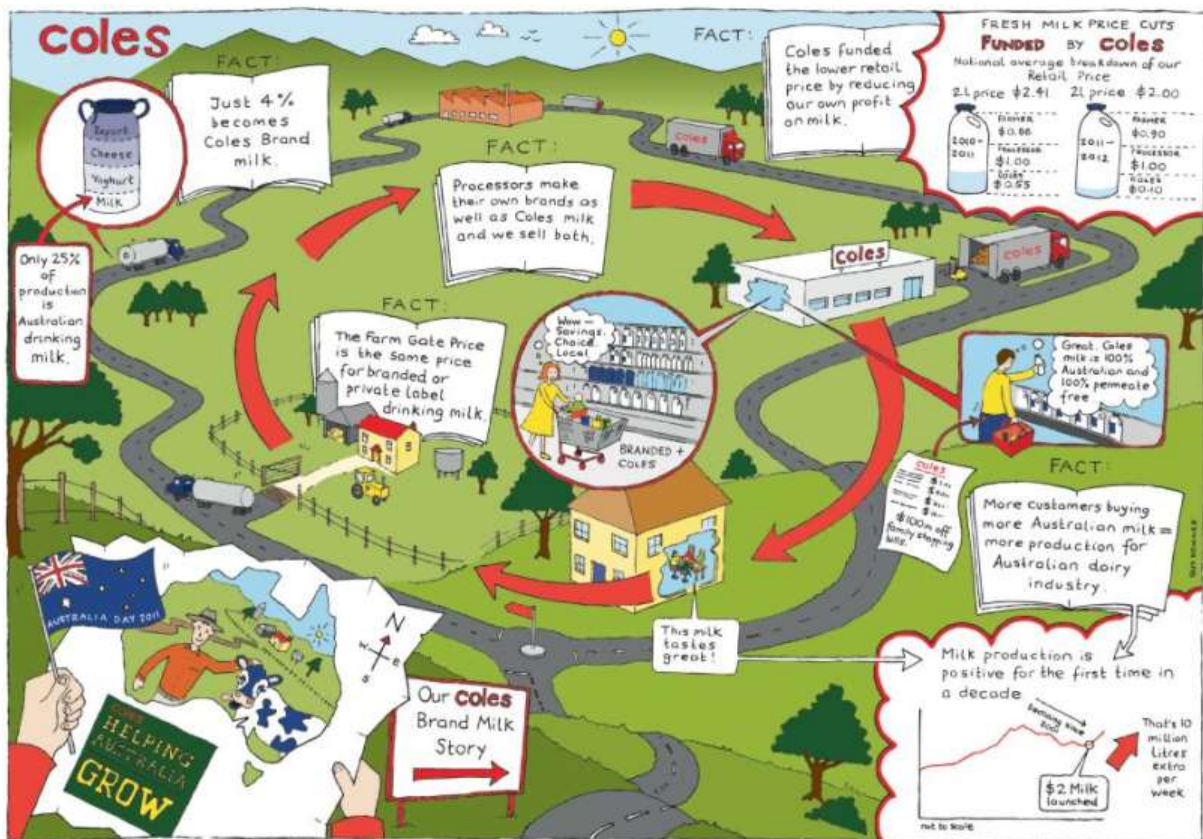
Figure 3.27 Infographic telling the story of Coles' $1 milk.

The stories that Woolworths and Coles create to tell the journeys of foods across the food system are a good example of how biographies of things and people intersect and constructed similar ways (Appadurai, 1986; Kopytoff, 1986). From this perspective, the biographies that supermarket patriotism creates for foods have a two-fold effect. They humanize food, attributing it not only a nationality (e.g. Australian pineapples, Tasmanian cows) but also qualities of the environment and the people who cultivate it, as well as objectify people when their biographies are told through the life of fruits, vegetables and animals.

Settings

As part of their nationalist agendas, Woolworths and Coles have also defined the settings of food: the ways food should be used, encountered and situated, that is the ways food should be consumed (1996, p. 142). While origins and biographies of food are geographically and socially enclosed within Australia, these settings connect national culture to the world by constructing an "Australian way of life" that is based on the localness of food and on the multicultural and cosmopolitan rituals involved in its preparation and consumption. This image is constructed by creating definitions of "Australian food" based on Australianised versions of foreign dishes using local ingredients and by inviting shoppers to become citizens of the world by participating in Australianised versions of world events from Christmas to the Chinese New Year.

The supermarket narratives aimed at Australianising foods are more visible in the case of Woolworths (Figure 3.28). When the supermarket launched AFFP, the issue of its monthly *Fresh Magazine* was

dedicated to "New Aussie classics" (Woolworths, 2012c). That month the editors of Fresh "had a dilemma" when they were "posed with the problem question of what is a truly Australian dish these days?" "After a lengthy debate" they solved this issue stating that "as long as there is the very best fruit and veg that Australia has to offer in the recipe, then anything from an Indian-style curries to Asian-inspired stir-fries all have a touch of the "true-blue" about them" (Woolworths, 2012c, p. 5). Under that premise the magazine presented an eclectic menu of "Australia's freshest flavours" that included "French onion soup", "Chilli prawn salad", "Surf 'n' turf", as well as five "stir-frys" for "Weeknight dinners": char kway teow, Vietnamese shaking beef, pad see ew, Szechuan chicken and Mongolian lamb.

A similar approach was taken by Woolworths in December, when it celebrated "A fresh Aussie Christmas". Apart from a culturally mainstream lunch menu (Woolworths, 2012e), that month's *Fresh* issue took a multicultural approach to the celebration in a section called "Share our festive family traditions" (Woolworths, 2012g). "We're all Australian but many of us have a different cultural backgrounds and traditions at Christmas", explained the section at the beginning. Four employees with cultural backgrounds from India, Italia, Lebanon and China then presented the dishes they prepared to celebrate their "Aussie Christmas": lamb korma, zeppole, nammoura and steamed prawn dumplings.

Figure 3.28 Covers of Fresh Magazine - New Aussie Classics and Aussie Christmas.

These "New Aussie classics" and the "Fresh Aussie Christmas" clearly incorporate other cultures into Australianness and bridge diverse cultural backgrounds with Australianness through the use of local ingredients. But instead of dealing with cultural diversity, supermarket patriotism creates depoliticised version of multiculturalism in which foreign ways of life and traditions are easily fitted into Australian culture through the use of local ingredients. This formula creates a depoliticised version of

multiculturalism which is about shopping local versions of foreign cultures, something that cultural geographers have associated with an appetite for "consuming the other" (D. Bell & Valentine, 1997).

Supermarket patriotism also has a cosmopolitan dimension that connects Australian shoppers to global consumer culture through their participation in cultural traditions from different parts of the world. In the same issue dedicated by *Fresh* to the "New Aussie Classics", the last section was titled "Travel with food". There, shoppers took in a trip of "worldly flavours" across Greece, Turkey and Mexico (Woolworths, 2012h). Also, some of the Australian foods that Coles targets at kids, such as mandarins and bananas, are promoted using characters of Hollywood movies that reinvent the nature of fruits through labels such as "Toy Story Mandarin Pack", by which Australian children are inserted into global networks of consumption. Apart from this, Woolworths and Coles celebrate Chinese New Year, Easter and national festivities from Britain, Italy and India (Figure 3.29). All of these cultural traditions are objictified in dishes and preparations that combine foreign cultures with local ingredients. In this way shoppers can imagine themselves as citizens of the world and, at the same time, as patriotic Australians.

Figure 3.29 Advertisements and recipes based on foreign motifs and celebrations

In general terms, the "geographical knowledges" deployed in Australian supermarkets contrast with those found by cultural geographers in the 1990s. These knowledges are characterised by the movement from globalization to localization that is representative of new forms of commercial nationalism based on neo-localism, and the commodification of the local. The narratives identified by cultural geographers in the 1990s were aimed at putting "the world on a plate" (Cook & Crang, 1996) and connected foods sold at supermarkets to faraway places, complex distribution networks and exotic ingredients (Cook et al., 1998). Supermarket patriotism, however, operates in a very different way, with its narratives linking foods to Australian geography, society and culture, and constructing diverse imaginaries of Australianness.

Concluding comments

This chapter has drawn on the concept of supermarket patriotism to analyse current manifestations of commercial nationalism in Australia. In doing so, the chapter showed how the corporate campaigns

AFFP and HAG reflect some of the principles associated with the phenomenon of neo-localism, and in particular, how through these campaigns Woolworths and Coles adopted forms of nationalism revolving around the defence of the local as part of their corporate cultures. Developing the concept of supermarket patriotism, the chapter showed important aspects related to the commercial construction of Australianness at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

In terms of nation-making, the chapter has demonstrated the continuity of a phenomenon occurring since the inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia, in which commercial organisations have been heavily involved in the production and regulation of national culture. The concept of supermarket patriotism has been useful in showing that the campaigns AFFP and HAG are utilised by Woolworths and Coles to reinvent themselves as national institutions, presenting their corporate programs as if they were nationalist agendas that are advanced in the marketplace with the active participation of citizens. These corporate agendas reflect, in different ways, the principles associated with neo-localism. Both supermarkets, for example, have uncovered a way of conducting businesses with local farmers and suppliers in order to make their supply chains more transparent. They have also inverted the corporate pyramid in their advertising and public relations by placing common employees in front of the company and presenting their CEOs as ordinary staff members. Both supermarkets have also assumed national causes related to education, employment, and so on, as part of their corporate programs, and have added a patriotic tone to their social responsibilities by developing a series of initiatives aimed at helping various local communities. These nationalist agendas, however, are more branding than charity. They are aimed at tackling and controlling emergent forms of neo-local consumerism, which in this case have been expressed in market research indicating the nationalist preferences of Australian consumers.

In relation to processes of national identification, the chapter showed that current forms of commercial nationalism mediate the construction of national identities and citizen participation through consumerism. Previous chapters have shown that during the twentieth century, an increasing trend of commercial nationalism was the association of being Australian with a series of consumption practices such as buying Australian-made products or eating specific brands of bread spread. Today, this trend continues with new forms of consumer-citizenship transforming the marketplace into a site for citizen participation in national development. In the case of supermarket patriotism, these forms of consumer citizenship are used by Woolworths and Coles to present their stores as places where consumers can exercise their rights and duties as Australians and become good citizens. Supermarkets have brought diverse national causes into the stores and have materialised them in the form of advertisements, commodities, souvenirs, fundraisings and other devices representative of consumer culture. Engaging with the consumption practices proposed by these devices, consumers can express their support for local farmers, local communities and neighbourhoods, as well as imagining themselves as members of a national community of citizen-consumers.

A century ago, the White Train tried to create imaginaries of Australia as an industrial nation. The images used by Woolworths and Coles to represent Australianness emphasise agricultural dimensions of the Australian economy, different aspects of rural life in the country and some new traditions of Australian cuisine. All these imaginaries reflect forms of commercial nationalism related to neo-localism. In particular, these imaginaries can be considered as representative of an attempt to re-enchant food commodities, linking their origins, biographies and forms of consumption to local

geography, local history and local society. Nevertheless, as many other narratives used to re-enchant food, these imaginaries of Australianness are based on the double commodity fetishism that emphasises the local character of foods, while hiding the connections of these commodities to the global networks shared by the Australian agroindustry.

4. SOCIAL MEDIA POPULISM[13]

Figure 4.1 Website of the campaign "There's nothing like Australia"[14]

"Australia is the 'dumb blonde' of the world". This was the response given by the acclaimed nation-branding consultant Simon Anholt when asked for his opinion about Australia. "What you have is an image of a country that is considered to be very decorative, but not very useful", he concluded. Anholt, who is considered the father of nation-branding, blamed "Australia's tourism promotion campaigns" for relying on "logos and slogans" and producing an "unbalanced" view of the country that was "attractive but shallow and unintelligent" (Harrison, 2010). Anholt's found little opposition in the Australian media and among the public. Mainstream and independent news outlets reproduced the declarations, mixing them with their own criticisms of the stereotypes used in tourism promotion. An opinion poll run by *The Age* asked readers if they agreed or not with Anholt's comments. The results showed that 76 per cent of 16148 votes answered "Yes" (Harrison, 2010).

Around the same time that Anholt made his declarations, Tourism Australia, the Federal Government Statutory Authority responsible for tourism promotion, was working on "There's nothing like Australia", a new campaign aimed at changing this situation. The initiative was to leave behind previous campaign models based on television advertisements, celebrities and kangaroo logos, in favour of a more democratic and real strategy based on the participation of people. "There's nothing like Australia" is different, reported the organisation Tourism Australia, because it is going to be "crowd-sourced" from Australian citizens. Crowdsourcing is a term coined by Jeff Howe (Howe, 2006a) to define a co-creative strategy in which a crowd of consumers are "empowered" by a company to create new products. "There's nothing like Australia" campaign was, therefore going to create a more participatory image of a country. In order to do so, Tourism Australia's website implemented social media technologies that allowed citizens to upload photographs of their holiday experiences. After

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[13] Excerpts from this chapter were presented at ANZCA 2014, the annual conference of The Australian and New Zealand Communication Association, which was held at Swinburne University of Technology in July 2014. I thank the participants and attendees to the panel "Social media campaigns and activism" for their insightful comments and recommendations.
[14] http://www.nothinglikeaustralia.com/

two months, Tourism Australia presented a re-invented cartography of the country through a map with more than 30,000 holiday pictures (Figure 4.1) that showed the world "why there's nothing like Australia" (Australia, 2010a).

The whole campaign, especially its creative use of social media, was promoted with a sanguine tone. The initiative was presented as an opportunity to change stereotypes, suggesting that it was a form of empowerment aimed at giving citizens an opportunity to participate in the construction of a more democratic and "realistic" version of the national image. However, looking at some pictures and testimonials of the map of Australia (Figure 4.2), the ability of the campaign to transcend stereotypes and show the "real" Australia can be questioned. The statement, "There's nothing like seeing wild kangaroos at the beach", sits next to a snapshot taken at one of NSW's beaches (Australia, 2010a:11344). "There's nothing like climbing Ayers Rock (Uluru)" accompanies a picture of rock climbers (Australia, 2010a: 16828). "There's nothing like the Great Barrier Reef... finding Nemo with my girlfriend" relates to an underwater snapshot of a smiling girl (Australia, 2010a:41405). Another image features, "There's nothing like the sun, sand and surf of an aussie summer. Can get any better than beers and a bbq at the beach :-) THE LUCKY COUNTRY" (Australia, 2010a:31094).
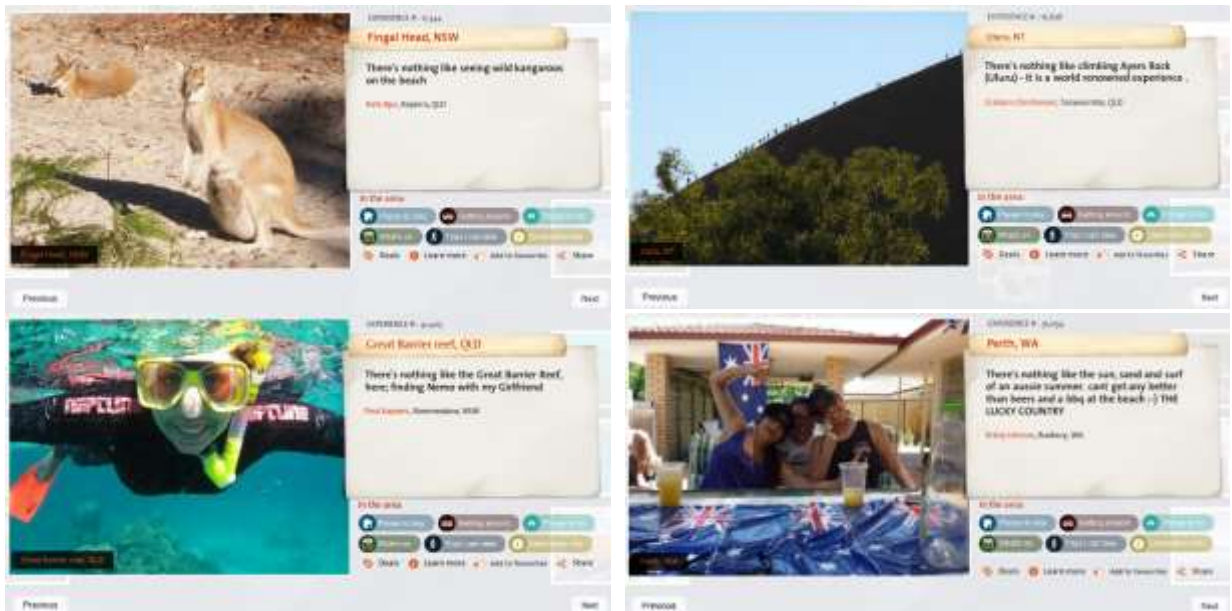
Figure 4.2 Photographs from "There's nothing like Australia"

This chapter looks at these new forms of commercial nationalism that engage with social media networks in order to create more "authentic" images of the nation based on experiences of local citizens. It aims to investigate the impact of social media in the commercial construction of nations, analysing the incorporation of these networks in the kinds of nation-branding campaigns that are said to empower "locals", giving them the opportunity to co-create the promotional materials that represent their national identities. Based on a case study of the first phase of the tourism campaign "There's nothing like Australia", the chapter questions these claims of empowerment, realness and democratisation, arguing that they should not be taken for granted. Drawing on the notion of "market populism", this campaign is treated as an example of "social media populism", a novel form of commercial nationalism that uses social media networks to leverage user-generated contents, and produces depoliticised forms of citizen participation.

Nation-branding and social media

In the last two decades, nation-states around the world have become engaged in marketing programs aimed at creating a "brand-image" for their countries. These campaigns have used branding and design principles to improve the reputation and economic performance of their countries, accompanied by strategies targeted at tourists, investors and potential export markets (Aronczyk, 2013). It has been argued that nation-branding has brought previously ignored countries into the spotlight and consolidated the reputation of recognised nations (e.g. Anholt, 2005) by creating colourful logos and catchy slogans that reinvigorate the national pride of citizens and reposition these countries on the global stage. Australia was one of the first countries that jumped into the nation-branding bandwagon. Since the mid-1990s, when the Australian government started to use nation-branding techniques to manage the image of Australia, federal authorities such as the Australian Tourism Commission and Tourism Australia have promoted the country as a destination for local and international travellers. As part of these efforts, high-profile advertising agencies and brand consultants have been hired to "sell" the experience of Australia and its way of life to international and domestic travellers. Tourism campaigns have drawn on a diversity of images and made use of world-recognised celebrities to construct changing images of Australian geography, history and society. These campaigns have created a myriad of imaginaries that have successfully invented a commercial image of Australia that brings each year millions of dollars into the national economy.

Despite their economic success, nation-branding campaigns are criticised by scholars for being top-down initiatives that fabricate commodified versions of national identity that are imposed onto the population and used to sell the nation to international audiences. Critical studies on nation-branding (e.g. Aronczyk, 2008; Jansen, 2008; Volčič & Andrejevic, 2011) have shown how marketing professionals work with official institutions to create visual and material artefacts that re-define the nation in geographic, social and historical terms in order to sell it in international and national markets. As I have argued elsewhere (Sanín, 2010) these commercial narratives re-tell the nation, institutionalising a series of depoliticised and ahistorical forms of storytelling. In Australia, as mentioned earlier, these campaigns and their promotional images have been criticised creating stereotypical and often contradictory images of the country that have divided public opinion and the tourism industry (e.g. Khamis, 2012).

In response to these criticisms, Tourism Australia launched a new campaign in May 2010 called "There´s nothing like Australia" (TNLA). As mentioned above, the campaign aimed at fighting the stereotypes created by former campaigns and constructing a more democratic and real image of the country. In order to do this, the agency DDB developed a crowdsourcing strategy for Tourism Australia that left behind traditional models of promotion and asked citizens to get involved by co-creating the promotional materials of the campaign. Making extensive use of digital platforms and social media networks, citizens were invited to upload photos of their "favourite Aussie holiday experience" and to describe them completing the phrase "There's nothing like..." The idea, development and results of TNLA were applauded in marketing circles for empowering audiences, commended in the news media for democratising tourism promotion, and celebrated by Tourism Australia for rediscovering the "real Australia". The campaign TNLA reflects trends of tourism promotion representative of neo-localism, which are aimed, firstly, at involving local citizens as active participants in creating narratives of the

places where they live (Schnell, 2013, p. 83), and secondly, at transforming those narratives in commercial experiences that are offered to tourists as holidays where they can experience "the 'authentic' or 'true' nature of place" (Schnell, 2011, p. 281).

This chapter examines these new forms of commercial nationalism that based on the use of social media networks[15] claim to be empowering citizens in the construction of more democratic and representative images of national identity. Based on a case study analysing the announcement, development and results of the first phase of TNLA, this chapter questions the democratic character of the campaign, the supposed empowerment of citizens to change stereotypes, and the "realness" of the holiday pictures chosen to advertise the country. It argues that these claims should not be taken for granted as they presuppose the transformative power of digital technologies (Mosco, 2004) and the democratic character of the media (Turner, 2010). In particular, these claims reproduce – in the context of the internet – the suspicious logic of "market populism" according to which markets are democratic systems where citizens can vote with their dollar (Frank, 2000a). While social media networks can be used for opening spaces for social inclusion and civic engagement, this chapter demonstrates that the corporatisation of these platforms can also lead – under the guise of empowerment, democratic participation and realness – to "social media populism". I use this term to describe the questionable belief that corporate social media is a democratic system where citizens can vote by giving "likes" and sharing pictures.

Following the framework proposed in the introductory chapter for studying commercial nationalism, the chapter analyses the role of this crowdsourcing campaign in nation-making, in the creation of national imaginaries, and definitions of national identity. It will show how nation-branding campaigns developed on the internet are crucial for the advancement of cultural, economic and political agendas revolving around the commodification of the local. In terms of nation-making, these forms of commercial nationalism illustrate the transformation of the nation-state into a brand and the implementation of new technologies for the production and regulation of national culture. In the constitution and perception of national identities, there has been a movement of citizen participation from the marketplace to social media networks, and from shopping to the generation of digital content. Consequently, when it comes to national symbology, these new forms of commercial nationalism make visible new national imaginaries made of user-generated content, holiday pictures in this case. Overall, crowdsourcing campaigns such as TNLA are representative of populist forms of commercial nationalism in which country-brands claim to be selling a more "real" experience of the nation, in as much as it is based on the knowledge that local people have of their own country, of its history and geography.

This case study was focused on three main aspects of TNLA: the corporate and media discourses used to present it, the measurements implemented to regulate its development and results, and the user-generated content that was chosen to create the promotional materials of the campaign. I studied

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[15] Danah Boyd and Nicole Ellison (2008) define social network sites "as web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system". These connections between users and the interactions that these sites enable are employed in campaigns such as TNLA as tools of promotion based on the generation of content.

the corporate documents, media statements and promotional materials used by Tourism Australia to introduce the initiative to the public, as well as reports about the campaign published in news media. I also looked at the strategies and "terms and conditions" deployed as part of the campaign to regulate the participation of citizens; as well as analysing a sample of 350 pictures from the interactive map that Tourism Australia created using pictures and testimonials of citizens. Drawing on the cultural critique of Thomas Frank (T. Frank, 1997, 2000a) and on critical approaches to the internet (Curran, Fenton, & Freedman, 2012; Mosco, 2004; Turner, 2010), co-creation (Zwick, Bonsu, & Darmody, 2008), nation-branding (Aronczyk, 2008; Kaneva, 2011a; Volčič & Andrejevic, 2011) and tourism photography (Urry & Larsen, 2012), I interpret these populist forms of neo-localism as forms of commercial nationalism in which local citizens are "put to work" in the production of tourist-friendly images.

The chapter is presented in four sections. The first section analyses the shift in Australia's tourism promotion from television advertisements to social media networks. The concept of social media populism is then developed, arguing that the corporate discourse used to present this shift towards social media networks as a form of advocacy, reproduces the logics of market populism. The following three sections present the results of the case study of the nation-branding campaign TNLA. The first of these sections shows how the campaign was presented to the public, not as a marketing strategy, but as a civic initiative aimed at changing stereotypes of Australia and democratising tourism promotion through the involvement of local citizens. The second section looks at the development of TNLA and shows how the campaign claimed to be empowering local citizens in the construction of a more "real" image of the country, allowing them to share pictures of their vacations in Australia in social media networks. The third section analyses the results of the campaign, looking at a sample of the pictures included in the interactive map created by Tourism Australia. Each of these sections question claims of democracy, empowerment and realness, demonstrating how they reflect the logics of social media populism.

Branding Australia: The rise and decline of a marketing formula

Figure 4.3 Logo symbol of the brand "Australia" from 1996 to 2014.

Since 1996, when the Australian government launched the brand "Australia" campaign (Figure 4.3), successive campaigns attached to this brand have attracted millions of tourists. As a brand, Australia has an outstanding reputation in the global market, and the country is usually ranked in the top positions of the so-called nation or country-brand indexes created each year by think-tanks and

marketing agencies. The success of brand Australia can be partially explained as the result of an advertising formula that has been in use for about three decades. Its origins can be traced back to the iconic television advertisements created by the Australian Tourism Commission in the mid-1980s. In these advertisements, the actor Paul Hogan uses expressions such as "Throw another shrimp on the barbie" or "Come and say G'day" to convince Americans to visit the country (David, 2004). These advertisements represented a significant initiative of the Federal Government in branding the nation, and cemented the basis of a marketing formula grounded in televised advertisement campaigns based on catchy slogans and celebrities.

"See Australia in a different light" was the first campaign launched by Tourism Australia, after it replaced the Australian Tourism Commission (Tourism Australia, 2005). The $360 million campaign launched by the agency M&C Saatchi and involved the participation of as Foster's, R.M. Williams, Penfolds and the Australia Council for the Arts (Lee & Dennis, 2004b). Launched gradually from April to May 2005, it featured six television and cinema commercials featuring emergent celebrities and personalities of the moment who participated "free of charge". The central piece of the campaign was a 30 second television commercial starring singer and songwriter Delta Goodrem performing *I can sing a rainbow* (Figure 4.4). This advertisement was celebrated in the news media for leaving behind "the images of barbecues and beaches, that typified previous campaigns" and replacing them with "snapshots of Australia's landscapes at their most stunning" (Lee & Dennis, 2004a).

Figure 4.4 Screen shots from the TV advertisement of "See Australia in a different light" .

In 2006, Tourism Australia launched "A uniquely Australian Invitation" (Tourism Australia, 2007a), a marketing strategy evoking the images of the seminal Paul Hogan series and devised again by M&C Saatchi and Carat at a cost of $180 million. The campaign became best known by the tagline of its centrepiece, a television commercial showing what was unique about Australia and its people, and

closed by bikini-model Lara Bingle saying: "So where the bloody hell are you?" (Figure 4.5). Critics immediately attacked the campaign for its misuse of language and for the images used to define Australia. While the use of the slang "bloody" made it impossible to translate the tagline of the campaign into Asian languages, its literal translation forced British authorities to temporarily ban the commercial from television. Nonetheless, in part to the debate and discussion generated by "Where the bloody hell are you", Tourism Australia reported record increases in the number of visitors and millions of dollars injected into the national economy.

Figure 4.5 Screen shots from the TV advertisement of "A uniquely Australian Invitation".

The campaign, however, was ended a year earlier, when the newly installed Rudd Labor Government ordered a "rethink" and the Prime Minister described the campaign as a "rolled gold disaster" (AAP, 2008). A new campaign was commissioned, and "Walkabout", was based on two promotional clips created by Baz Luhrmann and his production team Bazmark (Tourism Australia, 2008a). The launch of the campaign's video clips (Figure 4.6) in November 2008 coincided with, and drew upon the release of Luhrmann's film *Australia*, starring Nicole Kidman, Hugh Jackman and Brandon Walters. The video clips presented the miserable lives of an American woman and an Asian man who were taken by Walters – in his role as Aboriginal kid – to idyllic places in Australia, in which the characters recovered their peace of mind.

Tourism Australia has reported increases in numbers of visitors to Australia and visitors' spending in each year since the release of these campaigns. Simultaneously, Australia has been ranked in the top position of the Country Brand Index (FutureBrand, 2006, 2007, 2008), a ranking created in the mid-2000s by the agency FutureBrand to measure the reputation of countries in terms of tourism.
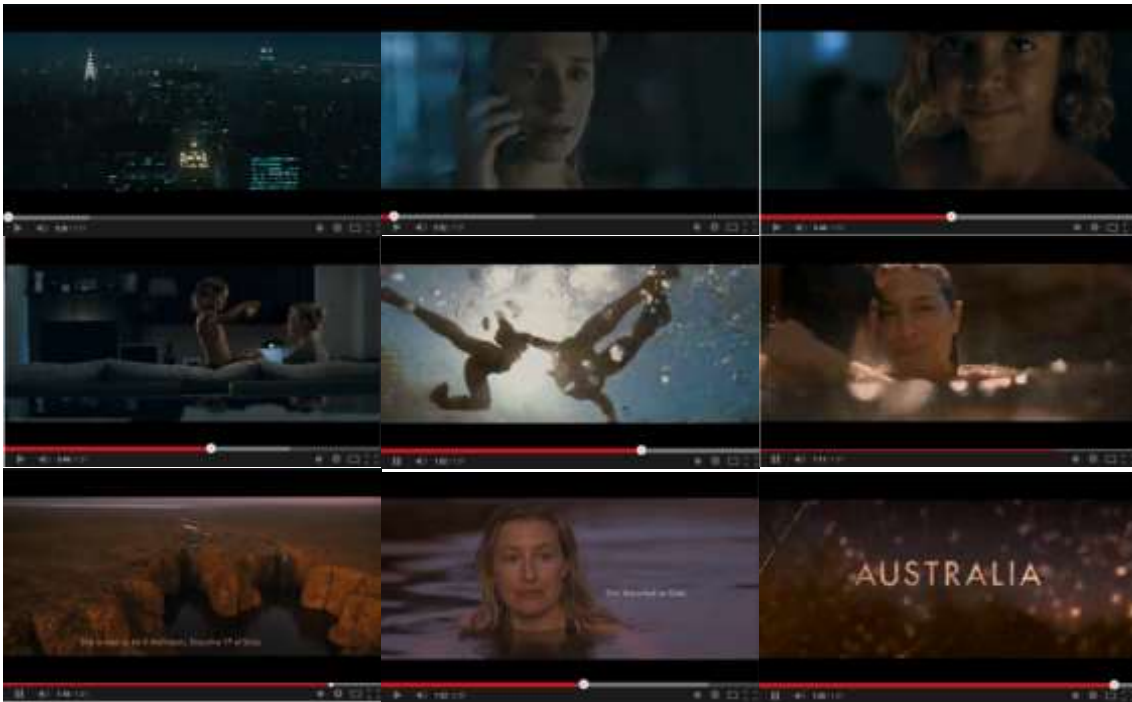
Figure 4.6 Screen shots from the TV advertisement of "Walkabout" with Brandon Walters.

Despite the economic success of the celebrity, slogan and TV formula, these tourism campaigns have been criticised for the stereotypes they have both created and reinforced, and for the simplistic image they portray of the country and its people. Criticisms have been raised, firstly, against the marketing formula of 30-second television commercials featuring celebrities and created by global agencies, which are unable to talk on behalf of Australia, and secondly, against the idealised images of Australia and the gendered and racialized stereotypes created by those commercials. The image of Australia created by those campaigns can be summarised as one characterised by: "blondes on a beach, outback pubs and Aborigines at Uluru" (Khamis, 2012, p. 54).

However, a sign emerged that the success of Australia's marketing formula started to decrease. In 2009, for the first time since its inception, Tourism Australia reported a decrease in visitors and spending (Tourism Australia, 2009) and brand Australia fell to the third position in the Country Brand Index (FutureBrand, 2009, p. 6). The causes were attributed to the 2008 global financial crisis and the rise in the Australian dollar, but also to a crisis in the strategies implemented in the promotion of the country. It seemed that the marketing formula had lost its impact. The use of traditional media and marketing techniques did not appear as effective as they had been over the past. Also, the places, topics and peoples depicted as representative of Australia holidays seemed exhausted and unattractive for some travellers, and were also reinforcing stereotypes that damaged the international image of Australia.

Faced with this scenario, brand Australia took a new approach in its campaign TNLA. "Tourism Australia's latest consumer campaign", said the presentation of the new initiative, "involves the participation of the whole country" (Tourism Australia, 2010a, p. 2). Instead of television commercials featuring idealised images of Australia and starring well-known personalities, the campaign would take place on the internet and social media with citizens sharing their own holiday pictures to show the "real Australia" to the world. Using the notion of "digital advocacy" to define the new strategy,

Tourism Australia argued they were giving a voice to the people in the construction and promotion of the brand image of their country.

Through its so-called "digital advocacy", Tourism Australia draws on "crowdsourcing", a strategy based around engaging social media users in the creation of content for a particular enterprise. The term was coined by Jeff Howe in *Wired Magazine* in 2006, defining a co-creative strategy facilitated by digital technologies in which "a company or institution [takes] a function once performed by employees and outsourcing it to an undefined (and generally large) network of people in the form of an open call", breaking down the barriers that have traditionally separated amateurs from professionals (Howe, 2006a). The first stage of "TNLA" was developed in three phases: "inspire", "invite", "engage". First, Tourism Australia invited citizens to participate by uploading photos of their holidays and a description of 25 words to the website www.nothinglikeaustralia.com. "Over 28 days – Tourism Australia reported – nearly 30,000 photos and inspiring personal stories were uploaded, making it one of Australia's most successful consumer-generated promotions ever" (Tourism Australia, 2010a, p. 3). These pictures were used to build an interactive map of Australia that classified all the entries using 1,000 keywords. Tourism Australia then expanded its "digital advocacy" across their corporate social media networks. Today, the brand has almost 6 million fans on Facebook, 100,000 followers in Twitter and 650,000 followers on Instagram. Quoting these figures, Tourism Australia claims to have a brand that is democratic because it is constructed by its "advocates", and real because through social media networks such as "Facebook [they] can get real stories about what people are currently thinking about Australia" (Tourism Australia, 2012).

The campaign TNLA marked the introduction of social media networks in the promotional strategies of brand Australia. The integration of social media through crowdsourcing is creating a new formula for tourism promotion. This new formula is characterised by a transition from traditional advertising campaigns broadcast on television, based on catchy slogans and starring celebrities, to new campaigns publicised in digital media and based on user-generated content. Although Australia is still publicised using television advertisements, a significant component of tourism promotion is now based on crowdsourcing, and the use of photographs and scripts shared by people throughout social media. The strategy of "digital advocacy", has been applauded in marketing spheres for its empowerment of audiences, commended in the news media for democratising tourism promotion, and celebrated with fanfare by Tourism Australia for rediscovering the "real Australia".

This new marketing formula and the concept of digital advocacy can be considered as representative of new forms of nationalism revolving around the commercial rediscovery of the local. Although TNLA attempts to create a commercial image of the whole country, the emphasis of the discourse, or the "overtone" as Jaro Stacul would say (2006), is on the local and based on an anxiety about the homogenising and stereotyping effects of cultural and economic globalization. From a general perspective, this rediscovery of the local is expressed in the conviction that if products (in this case holiday experiences) are made with the help of "real" people they are more authentic (Schnell, 2013, p. 69), particularly, when compared to marketing campaigns developed by multinational advertising agencies and their corporate clients. The return to the local is manifested in the involvement of local citizens as co-creators of the campaign, who are re-presented not just as mere tourists, but as connoisseurs of the "true essence" of Australia and the embodiment of the "life changing" experiences that each place of the nation, even the most remote, has to offer. The return to the local

is also evident in the elements used to show the "real" Australia through amateur pictures taken by Australians while on holidays and described in their own words. But as with any other images of Australianness, these attempts to reinvent the nation are no less constructed than those shown in television commercials and advertising script. As Richard White stresses in the first page of *Inventing Australia*, "there is no 'real' Australia waiting to be uncovered", all national identities are an invention (R. White, 1981, p. 1).

From "digital advocacy" to "social media populism"

Assertions of empowerment, democracy and realness implied in the notion of "digital advocacy" should not be treated sceptically. It is prudent to be suspicious of these claims because they reproduce the dubious optimism surrounding the emergence of digital technologies that announce the internet and social media networks as a revolutionary solution to many social problems (Mosco, 2004), including the increasing corporatisation of public goods and the commodification of social relations. I question these claims and the whole idea of "digital advocacy", arguing that they replicate the logics of what Thomas Frank (T. Frank, 2000a) calls "market populism", but in the new realm of Web 2.0[16].

During the late 1990s Frank wrote a series of essays analysing what he defined as the takeover of culture by the world of business (T. Frank, 1997) and the rise of market populism (T. Frank, 2000a, 2000b). According to Frank, market populism is a belief that emerged during the 1990s claiming that markets are a far more democratic form of organisation than democratically elected governments. Market populism insists that citizens and consumers are equivalent categories and that the rights and duties of the citizenry are best exercised through shopping. As Frank explains, listening to "the people" became a premise of political leaders and businesses. The best way for knowing and understanding the popular will was through market research in the form of polls, focus groups and the internet (T. Frank, 2000a, p. 29). The formula of "one dollar = one vote" became equated with universal suffrage (T. Frank, 2000a, p. 86), and shopping came to be regarded as a democratic act.

Similarly, I would argue that TNLA, and other emergent forms of participation based on crowdsourcing, are evidence of the ongoing use of Web 2.0 by the world of business in the service of "social media populism": the conviction that social media networks are democratic sites where people can exercise their rights as citizens through the generation of content. According to this view, digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter or blogs are able to express, in the form of likes, tweets, tags or pictures, the popular will of the people. Moreover, this belief is equating "thumbs up", "likes" and "favourites with political action, establishing the questionable logic of "one like = one vote". This takeover is not new. It can be traced back to the origins of the Web 2.0 revolution in the mid-2000s. In 2006, when *Time Magazine* chose "You" as person of the year, commentators claimed that Web 2.0 was empowering people and enabling them to create content (Grossman, 2006). Simultaneously, in

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[16] Web 2.0 is a term introduced around 2003 and 2004 to define a series of emergent phenomena around the World Wide Web. Cormode and Krishnamurthy (2008) explain that although the concept suggests a technical distinction and a separation between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0, most of Web 2.0 sites work on the same platforms as Web 1.0. The difference between these two sites is that Web 2.0 enables processes of bidirectional communications based on a diversity of contents through social network sites.

the same issue of the magazine Jeff Howe (the same author who coined the term crowdsourcing) expressed surprise and delight at the fact "[b]ig businesses [were] embracing this new world (…) tapping the expertise of everyone out there to enhance their products" (Howe, 2006b).

The concept of "social media populism" echoes the critical positions of some prominent media scholars who are questioning the supposedly democratic character of the internet and social media, pointing out that it is practically impossible to think about democratic social participation in platforms controlled by corporate interests. James Curran (2012) refutes the optimism surrounding digital technologies, arguing that the commercialisation and privatization of these platforms, and the censorship of social interactions according to market and state interests, impedes the possibility of social change, including democratic participation (See also: McChesney, 2013; Mosco, 2004). Graeme Turner (2010) develops a similar critique that questions the real power of the media to create and motivate processes of democratic participation. In relation to this point, Turner warns that the increase in number of media platforms and massive access from ordinary people to the media do not necessarily imply a democratic empowerment of the audience. Furthermore, in the specific case of Australia, Jim Macnamara (2012) has shown that although it is true that citizens have embraced social media networks and have high levels of participation, when it comes to the advancement of democratic movements – such as political parties – their potential for actively engaging citizens is very limited.

Several key critics agree with these criticisms of Web 2.0, practices of co-creation, and the emancipatory figure of the prosumer. Jose Van Dijck and David Nieborg (2009) have shown that most of the claims made in Web 2.0 manifestos combine principles of grass roots collectivism with mainstream capitalism, and have stressed the need for a critical analysis of the socioeconomic implications of convergence culture (Jenkins, 2006). Scholars have also been critical of the practices of co-creation, associating them with forms of consumer exploitation and free-labour (Humphreys & Grayson, 2008). The co-creation of contents is always regulated according to market interests (Zwick et al., 2008), and the commodification (Freedman, 2012) of these strategies has been useful for the development of new business models built upon collaborative or participatory media. The figure of the prosumer has also been questioned by research showing that the co-creators of content are just a small "elite" set of internet users, and the claims that prosumption is empowering people belies strategies for the commodification of social relations (Comor, 2011).

In the context of nation-branding campaigns social media populism can be associated with the incorporation of "wikinomics" (Van Dijck & Nieborg, 2009) and other business models based on grassroots collaboration in the cultural economy of commercial nationalism. As in other fields, this incorporation is characterised by a populist discourse that promises change and a new beginning. For nation-branding campaigns, this discourse revolves around promising a more inclusive version of "the nation". The majority of criticisms of nation-branding are that this practice allows marketers and designers to transform the national culture into an economic asset, and that national identity becomes a commercial construction through this process. According to the discourses of social media populism, this process is changing for the better. Web 2.0 platforms are supposed to be transforming the business of national identity and crowdsourcing initiatives such as TNLA empower citizens as prosumers, resulting in a more democratic and participatory – more "real" – version of their own nation. However, drawing on critical approaches to the paradigm of co-creation, Zala Volčič and Mark

Andrejevic (2011) have called attention to the co-creative strategies aimed at "enlisting consumers in the branding process". These strategies are related to "neo-liberal forms of governance" in which consumers voluntarily provide "unwaged and exploited" labour as a workforce in branding campaigns (2011, p. 600). The case study of TNLA shows that the incorporation of social media technologies into nation-branding campaigns is, in fact, just business as usual.

4.1 Thumbs up! From marketing strategy to civic project

The marketing campaign TNLA was introduced to the public as a civic project. Tourism Australia presented the initiative as an opportunity to change stereotypes created by previous campaigns and to redefine the image of the country on the basis of local knowledge. In particular, Tourism Australia claimed that this was an opportunity to show the "real" Australia to the world using the "life-changing experiences… [that] no-one knows better than the people that live here" (Australia, 2010b). Using this kind of discourse, Tourism Australia explained the campaign as a democratic platform for citizen participation in the construction of promotional devices used to represent Australia and its national identity. These claims were celebrated and reinforced by the news media, with travel reporters arguing that the campaign represented the democratisation of tourism promotion and interpreting the process as a "bottom-up" initiative that would redress the stereotypes and misinformation generated by previous tourism campaigns.

This section looks at the announcement of the campaign TNLA and questions the claims of democratisation made as part of the process. It analyses the corporate and media discourse used to introduce and promote the crowdsourcing initiative among the public, paying special attention to the strategies implemented to present the marketing strategy as if it was a civic project, and also to some of the ways these claims were contested. The strategy of presenting this marketing campaign as a civic project detached from corporate interests is a clear mobilisation of neo-local discourses that consider products and services made by local people more authentic than these produced and promoted by multinational advertising agencies. However, based on an analysis of the corporate discourse used to present TNLA, it will be argued that the claims of democracy in this case were overstated and based on the commercial rhetoric of social media populism. Although it is true that Tourism Australia opened a space for citizen participation in the co-creation of promotional materials for brand Australia, this participation was regulated according to market interests and the corporate imperatives of the tourism industry.

 TNLA was presented to the public through a populist discourse. Citizens were to be empowered by social media to fight the national stereotypes created by previous tourism campaigns. A television and internet advertisement (Figure 4.7) announced the initiative in this way:

> Everybody knows Australia is a rugged country where blokes in stubbies and cork hats
> get beer out of oil cans, wrestle crocs with their bare hands and say things like 'bonza',
> and 'sheila' and blonde-haired surfer types hang out at the beach all day and shrimp
> on the barbie with their koala, kangaroo and cockatoo friends – right?

Immediately after this provocation, the advertisement explained citizens how to get involved in the campaign:

> This is your chance to set the history straight. Nobody knows the real Australia better than the people who live here, so Tourism Australia is asking for your help to show the world why there's nothing like Australia. Just upload a photo of your favourite Aussie holiday experience and describe it by finishing the line 'there's nothing like …' There's over 60 hundred dollars in prizes to be won. Or you can let them go and believe we're all like these.

Figure 4.7 Screen shots from the TV advertisement used to present "There's nothing like Australia" to public opinion.

The supposed civic character of the campaign was reinforced by the marketing discourse that separated TNLA from state and corporate interests, and instead placed itself in the hands of the people. The Minister for Tourism, for example, explained in a radio interview that TNLA "is not about the Australian Government in partnership with Tourism Australia and state and territory organisations nor with the private sector actually picking winners. It is about us as a nation giving the Australian community an opportunity to actually promote their local regions" (Herbert, 2010). Although this statement references the synergies between government and industry and the integration of public and private interests, the rhetoric of social media populism is used to stress that the campaign is a grassroots initiative that will tap into "community" and "local regions".

Consistent with the populist conviction that opinion polls and surveys are the best ways to find the will of "the people" (T. Frank, 2000a), the civic character of the campaign was justified on the behalf of market research. According to Tourism Australia (2010b), research carried out by Roy Morgan Research found that Australians wanted to get involved in the promotion of the country. These findings were incorporated into the script of the campaign through claims of empowerment. The

script used to present it in the media explained that Australians are "very passionate about how [their] country is promoted overseas", and that 80 per cent would like to participate in the promotion of the country. *The Age* quoted Tourism Australia directors saying that "Australians like to talk about why they love Australia", and while it was recognised that "there will be some people who won't want to talk about their favourite holiday spot (…) most Australians just can't help themselves" (Lee, 2010a). Furthermore, citing Roy Morgan's research, the Minister for Tourism explained that "Australians want to tell the world passionately and proudly about our great country", and that for this reason Tourism Australia was inviting them share their pictures and testimonials – "now is their change to get involved" (Canning & Saurine, 2010).

Many news media outlets celebrated the development of the initiative using the same populist tone. Selected newspaper articles admired the innovative use of social media for citizen participation in tourism promotion and saw the movement from traditional marketing to social media as highly democratic. *The Australian* examined Tourism Australia's decision to move away from traditional advertising and was enthusiastic about the use of the "latest social media techniques to collect the opinions of the nation" (Canning, 2010). "For the first time", stated the newspaper, "Australia's $89 billion tourism industry will not hang on the impact of a 30-second TV commercial, but will rely on the phenomenon of social networking". The campaign, it concluded, "has been created to allow people to express their pride in their country" (Canning & Saurine, 2010). Another article in *The Age* commented that "rather than impose a view of Australia from above", the Federal organisation "has explicitly asked Australians to get behind a new advertising campaign", thereby tapping "into what they see as an innate quality in Australians - their willingness to shout about why Australia is unique" (Lee, 2010a).

The claims of empowerment and the democratic spirit of TNLA are overstated. Firstly, these claims do not take into account the inequalities that exist in terms of age, income and location (Ewing & Thomas, 2012), which could exclude many elderly and poor Australians from the campaign. Secondly, as Dijck and Nieborg clarify, studies mapping internet activity have shown that majority of internet users are consumers of content and looking for entertainment, while a small percentage are creators of content (2009, pp. 861-862). Although practices of co-creation might seem relatively spontaneous, Zwick, *et al* explain that they are controlled and channelled in ways desired by marketers (2008: 165), who implement all kind of strategies to "ensure that consumer freedom evolves in the 'right' way" (2008: 184).

It soon became clear that the so-called "digital advocacy" was first and foremost just a marketing strategy and that its objective, far from democratising tourism promotion, was to appropriate the will and emotions of Australian citizens in a revamped marketing formula. In declarations to the media, Tourism Australia managing director "acknowledged there was only so much control he was prepared to secede to social media", and emphasised that "First and foremost [Tourism Australia was a] marketing organisation and [wanted] to put the best possible image of Australia forward..." and for that reason, they were "absolutely … controlling that" (Lee, 2010a). To ensure "photos and text [were] not profane, do not contain nudity or are politically incorrect" each entry was vetted three times and Tourism Australia reserved "the right to take [entries] down as and when it sees fit" (Lee, 2010b).

Apart from these regulations, Tourism Australia sought to limit the creativity of citizens to the promotional objectives of the organisation. First, Australians were asked to "put [their] 'bigs' on the

map!" making reference to the "more than 150 over-sized animals, fruits and other objects" that could be found in the "Australian landscape" (Tourism Australia, 2010d), which constitute a literally "big" attraction across states, towns and roads of Australia. Also, just few days before the closing date for submissions, Tourism Australia's managing director encouraged Australians to send "more stories and photos about our incredible food and wine experiences, the road-trips and journeys that can be had right in the country, the historical sites and some of the lesser known destinations" (Tourism Australia, 2010e).

These forms of control show that, far from being absolutely "free", strategies of consumer co-creation are frequently designed to "ensure that consumer freedom evolves in the 'right' way" (Zwick et al., 2008, p. 184) and to coincide with stated promotional objectives. These branding initiatives, far from being interested in creating a holistic image of a national culture, are aimed at selecting specific features of national identities that can be easily marketable to foreign audiences. As critics of nation-branding have argued, in this attempt to construct tourist-friendly images of the country the complexity and heterogeneity of national identities are reduced to catchy slogans (Jansen, 2012, pp. 79-80; Kulcsar & Yum, 2012, p. 194) such as "There's nothing like Australia".

As with "market populism", "social media populism" can be a "risky business". Similar to the marketplace, where boycotts and other forms of consumer sabotage can risk the reputation of brands and the aims of promotion (Neilson, 2010), social media and promotional strategies based on co-creation can be fraught affairs. A well-known case of these risks is the campaign, "Chevy Tahoe", developed by General Motors. In 2006, General Motors wanted to exploit user-generated content through a viral marketing campaign that invited consumers to make their own 30-seconds commercial for the new SUV the Chevy Tahoe. But "almost immediately", "consumers began posting Tahoe 'ads' that criticised the company by calling attention to the negative environmental impact of SUVs" (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008, p. 1249). That year, *Wired* published an article reviewing the campaign and described it as "revolutionary" in the sense that it was the "wikification of the 30-sec spot". Being revolutionary, the article explained, comes with a price for corporations because as "the Tahoe example demonstrates (…) [u]sers, not marketers, control the dialog online" (F. Rose, 2006). Tourism Australia became aware of these risks in 2006, when comedian Dan Illic produced a parody of the advertisement "Where the bloody hell are you". The parody video presented "negative images of Australian life": alcohol consumption, racism, refugee detention centres, wild animals and abuse of Aboriginals. It was uploaded to YouTube with the name, "Where the fucking hell are you?" In response, Tourism Australia described the advertisement as "mean spirited and humourless" and ordered its removal alleging copyright infringement (Braithwaite, 2006)[17].

Tourism Australia implemented strict regulations in order to ensure citizen participation occurred in the "right way" and was coherent with its mission of selling Australia. In the media Tourism Australia "acknowledged there was only so much control he was prepared to secede to social media" with McEvoy stating that "First and foremost [Tourism Australia was a] marketing organisation and [wanted] to put the best possible image of Australia forward..." and for that reason, they were "absolutely (…) controlling that" (Lee, 2010b). In this way, the campaign kept the involvement of

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[17] Dan Illic changed the tune of the song accompanying the video some days later and the video can still be watched on his YouTube channel: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=411ueiat2sY

citizens within their mission of selling Australia, adjusting democratic participation and real representation according to the corporate cultures and market imperatives of brand Australia.

Figure 4.8 Images from the brand-jacking campaign nothinglikeaustralia.net

Despite the best efforts of Tourism Australia, TNLA was not immune from misappropriations by the public. Immediately after it was announced, alternative interpretations of the campaign circulated across the internet. A look-alike website "brand-jacking" the campaign was launched on the US (Figure 4.8). The website www.nothinglikeaustralia.net (no longer accessible) mocked the co-creative initiative and the tagline of the TNLA campaign, presenting images referring to controversial dimensions of Australian nature, culture and society, accompanied by descriptions completing the sentence "there's nothing like…". Pictures included images of baby Azaria Chamberlain and her mother at Ayers Rock with line "there's nothing like a dingo taking your baby"; of Steve Irwin carrying his baby son while feeding a crocodile titled "there's nothing like taking your child to work", and the Cronulla race riots of 2005 described with the line "there's nothing like welcoming the new guy" (Shears, 2010). Faced with the "realness" of these images, Tourism Australia responded by saying that

it "expected that people would spoof the ads and [they were] fairly relaxed about that, something interpreted by the creators of the images as reflecting the "Australian spirit" (Canning, 2010).

In TNLA's website, as well as in the rest of digital platforms where the campaign has been extended, democracy and realness are constructed, facilitated and developed within the corporate context of brand Australia and according to market interests of its shareholders. In this way, commercial nationalism organises and regulates democratic participation according to a marketing program, not on the basis of democratic citizen consensus.

4.2 Picture this! Putting citizens to work

This section looks at the development of TNLA and questions the claims of empowerment that were made as part of this process. It will be shown how the crowdsourcing strategy of TNLA is a relatively new form of commercial nationalism that utilises citizens as sources of free-labour for the advancement of economic projects in the name of the nation. In this sense, this campaign reveals an interesting shift in commercial forms of nationalism, in which citizen participation is moved from the marketplace to social media, where citizens are asked not just to consume, but to consume creatively.

As previous chapters have shown, in Australia consumerism has been treated as a form of citizen participation. Since Federation until today, Australian citizens have been called by institutions such as Federal Governments or supermarkets to become involved in the advancement of national projects in the marketplace, where their participation as consumers has been regarded as an expression of patriotism, commitment and sense of belonging. The previous chapter explained that the notion of consumer-citizenship (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008) has been used to define this condition in which an individual's roles as national citizen (e.g. collective identification, civic participation, sense of belonging, etc.) are exercised through consumption practices. From this perspective, Tourism Australia's invitation to crowdsource the promotional materials of the campaign TNLA introduces a different form of consumer-citizenship that can be labelled as "crowdsourcing-citizenship". Through "crowdsourcing-citizenship", citizens are being called to the market through social media networks, where they become co-creators of visual images used to represent their nation.

Crowdsourcing is a marketing strategy to mobilize citizens. In the context of branding, co-creation is best understood as an umbrella term for a series of marketing strategies explained in the works of marketing-gurus Prahalad and Ramaswamy (2000, 2004). These authors argue that value (cultural and economic), instead of be created exclusively by firms, has to be co-created between companies and consumers. Thanks to the internet the market has become a forum in which consumers and manufacturers of products and services have engaged in a constant dialogue, and they both have proclaimed the emergence of a new informed, empowered, networked, active customer. Approaches critical of this paradigm have defined co-creation as a strategy aimed at controlling markets by providing platforms for consumer agency that at the same time channel activities in ways desired by marketers (Arvidsson, 2011; Zwick et al., 2008). Drawing on these works, Volčič and Andrejevic have called the attention to the "co-creative" strategies aimed at inviting citizens to "live the brand" by "enlisting consumers in the branding process". These calls are related to "neo-liberal forms of governance" in which consumers voluntarily provide "unwaged and exploited" labour as a workforce in branding campaigns (Volčič & Andrejevic, 2011, p. 600).

Nation-branding campaigns based on crowdsourcing are complex marketing strategies in which citizens are "put to work" in the production of tourism-friendly images to sell the nation. Seen from this perspective, crowdsourcing can be associated with the shift of labour from the factory to society, defined by Terranova (2000) as representative of free-labour in the digital economy. Indeed, when Jeff Howe coined the term "crowdsourcing", he claimed to have found a new source of "cheap labour" that was not in India or China, but in "everyday people" who were using their spare time to create contents to solve problems [and] even do corporate R&D (Howe, 2006a: 177). In the article, Howe identified some emergent clusters of crowdsourcers shaped around quotidian activities. He explained how "micro free-lancers" in Turkey were doing $2,000 works for just 5 dollars; how "garage scientists" were curbing the high costs of corporate research; how "amateur videographers" were competing against actors, camera operators and producers; and how "photo-enthusiasts" were threatening traditional photo industry by offering good quality pictures for as cheap as one dollar.

One of the virtues of promotional initiatives based on crowdsourcing is the low cost they represent for marketers and corporations. An article published in *Advertising Age* the same year the term crowdsourcing was coined praised the idea as one "where businesses faced with tough challenges don't try to come up with all of the answers themselves. They tap into the collective wisdom of millions of amateurs around the world to come up with a solution" (Rubel, 2006). In this sense, TNLA is a clear example of how tourism promotion has moved from the factory of Tourism Australia to Australian society. Further, this move was celebrated in the media as costing much less than the extremely expensive former campaigns as the first phase of TNLA was going to cost taxpayers just $4 million (Canning & Saurine, 2010).

According to Zwick and his co-authors, the main characteristic of the co-creative economy and its experiments with value co-creation is that it is based on "the expropriation of free cultural, technological, social, and affective labor of the consumer masses" (2008, p. 166) and also on the "astute marketing move" of asking consumers to "pay for the surplus extracted from their own work" (2008, p. 186). The expropriation and commercialisation of consumers labour is done in different ways depending on the platforms where it takes place. In commodity-based markets it occurs when companies invite consumers to customize their products, who are then asked to pay more for that "work" of customization. In digital economies this process occurs differently, and it is done when user-generated websites such as Facebook, YouTube or Second Life "each in their own specific way" "expropriate the cultural labor of the masses and convert it into monetary value" (2008, p. 180). I would argue that these two principles can be clearly identified in TNLA's strategy. Firstly, when citizens are expropriated, when their pictures and testimonials are transformed in promotional materials, and second, when those materials are used to sell them Australia back, in the form of holiday experiences, through brochures, advertising and other campaigns.

Perhaps the most common way in which companies silently appropriate the creative work of consumers is through the fine print of the terms and conditions they are subjected to when agree to participate in initiatives. Tourism Australia wield restrictive terms and conditions to retain the copyright of more than 60,000 pictures and descriptions uploaded to the website www.nothinglikeaustralia.com throughout the development and execution of TNLA. Although these clauses passed unnoticed or were irrelevant for many of the participants, TNLA's terms and conditions (Tourism Australia, 2010f) did generate discontent and disagreement across the blogosphere and in

independent media publications such as *Crikey* (Redman, 2010). The same day that TNLA and its "invitation" were announced, professional photographer Rob Walls published an entry in his blog titled, *Copyright! Where the bloody hell are you* (2010a). Walls discussed clauses 11 and 12 of TNLA's "Terms and Conditions" and questioned Tourism Australia's sense of "fair play". His post unleashed a debate that lasted more than twenty days, where bloggers and photographers denounced the issue and provoked discussions in other social media forums. Some days later the Australian Commercial Media and Photographers (ACMP) published a media statement expressing concern and announced that they had contacted Tourism Australia about this issue (Watt, 2010). In response to questioning, Tourism Australia changed the wording style of one of the clauses, but the meaning remained the same. Instead of assigning "… all right, title and interest in all intellectual property rights in their entry…", participants would "… grant Tourism Australia a non-exclusive, perpetual, irrevocable, worldwide, royalty-free, transferable license..." of their entries. The new wording was still considered abusive by the community of professional photographers (Walls, 2010b).

Freedman (2012) explains that Web 2.0 is not only a social space, but the platform for a new economy. In this new economy, co-creative initiatives are the new digital factories where user-generated content (and also other forms of social interaction) are transformed into new sources of monetary value. One of the characteristics of the co-creative paradigm is that it transforms the creativity of consumers into new commodities that are given back to them. Since these new commodities were made by "real" people, they are supposed to be more "authentic" and to have other added values. In this context TNLA is selling an "experience". It is well known that since the late 1990s, the global economy has moved from producing commodities to design "experiences", and brands are focused on providing consumers with "memorable moments" (Pine & Gilmore, 1999a, 1999b). In 2006, Tourism Australia created the "Australian Experience Framework", a set of seven topics to promote Australia (Tourism Australia, 2007b). It also moved away from segmenting its market according to consumer niches by defining its target audience as "experience seekers" (Tourism Australia, 2006a, pp. 4-7; 2006b). Since this change Australia has been sold as a "holiday experience".

These "holiday experiences" are sold both outwards to international travellers, and inwards to "domestic experience seekers" (Tourism Australia, 2008b). As nation-branding practitioners insistently explain, the targets of their initiatives are foreign and domestic audiences. As Jansen (2008) puts it, nation-branding "not only explains nations to the world but also reinterprets national identity in market terms and provides new narratives for domestic consumption" (2008, p. 122). In the case of Tourism Australia, this interest for domestic markets is evident in the expansive campaigns that were implemented to encourage Australians to have holidays within the country instead of going overseas (e.g. No Leave, No Life). It becomes clear then, that what Australian citizens had crowdsourced is a commercial version of Australia and Australianness that is offered back to them as a "holiday experience". This "immaterial commodity" is "sold" in social media networks through the pictures taken by Australia's "fans", and through an Australian version of the interactive map, which shows 30,000 pictures more uploaded progressively by Australians and world tourists.

The crowdsourcing strategy at the centre of TNLA has been progressively expanded to other social media networks, where it is used to transform user-generated content into promotion. In all these platforms, there is a particular emphasis on practices of photo-sharing. In 2011, when brand Australia's Facebook page had 3 million followers, it was calculated that there were 1,400 new

pictures uploaded weekly. Today, when the page has almost 6 million followers that amount is 3,000 or more. Many of these pictures are then "shared" by brand Australia through its own channels on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and so on, and all of them are interconnected though the hashtag *#seeaustralia*. Through these platforms, the interactivity of millions of advocates, pictures, "likes", tags, comments and tweets are transformed into a commercial image of Australia that is sold back as a holiday experience. In terms of workforce, these platforms represent a great input for Tourism Australia's marketing agenda.

Nation-branding has been generally associated with neoliberalism and with modes of governance exercised in the market. These associations have been established in many respects and in relation to different stages of campaigns (e.g. marketization of national identity, synergies between the state and corporations, privatization of public goods, etc.). When it comes to the involvement of citizens in co-creative enterprises, Volčič and Andrejevic have interpreted these initiatives as the offloading of state responsibilities onto citizens who then become responsible for economic development (2011, p. 602). The case of TNLA seems to be a clear example of this process. The campaign is discursively constructed as a democratic platform and it can be seen that the government – via marketers – is discharging responsibility for national promotion onto citizens. Citizens are then "invited" to voluntarily assume their new role as a workforce willing to volunteer their free and pleasurable labour.

Claims of empowerment made as part of co-creative and crowdsourcing campaigns might sound innovative, but it should not be forgotten that they are the marketing strategies of the digital economy. In the particular case of TNLA, claims of empowerment through engagement of local citizens involve the exploitation of their creativity through the generation of content. This process takes place within a framework that regulates their design and implementation according to their marketability. In this way, commercial nationalism adapts itself to new commercial environments, where it transforms social interactions informing the construction of national identities into monetary value in the form of copyrights and commodities.

4.3 There's nothing like… Re-imagining the nation through holiday pictures

In May 2010, Tourism Australia presented the results of the first phase of TNLA in the website www.nothinglikeaustralia.com. The site featured an interactive map of Australia illustrated with 30,000 pictures, each of them accompanied with a description of 25 words completing the sentence "There's nothing like…" Created by Tourism Australia and featuring holiday pictures of Australian citizens, the map is said to show the "real Australia", and more exactly, a series of "life changing experiences to be had all over (…) [the] country and [that] no-one knows them better than the people that live here". Through the site and the map, Tourism Australia claimed to be leaving behind the stereotypes created by former campaigns, and presenting an image of the country based on the experiences of local people.

This section explores the map (Australia, 2010b) and its pictures, and questions assertions of realness and authenticity made as part of the campaign. These claims reproduce common claims made by neo-local movements; namely, that the local is "perhaps more than anything else (…) 'authentic'" (Schnell, 2011, p. 283). Steven Schnell explains that social constructs revolving around the idea of "the local" have come to be one of the major attraction sold to tourists and demonstrates how "the local" in the

form of food, wine or agricultural landscapes, is used to engage them in a series of consumption practices under the guise of authenticity (Schnell, 2011). Drawing on approaches to tourism as a visual and performative activity (Edensor, 2000; Larsen, 2005; Urry, 1990; Urry & Larsen, 2012) and to holiday pictures as material culture (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006), I argue this map and its pictures materialise (as if it was an atlas) the imaginative geographies of brand Australia. This materialisation reproduces a series of "myths" that have been attached to particular places of Australian territory during years of tourism promotion. The section explores the "place-myths" that constitute these geographies and attempts to define gazes (things that should be seen) and performances (things that should be done) that constitute the experience of Australianness. Overall, this section shows a characteristic of contemporary forms of commercial nationalism on the internet, involving the objectification of the nation in artefacts constructed using user-generated-content.

Holiday pictures and the construction of "place-myths"

Modern approaches to nationalism have recognised that devices such as maps and landscapes are powerful "institutions of power" that provide visual resources to imagine the nation (Anderson, 2006). Kaplan and Herb assert that "[n]ationalism is an intrinsically geographical doctrine in that it seeks to conjoin a self-identified group of people – a 'nation' – within a sovereign, bounded geographical area – a 'state'" (2011, p. 349). And mapping has been a crucial practice of that doctrine in as much as "maps are crucial to visualize the nation, to make its territory tangible" (2011, pp. 355-356). Landscapes have been also important for the development of nationalist doctrines, and the idea of a "national landscape" – understood as a discursive technique for visualising and naturalising a series of meanings attached to geography – has been a central question in the construction of nations (Hayrynen, 2000). Since the interactive cartography of TNLA embraces these two dimensions of national geography – the map and the landscape – it can be easily considered as an artefact that materialises Australia and enables its imagination.

Studies on photography and tourism have made evident the strong relationships between these two activities (Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Urry, 1990 Ch. 7; Urry & Larsen, 2012, p. Ch. 7). In her seminal work *On Photograhy*, Susan Sontag (2005) explained that the feelings of imaginary possession of time that photography gave people helped it evolve in tandem with tourism. For tourists, she explains, taking pictures is a way of certifying experiences, transforming them into souvenirs, helping people cope with disorientation caused by travelling, and appeasing anxiety about not working by simulating a friendly version of work (2005, pp. 6-7). Furthermore, John Urry and Jonas Jarsen (2012) argue that since Kodak made it possible to remake and reimagine photography as "a 'mundane' technology central to modern family life (…) the camera became promoted as an indispensable tourist object" that "enabled families to 'story' their experiences … [and] transport them back 'to the sunshine and freedom', again and again" (2012, p. 172).

In Australia, tourism is considered part of national culture, and tourism photography, both commercial and amateur, has played an important role in making the nation tangible in everyday life. In the late-1980s, Fiske, Hodge and Turner included tourism as one of the *Myths of Oz* and defined it as an activity that "interrupts the normal, secular life" and is able to transfer Australians "into the abnormal or the 'sacred' and the 'magic'" (1987, p. 117). More recently, Richard White explains how since the beginning of the twentieth century going *On Holidays* (R. White, 2005) has been constitutive of what it

means to be Australian. White has shed light on the role of photography in that process. In terms of commercial photography, White asserts that since the late nineteenth century the pictures used in tourism promotion "allowed Australians to imagine the nation, and to desire it" even before "the formal nation making of Federation" (2005, p. 75). Once a tourism industry was established, professional photographs picturing Australia in maps, guides and postcards disseminated images of national geography and its landscapes. When it comes to amateur photography, White says that middle-class Australians enthusiastically embraced pocket cameras and the snap-shot became their best tool for "making time productive" capturing their holidays (2005, pp. 100-101). This suggests that for Australians and internationally holidays become "a search for the photogenic" and "a strategy for the accumulation of photographs" (Sontag, 2005, p. 6; Urry, 1990, p. 128; R. White, 2005).

Figure 4.9 Picture of a picture taken in one of the mopst popular spots tagged with the hashtag #seeaustralia.

As explained in the first section of the chapter, an important element of TNLA is the notion that photographs taken by tourists are supposed to be more real than commercially produced images used in tourism promotion. In critical assessments of nation-branding and tourism promotion, commercial images are accused as unrealistic and constructing stereotypes. In the context of Tourism Studies, Urry and Larsen blame commercial images for working through "embellishment, erasing, exaggeration, stereotyping and repetition", and for creating the type of imaginative geography that Shields calls "place-myths". Place-myths, Shields (1991) explains, are collections of place-images by which "various discrete meanings" are "associated with places and regions regardless their character in reality". Place-myths, he adds, "result from stereotyping, which over-simplifies groups of places within a region" and also from "prejudices towards places or their inhabitants" (1991, p. 60).

From this perspective, photographs taken by tourists could be regarded as more "real" than commercial images. However, it is crucial to note that "tourist praxis" is a contingent process, in which

the "creative consumption" of tourists is framed by scripts that have been set up by the industry in order to create an anticipation for the places that are consumed (Edensor, 2000; Larsen, 2005; Urry & Larsen, 2012). Urry and Larsen add that tourist photographs "are not objective, or innocents but produced within asymmetrical power relations" (2012, p. 156), especially given the plethora of scripted and staged commercial images deployed by tourism organisations (2012, p. 173).

The attachment of particular connotations to places is the work of multiple actors and devices (Barthes, 1972), among which I would include tourists and their photographs. If tourists' practices are inspired by the place-myths created by the tourism industry, then what tourists do with their cameras is attempt to capture those connotations, reproducing the same myths that have inspired them. From this perspective, I would argue, that far from presenting the "real Australia", the holiday pictures of TNLA's map reproduce the place-myths created by Tourism Australia and more than a century of tourism promotion. Place-myths, explains Duncan Light (2008) in his analysis of Transylvania's myths, are strong beliefs "about the nature and character of a place" constructed across many types of registers (novels, tourist guides, movies, etc.) and exert a strong influence in the imagination of people (2008, p. 8). What is important about place-myths is that "whether or not there is a factual basis for them, they are believed to be true", meaning they are important to understand how reality is interpreted and explained. Similarly, whether the place-myths of TNLA's map are real or not is not the key question. Rather, it is how the pictures and descriptions are objects explaining the ideas, beliefs and values that have been attached to Australianness in order to transform it into a series of holiday experiences.

The real Australia

One week before the end of the first phase of the campaign in May 2010, Tourism Australia declared TNLA a success and the organisation announced its target had been met beyond its expectations: "It is terrific to see these levels of support from communities across the country" (Tourism Australia, 2010c). Tourism Australia also celebrated the fact that the entries received were able to show the "real Australia". The organisation commented that the pictures captured "the essence of Australia – both the people and the places – and the diversity of the country from the well-known icons and big cities to the hidden gems that only locals know about" (Tourism Australia, 2010c).

Figure 4.10 International version of the map TNLA

The following sections present some of the "place-myths" of Australianness that can be found in TNLA's map. The analysis of these place-myths is based on a visual study of a sample of 350 pictures from the international version of the map (Figure 4.10). This "international" version was chosen for two reasons. First, it was created to promote the campaign in English-speaking countries, using images that were comprehensible and inoffensive to different cultures. Secondly, the amount of images (ten percent of those included in the Australian map) is a manageable and representative sample of pictures from the entire collection. The study of these pictures was based on visual methods for discourse analysis (G. Rose, 2007) and was conducted using Miles and Huberman's model for qualitative data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The model was developed following three steps. First, the number of possible pictures, 3497, was reduced by selecting a sample of 350 images. The pictures selected were then organised and classified according to three main topics: history, geography and society. Finally, a series of patterns or place-myths were identified in relation to each of these topics. The patterns that emerged show how different ideas revolving around the idea of "the local", such as the past, Indigenous culture, the cities, the outback, the beach, foods and animals, are used to create an image of Australia that is sold as an "authentic" holiday experience.

The past

Figure 4.11 The Dreamtime.

One way in which place-myths are constructed is by attaching stories and events to places and regions. As with other myths, these are not based on historical facts, but on reinterpretations and reorganisations of the past that serve a particular interest. Norbert Lechner (2000) explains that making the nation involves a reordering of the past, in which specific landmarks and events are chosen to invent through them a national identity. This organisation of the past, Lechner warns, is not objective, but based on today's questions and tomorrow's expectations. Similarly, the map of brand Australia (Australia, 2010b) organises the national past that function for the tourism industry, constructing imaginative geographies that locate the origins of the nation in the "Dreamtime" (Figure 4.11), and portray European colonization (Figure 4.12) of the continent as a series accidental landmarks dispersed across the territory or as holidays that have been imbued with new and modern meanings.

In the pictures, the notion of "Dreamtime" is used to define an Australian past that is not fixed in time or space. In historical terms, Australia is uncomplicatedly imagined as an "ancient, ancient land" (Australia, 2010b: 156) without a specific, foundational date or location. For instance, as the next segment explains, the elements of Aboriginal culture that are considered as archaeological registers of Australia's imagined past (e.g. rocks, dry lakes, petroglyphs, pictographs) are appreciated not for their meaning prior to British occupation of the territory, but for their aesthetic value for modern Australians. In this way, places such as Uluru are valued not for its connection and significance for the Anangu People ("traditional owners" of the land where the rock is), but for how it looks at sunrise (1827), sunset (211) or when is raining (2430). Therefore, the Dreamtime is not understood as a foundational myth, but as a tourist experience based on a "spiritual journey" (2539).

Figure 4.12 Australia's Colonial History

There are few references to the narratives of official nationalism in the imaginative geographies of brand Australia. The establishment of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901, for example, is ignored and while there are some references to Parliament House, most experiences taking place in Canberra are focused on its hot-air Balloon Festival. Only two national commemorations are mapped by holiday pictures. The first of these is the arrival of the First Fleet in Sydney Cove in 1788, which is now reinterpreted and popularised as Australia Day. The second commemoration is the landing of Australian and New Zealand troops at Gallipoli in 1915, which has been celebrated since 1916 as Anzac Day. Yet, holiday pictures related to these commemorations show they are imagined very different to each other. While Australia Day has been mythologised as a popular commemoration that is celebrated through banal forms of nationalism, Anzac Day is constructed as a mourning remembrance, commemorated through the rituals of official nationalism.

Figure 4.13 Australia Day.

Far from being original interpretations made by citizens, these imaginative geographies on which Australia Day (Figure 4.13) and Anzac Day (Figure 4.14) reflect the work undertaken by official institutions to adjust national history in the context of modern Australia. Authors such as Elizabeth Kwan (2007) and James Curran and Stuart Ward (2010. Ch.6) have shown how celebrations surrounding the arrival of the First Fleet have been problematic since Federation, and how different

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institutions including the media[18] have constructed particular meanings for it. For example in recent times, and partly thanks to the promotional efforts of the National Australia Day Council, the political and historical implications of British colonization have been replaced by mundane forms of celebration focused on the idea of "what's great" about Australia. In the imaginative geographies of brand Australia, these new myths are ritualised through ferry races (232), weekend camping (471) and barbecues around the country (248; 908).
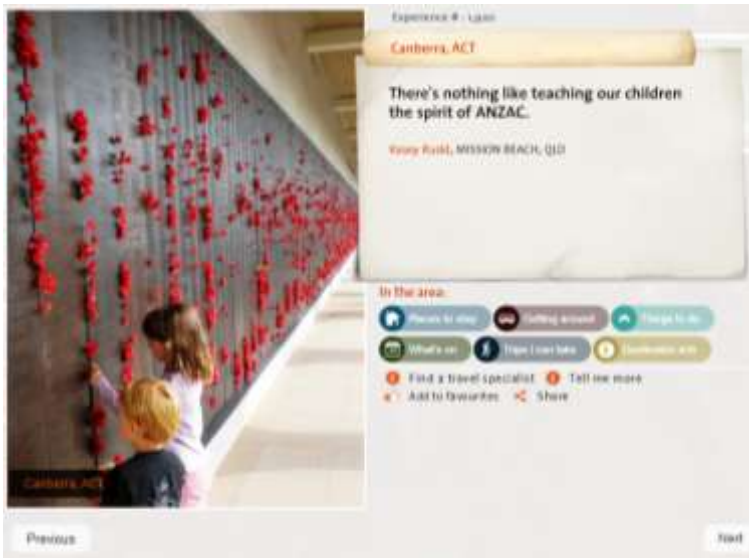
Figure 4.14 Anzac Day.

Anzac Day seems to be less complicated, as the casualties of the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps have been widely interpreted as a foundational moment in the history of the two countries. The myth of Anzac has materialised in the everyday life of Australia through hundreds of monuments and war memorials, and although the word Anzac has been protected from commercialisation since 1921 (Department of Veterans' Affairs, n.d), it is commemorated through diverse forms of cause-related marketing and commodities such as Anzac biscuits and souvenir badges. In TNLA, these institutional forms of mourning and the "spirit of ANZAC" are re-materialised through holiday pictures of the Shrine of Remembrance (3063, 1920, 1135), official acts (1882) and allegorical figures such as rainbows or trees (1333, 1002).

Indigenous culture
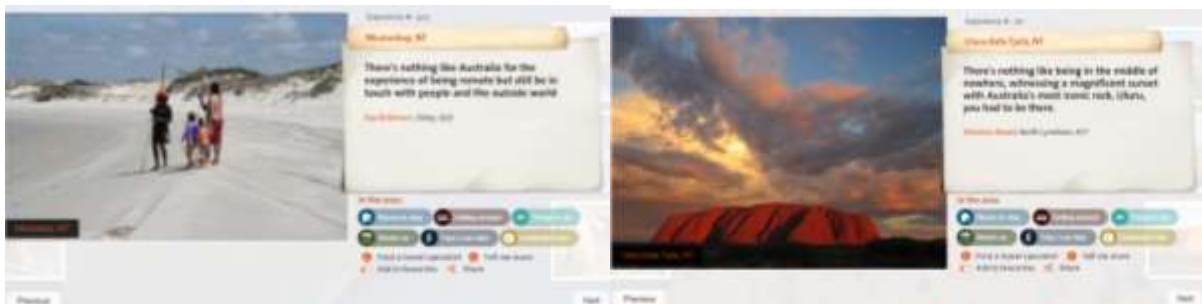
Figure 4.15 Indigenous culture.

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[18] The ABC, for example, created a website in 2013 collecting content with the purpose of helping to celebrate the National Day (See: http://www.abc.net.au/australiaday/)

The imaginative geographies of Australia's past create a particular myth around Indigenous culture (Figure 4.15) as a liminal space connecting the "real world" to another dimension, usually referred in the pictures as the "dreamtime" (3279). The experience of this place-myth is described as one "of being remote but still be in touch with the people and the outside world" (973) or simply as "being in the middle of nowhere" (211). These myths construct an imaginative geography of Aboriginal culture as a mysterious and magical place, a holder of particular powers that can be searched for and best experienced walking hand-in-hand with an Indigenous Australian. The rituals that mediate the connection between the real world and the dreamtime are based on a range of touristic performances from picturing sunsets to dress up in indigenous costumes.

Figure 4.16 Uluru.

Some of the most prominent artefacts of the place-myths built around Aboriginal culture are Uluru (Figure 4.16) and "rock art" (Figure 4.17). In *Holiday Business*, Jim Davidson and Peter Spearritt (2000) tell how in only two decades, from the 1950s to the 1970s, Uluru became a site for mass tourism, with "Ayers Rock" acquiring "a cultural importance for white people just as strong as it had for the original inhabitants". Since then, they explain, Uluru "became the place where many took their first tentative step towards trying to understand Aboriginal culture" by learning something about its history and mythology (2000, pp. 200-202).

Figure 4.17 Rock Art.

This attitude has prevailed until today, when the Rock is considered as "a magical, spiritual and mystical place" (45,080) that must be gazed at sunrise and sunset (2732, 711), and driven around in the early morning (370). Some Australians think that it can provide visitors with a "natural high" (1472). Other artefacts connecting the real world with the "Australian dreamtime" are rock paintings

and engravings. The aesthetic impression that these paintings produces connects them to the past and is described as "going back in time" (883), though the meaning and location of that past in Australian history is never mentioned.
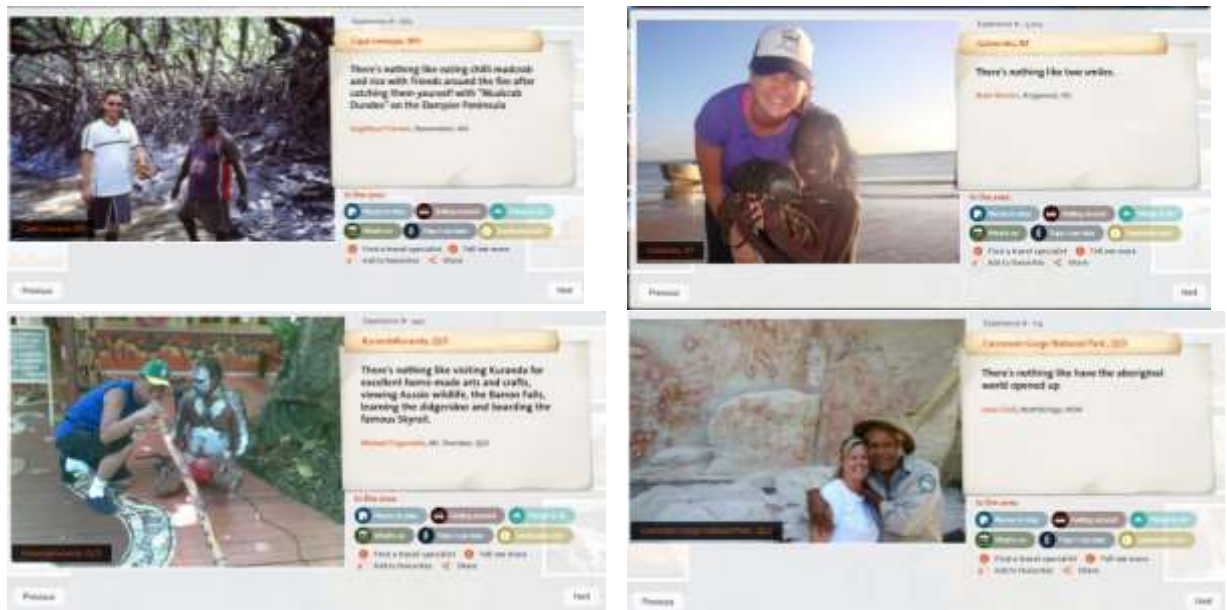
Figure 4.18 Social interactions between tourists and Indigenous Australians.

Place-myths attach particular properties not only to Aboriginal artefacts, but also to people. Indigenous Australians are imagined as holders of a secret knowledge about their culture. Having first-hand access to that knowledge is fundamental in order to experience the essence Aboriginal culture, and there are various ways in which Aborigines are positioned as providers of that experience. One way of gaining access to that knowledge is becoming involved in the everyday routines of Indigenous people (Figure 4.18). Experiences of this types are portrayed through shots of the encounter and are described as "eating chilli mud crabs and rice with friends" (663), "going for a swim with locals after a good rain" (3368) or doing a "piggy back with friends in the blazing heat of desert sun" (2555). Another way for accessing the imaginative geographies of Aboriginal culture is to learn about their "home-made arts and crafts", and being photographed while playing the didgeridoo seems essential for some visitors (942, 3279).

Figure 4.19 Indigenous culture reinforced by Indigenous performers and guides

In brand Australia, Indigenous Australians are not only the holders of ancient knowledge but also performers of it (Figure 4.19). Aboriginal communities have been involved in the business of holidays since the late 1960s (Davidson & Spearritt, 2000, p. 210) and today they are active actors in the construction of cultural myths about their geographies. In the place-myths constructed by Australians through their holiday pictures, Indigenous people are portrayed performing rituals associated with their culture. In these situations their everyday clothes are changed for Aboriginal traditional dress and traditional body art. Moreover, their gestures and body dispositions reinforce the myths that associate traditional rituals with a moment of trance (432, 2739, 2820, 3056, 476). In these contexts, non-indigenous Australians are allowed to step "into indigenous culture" and become part of the performances, as if the essence of Aboriginality was contained in a series of instruments and body gestures (2914, 1974). Aborigines are also presented as gatekeepers of their culture, when they act as tourism operators and tour guides in National Parks. In these cases, they are said to teach the real story of the "dreamtime" (3385, 2759) and work as interpreters of the "oldest culture on earth" (1947).
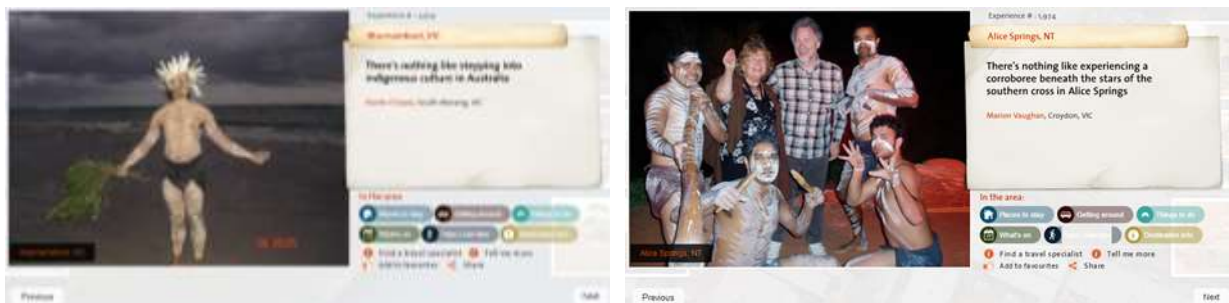
Figure 4.20 Toursits performing Aboriginal culture.

Scholars of the tourist gaze (Urry, Larsen: 156 quoting Mellinger, 1994) suggest looking at tourism representations – including holiday pictures – politically, examining "what they include and exclude" and exposing "whose interest they serve". Applying that perspective on the holiday pictures of TNLA reveals a paradox in brand Australia; on the one hand, thanks to the tourism industry Aboriginal culture is articulated to national narratives of history and geography, on the other, however, indigenous Australians are vindicated for their otherness and are located at the margin of Australianness. These forms of visualization and naturalization of Aboriginal culture echo what Alan McKee (1997) notes, when he explains that claims of "authenticity" in representations of aboriginal culture, have created the wrong idea that the "only correct way in which Aborigines can be represented" is "showing them in exotic, dangerous and other ways". These stereotypes, he suggests, have ruled out any possibility of constructing a more contemporary Aboriginal identity with urban or

middle-class culture, or an Aboriginality with features of whiteness, but able to remain recognisable Aborigine (1997, p. 202). Paraphrasing Khamis (2012), it could be said that when it comes to Indigenous culture, brand Australia is still about Aborigines in Uluru.

The outback

Figure 4.21 The outback.

The main place-myth in the imaginative geographies of brand Australia is the outback, a place that is constructed as opposed to another place-myth the city. Richard White (1981) suggests that this opposition between the outback and the city can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, when Australian bohemians adopted "a cluster of symbols and principles which they associated with Australia: sunlight, wattle, the bush, the future, freedom, mateship and egalitarianism", and used them to construct an image of "the 'real' Australia in the outback". As White explains, this image was – like other images of Australia – "essentially artificial" not only because it was a tool for their cultural revolt, but also because it was produced in the cities (1981, pp. 97-98). Similarly, the myths attached to the outback in the map of TNLA are the product of urban imaginations that describe it – visually and verbally – as an idyllic place for getting into "the real Australia" through the landscape and rural life.

Figure 4.22 The sunset.

When imagined as a landscape, the outback (Figure 4.21), similar to the geographies of Aboriginal culture, is constructed as a gateway between the real world and "magical places". These place-myths are usually located in "the middle of nowhere" (554) described as something similar to "outer space" (2324) or a "trip to the moon" (3196) and objectified in "magic trees" (1889) or "lakes without water" (2507). The rituals that must be performed in order to experience these myths have to do with sightseeing "the rugged beauty and pristine colours of the coast" (2263) or "discovering nature's sweetest things…" (2232).

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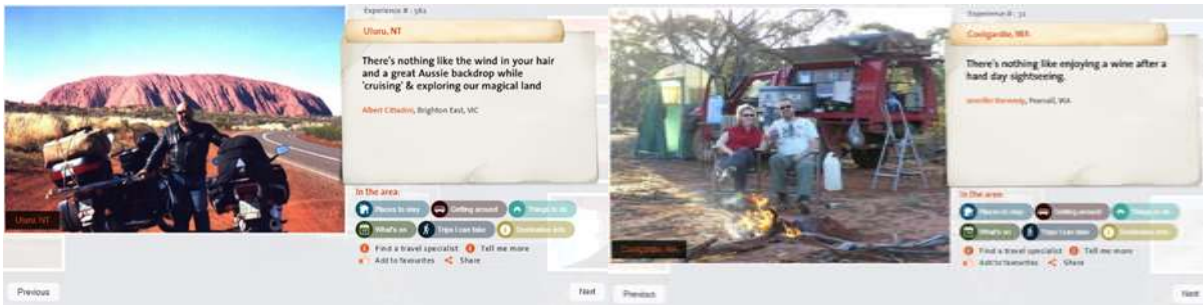
Figure 4.23 Travelling through Australia's outback.

Another "magical" frame for presentation of myths about the Australian "outback" is the sunset (Figure 4.22), a photogenic moment by which Australianness is materialised in pictures of trees (1692, 1624) standing within "almost treeless" landscapes (3430). A very different myth attached to the outback has to do crossing from one extreme to the other by "walking on the … desert" (395) or "cruising & exploring [the] magical land" (562). The pictures (Figure 4.23) suggest that an important part of these imagined journeys revolves around occasional stops for sightseeing (72) at major geographical spots or just enjoying the emptiness of the landscape while having a cup of tea (257).

Figure 4.24 The outback and Indigenous culture intersect with each other.

These myths of the outback contrast and coexist with others related to rural life. In those rural geographies the myths of the outback intersect with those of Aboriginal culture (Figure 4.24) through landscapes that seem to transport people to other dimensions of Australianness, through characters such as the "Aboriginal stockmen" (3001) and the "Elder" (1582) who are said to know "the land" and its secrets. Outback-myths of rural life also have nothing to do with the landscape of agricultural work or food production created by supermarkets. Rather, rural life is imagined as vibrant and entertaining, and characterised by horse races (1088), equestrian attractions (226, 2784, 1464) and sheep runs (479, 323).

The city

In the imaginative geographies of brand Australia the city is a place-myth that works as liminal space where tradition and modernity find each other. One photograph makes reference to this encounter, describing Flinders Street Station in Melbourne (Figure 4.25) as a place where "the old, the new and the young collide" (1589).

Figure 4.25 Flinders Street Station.

While the outback is a place for sightseeing and other forms of visual consumption, the city is a place for shopping. Following commercial trends of neo-localism, the shopping experiences offered by cities are tinted of "rustic rurality", aiming to make them more authentic (Schnell, 2011). Places such as the farmers markets of South Australia (68, 2077), New South Wales (2455, 2462) and Victoria (2001) recreate the experience of local authenticity that is associated with rural experiences (Figure 4.26). In these places rural activities are given a tone of urban sophistication, and agricultural work is transformed into a commoditised landscape of refined fruits, vegetables oils and other organic products offered as part of a "retail therapy" (3258). Other experiences based on mixtures of tradition and modernity can be found in some of Melbourne's iconic urban locations, many of which have been restored and transformed into modern shopping malls (1396) and "hip" lanes for a burgeoning coffee culture (3096).
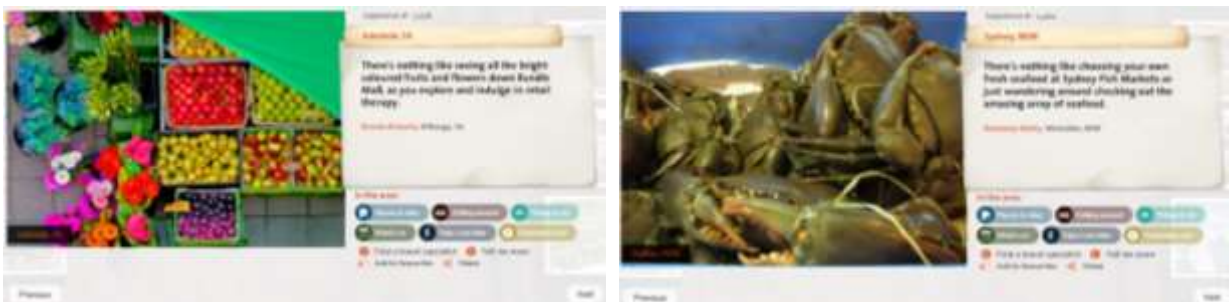
Figure 4.26 Australian cities.

The imaginative geographies of Australian cities, as those of Aboriginal culture and the outback, are composed by specific place-myths that, similarly to Uluru or the sunset, must be pictured in order to discover their essence. Although each city has its own place-myths (Flinders Street Station in Melbourne (3211, 520), Southbank in Brisbane (3414, 311), Lake Burley Griffin in Canberra (748, 1419)) the most representative of these myths is the Sydney Opera House (Figure 4.27), which together with Sydney Harbour, represent dominant rituals of the Australian gaze. Edensor (2002) calls "disciplined rituals" to a series of duties essential for tourists: "things which must be seen, photographs which have to be taken, souvenirs and postcards which need to be acquired" and in general "the imperatives to sample a range of cultures and commodities" through choreographic performances directed by guides and tour managers (2000, p. 334). As a result of these duties the Opera House is pictured at sunrise (984) and sunset (382), from ferries (1335), from floating

restaurants (3347), "from under the equally famous Harbour Bridge" (3143), and during special occasions such as New Year's Eve (3390).
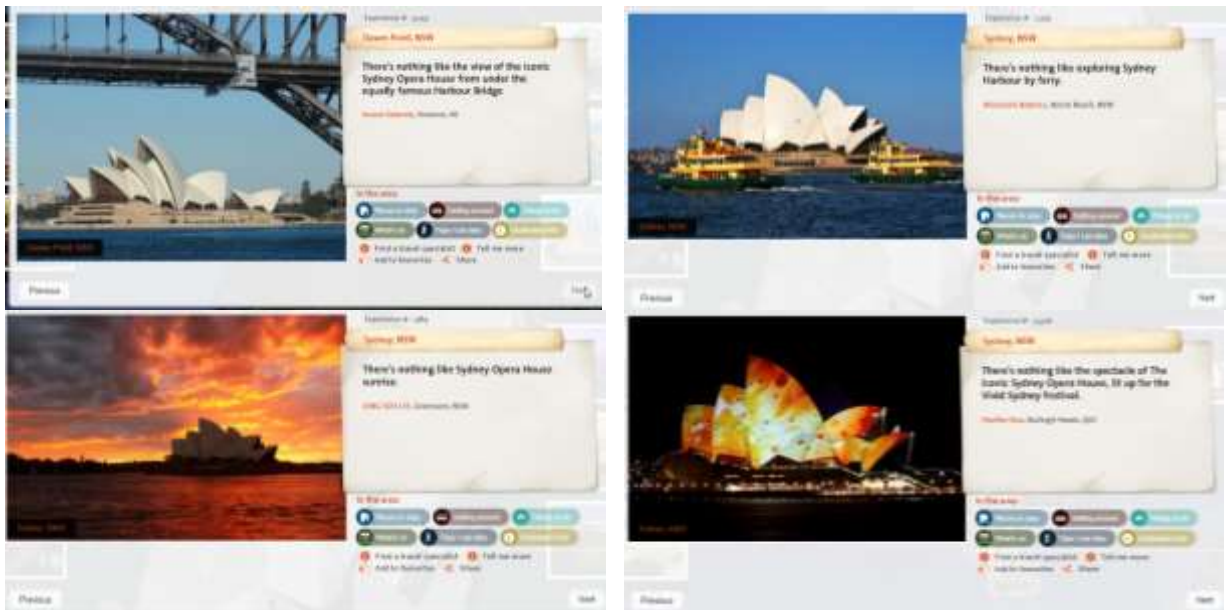
Figure 4.27 The Sydney Opera House

Other settings at the centre of disciplined rituals are sport venues in Melbourne and Sydney (Figure 4.28). Contrasting with other geographically isolated and deserted place-myths of brand Australia, these are crowded and their experiences are characterised by mass participation during Melbourne's "Formula 1 Grand Prix" (285), the "Australian Open" (1046), "Boxing Day" (805), and cricket at the MCG (171).
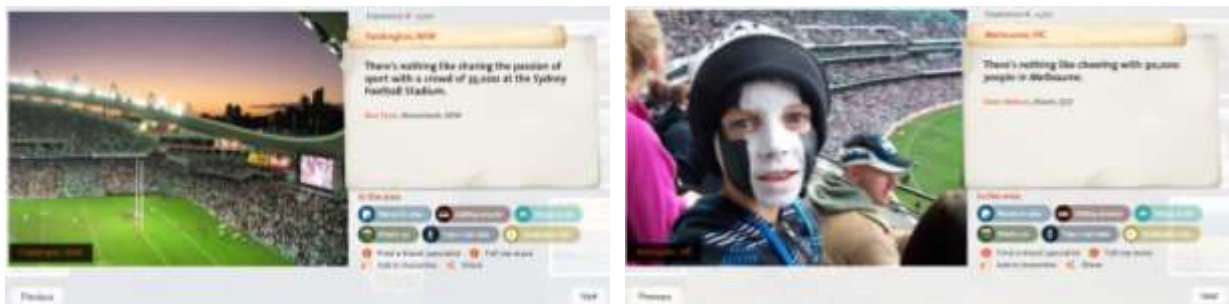
Figure 4.28 Australian sports.

The beach
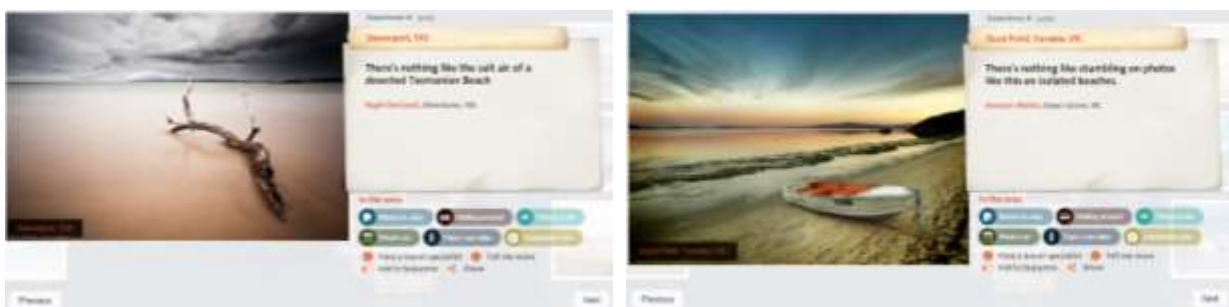
Figure 4.29 The beach as a desolated palce

Scholarly works have pointed out the significance of the beach in the historical construction of imaginaries of Australian culture (Booth, 2001). Richard White (2005) affirms that by 1914 Australia had developed "a culture of the beach" more elaborated than anywhere. By the 1980s the beach had long been considered as representative of Australia (Fiske et al., 1987), and in the early 2000s it had become a myth analysed in Australian cultural studies (Gibson, 2001). In the imaginative geographies of brand Australia the beach is an important place-myth to experience Australianness (Figure 4.29). Although most Australian cities are on the coast and their beaches are sites for collective leisure and massive tourism, the beaches of the holiday pictures are not urban or crowded and are generally described as "isolated" (2272) and "deserted" (3173). Even when urban beaches such as Cronulla or Bondi are put on the map (Figure 4.30), they are shown at night and without people (1989, 1641) or inhabited with kids learning to be life savers (348) and surfers (2984). These images of the beach, contrasts the notion of the beach as an urban place where nature could be experienced (Fiske et al., 1987, p. 54). The beaches of brand Australia are pictured as natural places where urbanites escape from urban environments.
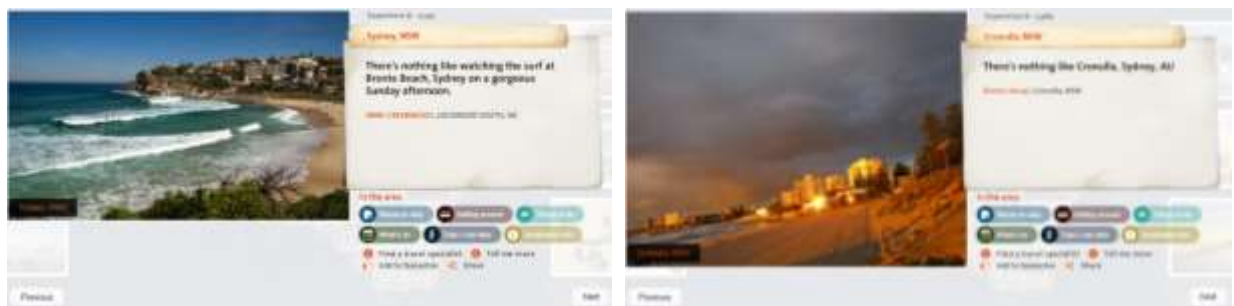
Figure 4.30 The urban beach

The beach is recurrently imagined as a hidden place that has to be discovered and explored in order to be fully experienced (Figure 4.31). The experience is described as "having the entire coastline for you" (93), "having the beach to yourself" (1638) or "for just the two of you" (2910). The beach appears to have an aesthetic effect that enhances the senses, producing contemplative experiences out of everyday life such as "seeing the elements of nature blending in rich colour" (207), "marvelling at nature's colours on the beach" (3184), "watching kids experience the wonders of The Great Ocean Road" (572).
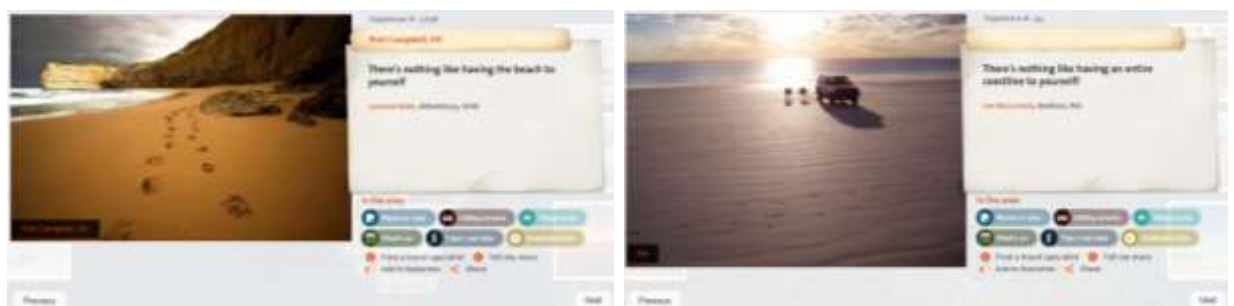
Figure 4.31 The beach as a romantic, isolated and desolated place.

The sunset also figures in relation to the beach (Figure 4.32). The sunset is a transitional moment in time that must be seen, and permeates the beach with a magic that is both romantic and camera-

friendly. The photogenic character of the beach at the sunset generates a series of holiday pictures of kids fishing (2088) and playing (887), couples drinking wine (436) and flaming "barbies" (3004).
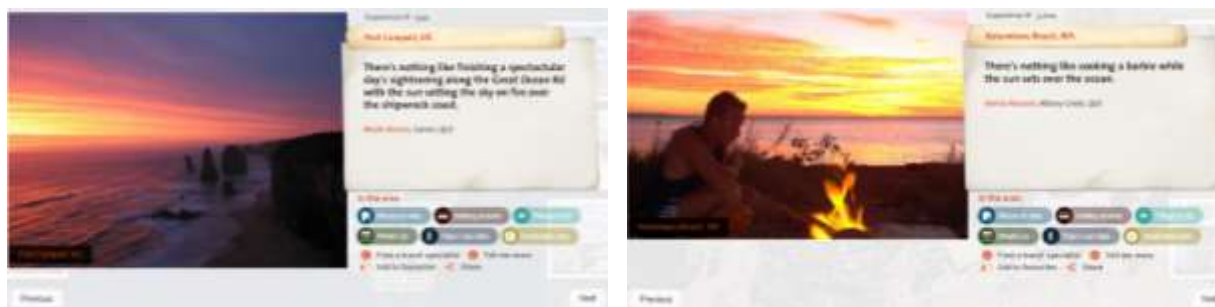
Figure 4.32 The sunset.

Food-scapes and animal-scapes
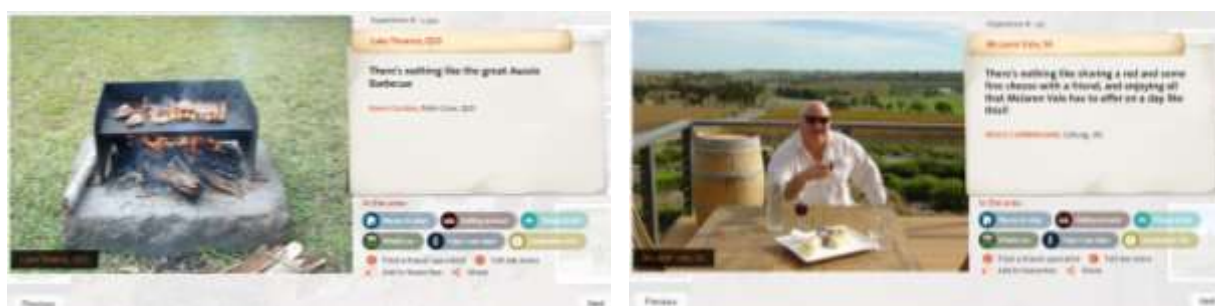
Figure 4.33 Australian food.

Another dimension of the imaginative geographies of brand Australia is constituted not by specific historical or geographical features, but food and animals (Figure 4.33). The most prominent of these revolve around barbecues and wineries, and Australian wildlife. Although the barbecue is a common suburban experience, the "Aussie BBQ" (2330) is generally depicted as an outdoor activity happening in the outback, or at the beach (3411). This type of food preparation and cooking is usually described as emblematically "Aussie" or as "the great Aussie Barbecue" (1592). Far from "shrimps" (as American visitors would have imagined in the 1980s) what is thrown on the barbie are sausages meat (1672), and the iconic "roo" (3415). Another food-scape has to do with wine culture. These practices show an emergent sense of sophistication about Australian food-scapes as opposed to informal rituals such as the outdoor barbeque. The imaginative geographies of wine culture include not only wine consumption, but also the enjoyment of landscapes (92), guided tours to vineyards (2744) and wine making (2076).

Other TNLA photographs feature animals, especially those considered icon of Australia such as kangaroos, koalas, emus and wombats. In *Animal Nation*, Franklin (2006) explains how native animals were at the centre of the symbolic foundation of Australia and were used to imagine the nation since the early days of Federation, when "the nation required a clear and unambiguously different representation to distinguish it from Britain and other nations" (2006, p. 15). Since that moment and throughout the twentieth century, animals that were not previously admired and valued began to be viewed differently. Progressively, any act against the integrity of these exotic animals came to be considered a threat "for a separate and unique Australia" (2006, p. 115). The historic use of animals as a representation of Australia in different contexts generated a symmetry between nationalism and

ecology, something that Franklin calls eco-nationalism. The concept is still evident in the relations that modern Australians have with native animals and Australian "sacred nature".
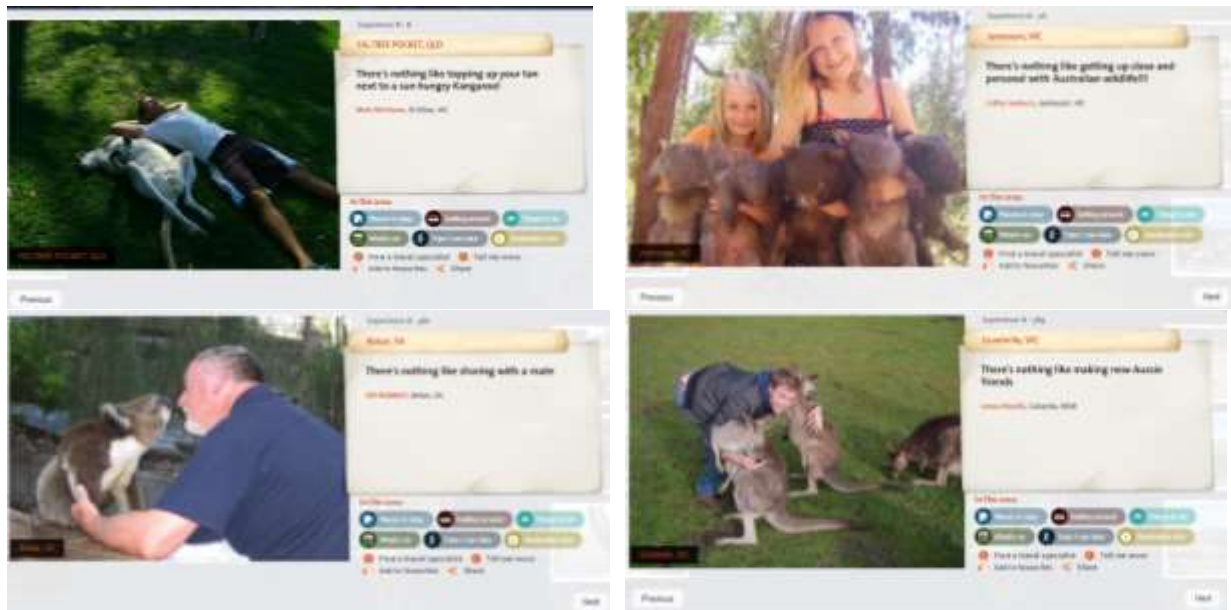
Figure 4.34 Australian animals.

The imaginative geographies of brand Australia make evident this eco-nationalism through hundreds of pictures depicting native animals as friendly creatures willing to be touched, hugged and fed (Figure 4.34). The connection between them and Australian imaginative geographies becomes manifest when they are referred to as national (1873) and "Australian" (2168), but also through anthropomorphism in which holiday experiences involving them are described as "meeting the locals" (503), "spending the day with the locals" (1056) or "sharing with a mate" (481).

Although TNLA was presented to Australian citizens as a form of empowerment and an opportunity to change the stereotypes created by previous campaigns, the imaginaries resulted from the campaign cannot be considered any more "real" than those created by television advertisements. This is not only because social participation was manipulated according to market demands, but because studies on tourism have shown that "tourist praxis" is a contingent process. The creative consumption of tourists – including the taking of pictures – is framed by cultural scripts that have been set up by the industry in order to create an anticipation of the places that are consumed. Therefore, what the interactive map that resulted from TNLA shows are the ahistorical and depoliticised geographies of commercial nationalism, which in this case are still inhabited by Aussie "blokes carrying on stubbies and wearing cork hats" and "blonde-haired surfers hanging out in the beach the whole day", like those presented in the television commercial used to introduce the campaign.

Concluding comments

This chapter has looked at current manifestations of internet enabled commercial nationalism, and in particular at nation-branding campaigns. TNLA claimed to be a democratic initiative that empowered citizens in the construction of a more "real" image of their nation through the generation of content in social media networks. Developing the concept of social media populism the chapter has questioned

claims of democracy, empowerment and realness and has demonstrated that they are based on a questionable corporate optimism about digital technologies. This optimism contributes to the reproduction of the logics of market populism in social media networks. The analysis of TNLA from the perspective of social media populism has demonstrated that this nation-branding campaign draws on principles of neo-localism, which has been useful in explaining some of the effects of these forms of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness.

To begin with, the chapter has shown how the Australian government has adopted marketing strategies as part of its machineries of nation-making, and how it is using nation-branding to advance its economic, political and cultural agendas. While the previous chapter presented a specific dimension of commercial nationalism involving the implementation of nationalist agendas by corporations, this chapter outlined the adoption of corporate cultures by nation-states and the statutory authorities. Like any other nation-branding campaign, TNLA was presented by the government as an initiative aimed at finding the true essence of the nation. This task had been the exclusive work of branding consultants and advertising agencies in previous campaigns, but TNLA used Australian citizens as its main workforce. The involvement of citizens in this campaign was presented as the so-called democratisation of nation-making.

The chapter showed that new forms of commercial nationalism are taking place not only in the marketplace, as in the case of supermarket patriotism, but also on the internet, and more exactly in social media networks. This shift from the supermarket to digital platforms has considerable implications for processes of national identification in consumer culture. As previous chapters have demonstrated, since the inauguration of the Commonwealth and throughout the history of Australia, citizens have been called upon to buy Australian-made, eat Vegemite, or shop at Woolworths and Coles to help build their identities as Australians. Today, as the case study of TNLA proves, citizens are called not only to consume, but to produce creatively by crowdsourcing the materials that represent their national identities. The involvement of citizens as crowdsourcers reflects an important characteristic of neo-localism having to do with empowerment of local citizens as active participants in the construction of place. However, in the context of TNLA these claims of empowerment were used to enlist citizens in the creation of safe and largely predictable tourist-friendly images used to sell Australia as a holiday experience.

When it comes to national imaginaries, the chapter has shown that an important characteristic of new forms of commercial nationalism is the assertion that they are creating more authentic images of the nation. As was explained earlier, claims of authenticity and realness are representative of the phenomenon of neo-localism, and in the case of TNLA these claims are reinforced through the use of holiday pictures taken by Australian citizens as promotional materials. However, the results of TNLA are far from authentic, not only because there is no such thing as a "real" Australia, but also because commercial nationalism organises realness and authenticity according to corporate and government agendas and marketability. As the last section of the chapter proved, although TNLA claimed to have rediscovered the "real Australia", the results of the campaign reflected many of the stereotypes that tourists expect to find when visiting the country.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has analysed the role of commercial nationalism in the historical construction of Australianness. It has implemented a theoretical and methodological framework that develops an understanding of commercial nationalism as a historical process based on the incorporation of ideologies, technologies and infrastructures of consumer culture in the cultural practices related to three important dimensions of nationalism: nation-making processes, the creation of national symbols, and the defining of national identities. Understanding commercial nationalism in this way helps to overcome some gaps in the literature that analyses relationships between consumer culture and nationalism. These gaps relate to a general lack of interest in the role of commercial processes in the origins and development of nations and nationalism, and a lack of historical perspective when assessing the role of these processes in the advancement of nationalist agendas. As has been shown, in the case of Australia these commercial processes can be traced back to the origins of the nation and they have evolved according to changes in nationalist agendas and consumer culture. The three parts of this thesis have mapped out this historical process shedding light on the implications of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness. The concluding section further explains these implications, identifies some limitations of the study and outlines some recommendations for further work.

Australianness and commercial nationalism

The implications of commercial nationalism in Australianness related to a series of trends in the construction of the nation, and a series of shifts in the actors, things and platforms involved in that process. In order to address the questions that have guided my research, these implications will be explained in terms of nation-making, national symbols and national identities.

Nation-making: adoption of corporate cultures by the state and development of nationalistic agendas by corporations.

This thesis makes evident a series of synergies between public and private organisations and the integration of different interests in the nation-making process. In the production and regulation of national culture, commercial nationalism involves an increasing twofold trend towards the adoption of corporate cultures by the state on the one hand, and the development of nationalistic agendas by corporations on the other.

The first dimension of this trend involves the incorporation of commercial ideologies and technologies as part of the state's machineries of nation-making. The thesis demonstrates that this trend has a long history that starts when the Commonwealth of Australia was created. Chapter One exemplifies this process, showing how as part of the nation-building project initiated after Federation, the NSW government and politicians from other jurisdictions devoted economic resources and political efforts to inculcate in Australian citizens the principles of patriotic consumerism. For these elites, building the nation was not only about creating a constitution and institutions to sustain it, but also about consolidating a national industry by creating a home market for its products. Chapter Two showed how this trend increased in the second half of the century through the inclusion of elements from consumer culture in the cultural repertoires related to national heritage and Australian symbols. The

fact that Federal Governments and official institutions have institutionalised specific commodities such as Vegemite as part of national culture, helps to demonstrate a change in the ideologies and technologies used by the state to make the nation.

It is in Part Three that this trend towards the adoption of corporate cultures by the state became more visible. The review of Australian nation-branding campaigns presented in Chapter Four, illustrates how, since the 1990s, the Australian government has used marketing as an instrument to advance its cultural, political and economic agendas. The specific case of the campaign, TNLA makes evident how, as part of this process, the state adopts the identity of a brand and the latest digital platforms and technologies to develop its corporate programs. In this sense, brand Australia is not just a colourful logo, but an effective tool for depoliticising and anonymising the state. The thesis shows how this country-brand and its social media campaigns are used to manage relationships between government and citizens and to mobilize them in favour of its agendas.

The second dimension of this trend has to do with the incorporation of nationalism in the corporate cultures of commercial organisations and the involvement of these organisations in nation-making. Since the early days of Federation, chambers of manufacturers and businessmen adopted national development as their own cause. Chapter One showed how the Great White Exhibition Train worked as a platform from which the Australian-Made Preference League and other companies participated in the making of Australia. The thesis demonstrates how these private organisations assumed a nationalistic agenda aimed at developing a national economy, not only consolidating secondary industries, but also moulding the national populace in order to transform its members into patriotic consumers. As part of this process, the League achieved political recognition and the support of governments, and companies such as Tooth's claimed to be not just a brewery but a national institution. Chapter Two shows how this trend continued during the second part of the twentieth century. Some of the arguments made in that chapter, reflect predictions made by Richard White in the early 1980s about the role that multinational corporations would have in the future of Australia (White, 1981), as well as the arguments made by Graeme Turner in the 1990s about the elevation of corporations as cultural institutions (Turner, 1994). In this regard, the thesis shows how in the second half of the century multinational corporations such as Kraft were declared holders of important elements of Australian heritage, and national entrepreneurs such as Dick Smith adopted national agendas that are, to some extent, more intensive and aggressively promoted than those of the state.

The current state of this trend is explained in Chapter Three. Woolworths and Coles have adopted nationalism as part of their corporate cultures, and adopted a series of national causes as their own responsibility. Two recent events demonstrate the involvement of Woolworths and Coles in the advancement of nationalistic agendas. In March 2014, the news media reported that Australia's Prime Minister Tony Abbott expressed relief and said he was "pleased" after Woolworths announced a contract of $70 million dollars with SPC Ardmona would save the company from bankruptcy. This occurred after the government refused its petition of financial assistance (Bourke, 2014). The same month, Coles Managing Director, Ian McLeod, met with the Prime Minister to announce that the supermarket would create 16,000 new jobs as part of a series of expansions planned as part of the celebration of its 100th birthday (Maher, 2014). As a result of the increasing involvement of private organisations in nation-making, some corporations are represented as national institutions.

Overall, what this twofold trend demonstrates is a shift in the way in which the nation, as a cultural artefact, is socially constructed. This shift has to do with the actors involved in nation-making, and in particular, with the ideologies and the technologies they use in that process.. On the one hand, there is the brand-state, a state that adopts branding not only to sell Australian-made products, to attract skilled workers or to promote tourism. This is a state that adopts the commercial technologies of branding to make the nation tangible and to enable the imagination of national communities. On the other hand, there is the patriotic corporation, a commercial organisation that incorporates nationalism in its corporate culture and assumes some of the roles of the state as their own responsibility. I have presented the adoption of corporate cultures by the state and the adoption of nationalism by corporations as separate phenomena. In practice, however, this process is more complex and the brand-state and the patriotic corporation can work so closely together and in so similar ways that in some cases are difficult to distinguish. .

National symbols: commodification of national imaginaries and use of commodities as symbols of the nation.

The chapters show that elements from nationalism and consumer culture are being combined in the creation of national symbols. These findings reveal a double tendency in the symbolic repertoires used to represent the nation involving the commodification of national imaginaries, and the use of commodities and promotional materials as symbols of the nation.

The first implication of commercial nationalism in the creation of national symbols is the transformation of national imaginaries into promotional materials and commodities. The thesis highlights that this phenomenon has a long history and maps it out across Australian history, showing how it has been manifested in different forms. One of these manifestations is the use of national symbols for commercial purposes. In this regard, Chapter One shows that since the time of Federation, symbols of British-Australian nationalism such as the Australian flag, the map and the Union Jack were used by the Australian-Made Preference League as tools for promotion. The second part shows how this trend increased in the second half of the twentieth century, when national and multinational companies, including Kraft, integrated national symbols and nationalistic statements in their corporate advertising. In Part Three, the chapter on supermarket patriotism demonstrates the continuation of this trend today, with national symbols widely used in supermarket advertising and sold in the form of souvenirs.

The commodification of national imaginaries also occurs through the use of national myths as narrative tropes for promotion, and ultimately, as commodities. Chapter Four makes evident how these forms of commodification have historically operated in tourism promotion. The origins of this trend can be traced to the 1980s, when the "Australian way of life" was used to attract American tourists, and continued throughout all the campaigns of brand Australia in the 1990s and 2000s. Today, as the analysis of the TNLA campaign indicates, diverse national myths –the Dreamtime, the bush, the beach and even the commemoration of European settlement – are used as a recurrent theme of advertising and commodified in the form of holiday experiences sold to tourists.

A second dimension of this trend revolves around the use of commodities and promotional materials as symbols of the nation. The thesis reveals that parallel to the commodification of national symbols,

there is another process by which commodities are institutionalised as national symbols. But while the former has caught the attention of Australian scholars since the 1980s (e.g. James, 1983; Mansfield, 1984), the latter has received little attention (Cozzolino & Rutherford, 1980; Harper & White, 2010b). The thesis shed light on the historical development of this phenomenon, showing how throughout Australian history commercial imageries and artefacts have worked as representations of national culture. Part One shows that since the early twentieth century, the names and emblems of the companies participating in the Great White Exhibition Train started to be associated with national progress, opening the way for brand names such as Akubra or Bonds to become Australian icons in the following decades. It was in the second half of the twentieth century, while Australia revised and renovated its symbolic repertoire, when this phenomenon became more visible. Part Two maps out this process, explaining how Vegemite was transformed into a national symbol and museum object.

Contemporary manifestations of the institutionalisation of commercial artefacts as symbols of the nation can be seen in Part Three. The chapter on supermarket patriotism reveals how Woolworths and Coles have developed a series of narratives aimed at re-enchanting food commodities by linking them to different dimensions of Australian culture. Through the use of cartographic registers, photographs of landscapes, testimonials of farmers and culinary traditions, these narratives construct imaginaries of Australian geography, community and history. The food commodities they promote are transformed into national symbols, in the sense that potatoes, carrots and pak choys become devices for imagining the nation. Similarly, the fourth chapter shows how photographs taken by Australians during their vacations are being transformed into promotional materials that, apart from commodifying national myths, are creating a new commercial narrative of Australia. In short, the growing use of commercial devices as national symbols has resulted in the creation of a symbolic national grammar made of commodities, advertisements, logos, and more recently, user-generated content.

Overall, this twofold trend makes evident a shift in the things that represent the nation, and make it tangible in everyday life for individuals who imagine themselves as members of national communities. Firstly, there is a transition from the map of the nation-state to the touristic guide presented in the interactive cartography of brand Australia, and to the geo-locative media used by Woolworths and Coles (e.g. maps, pictures of landscapes, QR codes) to trace the origins and geographies of "Aussie" food. Secondly, there is a transition from the census to the opinion polls used by supermarkets to justify their corporate campaigns, claiming that "Aussie" food is what Australians have asked for, as well as the market research used by Tourism Australia to justify the involvement of citizens as co-creators of marketing campaigns. Thirdly, there is a transition from the museum to social networks – where tourists can imagine Australia looking at pictures of koalas, kangaroos, the Sydney Opera House and Uluru – and to the supermarket, in particular, to the bread spread shelf where citizens can find one of their national symbols.

National identities: redefinition of nationhood as a lifestyle and mediation of citizen participation through consumerism.

The thesis also makes evident the integration of consumerism and citizenship in the construction of national identities. In this regard, the findings demonstrate that another implication of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness involving a growing trend towards the redefinition of

national identities as consumer lifestyles, and towards the representation of consumerism as an active form of citizen participation.

The first implication of commercial nationalism in the construction of national identities has to do with the redefinition of Australian nationhood as a way of life, or a lifestyle, that can be constructed through consumption practices. This redefinition is better expressed in the idea that becoming a national subject or crafting an identity as Australian is something that can be achieved through the consumption of specific commodities. Part One demonstrates that in the wake of Federation, inhabitants of cities and country towns were instructed about their new national identities through directions on how to behave as consumers. Since then, being a national subject has been associated with consumption of things that are, in one way or another, labelled as Australian. Part Two analysed this phenomenon through the case study of bread spreads. During the first half of the century, creating a national identity was about consuming commodities able to connect Australia to Britain. In that context, the consumption of Marmite was one of the ways in which Australians could imagine themselves as British subjects. In the second half of the century, Australianness was redefined and the commodities mediating processes of national identification changed. During that period eating Vegemite came to be a key indicator of Australian national identity and of being a "happy little vegemite". The power of commodities to mediate the construction of national identities is also proven through Ozemite. Although not especially popular, the commercial discourses surrounding the product suggest that through consuming the spread Australians would recover an identity that has been destroyed by multinational corporations.

Part Three shows Australianness is now something that can be achieved by shopping for specific commodities, especially locally grown food in Woolworths and Coles. By purchasing these foods Australians are supposed to connect with the land and the people of their country and reaffirm their identities as patriotic Australians. When these foods are prepared and eaten following the instructions given by supermarkets, being Australian is about participating in cosmopolitan networks of consumption but always through local ingredients. Chapter Four shows a different dimension of this phenomenon. In tourism campaigns such as TNLA, being Australian is about having holidays in the country. In this context, Australianness is an experience that can be consumed by visiting specific places such as Uluru or the Sydney Opera House, and performing consumption rituals such as having a "barbie".

The second implication of the integration of consumerism and citizenship relates to the constitution of forms of consumer-citizenship in which consumerism is redefined as a form of citizen participation. Part One shows how in the early days of Federation, and throughout the first half of the century, "buy Australian" campaigns depicted the act of shopping for locally manufactured goods as a form of commitment to Australia and the Empire. Chapter Two shows that in the 1990s relationships between consumerism and citizenship acquired a new tone, when new "buy Australian" campaigns such as Ausbuy and commercial enterprises such as Dick Smith Foods started to promote the purchase of goods not only made in Australia, but made in Australia by Australian owned companies. These campaigns and enterprises redefined the act of buying Australian as a form of activism, aimed not only at contributing to national development, but also at boycotting foreign owned companies. The best example of this form of commodity activism is Ozemite and the idea that by swapping Vegemite for

Ozemite, Australians are not only helping Australian companies, but also fighting back against the expansion of multinational corporations such as Kraft in the Australian economy and culture.

The current stage of this trend is explained in Part Three. The chapter on supermarket patriotism shows how Woolworths and Coles have appropriated the political discourse surrounding the act of buying Australian and are using it in their corporate campaigns. Reflecting the conviction that consumers can vote with their dollar, both supermarkets are presenting their stores as sites where citizens can demonstrate civic behaviour and patriotism for Australia through their shopping decisions. In this form, simple acts such as buying bread, souvenirs and groceries are redefined as forms of civic participation aimed at helping farmers, Australians in need, Indigenous Australians, children with cancer, and so on. Chapter Four shows how this conviction is being extended from the marketplace to the Internet where citizens are supposedly empowered as prosumers. In the specific case of the TNLA campaign, Australian citizens are told that by sharing their holiday pictures in social media networks they can change marketing stereotypes and create a more democratic and participatory image of the nation. However, in the same way that Woolworths and Coles use claims of empowerment through commodity consumption to increase their profits and strength their empires, in TNLA claims of empowerment are used to advance economic, cultural and political agendas of brand Australia.

Overall, this trend towards the integration of consumerism and citizenship reveals a shift in the practices by which individuals express their membership to a national community and in the places where those practices are performed. As a result of this transformation, becoming a national subject and exercising national citizenship has become a matter of consumption. This shift in the nature of practices revolving around national identification echoes some of the arguments made by John Sinclair about the role of branding in contemporary consumer culture, where brands work as providers of cultural resources for the construction of national identities and communities (Sinclair, 2008, 2011). This shift is also related to the constitution of a "brand culture", where political participation, civic action and social interactions are mediated through a series of practices that citizens perform in the marketplace and commercial media (Banet-Weiser & Lapsansky, 2008; Banet-Weiser & Mukherjee, 2012). It is in this context, where becoming Australian and exercising Australian citizenship is about more than voting or holding a passport. It is also about buying "100% Aussie" food in Woolworths and Coles to cook new "Aussie Classics" or having holidays in Australia in order to share the pictures taken on Facebook.

Limitations and future studies

The theoretical and methodological frameworks implemented in developing this thesis have proven to be useful for understanding the historical role of commercial nationalism in the construction of Australianness. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise some of the limitations that these frameworks, and outline some directions for future studies on this topic.

One of the limitations of this study has to do with the use of case studies. The four case studies presented offer a general view of manifestations of commercial nationalism at different moments of Australia's history. Although these cases correspond to what I have considered as the most prominent manifestations in each period of time analysed, the selection of cases has left other important expressions of commercial nationalism beyond the scope of the thesis. Despite this limitation, the

thesis opens up a vast analytical area for studying the role of consumer culture in the construction of Australianness, offering theoretical and methodological frameworks for the development of future studies on the matter. From this point of view, the first recommendation for future research would be to improve our understanding of the commercial construction of Australianness by analysing additional case studies from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. Future studies could draw on the results of this thesis to expand our understanding of commercial nationalism from a historical perspective. Some of those studies could analyse the historical development of other buy Australian-made campaigns during the twentieth century; map out the cultural biography of commodities and brands considered national icons; explore further the uses of patriotism in corporate policies and advertising; and trace the history of tourism and immigration campaigns developed since Federation.

Another limitation of this thesis relates to the "national" approach that was implemented for studying the commercial construction of Australianness. For analytical purposes the thesis looks at specific manifestations of commercial nationalism and presents them as representative of a national phenomenon. This approach was necessary in order to answer the research questions and achieve the study's objectives. However, this approach excludes expressions of commercial nationalism that are representative of specific Australian states and ignores the commercial construction of regional identities. The study of regional identities would shed light on unique aspects and dimensions that inform the commercial construction of Australianness. The study of regional identities appears to be important at this moment, when expressions of neo-localism are revealing the significant role of the local in the reconstruction of national identities. Future studies could explore manifestations of commercial nationalism at a regional level in Australian states, identifying the distinctive identities that emerge from these processes.

A final recommendation for future studies is to apply the theoretical and methodological frameworks developed in this thesis to study the phenomenon of commercial nationalism in other countries. Although the analytical scope of this thesis has been focused on Australia, some of the scholarly works reviewed in the Introduction and used throughout the chapters, analyse historical and current manifestations of commercial nationalism in nations from Europe, Asia and the Americas. Currently, there is an increasing interest in commercial forms of nationalism related to nation-branding campaigns that confirm the global character of the phenomenon. However, as explained in the Introduction, most of these studies have a focus on the "here and now" and overlook the historical background of nation-branding and the long history of intersections between nationalism and consumer culture. In order to overcome this gap, future studies could build on the results discussed in this thesis, studying the commercial construction of other national identities from historical perspectives. These studies would shed light on the role that commercial processes have played in the creation and development of nations, and also on the ways in which nationalism has been used for the advancement of capitalism and consumer culture. An important contribution here is to investigate the current significance of "the nation" as a cultural artefact able to organise time and space and classify peoples, and understand how the idea of the nation is being adapted to the dynamics of global consumer culture.

Looking forward

Nations around the world commemorated the Centenary of World War I as I wrote this concluding chapter. The celebration was characterised by a revival of national pride and tacit expressions of nationalism: official speeches, mourning ceremonies, erection of monuments and a myriad of souvenirs. Next year, Australia will commemorate the Anzac Centenary through a series of celebrations that will last until 1918. Consumer culture will play an important part in this nationalist commemoration. In 2012, the Federal Government released the official logo of the celebration (Anzac Centenary, 2013). The design and selection of the trademark was the result of market research and focus groups conducted by the Government to guarantee general approval from Australian population. At the end of this year, tickets for Camp Gallipoli will be on sale[19]. In Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth, citizens will have an opportunity to buy a ticket "to sleep out under the same stars as the original ANZAC heroes did 100 years ago". Partnerships between the Government, the Returned and Services League, and private companies have started to appear. Very soon, Australians will be called to reaffirm their practical patriotism by buying Australian-made and to shop for limited edition of products. Supermarkets will allude to the Anzac Spirit to re-enchant food commodities and proud Aussies will share their pictures on social media networks using the #Anzac100 hashtag. It will be a perfect opportunity, once more, to search for and invent a true essence for the "unknown nation".

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[19] http://premier.ticketek.com.au/shows/show.aspx?sh=GALLIPOL15

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