CONCLUSION

In its 2006 television commercial, Bushells reworked one of Australia's most traditional motifs: the camp-side tea break. It is the setting through which many of Australia's most beloved icons have been imagined and celebrated, from the *Bulletin* school and Ned Kelly to *Crocodile Dundee* and the late Steve Irwin. For Australians today, it is the easiest access to this romanticised bush – the landscape through which, for decades, so much of the nation's identity has been explained. In several ways, though, this approach places Bushells outside many of the processes that are shaping Australian culture now. From the direction of the country's marketplace, to the kinds of people buying tea, to the types of media that consumers now prefer, the changes are formidable. In turn, Bushells' billy-style approach will seem either hopelessly inappropriate – or, more appropriate than ever.

The first shift that Bushells has to take stock of is that in the nation's tea market. In March 2006 the Tea Centre opened in Sydney's Warringah Mall. For founders Sharon Sansom and Kim Torstensson, it was further proof that their interest in quality tea was shared by a growing number of Australians. Established in 1993 in the fashionable suburb of Paddington, the Tea Centre was an immediate success - so much so that the first store was closed after only two years when it became apparent that the business required bigger premises. Over a decade later and the Tea Centre has not only several stores in Sydney (including Rhodes, a suburb in Sydney's west, and another scheduled for Hornsby in November), but in Brisbane and Canberra as well. With almost 200 varieties of tea on offer, four blends of Australian herbal infusions, and a wide array of pots and accessories, the stores take shoppers through a wide selection of aromas, regions, tastes and utensils - in a way that is far more subtle and specialised than, one may assume, the average supermarket ever could. The major point of difference, of course, is the attention to detail. They provide the upmarket palate a selection and sophistication that the major brands have hitherto failed to match.

The Tea Centre is just one of several such stores that have surfaced in the last few years, and imbued the tea market with a prestige and glamour that some observers believed the coffee industry had poached. Ironically, though, whereas the popularity

of tea in Australia was once a sign of an insularly British influence, its resurgence can be attributed to the exact opposite. As co-owner Sansom told the Sydney Morning Herald:

The public is becoming more and more aware of good tea and is starting to demand it. It's mostly been a process of self-education. Australians are pretty big travellers and many people have been to Europe, visited some of the beautiful tea rooms there and discovered just how good tea could be.⁵⁹¹

As it happens, many of the tea houses that have emerged in recent years do in fact appropriate international themes and influences. Besides the Tea Centre, for instance, there is the Japanese-style Take Tea Garden in Double Bay; the Arte Flowers in Woollahra, which stocks scented teas from France; and even Caffe Te' Ria in Leichhardt, Sydney's own 'Little Italy' and the heart of its café culture.

To help explain the rise of the 'serious' tea drinker, the surprise success of Sydney entrepreneur and naturopath, Penelope Sach, offers some clues. In the early 1990s, the one-time actress and dancer found that, if packaged attractively and promoted effectively, her specialty range of 6 herbal teas could be highly lucrative. When celebrity chef Neil Perry chose Sach's teas for his Rockpool restaurant in Sydney, others became interested and her range was soon requested for luxury resorts, fivestar hotels and top-end restaurants, in Australia and abroad. Sach's initiative was handsomely rewarded. It turned out that there was a corps of image-conscious teadrinkers that would not only forfeit the convenience of the humble teabag, but happily pay for premium varieties as well. At an average price of \$436 a kilogram for her teas, Sach soon became something of a celebrity herself, wrote and published several books, and inspired other tea enthusiasts on the way.

Like the Tea Centre in Sydney, Tea Too in Melbourne has grown from a small store on Brunswick Street to an interstate chain, a mail order service, and accounts with over 50 restaurants and cafés. For owners Jan O'Connor and Maryanne Shearer, part of their success has been the re-education of Australian tea-drinkers. As O'Connor explains: Tea Too has captured a niche market and I think what we've managed to do is create an awareness of alternatives. A lot of people didn't realise there was anything more than Bushells and Lipton.⁵⁹²

If nothing else, such stores prove that, well into the twenty-first century, Australia's tea market continues to expand and evolve. This has some obvious implications for brands that have already established strong and familiar associations, such as Bushells. As one commentator remarked, 'we have come a long way from the billy and the bag.' The point is not just that there is a bigger selection to choose from (as considerable as that is); rather, the experience and expectation of tea has changed as well: 'We are sipping slightly less but paying more for the pleasure.'⁵⁹³

This taste for the exotic reflects a certain kind of attitude, one which is often referred to as 'cosmopolitanism'.⁵⁹⁴ True cosmopolitans seek out the unknown, and eschew the standardised and imitative for the apparently unique and authentic. It is in this way that stores like the Tea Centre and Tea Too trump the likes of Bushells and Liptons: they flatter consumers that have seemingly dodged the advertising reach of Unilever *et al* and have found, ostensibly on their own, something interesting and unusual. So, where the homogenised once meant safe, pure and unadulterated, now, in some circles, it is simply a dull salute to sameness. Moreover, the connoisseur was once a creature of the cultural elite, an expression of either privileged knowledge or pampered society. Yet contemporary consumer culture accommodates (if not encourages) the extension of this sensibility. The more that supermarket shelves are dominated by the already-known, the more that difference and diversity is feted in the marketplace. Familiarity with the foreign thus communicates a kind of globalised, postmodern literacy.

The growing market for gourmet teas mirrors Australians' deepening engagement in global flows. Since the late eighteenth century, the range and quality of tea in Australia has been an index of the country's economic climate; over 200 years later, it still is. The burgeoning interest in bespoke or little-known varieties is a clear reflection of overseas trends. In London, New York, and Tokyo, big-name brands have established such strong market presence that, for consumers keen to articulate their distance from the mainstream, the swing back to small-scale and discreet is a necessary one. For new and upcoming brands, this trend bodes well; for others, like

Bushells, possibly less so. As advertising executive Tom Moult has pointed out, once a brand has acquired an iconic status, its freedom to change is curtailed by consumers' ingrained expectations. As Moult argues:

Being an icon can be a ball and chain around your foot. I'm sure a lot of the icons we have now would like to change, but they can't because there is not a great deal which can be done with them. The relationships people have already established with the brands are so entrenched they can't budge.⁵⁹⁵

The second major shift that Bushells has to contend with is in media technology. These are worth mentioning here, albeit briefly. New media technologies have radically multiplied the spaces and opportunities for the production, distribution and consumption of all types of content. Moreover, it is a phenomenon that implicates a growing proportion of audiences' lives. The causes and effects of this process exceed the scope of this discussion. Still, it bears stressing that, insofar as Bushells has always responded to media changes, these ones are on an undeniably unprecedented scale. New media entails what Fiona Martin calls 'a suite of digital communications technologies that are variously mobile and/or multimedia and/or networked', and includes: the Internet, mobile telephony, geographic information systems (GIS), the web, DVDs, interactive TV (iTV), personal computers, personal digital assistants, voice recognition programs, multiplayer games and search engines.⁵⁹⁶ The cumulative effect of these has been to shake priorities and practices that have been dominant for decades (and in some cases, centuries).

As media markets fracture and fragment, they present two main challenges to manufacturers and advertisers: consumers are now conceptualised in terms that are becoming more specific and narrow; and, subsequently, require an address that is suitably circumscribed and sensitive. Again, for those already geared towards the localised niche (like the Tea Centre), this is an ideal drift, as they are clearly already oriented to this new-millennium market: individualised, differentiated and flexible.

In this milieu, of advanced brand marketing and increasingly pluralised media, there is an even greater onus on advertisers to attract consumers whose options have widened so dramatically. In turn, their responses have been many and varied, from the

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lateral to the covert. For instance, the last few years have seen the rise of so-called 'ambient media'. These are advertising opportunities that are either unexpected or unusual. For example, Nestlé, News Limited and Carlton United Breweries have all made use of Captive Media's unique service: selling advertising space on truck convoys that snake through the central business districts of Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.⁵⁹⁷ Like travelling billboards, these trucks encircle the cityscape with images that are hard to escape, much less ignore.

A far less conspicuous (and increasingly common) way to target consumers now is through new media itself. For most advertisers, this has meant establishing an online presence. Given that the Internet has become the fastest-growing medium ever recorded, with over 600 million users worldwide, 598 its promotional reach is staggering. McDonald's, Coca-Cola, Pepsi and Cadbury, for example, have all tried to harness the generational drift to the World Wide Web, and exploit their supposed affinity with young consumers. With promotional sites that offer special offers like vouchers, games and prizes, in exchange for personal details, these brands have found a way to hook a demographic that is becoming harder to reach through the usual means - as well as create invaluable databases in the process.⁵⁹⁹ Indeed, the most recent statistics from the Commercial Economic Advisory Service of Australia (CEASA) suggest that this is one area that has overtaken some, more traditional areas of advertising expenditure. According to Adam Cubito of AdNews, CEASA's sixmonth figures to June 2006 'confirm what most people in the industry know already advertisers are starting to embrace online spending.⁶⁰⁰ Specifically, this period saw 8.5 per cent of total advertising expenditure spent online, ahead of magazines, which drew just 6.8 per cent.

Importantly, it is not just relatively new technologies that challenge Bushells; 'old' media have also evolved in ways that question age-old habits and conventions. 'Free-to-air' television, in particular, was once a staple of national advertising. Now, the major brands must confront research that shows a slow but discernible move away from 'free-to-air' towards pay television, particularly in regards to women and daytime viewing.⁶⁰¹ Indeed, not only can these viewers switch to more specialised channels, they can now also evade television advertisements altogether, through time-shifting devices that allow them to customise their viewing schedules. With the

development of the personal video recorder (PVR) and services like TiVo, consumers are no longer beholden to the dictates of network programming, or the promotions that have sustained it. As Michael O'Shaughnessy and Jane Stadler write:

The PVR has all the functions of a standard VCR, but it has the added advantage of acting like a hard drive on which large quantities of digital media programming and other information can be stored...[T]his will give the media consumer a greater degree of agency. For instance, users of PVRs are able to record a program and instruct the PVR to play it back without commercials...⁶⁰²

In this context, a boon for consumers is a bind for advertisers, as it problematises the ways that consumers have been hitherto imagined and approached. Again, it is a development that has pushed some brands to work with (rather than against) it. Alongside the rise of pay television, there has been a concomitant rise in 'product placement', the strategic insertion of branded goods into programs that are known to be popular with a particular demographic. This is by no means a new concept - after all, even Billy Tea was marketed through 'Waltzing Matilda'. However, the practice has been tweaked for the twenty-first century. For example, websites such as www.justseenon.com are open admissions of this type of marketing. These lead (or link) users straight to the purchase of furniture, food, and fashion that was 'just seen on' Will & Grace, Desperate Housewives and Queer Eve for the Straight Guy.⁶⁰³ Such shows foreground a glossy, consumerist aesthetic, and hence provide the perfect setting for the likes of Pepsi Cola and Levi Jeans. The line between content and advertising thus becomes notoriously imprecise. These brands mesh with characters and scenes that are supposed to be narrative-driven, but actually double as powerful marketing vehicles for vested interests. It is a duality that bedevils attempts to pinpoint what exactly is being promoted, or to quantify how effectively.

In terms of measurement and analysis, there is a kind of messiness to these developments. Not only do they complicate how consumers are conceived and lured, but how they are tracked as well. As such, the implications of this all for advertisers are still uncertain. Market research groups like the ACNielsen Corporation *have* devised intricate methods to monitor consumer behaviour, in ways that acknowledge and accommodate its growing complexity. Its 'Panorama' package, for example:

...offers to its subscribers a profile of consumers which matches demographics (including socio-economic and cultural profiles) with patterns of media usage, opinions, tastes in food and drink, choice of car, mobile phone and internet service provider (ISP), as well as financial arrangements, choice of pets and tendency to gamble.⁶⁰⁴

Clearly, the more that audiences and consumers have to choose from, the more datagatherers (like ACNielsen) will have to take their idiosyncrasies into account. If nothing else, the tidy categories that once separated and defined consumer groups will start to appear simplistic, short-sighted and outdated. As John Hartley explains, the consumer has 'evolved':

She is no longer Vance Packard's easily distracted housewife who needs to be propelled by psychologically tested methods of behaviour management toward a particular shelf in the supermarket. She is 'a thinking, emotional, creative being'...and she expresses this in the way she designs her life. As much as she is a consumer, she is also a citizen.⁶⁰⁵

Freed of programming restraints, empowered by interactive media, and animated by the global exchange of digitised information, this autonomous agent is the idealised endpoint of contemporary consumer trends.

At first glance, all these developments seem to place Bushells in a difficult position. Firstly, the abundance of branded teas on the market, from the big-name heavyweights to the latest round of designer blends, shows that Bushells' competition is getting bigger and smarter. Secondly, there is an extent to which Bushells can still view its market in twentieth-century terms. Contemporary media technologies actively defy traditional segmentation. As such, advertisers need to rethink how they 'speak' to these audiences (and therefore would-be consumers).

If its 2006 television campaign is anything to go by, though, such shifts in both the marketplace and media have yet to render the brand obsolete altogether. If anything, ironically, the speed and scale of these processes might well work to Bushells' advantage – if it continues to act as a store of nostalgia, safety and comfort in an otherwise unsettling and uncertain world. After all, branding is less about attributes than associations, so the focus is invariably on the brand's imagery, ideals and values. It is the symbols and stories that the brand relies on for cultural anchorage that

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warrant the most attention. Herein lays the analytical scope of the Bushells brand: its advertisements effectively plot Australia's cultural history. Since the late 1800s, the brand has consistently and strategically integrated prevailing codes, conventions, tendencies, and dreams, and has thus documented several of the nation's most dominant cultural discourses.

So, as long as Bushells stands in for ideals and values that have some (if not exclusive) currency, the brand will retain some degree of relevance. That said, the fact that the brand's biography has encompassed such disparate associations suggests that, even with monumental changes to do with technology, demography and competition, the innately elastic nature of the branding process is such that these developments need not be insurmountable problems. Indeed, the story of the Bushells brand *is* the story of these sorts of changes – and more. For this reason, there is much to learn about contemporary Australian culture from Bushells' advertisements.

In its cultural proximity to modern enterprise, branding is the archetypal expression of contemporary consumerism. Brands picture and narrate an imagined ideal, one that flatters and extends the capitalist promise: with the nominal fluidity of status, class and rank, upward mobility is possible. Brands are the most conspicuous carriers of this promise. Indeed, their vitality depends on a broad belief in this possibility, or at least a latent fascination with its mirage. To this end, they deal in associations, not attributes; they determine what a commodity means, not what it is. This ensures that no matter how much technology democratises production, and enables a degree of tangibly quantifiable sameness, there remains a necessarily manipulable space for privilege and power.

Brands communicate though symbols. These generate a meaning-making chain, one that points consumers to one of numerous possible paths. Advertisements thus beckon by rendering one path more attractive than another, or at least in terms of its cultural premium. Whatever the advertisement, the sub-text is the same: the brand is a portal to those associations valued by the society, or by important sections thereof. This is not to say that brands mobilise action one way or another; encouragement does not compel compliance. Still, this much can be said: profit alone would prompt marketers to link a brand with associations that are presumed to be already desirable; to do otherwise would compromise commercial viability. As such, to track the ascent, embrace and entrenchment of a culture's ideals and priorities, brands provide some logical and perhaps surprising clues.

This thesis has worked towards a nuanced understanding that brands communicate through discourses of cultural significance. By examining the intertextuality of Bushells advertisements, it is apparent that these texts are shot with a myriad of considerations. Moreover, this is not a phenomenon distinct to this particular brand -it is the operational logic of all brands. Without some footing in contemporary cultural concerns, brands fail to engage consumers' interests, aspirations and fears. As such, brand marketers strive for some consonance, through all the associated meanings they can generate. This thesis has focused on how Bushells advertisements achieved this, and has contextualised the advertisements in terms of the space and time of their production, distribution and consumption. Given the analytical scope of this approach, it is argued here that brands offer a highly economic portal into Australia's cultural history. Furthermore, given the branding potential of just about anything, from bottled water and toothpaste to sporting stars and political parties, it is suggested here that branding will infiltrate and constitute a growing proportion of contemporary consumer culture. So, given the complex web each brand weaves, this is an area ripe for further academic attention. The approach taken for this thesis - textual analysis of various advertisements - offers one way that a brand can be take n as something other than the most conspicuous aspect of a given commodity's promotion. Rather, it is a key tenet of this thesis that, by virtue of their discursive reach, brands straddle a spectrum of interconnected issues and processes - and in this way branding involves a cultural logic that is both subtle and necessary.

At the very least, this thesis shows that branding requires a nuanced grasp of contemporary consumer practices – and, in turn, a realisation that these practices do not begin and end with a sole transaction. Rather, purchasing decisions are linked to an array of culturally constituted interests. Be it class respectability, familial obligation, sexual allure, or national pride – such concerns (and many more) surface in the branding of commodities, whether or not they are tied to the actual utility of the commodity in question. Indeed, branding presupposes a realm of anxiety and desire that is quite separate to whatever criteria consumers use to determine a commodity's

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quantitative usefulness. It rests on the belief of a qualitative difference - a sensitivity to the images associated with the brand, as distinct from any attributes that are, for all intents and purposes, identical to whatever alternatives are also marketed. For this reason, it is argued here that a brand like Bushells is not only significant because cultural discourses can be read through it - but because they must be read through it. Brands exist at this associational level; they are imagistic constructs that make most sense when viewed through whatever contemporary conditions made one configuration of symbols and allusions more compelling than others. So, to analyse a text contextually is to consider the decision-making process that underpins its cultural circuit. From here, one senses the degree to which branding must take stock of a complex set of interrelated developments. Areas of immense cultural consequence are not discrete, self-contained units; they implicate and affect the spectrum of cultural life. From technology and town-planning to immigration and fashion, marketers must not only appreciate such turns but, ideally, resolve any ramifications for their target demographic. Therefore, by folding any number of trajectories into a brand, advertisements showcase branding's protean dynamic and, ultimately, this is the cultural logic of branding.

This thesis has shown that, far from being an exercise in whim or fancy, branding works because it is a culturally imbued process. By contextually analysing various advertisements, one sees how Bushells co-opted whatever associations were deemed most advantageous for optimum market share. To this end, the advertisements speak of the various ideals and inclinations that have preoccupied Australians over the years. Given the formidable position of tea in the late 1800s, as an item enjoyed broadly and often, the brand did well to turn the everyday into the remarkable insofar as Bushells promised consumers not 'just' tea, but some purchase into a better way of life. Previous chapters have worked through the different ways this betterment has been defined. The emphasis here is on 'the different ways': they show the brand to be as elastic and open as the culture it addressed, and unavoidably so. For this reason, this thesis has dealt with a relatively eclectic range of historical moments: to make sense of the Bushells brand - and its cultural logic - it helped to understand, for example, the rise of tea in the British diet; the worldwide influence of the grand magasin; and the gendered conservatism of twentieth-century suburbia. These were not parallel considerations to Bushells' branding; they were at its core. The result was

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not so much a fragmented mosaic as an idealised synthesis: in this way, the brand always represented a particular convergence of cultural markers, and thus showed how ostensibly separate discourses were in fact powerfully and inextricably connected.

Obviously, of all the brands that compete for supermarket space and advertising 'cutthrough', this thesis has focused on just one: Bushells. For several reasons, Bushells was ideally suited to the task of exploring the cultural logic of branding. Firstly, even though the brand did not surface until the late nineteenth century, tea was something that even members of the First Fleet enjoyed, and could afford. In other words, it was one commodity that had been levelled to even the 'lowliest' class, the criminal one. It was an utterly attainable product. As such, for an analyst, it provides the perfect prism through which to view the lengths a brand must go to in order to seem elusive. Bushells had to make a staple seem special, and thus transform an otherwise pedestrian item into something that the colonies' budding middle classes would want to be identified with.

Given that Bushells was introduced at a time when brand marketing was on the rise, it signalled a decisive development in the colonies' marketplace. By the 1880s, the economic climate and infrastructure was such that consumers *could* survey competing brands. This alone conveyed a particular cultural arrangement, as consumers were drawn into an increasingly coded marketplace, where commodities bore meanings above and beyond their immediate utility. These meanings, in turn, referred to a wider social grid, and thus cued consumers' position in relation to it. As the grid changed, so too did the brand. Since its appeal was gauged by how well it positioned consumers in relation to other (brand) choices they could have made, Bushells was always affected by changes in politics, the economy, and society. As these shifted the markers of middle class respectability shifted accordingly. In turn, Bushells' capacity to reconfigure potential crises like war, recession, and rationing into popularly agreeable scripts showed the malleability of both cultural conventions and the brand.

One of the most significant aspects of Bushells' brand has been its movement across different media. Each medium clearly sought a particular demographic, and thus summoned a particular lifestyle. For example, it is worth noting just how paramount

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gender was in these representations. Like Arnott's, Carnation and Rosella, Bushells saw in the middle class housewife the (consuming) heart of middle class suburbia. As such, the brand shadowed gender politics closely and strategically, and always backed that definition of female accomplishment that best served industry's interests. This was put to stunning effect in the various magazine titles that Bushells favoured, particularly from the 1930s, and not the least of which was the *Australian Women's Weekly*. The brand's advertisements in the *Weekly* not only affirmed and idealised a highly circumscribed picture of femininity, they highlighted the extent to which her household unit was integral to modern capitalism. Bushells, like most advertisers, had much to gain from this particular site, and so helped celebrate the conditions and divisions on which it depended.

In its reliance on an item as common and habitual as tea, Bushells was, for at least its first five decades or so, tied to one of the most recognisable symbols of British culture. In this way, the brand benefited from the wide and often unchallenged preference for tea over other beverage options – apart from beer, that is. For this reason, it indexed a sort of homogeneity; evidence that, as much as the 'currency lads' eclipsed those of 'sterling' stock, there remained a lingering bias to a particularly British diet. To this end, Bushells makes for an interesting study in that it saw a nation of tea-drinkers become more aware of alternatives, and therefore alternatives to the one thing that Bushells was so closely identified with. Especially after the Second World War, there was a discernible turn in the marketplace. Compared to England, the Royal family and afternoon tea, the mass-market fashion for America, convenience and instant coffee undercut Bushells' lead and challenged the brand to adjust accordingly.

It is tempting to see Bushells' evolution as proof of nerve and flair, of a willingness to snub tradition and embrace risk. There is, in other words, an ingrained tendency to equate change and momentum with innovation and vision. Branding, however, rarely allows nearly as much latitude or leverage. Generally, there is too much at stake for such wide-eyed indulgence. As such, despite changing assumptions about class, gender and race, Bushells never strayed too far from the safest approximation of the cultural mainstream. This is, after all, the most reasonable route for something so closely connected with the commercialised status quo. So, the most that can be

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suggested is that it reflected and endorsed (rather than originated and produced) reigning cultural discourses – but, that said, this is a formidable and noteworthy capacity on its own. In fact, the brand's conservatism works to the analyst's advantage, as it foregrounds those principles and priorities that were dominant, and thus offers a useful angle from which to examine and interrogate society's distribution of power. This is particularly apparent in the brand's more recent forays into populist nationalism. What began as a birthday treat in the early 1980s has hardened into a narrow, clichéd definition of Australian relevance. It is out-shone by brands that boast newer and more glamorous associations, so Bushells now floats somewhere between museums and memories. Yet, thanks to the cultural logic of branding, this will suffice for the time being.

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³²⁹ One Kraft advertisement read: 'Because the Army needs Kraft Cheese for Australia's fighting men and women, our good Australians at Kraft have increased Kraft's output by more than 100 per cent. How's that for a Victory job? – we're proud of it.' In Australian Women's Weekly, 10 April 1943, p. 24.

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 ³⁴⁰ S Sheridan, with B Baird, K Borrett & L Ryan, Who Was That Woman? The

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³⁴² From a videotape of 'Raising a Husband' (various episodes), property of Unilever Australia.

³⁴³ One advertisement in Australian Women's Weekly (7 March 1956, p. 76) read 'FRESHER (means more FLAVOR) Bushells vans deliver fresh tea to your grocer every day. That's why you can be sure of enjoying fresher tea when you buy Bushells'. Kurts' script included this same line.

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⁴⁰³ This advertisement for both Nestle's Sweetened Condensed Milk and Keen's Mustard appeared in Australian Women's Weekly, 19 February 1964, p. 27.

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⁴¹⁰ Bushells had long used this ethnic descriptor; packaging and advertising imagery for Bushells Blue Label Pure Coffee had featured a similar-looking 'Arabian' caricature, turbaned and in traditional desert dress. See Australian Women's Weekly, 10 August 1935, p. 4.

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product. See advertisement in Australian Women's Weekly, 15 August 1956, p. 47. ⁴¹⁴ This advertisement appeared in WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 11 May 1964, p. 96.

⁴¹⁵ This advertisement appeared in Sun-Herald, 29 November 1959, p. 117.

⁴¹⁶ This advertisement appeared in Australian Women's Weekly, 15 February 1961, p. 46.

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⁴²⁰ For example, one advertisement for Nescafé stated: 'no other coffee, no matter how it's made, tastes so fresh, so friendly, so completely satisfying' (see Australian Women's Weekly, 14 June 1961, p. 70); and one advertisement for Bushells Instant Coffee stated: 'Bushells start with fresh roasted coffee beans' (see WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 8 June 1964, p. 80).

⁴²¹ For example, Nestle focused increasingly on Nescafe's '43 Beans in every cup!' (see Australian Women's Weekly, 5 April 1961) while Bushells highlighted its 'flavorbuds' – 'There are thousands in every spoonful' (see WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 27 May 1963, p. 76).

⁴²² The magazine copy does not refer to any interest, organisation or group. In short, the promotion appears like a generic appeal to Australians to drink more coffee. To ascertain its origin or instigator, I spoke to both the current advertising agent at *Australian Women's Weekly* and the library assistant at Australian Consolidated Press (ACP), both to no avail. The promotion predates all the information and records they had access to. By email correspondence in May 2006, the current president of the Australian Coffee Traders Association, Mr Andrew Mackay, concurred with my impression that the promotion coincided with the International Coffee Agreement, effective in Australia from 1963, and thus represented a coalition of vested interests. ⁴²³ This promotion appeared in *Australian Women's Weekly*, 26 June 1963, p. 53.

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⁴²⁵ This promotion appeared in WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 3 June 1963, p. 74. ⁴²⁶ This promotion appeared in WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 15 April 1963, p. 61. ⁴²⁷ This promotion appeared in WOMAN'S DAY with WOMAN, 29 April 1963, p. 55. ⁴²⁸ This promotion appeared in Australian Women's Weekly, 12 February 1964, p. 16. ⁴²⁹ This advertisement appeared in Australian Women's Weekly 30 January 1937, p. 45.

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Figure 4.1 Bulletin advertisement 1895 – This advertisement appeared in Bulletin, 5 June 1895, p. 18.

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Clip 2 Rivals Ron Casey & Normie Rowe – Reproduced courtesy of Unilever Australasia.

Clip 3 As Young As You Feel - Reproduced courtesy of Unilever Australasia.

Clip 4 Is it as good as Bushells? - Reproduced courtesy of McCann Erickson.

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